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Vol. I.

MARCH, 1922



No. 1

The Principles and Program of The Trade Union Educational League

THE SITUATION

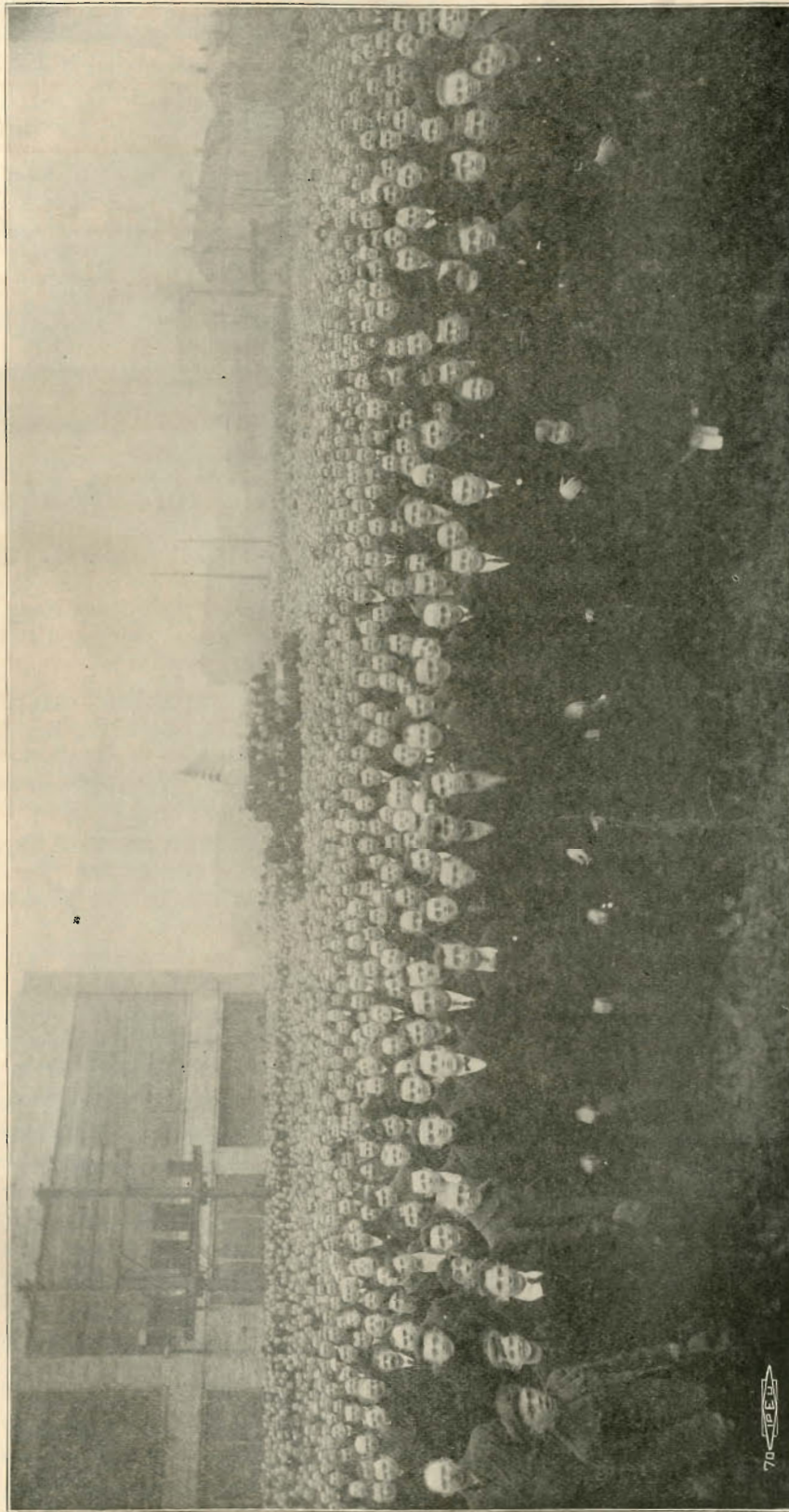
IN every country but one an advanced state of capitalism has produced a highly developed trade union movement. The single exception is the United States. Here we have a very elaborate industrial system and the world's most militant and powerful capitalist class, but, paradoxically enough, a trade union movement which, for general weakness and backwardness, has few if any equals in the predominantly industrial countries.

No matter what vital phase of our trade union movement we consider we must admit, if we are honest, that the workers in other lands are ahead of us. In the important matter of numerical strength, for instance, we make a wretched showing. At present, considering the ravages made in our ranks by the employers, it is doubtful if we have as many as 4,000,000 trade unionists in this country, or about 1 unionist to each 27 of the general population. England, by contrast, has approximately 7,500,000 trade unionists, or about 1 in each 6 of her 44,000,000 people. Germany shows even better, with over 12,000,000 trade unionists, or about 1 in each 4½ of her 55,000,000 population. In other words, the English trade union movement is proportionately about 4 times as strong numerically as ours, and that of Germany 6 times as strong. For the American unions to be as large as those of Germany, considering the difference in the size of the two nations, they would have to have no less than 24,000,000 members. Compare this giant figure with the paltry 4,000,000 members that our unions now possess and one gets an idea of how far behind we are in this respect. In England and Germany (not to mention many other countries) the mass of the working class has been organized. In the United States hardly a start has yet been made.

OBSOLETE CRAFT UNIONISM

Structurally our trade unions are equally backward in development. The American labor movement is the only important one in the world which still remains based upon the principle of craft unionism. In all other countries the main labor movements, accepting the logic of capitalistic consolidation, have endorsed the principle of having one union in each industry and have made great progress towards its realization. Throughout the rest of the world we find many single unions covering whole industries—such as building, metal, railroad, general transport, clothing, printing, etc.—that have been built up recently by amalgamating the original craft organizations. Others are constantly being created. In England the giant new Transport and General Workers' Union amalgamation is taking place; the Amalgamated Engineering Union is likewise making substantial headway towards its goal of one union in the metal industry; and in many other trades the process of consolidation is going on apace. In Germany the metal workers, during the past few years, have completed their record-breaking industrial union, which now counts 1,800,000 members; the railroad, postal, telegraph, and telephone workers, already closely organized, are combining their forces into a great organization of 1,500,000 members to control all forms of transportation and communication; and the workers in the other German industries are likewise closing up their ranks rapidly. In Belgium the original welter of craft unions has been hammered together into about a dozen industrial unions, and plans are now being worked out to combine the whole movement into one real union. The Australian workers have also just gone on record for a similar project.

The same rapid drift towards industrial



STRIKING CHICAGO PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS

unionism is in evidence everywhere except in the United States. Here we are still sticking in the mud of craft unionism and progressing at only a snail's pace. Standpatism has become an ingrained gospel with our trade union officials. There is hardly a breath of progress among them. They disregard the obvious fact that as the capitalists close up their ranks the workers must do likewise. With rare exceptions they are content to plod along with anywhere up to 20 or 30 autonomous unions in the various industries and to consider such a primitive condition, with all its resultant craft scabbery and weakness, as the highest practical stage of trade union organization. The man who proposes common sense amalgamation along industrial lines they consider a dreamer, if not a disruptive fanatic. From the standpoint of structure the American labor movement is at about the point of development that the European unions were 15 years ago.

OUR POLITICAL INFANCY

Politically our trade unions are also in an infantile condition. They have not yet advanced to the point of even rudimentary political class consciousness. Blissfully unaware that the class struggle rages in the political as well as in the industrial field, they are still trailing along in the train of the capitalist parties and shamefully begging favors from them. Their Cause is a football for every political crook in the country—to the sad demoralization of the whole labor movement. The workers in other countries were once in a similar boat, but they have all long since got away from it. Some, the anti-political tendency, have adopted the Syndicalist program of direct action on the political field through the trade unions, and others, retaining their belief in political action, have built up extensive Labor, Socialist, and Communist parties. But all of them, Syndicalists, Laborites, Socialists, and Communists, agree upon class action in the political field. They would laugh out of court any leader among them who dared advocate the antediluvian no-class political policy of the American trade union movement. For them the adoption of such a program would mean turning the clock backward a generation.

Another striking feature of our labor movement's primitiveness is its unequalled lack of

idealism and social vision. It has no soul. It has not yet raised the inspiring banner of working class emancipation. So far as its vague conscious expressions go, it is still timidly and blindly trying to patch up wage slavery and make it endurable. It has still to learn that the only solution of the labor struggle is by the abolition of capitalism. In this sad position it stands alone, for the workers of all other important countries have long since definitely broken with capitalism. They look upon it as an obsolete social system which must be eliminated. They are looking forward to the establishment of a new proletarian society in which parasitic capitalists will be no more. They differ widely as to how this great goal can be achieved, whether capitalism shall be abolished piece by piece, as the Socialists propose, or all at one blow, as the Communists and Syndicalists urge. But they are unanimous that capitalism must go. The American trade unions are the only general body of organized workers in the world that have not yet mastered this fundamental labor conclusion. And the result is a tremendous weakening in their programs and fighting strength.

OUR PITIFUL CONSERVATISM

A striking illustration of this unparalleled intellectual timidity and conservatism comes to light in our trade unions' relations with the labor organizations of other countries. There are two world trade union federations, one with headquarters in Amsterdam, and the other in Moscow. The Amsterdam International is reformist, and the Moscow International revolutionary. All the important labor movements of the world are affiliated with one or the other of these two Internationals—that is, all except ours. We stand aloof altogether on the ground that both are too revolutionary. Even the Amsterdam International, whose leaders undoubtedly saved capitalism in its greatest crisis by defeating the recent revolutionary uprisings in Germany, Italy, France, etc., is much too radical for us. Because its "revolutionary" doctrines might contaminate our pure bourgeois ideas, and for fear that our association with such a "terrible" organization would discredit us in the eyes of American exploiters, the American Federation of Labor, not long since, severed relations with the Amsterdam In-

ternational. This made us the laughing stock of the international labor world, revolutionary and reformist alike. When it comes to militancy of program we stand in a place by ourselves—at the very foot of the procession. And so it is with many other phases of our movement, which need not be cited here.

The general effect of the extreme political and industrial undevelopment of our trade union movement has been to greatly weaken the fighting power of the working class. More than ever this is evidenced by the present world crisis in industry. Whereas the trade unions of other countries are pretty much holding their own, or in some cases even forging ahead, ours are in disordered retreat before the victorious employers. The latter, strongly organized and controlling the press, the courts, and practically every section of the local, state, and national governments, are smashing the unions right and left and making ducks and drakes of the workers' political and industrial rights. The crisis is serious and so generally recognized that there is no need for us to waste words over it here. Suffice to say that if Organized Labor does not soon reorganize its primitive craft unions into modern industrial unions and infuse them with real fighting spirit it will inevitably suffer crushing defeat, if not actual annihilation.

THE SOURCE OF OUR TROUBLES

Whence comes the ultra-conservatism and extraordinary backwardness of the American trade union movement? What causes the seeming paradox in this country of a very high degree of capitalism producing a very low degree of labor organization?

Many are the answers made to this great riddle of the American labor movement. The chief of these are, first, that the conglomeration of races here, by greatly complicating the organization problem, has effectually checked the spread of trade unionism; and, second, that the workers in this country, because of its bonanza development, have enjoyed more prosperity than European workers and have consequently been rendered almost immune to militant organization.

But these answers are altogether unsatisfactory. The first is discounted by the fact that some of the very best unions we have, notably in the needle trades, are made up of many

nationalities. And the second goes counter to all our labor history. Time and again the workers in this country have given convincing evidence of their aggressive spirit and adaptability to advanced types of unionism. A generation or so ago, during the stormy '80s, our trade union movement unquestionably led the world for militancy. And since that time our industrial history has been marked with a whole series of strikes, as bitterly fought as any ever known anywhere. In view of these facts it is idle to maintain that our workers are naturally unmilitant.

The true explanation for the undevelopment of American trade unionism must be sought elsewhere. And it is to be found in the wrong methods used by our progressive and revolutionary unionists. Until quite recently they have failed utterly to realize and perform their proper functions. For a generation past they have been working contrary to the natural evolution of the labor movement. The result is stagnation and ruin all around.

One of the latest and greatest achievements of working class thinking, due chiefly to the experiences in Russia, is a clear understanding of the fundamental proposition that the fate of all labor organization in every country depends primarily upon the activities of a minute minority of clear-sighted, enthusiastic militants scattered throughout the great organized masses of sluggish workers. These live spirits are the natural head of the working class, the driving force of the labor movement. They are the only ones who really understand what the labor struggle means and who have practical plans for its prosecution. Touched by the divine fire of proletarian revolt, they are the ones who furnish inspiration and guidance to the groping masses. They do the bulk of the thinking, working and fighting of the labor struggle. They run the dangers of death and the capitalist jails. Not only are they the burden bearers of the labor movement, but also its brains and heart and soul. In every country where these vital militants function effectively among the organized masses the labor movement flourishes and prospers. But wherever, for any reason, the militants fail to so function, just as inevitably the whole labor organization withers and stagnates. The activities of the militants are the "key" to the labor movement, the source of all its real life and progress.

VIGOR ELSEWHERE; STAGNATION HERE

In other countries the militants, even while not consciously aware of the above principles, have quite generally acted in harmony with them. They have stayed in the old trade unions and, through their organization, activity, and determination, have been able to take the lead in directing the workers' struggle. They have communicated something of their own fire and understanding to the masses, with the result that their labor movements have been constantly pushed onward—intellectually, structurally, and numerically—to higher and higher stages.

But in the United States the militants, progressives and radicals alike, have taken a reverse course. For fully thirty years they have systematically deserted and neglected the trade unions. Afflicted with a chronic secessionism, they have attracted the overwhelming mass of the liveliest spirits among the workers to the futile projects of building up all sorts of dual unions based upon ideal principles. Thus the trade union movement has been sucked dry of thousands and thousands of the best militants, the very elements who should have been its life springs, and thus its development has been blocked, its progress poisoned at the source. By the desertion of the militants the unknowing masses have been intellectually and spiritually decapitated. Leaderless, helpless, they have been left to the uncontested control of a conservative trade union bureaucracy, which has hardly a trace of real proletarian understanding and progress anywhere in its makeup. In view of this situation it would be a miracle if the American labor movement, with its most vital factors practically cancelled, were in any other condition than one of extreme backwardness.

Dual unionism, the set policy of secessionism, which has separated the life-giving militants from the cumbersome organized masses—that is the prime cause of the stagnation of the American labor movement. That is the underlying reason for our apparent paradox of the most aggressive capitalist class side by side with the most weakly organized working class. Dual unionism has hamstringed American Labor.

WHAT MUST BE DONE

Two things are absolutely indispensable to the further life and progress of our labor movement: first, the militants must definitely and finally rid themselves of the dual union seces-

sionist tendency that has negated their efforts for so long; and, second, they must thoroughly organize themselves within the trade unions for the effective application of their boundless energies and dynamic programs. When this is accomplished, then, and then only, can we look forward confidently to the American labor movement taking its proper place in the forefront of the world's trade union organization—a position which it occupied thirty or forty years ago, before its militants became poisoned and ruined by dual utopianism.

Substantial progress is now being made towards the accomplishment of these two vital essentials. In the first place, the militant rebels are freeing themselves from dual unionism with wonderful rapidity; and in the second place, they are everywhere forming the necessary propaganda groups within the organized masses of trade unionists. The organization through which this new and most important movement of militants is taking shape is *The Trade Union Educational League*.

The Trade Union Educational League is an informal grouping of the progressive and revolutionary elements throughout the entire trade union movement; a potent means to assist these militants in the performance of their natural functions as the brain and backbone of the organized masses. It is not a dual union, nor is it affiliated directly or indirectly with any such. It does not issue charters, nor does it collect dues or per capita tax. For the revenue to carry on its work it depends upon voluntary donations from supporters and sympathizers, profits from the sale of literature, etc. It is simply a virile educational league, operating within and in support of the trade unions, and by no means in opposition to or in competition with them. It is an auxiliary of the labor movement, not a substitute for it. It is identical with the movements through which the militants in other countries have transformed their trade unions into real fighting organizations.

THE LEAGUE'S PROGRAM

The Trade Union Educational League proposes to develop trade unions from their present antiquated and stagnant condition into modern, powerful labor organizations capable of waging successful warfare against Capital. To this end it is working to revamp and remodel from top to bottom their

theories, tactics, structure, and leadership. Instead of advocating the prevailing shameful and demoralizing nonsense about harmonizing the interests of Capital and Labor, it is firing the workers' imagination and releasing their wonderful idealism and energy by propagating the inspiring goal of the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a workers' republic. The League aggressively favors organization by industry instead of by craft. Although the craft form of union served a useful purpose in the early days of capitalism, it is now entirely out of date. In the face of the great consolidation of the employers the workers must also close up their ranks or be crushed. The multitude of craft unions must be amalgamated into a series of industrial unions—one each for the metal trades, railroad trades, clothing trades, building trades, etc.—even as they have been in other countries. The League also aims to put the workers of America in co-operation with the fighting trade unionists of the rest of the world. It is flatly opposed to our present pitiful policy of isolation, and it advocates affiliation to the militant international trade union movement, known as the Red Trade Union International. The League is campaigning against the reactionaries, incompetents, and crooks who occupy strategic positions in many of our organizations. It is striving to replace them with militants, with men and women unionists who look upon the labor movement not as a means for making an easy living, but as an instrument for the achievement of working class emancipation. In other words, the League is working in every direction necessary to put life and spirit and power into the trade union movement.

HOW THE LEAGUE ORGANIZES

The Trade Union Educational League groups the militants two ways: by localities and by industries. In all cities and towns general groups of militants of all trades are formed to carry on the work of education and reorganization in their respective localities. These local general groups, to facilitate their work, divide themselves into industrial sections—such as printing, building, textile, railroad, metal, clothing, transport, etc. All the local general groups are kept in touch and co-operation with each other through a national corresponding secretary. Likewise, all the local industrial educational groups are linked together nationally, industry by industry,

through their respective corresponding secretaries. Every phase and stage of the trade union movement will have its branch of the life-giving educational organization.

Let the railroad industry illustrate the general plan: In every important railroad center there will be educational groups of railroad men, not of single crafts, but of the whole sixteen in the industry. These local groups will co-operate nationally through a secretary (a volunteer unless the local groups find ways, through donations, to pay him). A national program will be established and a great drive instituted to combine the sixteen squabbling unions into one solid body. Amalgamation will be made a burning issue all over the country wherever railroad men meet and talk. From the live wire section man in San Diego, California, to the rebel engineer in Portland, Maine, the whole body of railroad militants will move unitedly and irresistibly to the accomplishment of their task, the erection of a great and powerful industrial union of railroad workers by the amalgamation and invigoration of the sixteen craft unions. The union leaders refuse to carry out this absolutely indispensable project, so it is up to the rank and file militants to do it for themselves.

The Trade Union Educational League will make great use of pamphlets, bulletins, journals, etc., in its educational work. Its official national organ is THE LABOR HERALD, a monthly published at \$2.50 per year. THE LABOR HERALD is carrying a burning message of constructive unionism and solidarity to the discontented rank and file. It is filled from cover to cover with the living, dynamic organization principles which can find no place in our static, muzzled, dry-as-dust official trade union journals.

The launching of *The Trade Union Educational League* marks a turning point in American labor history. It is the beginning of an era in which the trade unions, flourishing under intensive cultivation by their organized militants, will gradually pass from their present hopeless defensive fight into an aggressive attack upon Capital, an attack which can end only with the abolition of the wage system. The program of *The Trade Union Educational League* is the only possible effective answer to the "Open Shop" drive of the employers; it is the sole means by which the American working class can take its proper place in the world battle of Labor.

Active trade unionists willing to co-operate in the work of the League are requested to write to the undersigned for further information.

WM. Z. FOSTER, Sec'y-Treas.,
118 N. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.

Editor's Note: For outline of the League's immediate program, see article "A Call to Action," elsewhere in this issue.

The Situation in Great Britain

By Tom Mann

IN order to live we must eat. To live well we must have enough to eat and to wear. The food we eat and the clothes we wear can only be obtained by labor. Industry is carried on in order to bring into existence the requisites of life, but if for any reason a sufficiency is not produced or, being produced it is not reasonably distributed, it may hapen, and it commonly does happen, that many are insufficiently fed and clothed, and inadequately housed.

Time was when man was unable to work effectively to bring into existence a sufficiency for all to have enough. Owing to the growth of knowledge in modern civilized life we possess the power to produce enough for all, not for some portions of the year, but for the whole year round and for every year.

It is not a matter of conjecture, it is a thoroughly established fact, that there is on and in the earth a super-abundance of raw material, out of which all our requirements can be obtained, and it is equally an established fact, that man's power over this material is such, that if this power is wisely directed, an abundance for all can be produced with the utmost ease.

Although these basic facts are admitted, we are confronted with abject poverty in every country, not less so amongst the most industrially advanced, as well as in those relatively backward.

Europe of course is experiencing exceptional economic difficulties at present, as a result of the Great War, but prior to the war there never was a time when the whole of the people in any country had a sufficiency; in England, concurrently with an ever increasing wealth producing capacity, there has continued as an ever accompanying corollary, a per centage of unemployed workers, who in consequence of unemployment are wageless and therefore subjected to serious privation.

It would seem that notwithstanding the ever increasing power to bring into existence the necessities and comforts of life, that those who accept responsibility for managing industry never aim at concerted action either to ascertain total amounts required, or at providing a sufficiency for all.

It is left to the chance forces of competitive

struggles between numerous sections of controllers of industrial establishments, financiers and others, to conduct trading operations in the interests of the respective sections of financiers, speculators, industrialists, etc., and these sectional interests never by any chance coincide with the interests of the community.

At the present time, middle of December, in Britain there are two millions of totally unemployed workers, and as large a number of only partially employed. The unemployed with their dependents number about six millions of persons, out of a population of fifty millions.

The Unemployment Insurance Act provides benefits as follows: weekly benefit payable; men, fifteen shillings; women, twelve shillings; boys under 18, seven shillings and sixpence; girls under 18, six shillings. A married man receives in addition, five shillings on account of his wife, and one shilling each for each of four children. To entitle the workers to this, workers and employers pay the following weekly amounts:

Men	7 pence.	Employers.	8 pence
Women	6 pence.	Employers.	7 pence
Boys under 18...	3½ pence.	Employers.	4 pence
Girls under 18..	3 pence.	Employers.	3½ pence

In addition those unions that provide unemployment benefits also pay usually from five to fifteen shillings a week, this of course in addition to the State benefit.

It is a matter for wonderment that the principal trade unions, which have endeavored to guard their members against the worst evils of unemployment, sickness and accident, should not have long ago endeavored to **entirely eliminate the causes of unemployment.**

Innumerable discussions have taken place as to the best means of alleviating the effects of unemployment, whilst the cure of the causes thereof have been comparatively neglected. The modern conception of trade unionism does, however, undertake this task. It holds that it is not sufficient to organize the workers, **except as the preliminary essential to the organization of the work.**

The objective of the up-to-date trade unionist is—The organization of work in all its forms so as to provide adequately for the requirements of the whole community. To do

this it is necessary that the machinery of organization itself, i. e., the unions, must cease to be sectional, and learn to manifest solidarity, and aim at producing with the highest efficiency, and distributing the product with the truest equity.

Exactly how this will work out there is no need to worry over, but it may safely be assumed that the most scientific methods of production will always be resorted to, as this will fit with highest standard of living, including the fewest working hours consistent with that standard.

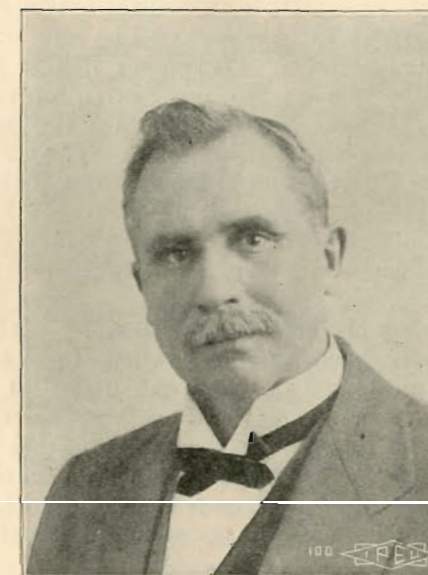
I have never known such a large per centage of unemployed in England and especially in the Engineering Industry as we have at present. The Union of which I am a member, "The Amalgamated Engineering Union," has a membership of 429,500. The returns for November, just to hand, show that the number of unemployed is 92, 272, or 25.85%. There is almost as many working short time, and in addition there are 6,842 on sick benefit, and 6,557 on superannuation benefit.

One contributory cause of this slump in industry was the outcome of the War settlement, which provided that Britain should have a large percentage of the German ships. These were taken over and sold to British ship-owners at a much lower rate than they could be built for; the direct result was to throw many thousands of men out of work in the ship building yards and the marine engine shops. Similarly, with regard to the coal miners. War settlement terms provided that Germany should supply France with many millions of tons of coal annually. The providing of this coal had hitherto been done by British colliers. Result: — unemployment amongst miners in Britain on an unprecedented scale.

I am pleased to say there are some signs of improvement, though as yet not very pronounced. The tin plate trade of South Wales is reviving. This of course means the steel plates, tinned, for canned goods, etc., and past experiences show that this trade is usually

first affected. The prospect of a settlement of the Irish problem is also having a good effect, and there is no doubt if it proves to be a settlement of the troubles between the British Government and the Irish, that a substantial quickening of industrial interests will follow—and probably solidarity will characterize the workers of both countries.

It is too early to gauge the probable effects of the Washington Conference, but there are many in this country who believe that the



TOM MANN

result will be the allaying of international friction for a time, and that there will probably be a few years' spell of industrial activity. It seems to me likely that this will be so, and this will be the time for the workers to perfect their organizations and to become clear as regards ideals. There is no need for despondency. Humanity is slow in traveling upward, but there is no doubt at all about it really traveling. The organized workers must have a greater share in social control than hitherto.

CLOSE UP YOUR RANKS!

The employing class is solidly organized. The workers must likewise close up their ranks. The time has come when we must fuse our craft unions so that there is only one union for each industry. We must do this or be crushed.

The Industrial Court — Dead

By John Dorsey

IT IS two years now since the State Legislature passed Governor Allen's law to stop strikes—the Industrial Court Law—but we are still having strikes in Kansas. The miners of District 14 have kicked this anti-strike law around so much that nobody in this part of the country pays any more attention to it. I noticed that the packinghouse workers went out on strike when they got ready, and the Industrial Court didn't even try to stop them. No, the law didn't stop strikes in Kansas, and the whole **idea** of chaining men to their jobs by law has been pretty thoroughly discredited.

We paid a big price for this result. District 14 has been living on short rations for a long time; Howat and Dorchey had to lay in jail for awhile, and so did many of our best rank and file fighters. Our union is fighting for life right now. But we have one consolation: The Industrial Court Law is as dead as a doornail. The workers of America owe that to us.

I said the Industrial Court is dead, but maybe I am speaking too quickly. There is a chance that it will come back to life again, after all. It was **dead**, sure enough, and everybody knew it. But John L. Lewis, the International President of our organization, sent his men down here with the pulmotor, and they are trying their best to pump the breath of life back into it. The bosses tried by all means to establish the anti-strike law in Kansas. The Governor, the legislature, the press, the militia, injunctions, jails, special "vagrancy" ordinances against strikes—all these instruments and some others were brought into play to put over the anti-strike law, and the net result was total failure as far as we miners were concerned. They couldn't make it stick. We went on strike just the same as ever, and the workers in other organized trades did the same. But now the International President of our Union is on the job using all the power of his office to break up our district organization and make us submit. If the Industrial Court Law is finally put over, John L. Lewis will be the man who did the job.

When Howat and Dorchey went to jail last

September the Kansas miners again came out on a general strike in protest. We stayed out for over three months to prove to the world that the Industrial Court Law could cause strikes, but couldn't stop them. It was a bitter struggle. The coal operators, the Governor, the courts, the state troops, the county officials and the "Provisional Government" of our union, set up by President Lewis, all worked hand in hand to drive us back to work; but their combined forces only succeeded in getting a few hundred to break ranks. The District as a whole stood solid until the strike was called off on January 12 by Howat on the ground that we had thoroughly discredited the Industrial Court Law, and that further demonstration was not needed.

The general strike made the Court look like a joke. Our enemies didn't think we would have the nerve to do it again, after all we had gone through, but we did it. The members of the Industrial Court got cold feet, and went back to Topeka. The business men and the coal operators began to holler for a compromise. They had Howat and Dorchey in jail but they couldn't get the miners back to work. Howat said: "We never denied that they could pass a law to put men in jail; but we do deny that they can stop strikes by law. They have got us in jail, but they have also got the strike. You can't stop strikes by law in Kansas because the Kansas miners will not obey such a law."

It was at this point that John L. Lewis took a hand in the game. While Howat and Dorchey were in jail, they were removed from office and expelled from the United Mine Workers of America for life. Our District Executive Board was deposed. The charter of our District organization was revoked, and a "Provisional Government" appointed to take charge. They ordered the miners to go back to work. For three months they tried every means to break the strike. They worked hand in glove with all the other tools of the coal operators. Thomas Harvey, the sheriff's brother, was appointed secretary of the district organization. Van Bittner, the special representative of the International,

chummed around with the state and county officials. A little conversation that I chanced to hear shows this well:

I was in the District Courtroom one day during the strike, to attend a damage suit. Right after adjournment, the Judge inquired for the Sheriff. The stenographer spoke up: "Did you try Van Bittner's? I usually get him there if he isn't in his office."

They got a few hundred men to desert us. Several mines started up, and Van Bittner began to give out optimistic interviews in the capitalist papers. He made arrogant claims about "breaking the strike," using about the same manner and language that the big packing companies were using at the same time about the strike of the packinghouse workers. The members of the Industrial Court plucked up courage to come back to Pittsburg to look the situation over. Governor Allen, who had been singing mighty low about his law to stop strikes, again began to issue statements denouncing Howat and the "foreigners" who supported him. So far it had been a man's fight: at this point the women took a hand.

It was done by the women themselves, on their own motion. No men were allowed to take part, so I can only tell about it as it was told to me by some of those who took part in the action. They organized into an "army" about four o'clock on the morning of December 13. Led by a woman with a baby in her arms, they marched to the working mines. From one shaft to another they went, routing out the scabs and chasing them away like so many outcast dogs. The papers made it out to be a sort of peaceful demonstration, but from what they told me there was nothing "lady-like" about the way they handled those they went after.

They took the lunch buckets from the scabs, and threw the contents at them. An Austrian woman with a Chaplin-like sense of humor took a fiendish delight in searching the buckets for custard pie. Woe to the man in whose bucket she found it. They tore one fellow's trousers off and sent him flying home across the cold prairie in his shirt, "like a rabbit," they told me. They made the scabs swear allegiance to the strike while they poured cold coffee from their own lunch buckets over their heads. "It was no 'tea-party,'" I suggested to the group of Italian women who were telling me about it with twinkling eyes and enthusiastic gestures. "No! No!," they laughed, "coffee-party."

But the strike has been called off now, and Alex Howat is down at the Indianapolis Con-

vention to appeal to the delegates from all over the country to uphold the Kansas Miners and keep them in the organization. For a time there was a little irresponsible talk about an 'independent union,' but that was quickly sat on. The Kansas Miners are a part of the



MINERS' WOMENFOLK MARCHING

United Mine Workers of America, and they are going to remain there. They are the last ones in the country to split the ranks. They are now preparing for the expected national strike, and you can bet that if it comes off, and all other districts hold as solid as District 14 will, the strike will be won. Kansas has had more than her share of the fighting, but we can go another one if we have to.

Union Subscriptions

If your union is a real live one, every member will want to read THE LABOR HERALD. We expect to find many such, so we have figured out a special subscription price for unions which want to subscribe for their members and distribute the magazines at the union meeting. The rates for bundles sent to secretaries for distribution or sale among the members are as follows:

25 copies, \$3 per month or \$36 per year.
50 copies, \$6 per month or \$72 per year.
75 copies, \$9 per month or \$108 per year.
100 copies, \$12 per month or \$144 per year.

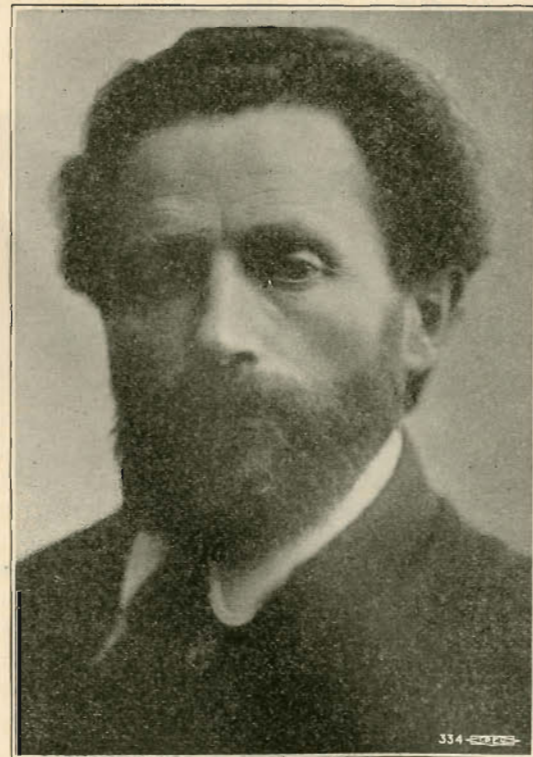
Take this up in your union if you think they are a real bunch of unionists there and know a good labor magazine when they see it. Let us know what the results of your attempts are, even if they don't order the first time. The best kind of propaganda for a union subscription is to get a small bundle and sell them in the meeting before you take the matter up. Get busy, and put your union on the map!

Discipline vs. Freedom In Russia

By Paul Dupres

REVOLUTIONS are commonly urged for the purpose of establishing, in addition to many other desirabilities, the most complete freedom of speech, press, and assembly. Yet, strange to say, the Russian Revolution, the most profound in history, has fallen far short of this goal. In Russia, as everyone knows, there are drastic limitations upon the right of the people to freely speak and write their thoughts. Indeed, this right is very largely restricted to the membership of the Communist party, and it finds but limited expression even there.

This state of affairs has brought the Russian revolution a lot of miscellaneous condemnation. Capitalists and their hangers-on, yellow Socialists of the Spargo type, petty bourgeois labor leaders like Mr. Gompers, theoretical Anarchists of the Emma Goldman persuasion, etc., etc., have raised their voices in energetic protest. Each gives his complaint the necessary twist to conform to his particular philosophy or hypocrisy, but all are agreed that



A. LOSOVSKI
Secretary, Red Trade Union International

the prevailing restriction of popular rights in Russia in an abominable tyranny and disgrace to the sacred cause of revolution generally.

Now whence comes this undeniable limitation of free speech, free press, and free assembly? Is it because, as all the above types declare, Lenin, Troztsky and the rest are heartless oppressors of the same stripe as the old Czars? Or is there another and deeper reason? In view of the clamor that has been raised and the unfavorable propaganda made against Russia, it will be well for us to look into the matter a little.

For all those who have had to do with the working masses in great struggles, and the Russian revolution is above all a tremendous mass struggle, the situation, is or should be, quite clear and understandable. These practical leaders know that in such severe tests of the workers' courage and endurance the supreme thing that must be striven for is solidarity, a united front against the enemy. This can be achieved only through a rigid discipline, which, in turn, inevitably involves a heavy restriction of the rights of free speech, free press, etc. Every strike makes clear this fundamental proposition of mass action. When we understand why the workers, during struggles against employers under capitalism, deny themselves freedom of expression in their trade unions, then we will understand why they have taken similar action in the Russian revolution.

The Masses On Strike

All strikes are marked with a strong suppression of the workers' rights of free expression in their organizations. In the early stages of such struggles this suppression is the work of the mass itself, later on it is done by a small minority. At the outbreak of nearly all strikes the discipline is practically spontaneous. Deeply infected with strike fever, the masses enter enthusiastically into the struggle. Everything looks rosy to them; they can see victory just around the corner. They are altogether intolerant of dissenters and critics. No matter how temperate or justified the latter may be they are promptly dubbed company agents or fools and then sat upon instantly. Under such circumstances "free speech" is altogether at a discount. What prevails is a spontaneous mass discipline.

But as the strike wears on a profound change takes place. Week after week goes by and the expected victory does not materialize. On the contrary, there come hardships piled upon hardships. Then the masses begin to weaken; for them it is a dismal prospect indeed. Their enthusiasm, based upon simple emotion rather than upon real understanding, gradually evaporates. They lose heart and take on a defeatist attitude. They degenerate into carping critics, and become a prey to all sorts of propaganda destructive to the strike solidarity. In short they are psychologically licked.

In this critical situation, which comes in every protracted strike, the burden of maintaining the indispensable discipline falls upon a small minority. These are the true fighters. They are the only ones who really understand what the struggle is all about. Their unkillable enthusiasm and inexhaustible energies are drawn from intellectual sources and are very different from the semi-blind impulse which rules the masses. If the strike is to be won these fighters must make their psychology prevail. They must take the discouraged masses firmly in hand and literally make them fight. They must break up all sorts of defeatist movements among the rank and file, which, in turn, means the suppression of free speech to a very large extent. Indeed, only those tendencies are allowed to flourish which make directly for solidarity and the continuance of the strike. All the rest are ruthlessly smashed, no matter how many abstract rights are violated in the doing of it. That is the history of all great strikes. It is a fact known to all labor men that most severe industrial struggles that were won have been won after the mass of the strikers were licked; after they had reached the stage of defeatism and discouragement that they would have given up the fight had it not been for the discipline imposed upon them more or less arbitrarily by a small minority of undefeatable fighters.



HOME OF ALL-RUSSIAN UNIONS
Formerly Moscow Nobles' Club

The Masses In Revolution

The foregoing illustration of the course of a strike applies equally well to the course of the Russian revolution. And naturally so, because the latter, like the former, is a case of the masses in bitter struggle. What we have seen happen a thousand times in hard fought strikes is just what is happening in the Russian revolution, except that the latter is upon a tremendously larger scale.

When the revolution began it was attended by the wild burst of emotion always accompanying mass uprisings. The masses were seized by an intense wave of enthusiasm, even as they are to a lesser degree in all great strikes. The thing was unanimous. Arbitrary revolutionary discipline was not to be thought of. Joy, hope, ecstasy, inspiration were the order of the day. Prodigies of valor were performed and oceans of energy expended by the transported masses. The whole people were

swept away in a mighty, swirling, irresistible torrent of revolution.

This was the dream era, the idealistic period of the revolution. But it had to come to an end, just as does the similar period of unthinking enthusiasm in big strikes. Soon the period of cold, hard, unemotional realism set in, the period of long and bitter struggle. As the months rolled by the heaven on earth expected by the masses did not materialize. Instead, there came a whole series of soul-trying ordeals. Famines, blockades, civil wars, poverty, were the people's portion. The revolution proved a hard taskmaster. The masses, with nothing but shallow enthusiasm to sustain them, did not understand. Somehow the revolution seemed a failure. They could not meet its severe requirements. Their revolutionary fervor waned, their original enthusiasm began to abate. More and more the responsibility for continuing the revolution fell upon the shoulders of the minority who are revolutionists, not through mere impulse and idealistic imaginings, but because of deep-seated intellectual convictions. They are the ones whose revolutionary spirit is inextinguishable, the Communists.

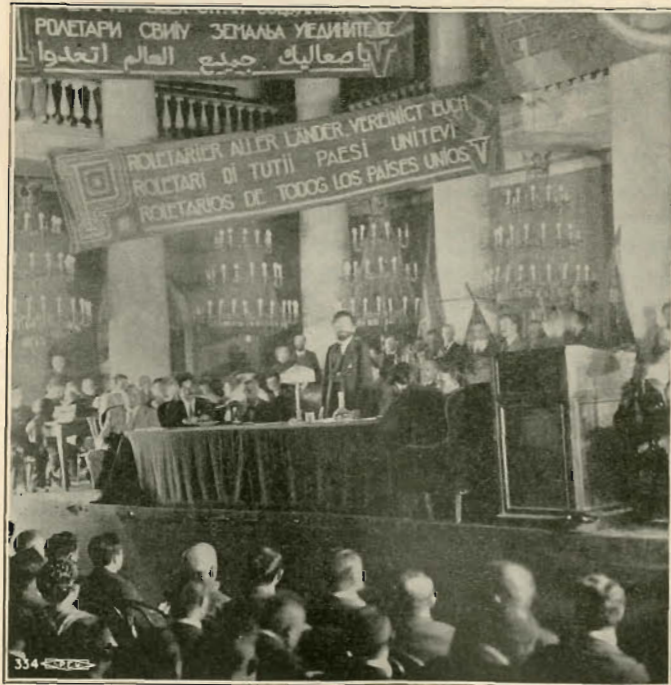
This process has gone on in Russia for many many months, until now we find a situation comparable in principle to that in the latter stages of a hard-fought strike. Great sections

of the masses are pretty much defeated. For them the glamor of the thing has worn off. They want the easiest way out. If the revolution were left to them, it would be over in a hurry. They would not fight for it; they would not work for it; they would allow themselves to be made tools of by the 57 varieties of sophistry-mongering agents of the reaction. There would be a swift collapse.

But these tired, disillusioned, and disheartened masses are being held to the struggle by the minority of indomitable fighters in their midst, the Communists. The latter are maintaining the discipline essential to the life of the revolution, just as the fighters always do in severe strikes. This could not be done if they allowed absolute freedom of discussion to prevail. If given free rein the reaction, through the instrumentality of its intentional and unintentional assistants, would have easy picking among the rank and file, who, always gullible and easily led astray, are now even more susceptible than ever because of the hardships of the revolution. Soon solidarity on the political, industrial, and military fields would be ended, and serious, if not fatal, damage done to the revolution. Because of this unlovely but inescapable fact, the workers literally have to be protected against themselves by means of discipline. Defeatist and disruptive tendencies must be broken up, even if this does involve the limitation of the rights of the individual. And it makes little difference whether such tendencies originate in the brains of scheming reactionaries or in those of impractical Socialist, Syndicalist, Anarchist, or Communist workers. They must be checked just the same.

Successful struggle by the masses unavoidably implies limitation of their rights of free speech in the name of discipline. That is the experience of every great strike; it is likewise the experience of the Russian revolution, the bitterest and most trying struggle ever undergone by the world's working class. Reactionary labor men like Mr. Gompers (whose trade union practice would teach him the logic of the Russian situation if he were not too blinded by prejudice) may rail against this conclusion, and idealists like Emma Goldman (who lived in a realm of cloudy theory and disdains the crass inconsistencies of hard reality) may do likewise. But suppression

(Continued on page 31)



CONGRESS OF THE RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL

III A PLEDGE! III

To Tom Mooney, Jim Larkin, Warren Billings, Alex Howat, Ben Gitlow, Ralph Chaplin, Harry Winitzky, Harrison George, Fred Mooney, Frank Keeney, Niccolo Sacco, Bartolomeo Vanzetti, Vincent St. John, Jim Thompson, and the hundreds of Labor's champions, now prisoners of war in capitalist jails:

DEAR BROTHERS AND COMRADES:—

We send you greetings from THE LABOR HERALD and the workers whose aspirations we voice. In creating this new weapon for our common struggle, the struggle for Labor's complete emancipation, we turn to you to pledge our faith.

The high mission for which you suffer, and to which we are dedicated, calls for the deepest loyalty, devotion and courage. These first virtues of the working-class movement which you embody, are the very basis of all of Labor's cause.

But you have been almost deserted by Labor's ranks. Only here and there have a few strong voices been raised, and a few arms wielded, in your behalf. Only in brief, spasmodic moments has Labor moved to bring you justice; and then has been confused, disunited and drugged, by the lies, the tricky arguments, the traitorous actions, of pretended "leaders."

For years you have lain in the rotten capitalist jails! With deepest shame must we write the record of how you have been deserted! We know, and the workers of America know, that it is only because you were fighters in our own struggle—the struggle against capitalistic exploitation, against the degrading wages system, against the vicious and corrupt society which destroys all beauty and joy in the lives of the working people. And the measure of our shame shall be the measure of our passionate cry to the workers of the whole land—"To action! Our brothers are being tortured for fighting our battles for us! Masters! open the prisons, before Labor is forced to act independently to that end!"

Brothers in prison! The heart of the working class is sound! In spite of all the forces of darkness and corruption which have prevented your class from coming to your rescue, your brothers in the trade unions of America know why you suffer. They move restlessly in the knowledge of their base desertion of you. They are going to move to your defense!

THE LABOR HERALD pledges to you that we will shout this message to all our class, in every labor hall and labor home, until our class rises to do justice. So long as we have voice it shall never be raised without carrying this call as a vital, pressing, urgent demand of a militant labor movement!

Labor! Act at Once to Rescue Your Prisoners of War!

A CALL TO ACTION!

Editor's Note: For general outline of the League's purposes, read article "The Principles and Program of the Trade Union Educational League," elsewhere in this issue.

MILITANTS! The time has come for action! We must now gird up our loins for a great effort to make a real fighting organization out of the trade union movement. We must now plunge directly into our vital task of amalgamating the many craft unions into a few industrial unions and of inspiring them with genuine proletarian spirit. *The Trade Union Educational League* has launched its nation-wide campaign to organize the militants everywhere to carry on this indispensable work of education and reorganization, a work for which the hard-pressed labor movement now stands in shrieking need. All true trade union rebels are urged to join hands with the League immediately.

THE League's task of organizing the militants is a gigantic one, one that will require intelligence, determination, and discipline to accomplish. As things now stand the militants are scattered broadcast through many thousands of local unions, central labor councils, etc., and there is scarcely the faintest trace of communication or co-operation between them. It is an utter chaos. And the only way this chaos can be conquered and the army of militants developed into a unified body capable of exerting great influence in the labor movement is by the rigid application of modern organization methods. Such methods are the very heart of the League's program. It proposes not to attack the problem simultaneously in all its phases—which would be a futile project—but to go at it intensively, section by section. It is going to carry out a series of great national drives, month by month, to organize the militants in one industry after another. When the circuit of the industries is completed—which should be in six or eight months—there will exist a well-defined organization of the militants in every trade union and industrial center in the entire country. Then a general national conference will be held, to map out a complete educational program, to elect League officials, etc. All told, the campaign is one of the most elaborate in labor history, and it must eventually result in making the progressive and radical unionists the determining factor in the labor movement.

THE first of these national drives will be directed to establishing local general educational groups of militants of every trade simultaneously in all the important cities and towns everywhere. Once established these local groups, in addition to their other activities, will perform the vital organization work of carrying out the rapidly following later drives to organize the militants in the respective industries. Their first job (the second national drive) will be to organize the railroad educational organization. It will be done as follows: At a given signal (which will come late in March) the hundreds of local general groups all over the country will direct their united attention and energy to organizing local educational groups of railroad militants in their respective territories. By this intensive method scores, if not hundreds, of such bodies will come into existence simultaneously in all the principal railroad centers. All these local railroad groups will be put in touch with each other through the general office of the League, and thus the railroad militant organization will take on national scope. It will immediately embark upon a nation-wide campaign to amalgamate the sixteen railroad craft unions into one industrial organization. This educational propaganda will be carried into every local union in the entire industry by the local railroad groups, or rank and file amalgamation committees. For the first time in their history the railroad militants will find themselves in an organized movement to combine their many obsolete craft unions into one modern industrial union. Month by month similar drives will be put on in the other industries—metal, building, clothing, mining, etc.—until finally the educational organization covers every ramification of the trade union structure and the rejuvenating influence of the organized militants makes itself felt throughout the entire labor movement.

WITH this Call To Action the first phase of the League's organization campaign—the setting up of the local general groups—is initiated. Besides being issued publicly, the Call is also being laid directly before more than 1000 live wire trade unionists in that many cities and towns, with an urgent appeal that they immediately call together groups of militant unionists and get our campaign of dynamic education started among them. Considering the present des-

perate plight of the trade union movement, the utter failure of its leaders to adopt the indispensable measures of consolidation and inspiring of the unions, together with the growing understanding of the necessity for organizing the militants in the old unions, it is safe to say that most of the 1000 live wires will respond vigorously to our call. In the first week in March, when the initial meetings of the groups are definitely scheduled to take place everywhere, at least 400 or 500 local branches of *The Trade Union Educational League* will be formed. Thus the organization will be made a positive factor in the labor movement.

REBEL unionists are urged to form such groups everywhere, whether the League national headquarters has corresponded with them directly, or not. Without further ado, they should take serious hold of the situation and organize themselves at once. All groups formed without direct contact with the League's office should immediately select a corresponding secretary and have him write at once for full information on the League and its work. Quick action on their part is necessary if they are to participate in and profit from the League's many rapidly oncoming drives to organize the militants in the various industries.

IN organizing the local groups two cardinal principles should always be borne in mind. The first is that all dual union tendencies should be suppressed. The League is flatly opposed to secessionism in the labor movement. Its rock bottom tactical position is that the rebels belong among the organized masses and should stay there at all costs. To avoid every semblance of dualism the League does not permit the collecting of regular dues or per capita tax from members or sympathizing unions. It is financed through donations by its members, sale of literature, etc. The other proposition to remember is that under no circumstances should the groups be confined merely to members of this or that political party or tendency. In England, France, and other countries the organizations of trade union militants are made up of several political factions. They consist of all the honest, active, energetic unionists, regardless of their political beliefs, who oppose the timidity and incompetence of the old bureaucracy, and who are willing to adopt the broad radical measures necessary to make the trade unions into real fighting bodies. And so it must be here. To be effective, the League groups will have to include all the natural rebel elements among the trade unions, even though they are not all cut according to one political pattern. Such groups as may fail to take this into consideration—that is, where they restrict their membership along party lines—will automatically condemn themselves to sectarianism and comparative impotency.

MILITANTS! Again we say the time has come for action. For a long, long while we have declared that the supreme goal of the labor movement is to do away with capitalism and to establish a workers' republic. But our efforts, because of our tendency to separate ourselves from the mass into dual unions, have not helped appreciably to this end. Through our dualistic methods the organized masses have been left to stagnate and to flounder about leaderless and at the mercy of a conservative officialdom totally incapable of leading them to emancipation. We must now end this condition, we must assume our proper function as the dynamic, onward-driving element in the trade unions. This we can do efficiently only if we are thoroughly organized throughout the length and breadth of the labor movement—even as the militants in all other countries have long since learned. *The Trade Union Educational League* herewith presents a practical program for bringing about this essential organization. This program represents the most important development in the American labor movement for many years. It constitutes the only means by which the workers of this country can be roused from their mental slumber and lined up definitely and clearly against the capitalists and their abominable profit system. If you are a wide-awake militant; if you really understand modern militant tactics and are not blinded by the impossible theories that have about ruined the American labor movement, you will join hands with the League at once—not next week, or next month, but now, immediately!

Get busy! Organize!

The Trade Union Educational League

WM. Z. FOSTER, Secretary-Treasurer

118 North La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.

Making and Breaking the Packinghouse Unions

By "A Packinghouse Worker"

THE collapse of the national strike of the packinghouse workers at the end of January marks the close of an epoch in the long and bitter struggle to establish trade union organization in the packing industry. Menaced by the establishment of company unions and radical wage cuts, the workers struck desperately in the face of great odds and covered themselves with glory. They succeeded in tying up large sections of the industry for eight weeks. But they did not have a chance; they were whipped from the start. Their organization went into the fight weak and demoralized. Besides being destitute alike of funds and spirit, it was afflicted with officials in whom the rank and file had no faith. Under the circumstances the loss of the strike, the breaking up of the hard-won organization, and the surrendering of the industry to the "open-shopper" was a foregone conclusion. It is one of the greatest tragedies in American labor history.

The cause of the packinghouse workers' defeat was a double one; incompetency and treachery by the officials of the basic union in the industry, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, and utter failure of the rebel elements among the workers to organize themselves and thus to exercise control over the administration of their union. These fatal factors had been constantly at work ever since the packinghouse workers began their last great effort at organization in 1917. The story of the ill-fated packinghouse movement is one that Organized Labor should take well to heart:

No body of workers in American industry have been more bitterly exploited or have made more desperate efforts to escape from their slavery than the packinghouse workers. As early as 1886 they built up trade unions and established the eight-hour day. But the wily and powerful packers soon smashed their organizations and made themselves uncontested masters of the situation. The next important movement of the workers took place fifteen years later, and resulted in quite thorough organization. But again their unions were wiped out, this time in the big national strike

of 1904. Then followed a thirteen-year period of unrelieved slavery and exploitation, a period in which the industry turned out a little group of enormously wealthy parasitic idlers on the one hand, and a vast multitude of impoverished and downtrodden workers on the other. All efforts to re-organize the unions were defeated. It was not until 1917 that the packinghouse workers, responding to the hope that springs eternal, again take courage and raise their heads. Taking advantage of the war conditions, they struck in Denver, Kansas City, and Omaha, achieving some little success in each place. But the real movement among them did not begin until the Chicago Federation of Labor began its big campaign to organize the workers employed in the packinghouses of Chicago.

Organization of the Industry

The initiative to the Chicago campaign was given by Wm. Z. Foster, who presented a resolution to the Chicago Federation of Labor calling for a joint organization movement on the part of all the trades with jurisdiction over packinghouse workers. This project was adopted on July 15th, 1917, and the Federation at once took serious hold of the situation. It organized the Stockyards Labor Council to carry on the work. John Fitzpatrick was selected to head this body during the organization work, and Foster was made its secretary.

Ever since the great strike of 1904 sporadic efforts had been made to re-organize the packinghouse workers, but without a particle of success. When the big Chicago campaign started the Amalgamated Butcher Workmen had only a handful of members, and the whole industry was demoralized. The prime cause of this failure was low grade leadership. The men at the head of the unions, the other crafts as well as the Butcher Workmen, persistently attempted to apply outworn principles of craft unionism to this great basic industry, when the only hope of the workers was the most complete industrial solidarity. During the thirteen black years of unorganization, craft after craft made individual efforts to



MOUNTED POLICE DRIVING STRIKERS FROM STREET

organize, but to no purpose whatever. First it would be the cattle butchers; they would carry on a bit of a campaign and get a few hundred members assembled, when, lo, the packers would turn their tremendous organization against them and crush their budding union as a giant would an egg shell. Then stagnation would reign a while more, until eventually, probably a straggling movement would develop among the sheep butchers, the hog hutchers, the steamfitters, the engineers, or some other trade, which in turn would go the same way. In this manner practically every trade got its licking, yet the union heads never learned the lesson from this experience. They could not see that the only possibility for the packinghouse workers to make headway against the powerful packers was through absolutely united action along the lines of the whole industry.

But if the Butcher Workmen and other craft union officials knew nothing of industrial solidarity, the men who organized the Stockyards Labor Council did. The breath of life of that organization was unified action by all packinghouse workers. Before it was organized an agreement was secured from all the trades that they would cast in their lot together, and that especially they would not make the mistake they made in 1904, when they had two local councils in the Chicago stockyards, one for the mechanical trades and

the other for the packing trades. The jealousies and quarrels between these two councils, resulting finally in one scabbing upon the other, was a prime factor in the loss of the great strike of 1904.

The Stockyards Labor Council organizers were determined that no such blunder should be made in the future. They raised the slogan of solidarity of all trades in the packing industry. With this rallying cry they went forth among the packers and put on one of the most aggressive campaigns of organization known to American labor history. Encouraged by the new program, the oppressed stockyards slaves responded en masse. They poured into the unions by thousands and soon the Chicago industry, then employing 55,000 workers, was strongly organized. The news of this achievement spread like wildfire in every packing center in the country, and soon the whole body of packinghouse workers everywhere were swarming into the organizations. The packing industry, long the despair of Organized Labor, was finally unionized. The whole job took but a few months.

An Incompetent Officialdom

During these stirring events the officials of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, the union which controls about 80% of the workers in the industry, were like

feathers in a gale. They did not know what it was all about. Such a slashing campaign of unionism was altogether beyond their ken. Petty labor politicians, their practical conception of their union was as an organization of a few thousand meat cutters in retail butcher shops. They had no hope or understanding of organizing the packinghouse workers proper. They practically abandoned the leadership of the movement to John Fitzpatrick, Wm. Z. Foster, J. W. Johnstone, and the other men at the head of the Stockyards Labor Council. The floundered about while the latter organized the industry for them.

Realizing that the problem of the packinghouse workers was a national one and had to be so handled, the Stockyards Labor Council organizers, once their own men were fairly well lined up, initiated a movement for the establishment of an agreement with the packers to cover the whole industry. Reluctantly this was rubber-stamped by the Butcher Workmen officials. Accordingly, the local agreement between the twelve trades in the Chicago packing industry was expanded into a national one and a general committee set up to conduct the fight for the whole country. John Fitzpatrick was made chairman of this national packinghouse committee, and Foster its Secretary. As usual, the Butcher Workmen officials sat on the side lines, expressing agreement with what was being done, but taking little part in it. Demands were submitted and, after a spectacular arbitration proceeding conducted by Frank P. Walsh, a settlement secured covering the whole industry.

What had happened from July 15th, 1917, when the Chicago campaign began, until March 30th, 1918, when Judge Alschuler handed down his findings in the arbitration proceedings, was that the packing industry had been organized all over the country; the eight hour day established, heavy wage increases secured; the forty-hour per week guarantee introduced, and other important improvements in the workers' conditions instituted. Besides this, the Butcher Workmen's Union had been lifted from poverty and insignificance to affluence and power. When the Chicago campaign started this organization had only a few thousand members and was so poor that it did not contribute a single

nickel in money to the campaign until after hundreds of dollars had been turned over to it in membership fees—the Chicago Federation of Labor underwrote entirely, to the last penny, the cost of the early work. But when the national drive was finished, the Butcher Workmen were a rapidly growing organization of 150,000 or more, and possessed of a large treasury. Such were the results in the packing industry by the application of industrial solidarity. The mass of workers were set squarely on their feet and given a weapon with which they could protect themselves from the packers.

A Treacherous Officialdom

It is no detraction from the work done by organizers in other centers to say that the brunt of the struggle was borne by the Stockyards Labor Council. It planned the campaign, conceived the method of organization, and to a very large extent carried it through to success. Considering what is had done for their organization, one might think that the officials of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen would have greatly valued the Stockyards Labor Council. But the fact was exactly the contrary. From the very beginning they looked askance at it. They had no sympathy with its militancy or its doctrine



JOHN FITZPATRICK

of all-inclusive solidarity. They were craft unionists pure and simple. They stood aside and let it organize the industry for them, but immediately this was done they set about destroying it. Indeed, so eager was the President of the Butcher Workmen, one John Hart, to break it up that just as the national movement was developing he double-crossed all the other trades by secretly sneaking off to Washington and placing the entire matter in the tender care of the Food Administration. This nearly wrecked the whole movement. It was saved only by the Stockyards Labor Council forcing Hart to back out of his arrangement with the Washington politicians and to leave the negotiations altogether in the hands of the combined union again.

Immediately Judge Alschuler's decision was made in the arbitration matter the national officials declared open war upon the Stockyards Labor Council. Their chosen way to destroy it was by the organization of a district council of Butcher Workmen locals.

They knew very well that the establishment of such a body would pull all their unions out of the Stockyards Labor Council and leave the latter only a shell. It would create a repetition of the dualism that had ruined the packinghouse workers' organization in 1904. But little that worried them. They went ahead with their project regardless of consequences.

The forming of the new packing trades council was in direct violation of the agreement between the Butcher Workmen and the other trades in the movement. From the inception of the campaign it had been definitely settled that there should be only one local council in the Chicago Packing industry and that it should include all trades. In fact, this was the very heart of the propaganda used to re-inspire and re-organize the workers. They had been definitely promised that the great mistake of 1904 would not be repeated, and that, sink or swim, the whole body of packinghouse workers would fight in one unit. They were violently in favor of the Stockyards Labor Council and violently against the newly-proposed packing trades council, known as District No. 9.

The Stockyards Labor Council Destroyed

The technical excuse offered by the Butcher Workmen officials was that the provisions of their constitution demanded it. But this was a mere subterfuge. Their delegates were in a three-fourths majority in the Stockyards Labor Council and could have done as they liked with that body. Had the Butcher Workmen officials been interested in maintaining an organization in the packing houses (which in my judgment they were not) they could easily have postponed the matter until their national convention and there made an arrangement that could take care of the situation. The plain fact of the matter is that so long as the Stockyards Labor Council served their immediate ends by swarming thousands of men into their union and vast sums of money into their coffers, they had no trouble to go along with it. But just as soon as they thought they were strong enough, as soon as they felt that they had the situation well in hand, they conveniently discovered insurmountable constitutional objections to its going on as before. Then they stabbed it to death.

Even though the veriest tyro in the movement could see from the sentiment of the workers that to break up the Stockyards Labor Council meant to smash the whole packing house movement, the officials of the

Butcher Workmen nevertheless went blithely ahead with the nefarious task. To further their project they sent a flock of "organizers" into the stockyards district to prepare the way for the new council. These sowed the seeds of disruption thickly, undermining the whole structure of the movement. Several ineffectual attempts were made to start the new council, but they all failed as the sentiment of the workers was overwhelmingly in favor of the Stockyards Labor Council. Finally, however, in July 1919, enough dupes were scared up to form the fatal District No. 9, and it was duly established.

Internal Warfare and Disruption

Immediately turmoil raged among the packinghouse workers, who looked upon these efforts to split their ranks as the work of the packers. They refused point blank to affiliate with District No. 9, in spite of the fulminations of their national officials. Of 40,000 organized workers not more than 2,000 joined the new body. Then the national office of the Butcher Workmen carried its work of destruction still further by suspending all the locals that refused to accept their dual council. This meant confusion worse confounded. Thousands quit the unions disgusted, feeling that they had been betrayed. Others entered militantly into the many bitter factional quarrels that had been started among the workers by the irresponsible national officials.

Soon the disruptive work of the latter bore its full fruit, soon the former splendid solidarity of the workers was destroyed. Instead of the one unified council that carried the big battle through, they now had three: the emasculated Stockyards Labor Council, District No. 9, and a Mechanical Trades Council. In addition there were a number of independent unions disgusted with all these bodies and affiliated with none of them. The work of disruption was complete. The officers of the Butcher Workmen had done the Chicago movement to death, and with it the movement all over the country, for it is a truism that the status of the packinghouse unions every-



J. W. JOHNSTONE

where depends directly upon the degree of organization prevailing in Chicago, the heart of the industry. After the installation of District No. 9 the fate of the union was sealed. Its course thereafter was rapidly downward. It was only a matter of time until the packers should deliver a coup de grace which finally came in the recent strike.

As Usual, the Rebels Sleep

Considering the type of men at the head of the Butcher Workmen's Union, the only possible hope for the great movement to succeed was for the live spirits among the rank and file to take the situation well in hand and force their international officials into line or out of office. This was evident from the start, and it became more evident as the movement wore on. For a time the live wires handling the Stockyards Labor Council were able to hold the reactionary national officials to something like a real program. But as the latter became more and more entrenched by the stabilizing of the union everywhere and the extension of their machine, the spreading of the rank and file movement to a national scale became imperative to prevent the general officials from wrecking the movement through their stupid methods—to put it charitably.

The burden of organizing this rank and file movement fell upon J. W. Johnstone—before the bitter struggle really got started Fitzpatrick and Foster, the first president and secretary of the Stockyards Labor Council, had withdrawn from the movement to take up other duties. Johnstone was the new secretary of the Stockyards Labor Council and an experienced man in the labor movement. He knew what had to be done and he tried to do it. When the national officials set out to wreck the old council Johnstone undertook to organize the rebels everywhere against them. He and his associates published an independent paper, *The Packinghouse Worker*, and scattered it broadcast over the industry to counteract the lies spread by the national office. Efforts were made everywhere to line up the fighting elements in the unions.

But unfortunately this work failed completely. The rebels were simply not to be roused. They were still heavily afflicted with the "infantile sickness" of dual unionism and could not be induced to take an active part in the fight against the reactionaries. In Chicago and other cities Johnstone appeared before numerous radical groups existing among the packinghouse workers and fairly begged

them to come in to the struggle. But in each case all he got was a cold shoulder. The radicals, save for a few notable exceptions, would have nothing to do with the trade unions. They preferred to spend their time in contemplation of their beautiful industrial utopias. The cold hard facts of the mass struggle were far from them.

The Rebels Primarily Responsible

Here we come to the crux of the trouble. The real fault for the failure of the packinghouse movement lies with the rebel elements in the industry, and they are many, as the body of workers are foreigners. Hart, Lane, and the others who held control of the Butcher Workmen's organization during the critical days were typical craft unionists and therefore altogether unfit to make headway against modern combinations of capital. It would be stupid to expect them to follow any other course than the ruinous one they did, save under pressure. A leopard cannot change his spots. If the movement was to live and prosper the impetus thereto had to come up from below, from an aroused and organized rank and file.

But this impetus did not come. The radicals, the only ones who could develop it, were asleep at the switch. Here was a great movement going begging for them to control it. The enormous organizations in Chicago were in the hands of the minute group of radicals who did show enough understanding to take part in the movement. And it would have been an easy thing to have secured similar control in other places, had the radical elements only been willing to assume such control. Sufficient resistance, at least, could have been developed to prevent the national officials from wrecking the union. But no, the radicals stood aside, callously indifferent, and allowed the organization to be cut to pieces by the reactionaries. The loss of the packinghouse movement is just one more item, and a terrible one, that must be added to the heavy price the trade union movement is paying for the dualistic notions which have destroyed the power and influence of those workers who should be its best and liveliest elements.

Down the Toboggan

After the wrecking of the Stockyards Labor Council the downfall of the organization was rapid. Thousands quit the trade unions in disgust. Soon the national officials broke the front of the 35,000 members of the outstanding locals by winning over one John Ki-

kulski, an influential Polish organizer who was later killed by some of his many enemies. Kikulski's desertion disrupted the rebel ranks. Many went back with him to the Butcher Workmen, and thousands gave up their affiliation altogether. And what was happening in Chicago was pretty much happening in all the other packing centers. Mismanagement, if not worse, by the Butcher Workmen officials, throttled the organization everywhere.

By the Spring of 1921 the organization was virtually a wreck all over the country. So much so that the packers, freshly freed from the war-time control agreement administered by Judge Alschuler, determined to put it out of business altogether. But with a flash of the old spirit the workers rallied again in wonderful form. Enormous mass meetings took place and the unions grew like weeds. Quite evidently the workers were decided to put up a bitter fight. But again their officials failed them. They meekly accepted the proposed wage cuts and allowed the establishment of the company unions. Once more the organization began to disintegrate rapidly.

Things went from bad to worse until the packers announced their next heavy wage cut, a few months ago. The organization had almost bled to death. Yet the workers responded again, this time more weakly. A strike ballot was taken. This carried affirmatively in a small vote, and finally a strike date was set for December 5th. Then a marvel happened: When the strike was called few expected that any considerable numbers of the discouraged and disappointed workers would walk out. But when the fateful day arrived they turned out en masse everywhere, hamstringing the whole packing industry. In Chicago it was estimated that fully 75% of the actual workers struck, and in other centers the percentage was even higher. A few of the craft unions, notably the engineers, stockhandlers, etc. who had been thoroughly alienated by the Butcher Workmen officials, refused to strike. But nevertheless the strike was quite general. Considering the circumstances, the organized treachery and mismanagement that the workers had suffered from in their unions for years, it was a noble display of solidarity. But it was futile, it was only the dying agony of the organization. There was not a possibility for success. There

was neither competent leadership among the rank and file nor among the Butcher Workmen officials. All the packers had to do was to sit tight for a while and wait for the inevitable collapse. This they did, refusing all efforts at settlement. On January 31st the great break came. The Butcher Workmen called off the hopeless strike. The packinghouse movement was crushed, broken by the combined mismanagement of its official leaders and the indifference of the rebel elements in the industry.

As to the Future

What the future has to offer for the packinghouse workers in the way of organization is problematical. After such a crushing defeat, following in the train of so much betrayal and mismanagement by their officials, it is safe to say that they will be seized by profound demoralization and depression. Already the dual unions are gathering to feed upon the corpse of the fallen giant and to add to the general confusion. They have nothing to offer, in spite of their glowing programs. The only hopeful factor in the situation is the changed views of many radicals in the industry. Within the last few months (although too late to appreciably affect the dying movement) they have come to see that it is their part to stay in the old unions and to so organize themselves there as to compel the proper handling of the organization, no matter who may stand at its head. Had they understood this fact three or four years ago and taken charge of the packinghouse movement when it lay wide open before them, the whole history of it would have been different. Instead of being crushed and defeated as they now are, the packinghouse workers would still possess a powerful and well-intrenched trade union organization.

It is never too late to mend. The rebels in the packing industry must set out at once to break the power of the reactionaries at the head of their organization. They must see to it that when the next big drive comes, and it is only a matter of time, the men who conduct it are real working class fighters and not mere place-hunters and incompetent bureaucrats. In that direction alone lies the possibility for success.



The Struggle in the Building Trades

The building trades' fight in Chicago is another glaring example of the foolishness of continuing the old craft union tactics of each separate union for itself. The employers have organized a solid front, backed by Judge Landis, and by the "Citizens' Committee" with its many millions of dollars pledged to break the unions. The workers have allowed their solidarity to be broken up, each union acting for itself, without any farseeing plan. The results are plain, and the cause must be removed before Labor can fight a wining battle.

The present fight started May first last year, when the Contractors' Association refused to renew the wage-scale previously in effect, and locked out the union members. This lockout continued until early in June, when the employers and the unions agreed to submit the wage question to arbitration, and agreed upon Judge Landis as the arbitrator. In the meantime a tremendous barrage of newspaper attack had been levelled at the unions, and preparations were made to "get them" in the arbitration process. Landis immediately took the offensive by assuming jurisdiction over working rules, in addition to wages. In September he announced his award which slashed wages savagely and completely revised the working rules. The union members spontaneously walked off their jobs, although the unions did not immediately call a strike. The contractors were willing to reopen the case. The Building Trades Council was capable of handling a dispute with some degree of success so long as the opponent was only the contractors. But this time the Unions were up against something bigger. The "Citizens' Committee" had been formed, containing the financial and corporate powers of Chicago, with a war chest of millions of dollars, and they took charge of the capitalist side of the fight.

From the beginning of these unfortunate arbitration proceedings, the result of which might easily have been foreseen, the building trades unions' forces were split. Five of the unions were not parties to the arbitration from the first. Those who were so unwise as to participate in the nonsense were divided into those who accepted it with reservations, and the "good unions" who were willing to obey any orders. The result was a dragging strike, some of the unions being out for awhile, and then returning to work about the same time that other unions went out. Some of the unions have consistently tried to get the good will of the employers, and have got it by going back to work and staying there. A few of them have con-

sistently stood out against the whole business from beginning to end. Others have wavered between these two positions, going on strike, going back to work, alternating with each other, and increasing the confusion and lack of solidarity.

The Building Trades Council, the body which has brought about what united action there has heretofore been, has been utterly unable to cope with this situation. It has been for a strike, then it has been against, then for a strike again; but it has not been able, since the unified attack of all the capitalist organizations, to move all its forces one way or the other at the same time. Under pressure of the attack, of the bitter newspaper barrage of lies, of the weight of Judge Landis, and the force of the massed millions of the Citizens' Committee, the slender threads of solidarity woven by the federation of the craft unions in the Building Trades Council have given way. As this is being written, the Council has voted to accept the award, while many unions are in bitter rebellion and are refusing to accept it under any condition.

Much bitterness has been aroused in the workers' ranks in the course of this fight. Harsh names have been called, and charges hurled back and forth. Probably some of the harsh names are just; surely some of the charges have truth behind them. But this is the lesson which building trade's workers must learn from this experience, or it will have been in vain: **THESE CONDITIONS WILL CONTINUE UNTIL THE BUILDING TRADES UNIONS ARE SOLIDLY UNITED INTO ONE ORGANIZATION.**

Federation of the 25 and more unions into the Building Trades Council is not enough; it has broken down; it does not meet the conditions of today. Nothing short of **COMPLETE AMALGAMATION** of all building trades unions into one industrial union for the building trades, will meet the situation. Such a unified, solidly organized body of workers, led by men of spirit and intelligence, would quickly change the present terrible chaos, disunity and helplessness. In the face of a united Building Trades Union, the "Citizens' Committee" and Judge Landis would be pitifully impotent.

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The Coal Miners Crisis

By A Rank and Filer

This Spring brings with it the most serious crisis ever faced by our organization, the U. M. W. of A. This crisis is of a twofold character, internal and external.

Regarding the external side of it: the employers are determined as never before to deal us a crushing blow. The "open shop" devotees are so encouraged by their success in driving back the railroad men, smashing the building trades, etc., that they are all set to give us a first class trimming. Indeed, they have already made a substantial start, as the wreckage of our Alabama and Colorado districts bear witness. And unless our whole union is to be wrecked we will have to get right down to business and put up such a struggle as we have never made before.

But our internal crisis is worse even than the external one. We stand in the most imminent danger of a disruption that will lay us helpless before our enemies who are all ready to devour us. The quarrel over the Kansas situation is threatening to split our organization. This would be absolutely fatal. It must be avoided at all costs. Whatever comes or goes, the miners must present a solid front this year. Anything else would be suicidal.

Lewis's treatment of Howat and the Kansas miners is a crime, a disgrace that can never be eliminated from the records of trade unionism. But it must not be allowed to lead to a split. Such would be the last word in folly. Two wrongs do not make a right. That would be merely cutting off our nose to spite our face. The very most that could be accomplished by a secession movement would be the creation of two miners' unions, both of about the same strength. Those who tell us that the masses of the men would rally to the new union are either fools or tools of the employers. At this particular time we will do well to turn a deaf ear to the preachers of hot air dual unionism, those who appear at critical moments in union struggles and tear the unions all to pieces on the basis of their beautiful schemes of dual unionism. These are the jackals of the labor movement. The only ones who profit from their activities are the bosses. A split now would be worth \$100,000,000 to the mine operators.

In this crisis our course is plain. On the

one hand we must prepare for a desperate struggle with the employers, and on the other we must see to it that the internal quarrel does not produce a secession movement. We must confine our fight within the bounds of the United Mine Workers. Our cause is the cause of progress. It is a just one and when the great rank and file come to understand it they will rally to our support. Lewis was able to muster a majority of votes against us at the re-convened convention. But he barely squeaked by. And if we keep going ahead it will be only a matter of a short while until he will come to his Waterloo. The only thing that can save him would be the same thing that has saved dogens of other fakers in similar crises, a secession movement that pulls out the opposition and leaves the reactionaries in control. We must avoid any such mistakes this time.

Lewis's strength is due more to our mistakes than to his own good management. Our side has made blunder after blunder in tactics. Many of them would be ridiculous were they not so tragic. We must sharpen up our wits and sit right into this fight as though we meant business. The fate of the coal miners' organization depends upon our getting rid of Lewis and all the bunch grouped around him. We must organize ourselves better. We must see to it that our cause is carried into every local organization in the whole union, so that when delegates are elected to the various districts and national conventions they will have some idea as to what the fight is all about. This they do not have at the present time. Above all we must have a journal that will voice our cause. Our International journal is absolutely stacked against us. We must counteract its lies, which have been primarily responsible for our defeat so far. Before many months have gone by we should have a regular independent coal miners' paper that will carry the truth to the rank and file. And in the meantime we should lend our hearty support to The Labor Herald. It may be depended upon to fight our battle to the best of its ability.

Besides this we must organize our forces better. At all the district and national conventions, the rebel elements should get to-

(Continued on page 31)

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CHICAGO, ILL.

Member of The Federated Press

LABOR USING THE INJUNCTION

THE settlement of the New York Cloakmakers' strike, which was brought about by Judge Wagner issuing an injunction compelling the Manufacturers' Protective Association to live up to their agreement with the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, raises still more clearly the ever-sharpening question of whether or not Labor shall make use of the injunction as a fighting weapon. Schlessinger and Hilquit loudly respond in the affirmative. One would think, from reading "Justice," official organ of the union, that a new and wonderful means had just been discovered to free the working class. But as for us we answer categorically, NO! We are absolutely opposed to the labor movement employing the injunction, and we unhesitatingly prophecy that any widespread attempt in that direction will only result in more firmly fastening the shackles of slavery upon the workers.

Our basic reason for opposing the injunction, no matter by whom it is invoked, is that it gives the courts an enormous share of control over the settlement of industrial disputes, and we have absolutely no faith in the courts. We are not childish enough to think they will give Labor a square deal. On the contrary, we know very well that they are as reactionary as the employers, if not even more so. At least nine times out of ten they rule against the organized workers. Does Labor wish to leave its cause to the tender mercy of such a brace game as that? If so, all that it has to do is to recognize and use the injunction and the job will be done. As sure as fate, it can look forward to a thorough clubbing from the courts.

It would be stupid to judge Organized Labor's possibilities with the injunction by drawing hasty conclusions from the Cloakmaker strike settlement. Judge Wagner is an exceptional case, the unusual instance of a man on the bench with some slight sense of honor and humanity. Labor has had other experiences with the injunction, and they run much truer to type, they are much more in line with what we must expect from the courts than is the Cloakmakers' experience.

A case in point occurred in Chicago eighteen months ago. The Stark Piano Company had an

agreement with the Piano and Organ Makers' Union. Although this still had a long term to run, the company suddenly violated it, slashed wages, and locked the workers out. The case was almost identical with that of the Cloakmakers. The International Union, against the advice of many labor men, then sued for an injunction to make the company conform to its agreement. Not only was its suit denied, but the very same judge, during the same sitting, granted the employers a typical air tight injunction against the workers. And who was surprised? Certainly not any intelligent labor men. How could they look upon the affair except as the logical working of our class courts?

Another illustrative case occurred in Pittsburgh during the steel strike. The city authorities had forbidden the holding of meetings of all kinds by the strikers. Even business meetings of the local unions were prohibited. Whereupon, the steel committee's lawyer, who had much of the same faith in the courts that apparently Schlessinger and Hilquit have, prayed the Allegheny County Court of Common Pleas to enjoin Mayor Babcock from interfering with a local union of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers from holding its regular business meetings. Could labor possibly have had a stronger case? Yet, what was the result? Not only was the injunction denied, but the Mayor's suppression of free assembly was endorsed. Grace to our attorney's naive faith in the courts, the petty politician's tyranny received the solemn sanction of law. And one would be astounded were it otherwise.

Still another case has occurred in Chicago within the past month. The Carpenters' Union sought an injunction against the "Open Shop" Citizens' Committee which is fighting the building trades unions. Of course it was refused. The practical result of its effort was to strengthen the Citizens' Committee and give its nefarious activities the color of legality. And so it will nearly always be when Labor attempts to employ the weapon par excellence of the "open shoppers," the injunction.

Few indeed are the points upon which we are in agreement with Mr. Gompers. By and large, we consider his philosophy and policy to be the very antipodes of what the labor movement requires. But we must admit that he is theoretically straight on the injunction question, even as he is on the anti-strike laws. He declares that such measures are tyrannical invasions of the most fundamental rights of the workers and must be openly disregarded. That is the very best of rebel doctrine, and in it lies the solution of the injunction and many other difficult problems. That Mr. Gompers has never gone beyond theory in the matter in no way changes the correctness of his position. By ignoring the mandates of the Kansas Industrial Court, Alex Howat and his co-fighters have done more to destroy the menace of such institutions than all the lawyers in the country could have done by fighting them through the courts.

We must not recognize or use the injunction. We must fight it openly. Because the courts are stacked against us, it is purely an employers' weapon—the decision of Judge Wagner to the contrary notwithstanding. The trade union movement of America is right on the injunction. It will have nothing to do with it. To destroy this clear understanding, to delude the workers into believing that

they can successfully use the injunction as a weapon in their own behalf, is to take a long step backward, not forward, Mr. Hilquit. It will result not only in giving Labor a false and unwarranted faith in the courts but also in definitely institutionalizing the injunction. When Labor begins to use the injunction itself it can no longer complain at the employers doing so, nor can it use militant tactics against its application. We say, beware of using the injunction; it is poison to Labor.

A REAL ACHIEVEMENT

THE annual meeting of the Federated Press brings forcefully to our attention the revolution that has been achieved in labor journalism in the United States. Four years ago this field was the most cheerless and disheartening prospect imaginable. It was a veritable chaos. There were hundreds of isolated little sheets, each with its underpaid and overworked editor trying to spin the material for his paper out of his own tired brain. There was the dry-as-dust and absurd A. F. of L. News Letter with its stupid and trivial items from two weeks to six months stale, not to mention the petrified trade journals, full of cheerless and uninteresting technical matter and "women's pages" giving the latest dress patterns. All in all it was a picture of isolation, stagnation, desolation and hopelessness.

Into this chaos came the organizing spirit of an idea, the idea of a real labor news service, the idea of the Federated Press. There are thousands of things going on in the world, in which Labor is vitally interested. The news is all available, given the organization to get it and distribute it. The Federated Press brought the organization into this neglected field. Under the influences of this new force our press has made strides forward which are really remarkable. Our journals have a new life and vitality. Compare the journals of today with those of four years ago, and get a measure of the progress made. No other country in the world today has so good a labor news service and labor press; it is the one field of labor organization in which we are not lagging. This is another example of what a few live progressives can do, if they set to work in a sane, energetic, constructive manner.

TWO KINDS OF CLASS COURTS

THE American courts are like the Russian courts, in that they are class courts. In both countries the courts are instruments to keep a class in subjection. But they differ in the fact that the American courts hypocritically deny their class character, whereas the Russian courts proudly boast of it.

In the United States the Landises, the Andersons, and the thousands of their ilk who wear the "robes of justice," shamelessly do the work of the employing class and crush the workers down to submission. They fill the jails with Mooneys and Howats, and negate every liberal law on the statute books. Then with solemn pomposity they fare forth to convince a gullible world that their purely class institutions are based upon principles of impartiality. How different it is in Russia! There the courts soak the

so-called "better classes" as a matter of principle. Over their doors, in spirit if not in letter, runs the fateful legend: "Abandon hope all ye capitalists who enter herein." They discriminate openly in favor of the workers, and are careful to tell the whole world of the fact.

Why the hypocrisy of American courts, and why the frankness of Russian courts, in recognizing their patently class character? The answer is easy. The class that the Landises serve is an exploiting class, a parasitic class, whose prosperity involves the enslavement and degradation of the rest of society. They do not dare to acknowledge their defense of the interests of such an anti-social class. But in Russia the courts protect the interests of the great working class, the useful class, the class whose supreme mission is the regeneration and civilization of society. The Russian courts may well be proud of militantly defending the interests of this all-important social element. That is the difference between American class courts and Russian class courts.

GOMPERS AND RUSSIA

IN MAKING formal protest against the participation of Soviet Russia in the Genoa Conference, Mr. Gompers has but added one more item to his pitiful "policy" towards Russia. All the world knows that Russia is broken down industrially, and that its only hope for rehabilitation rests in commerce with the balance of the nations. And all the world knows likewise, that the whole European economic system is so shattered that it can never be set right while the Russian blockade is on. But all this means nothing to Mr. Gompers. He has his own pet little theory (apparently gleaned from the New York Times) as to how the Russian people should conduct their Government, and until they conform to it Mr. Gompers is willing to let world economics go hang.

Mr. Gompers' attitude toward the Genoa conference is altogether in line with his attitude towards the Russian famine relief work. Here are twenty millions of peasants starving to death under the most awful circumstances, yet Mr. Gompers, although standing at the head of a great movement whose sole aim is the lifting up of the oppressed and the suffering, has made absolutely no effort through the American Federation of Labor to raise funds for their relief. They are not even Bolsheviks, but Mr. Gompers is so blinded and unbending in his hatred towards everything Russian that he would let them die without extending them a helping hand of fellowship. This is carrying political partisanship beyond the uttermost pite. Even the capitalist politicians themselves, the Hardings and others, whom Mr. Gompers himself has denounced as the blackest reactionaries, have shown more heart and human sympathy in the situation.

How long shall this shameful thing be allowed to continue? Is it not time that Organized Labor awoke from its slumber and insisted upon a rational policy towards Russia? Mr. Gompers' senile prejudices must be swept aside or overridden. Labor in this country must demand the unconditional lifting of the blockade against Russia, and the extension of every possible assistance to her hard pressed people.

THE INTERNATIONAL

GREAT BRITAIN

THE British trade union movement is now passing through a severe crisis. It has recently lost quite heavily in membership, and conditions of labor have been somewhat worsened all around. This is largely due to the terrible industrial depression, which is the worst in Britain's history. On December 31st, there were 1,885,300 workers totally unemployed and over 2,000,000 on short time. Government figures put the total number of days work lost last year from this cause at 50,000,000. In addition to this naturally disadvantageous condition, the trade unions are also afflicted with a considerable amount of demoralization. This set in among them after the betrayal by their leaders in the Triple Alliance strike movement last Spring. The workers have largely lost heart. An illustration of the general state of the movement is seen in the circulation of the London Daily Herald, which has dropped from 400,000 in 1920 to about 200,000 at the present time.

Taking advantage of the situation, so favorable to them, the employers are making a big drive against the organizations. In nearly every trade, transport, railroads, textiles, metal, etc., they are forcing the unions slowly backward. In a few instances they have actually gone so far as to declare the "open shop," which has created quite a sensation in airtight union England.

Unlike our leaders here however, the British unionists are not standing idle and helpless under this attack. They are meeting it by a general tightening up of the lines everywhere. Get-together movements are the order of the day now in England. The Miners and the Metal Workers (A. E. U.) have signed an agreement whereby the A. E. U. members working around the mines agree to strike whenever the miners go out, and they also agree to pay a portion of their dues into the Miners' Union to cover the cost of negotiations with the companies. Besides this a most important amalgamation has taken place in the transport industry, fifteen big unions having joined hands and formed the Transport and General Workers' Union. The National Union of Ships' Cook, Stewards, etc., has amalgamated with the British Seafarers Union and formed the Amalgamated Marine Workers' Union. Marchbanks of the National Union of Railwaymen has also declared for one solid union of every branch of the railroad and general transport service.

But probably more important than any other feature of this general closing up movement is the proposition now being acted upon in referendum by the affiliated unions, to give the General Council of the Trades Union Congress control over all serious disputes involving trade union standards so that the united force of the whole movement may be brought into action when necessary. The proposition reads: "that in the event of any attack being made upon any union's general standard of wages or conditions, the union should not take action without seeking the advice of the General Council, and so giving an opportunity for the consideration of a united policy." This is the first definite move of the British unions to unite the

whole labor movement into one compact organization—much as the Belgium and Australian workers are now doing. It is fraught with tremendous possibilities.

FRANCE

Sad disruption has come into the ranks of French Labor. A definite split has occurred between the right and left wings of the trade union movement. This is the result of a bitter struggle between the two.

Before the war the French General Confederation of Labor was a very revolutionary organization, but during the big upheaval many of its leaders degenerated into typical labor fakers. This forced the radicals to organize groups all through the various unions in opposition to the traitorous bureaucracy. The minority organization, known as the Revolutionary Syndicalist Committee, or C. S. R., was in line with the customary tactics of French trade union radicals for many years past.

To defeat the rapidly growing C. S. R., the old bureaucracy began to expel local unions connected with it. This provoked still further opposition and bad feeling. At the Congress of Lille last Spring the disruptionist policy of the old officialdom was rebuked. But after the Congress it was continued just the same. C. S. R. locals were expelled on all sides. Things went from bad to worse, with the revolutionaries trying desperately to stay in the unions and the reactionaries to expel them. The latter think that if they can get rid of the radicals the Government and the employing class will show appreciation of the "cleansed" unions by giving them recognition and consideration.

Finally the situation got so bad that the organized revolutionaries, to save themselves from annihilation and the movement with them, called a special national convention to decide upon their next move for unity and a militant labor movement. At this juncture, the Red Trade Union International (Moscow), fearing a split, proposed to the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam) that the two bodies meet and compose the differences between the warring factions. But the latter conservative organization, which is of one mind with the French union stand-patters, declined to assist in keeping the movement intact.

The left-wing unity national convention met in Paris on December 22-24. To pacify the situation, it offered to virtually dissolve the Revolutionary Syndicalist Committee, which was presumably the bone of contention. But the old officialdom were cold to this. With their unshakable determination to drive the radicals out even if they had to also expel the majority of the whole labor movement that is lined up with them, they refused the conciliation. Then, seeing that all else was hopeless, the radical convention demanded the calling of a general Congress of the whole French labor movement early this year and in the meantime set up a provisional council to act until the Congress takes place.

As things now stand there are practically two distinct labor movements in France, one radical

and the other conservative. Each either has or is busy establishing provisional organizations in all of the industries. It is factional war to the knife. At present the radicals have the best of it. The majority of the workers are on their side, won over by the latter's skillful campaign in the old unions. Unless all signs fail the old guard are doomed and the French movement due for a renaissance.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

"Through the Russian Revolution," by Albert Rhys Williams, is more than an ordinary book. Williams went through the first months of the revolution, and was personally acquainted with many of the chief actors. He saw the large aspects of the greatest social upheaval, and at the same time preserved a keen sense of the Russian atmosphere. He gives the reader both in this book. Especially valuable are the colored reproductions of the flaming posters which are the unique contribution of the Communists of Russia to the practice of education of the masses. Here is working-class art and science, organized by a working-class Government; the thing is laid before one in its original form, together with an amazingly interesting story of the revolution as seen through the eyes of Williams. It is too bad that the book, with all its splendid features, cannot be published at a price which would give it a wider circulation. We hasten to add, that compared with other book prices in the United States, this one is very reasonable.

"Pen Pictures of Russia," by John S. Clarke, is quite a different sort of book, but in its way quite as interesting. The author describes it as "Reminiscences of a surreptitious journey to Russia to attend the Second Congress of the Third International," and the story is a curious mixture of narrative of the journey, historical anecdotes, literary recollections and quotations, and keen observations on things Russian and things revolutionary. Clarke is editor of *The Worker*, a weekly paper of Glasgow, and puts the same rough-and-ready vitality into this book that he does into his paper. The forty-two photographs reproduced are not the least interesting part of the book.

"Through the Russian Revolution," by Albert Rhys Williams. Boni & Liveright, New York. \$2.

"Pen Pictures of Russia," by John S. Clarke. National Workers' Committees, Glasgow.

SPECIAL NOTICE!

In compiling the list of 1,000 live wires with whom we are communicating to organize THE TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, we did our level best to get the names of the most active and reliable workers in each locality. There is no doubt, however, but that we have erred in many places and have got hold of the wrong parties. Where such is the case, and where our correspondents do not take the proper action in forming League branches, we trust that the local militants will realize the difficulties we are under, and will get busy at once to straighten the situation out.

RAILROAD MEN!

Learn why our trade unions are on the retreat and what to do about it?

The Labor Herald for April

will be a

Special Railroad Number

Articles by many nationally known rank and file railroad men outlining the weakness of our unions and initiating immediate action to remedy it.

Every Railroad Man Must Read This Vital Number

LABOR BREVITIES

Newport, Ky.—Tanks and troops are patrolling the streets here at the request of the Steel Trust, on account of a strike at the Newport Rolling Mills Co. Col. Denhart's soldiers have run amuck, assaulting promiscuously, so that even the city authorities have joined the unions in their protest. Fourteen units of State troops are on duty.

Pittsburg, Kan.—The "Provisional Government" of the miners of District 14, set up by J. L. Lewis with a few hundred members, has sent delegates to the national convention at Indianapolis to contest the seating of delegates of the followers of Howat, consisting of almost 13,000 miners in the state. Under advice of friends, Howat and Dorchey have given bonds to secure release from jail for the period of the convention, and are at Indianapolis to place their case again before the delegates.

St. Paul—State troops were used effectively here in breaking the spirit of the packinghouse strikers. Terrorism on the streets, and invasion of strikers' homes by the soldiers were testified to by many witnesses in hearings before the Grand Jury.

New York—Unions and workers' organizations affiliated to the Friends of Soviet Russia have contributed more than a third of a million dollars in cash, and over a quarter of a million dollars worth of medicines, clothing, etc., in the national drive for Russian famine relief. Other organizations cooperating through the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee have brought the total cash well over the half million mark.

Chicago—The story of the mine war in West Virginia, with its martial law and assassination of union officials by company gunmen, and wholesale persecution by the State, is told in a series of articles sent out in February by the Federated Press. These articles were prepared by the Civil Liberties Union of New York, an organization of liberals not connected with the labor movement, and summarizes the evidence given before the Senate Investigating Committee which disclosed the lawless rule of the companies prevailing in the coal fields of that State.

Washington—"To secure to all men the enjoyment of the gains which their industry produces," is said to be the purpose of a conference called in Chicago on February 20th, of trade union and farm organization representatives, and spokesmen of liberal parties and groups. The practical aim seems to be to secure co-ordinated action in the coming elections of the labor parties and sympathetic elements. The call is said to be authorized by the sixteen railroad unions.

Albany, N. Y.—Labor in this state will have an opportunity to show how much it has learned from the Kansas miners about the way to kill oppressive legislation, if the bill which has been introduced to establish an Industrial Relations Court is made law. The bill calls for a special session of the Supreme Court which will have power to determine wages and working conditions in New York State, and prohibits strikes and picketing under penalty of imprisonment. Labor organizations are

rallying to fight the bill, and if it becomes law they say that it will be openly and in mass disobeyed.

Nebraska City—Governor McKelvie sent state troops into the packinghouse districts here at the request of the big packing companies, to suppress the strike.

Trinidad, Colo.—Troops which have been patrolling the strike district in Huerfano County coal fields were withdrawn about the first of February.

Denver, Colo.—The State Industrial Commission designed to prevent strikes, has obtained the imprisonment of the leaders of the packinghouse workers' union, for their part in leading the recent walkout. Following the lead of the Kansas miners, the Colorado packinghouse workers refused to recognize the "can't strike" law.

San Francisco—It is rumored that a move is about to be made to heal the split in the Building Trades Council and bring back the unions now outside in the Rank and File Federation. Active unionists say that such a move will be hailed with delight by all sincere union men who deplore the present disruption.

A SUGGESTION!

(Editor's Note: The leagues in the various cities are requested to give consideration to the following letter):

New York, Feb. 6, 1922.

Dear Sir and Brother:—

I see by your Rules of Organization that you have done away with all dues and per capita tax in THE TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE. Personally I think this is a very good thing, and I am heartily in favor of the proposition.

We must by all means avoid giving any chance for the charge of dual organization to be applied to us. This is accomplished by the rules you have adopted. Certainly no one can say that we are a dual union, when the entire finance will come from literature sales, voluntary donations, etc.

The only point that needs consideration is, how are we to have a definite test of membership in the League. I understand from the rules how this is taken care of for the National Conference. We are going to have delegates according to the average circulation in our localities of THE LABOR HERALD. But this doesn't solve our local League problem. I want to make a suggestion on this point.

Why should not each local League ask each member to subscribe for THE LABOR HERALD, who is also a good union man, and wants to join the League, is certainly entitled to a full voice and vote in the League; but any one who isn't a subscriber—well, I'd be inclined to let 'em speak, but dam'd if I'd want to see 'em vote.

So I suggest that each local League make the test of full membership to be "Subscription to THE LABOR HERALD." Anyway, let's talk it over. You'll think a long time before you hit on a better plan to get an accurate and definite membership list, and at the same time avoid completely the dues system and per capita tax. What do you say to it.

Fraternally yours,

J. S. R.

CORRESPONDENCE

Chicago, Feb. 10, 1922

Dear Sir and Brother:—I have carefully read the advance pages of the LABOR HERALD sent to me, and to show what I think of it am enclosing money order for 25 copies of the first issue.

If the rest of the articles in this first issue are as fundamental and timely as the advance article I have seen, I will give all my spare time to spreading the good news that at last we have a monthly magazine that covers the labor problems, not only of America, but of the entire world, in a comprehensive, constructive, and aggressive manner that will mean death to the pie-card artist and the trimmer, and the rapid growth of a militant and solidly united fighting labor movement.

Fraternally yours

S. H. M.

From California.

Fresno, Feb. 1, 1922

Dear Sir and Bro.:—I was sure glad to hear about the plan you are working on for the railroadmen, to get us out of the hole we are in. The men here are much enthused about the proposals, and looking forward with great interest. Send me a bundle of the magazine. Fraternaly,

CHAS. BRENNEN

From the Secretary of a Railroad Union Council:

St. Paul, Feb. 6, 1922

Dear Sir and Brother:—Please send me 25 copies of "The Principles and Program of the Trade Union Education League" reprint from THE LABOR HERALD. Also advise if large quantities are obtainable for general distribution. I am endeavoring to interest the Shop Crafts State Legislative Committee in this work, and if successful, to send a copy to the secretaries of all local unions, shop chairmen and roundhouse points in the state.

Fraternaly,

Two good ones from Ohio.

E. Liverpool, Jan. 30th, 1922

Dear Comrades:—Have just been reading about the Trade Union Educational League, and it looks good to me. We are working along those lines at present in our Potter's Union; we are trying to amalgamate four closely related crafts into one union, and it looks like we will accomplish it. We have some live wires here, and all are looking forward to the new magazine, THE LABOR HERALD T. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:—Please rush about 200 copies of THE LABOR HERALD and send bill for same.

Fraternaly,

J. B.

From the Secretary of a Central Labor Union.

January 29, 1922

Dear Sir and Brother:—As secretary of the Central Labor Union, I feel it my duty after reading your program to write you for full information, so that we here can be playing the game with the rest of the active workers right from the start. Hoping this venture will meet with the best of success, and promising you my fullest co-operation.

Fraternaly,

January 22, 1922

Dear Comrade:—Rush by express C. O. D. one hundred copies of RAILROADERS' NEXT STEP. Must have them for system meeting next week. Fraternaly . . . X. Y. Z. . .

New York, Feb. 9th, 1922

Comrade Foster:—Just received, read, and re-read, the advance copy of THE PRINCIPLES AND PROGRAM OF THE TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE. I have been eagerly awaiting the advent of the League, hoping with a hope badly tinged with scepticism peculiar to the American radical, born and reared in that dualistic, "destroy-the-A. F. of L." atmosphere, which I see more clearly than ever has been the curse of the movement for the past thirty years.

I assure you my scepticism has been entirely removed. The program leaves no room for argument; it is practical

and it is revolutionary; it is the only plan offered today that gives the slightest hope of solidifying Labor's scattered forces and calling a halt to the victorious march of organized Capital.

The League marks an epoch in our labor history. It cannot possibly fail if our people have any imagination whatever; first, because it shows clearly the correct way of tackling our problems; second, it organizes all the heretofore disorganized radical and progressive forces; and third, by acting simultaneously on a single plan in many hundred towns at the same time, it draws the fire of our reactionary leaders from the individual radical in the single locality, to the hundred times stronger group in many hundreds of localities. This plan multiplies the effectiveness of our propaganda a thousandfold, while at the same time it gives the greatest protection against discrimination, blacklist, etc. used against individual agitators.

I unreservedly accept the principles and program of the League, and offer all my spare time in its service. As a member of the rank and file I say it is our League, it is our fight, and it is our job to put into effect the program laid down by The Trade Union Educational League.

Fraternaly,

Discipline vs. Freedom in Russia

(Continued from page 14)

of the individual for the sake of the mass remains an inescapable necessity of the labor movement, nevertheless. It is an inexorable condition of successful movements by the masses at this stage of their development. When the Soviet Government establishes freedom of speech, press, and assembly for all classes in Russia—and that must soon occur—it will be the unmistakable sign that the situation has passed beyond the stage of life and death struggle; the sure indication that the revolution has triumphed and that the new society is firmly established.

The Coal Miners Crisis

(Continued from page 25)

gether and map out their course of action. Then we would not see the machine riding rough shod over us as heretofore. Knowing what we want and being fully organized we would be able to get it.

Brother coal diggers, no dual unionism, no secessionism. That would be fatal. Beware of the man who tells you to split the union, he is no friend of ours, no matter how well he may be equipped with hot air. What we must do is to organize ourselves within the U. M. W. A. We are just on the verge of victory. Let us go through to the end. We must continue to demand the reinstatement of the Kansas battlers.

LIVE WIRES WANTED

To circulate the following Books

The Revolutionary Crisis of 1918-1921 in Germany, England, Italy and France

64 pages, paper bound By Wm. Z. Foster
Single copies, 25c each; 10 or more, 15c each

The Russian Revolution By Wm. Z. Foster

155 pages, paper bound, 50c per copy
(Only a few copies left, and no orders filled except for single copies; cloth bound sold out)

The Great Steel Strike By Wm. Z. Foster

265 pages: Cloth bound, \$1.75 per copy; paper bound, \$1.00 per copy

The Railroaders' Next Step By Wm. Z. Foster

48 pages, paper bound
Single copies, 25c each; 10 or more, 15c each

Resolutions and Decisions of the First World Congress of Revolutionary Trade Unions—Moscow

Per copy, 15c

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The IMMEDIATE TASK of the MILITANTS of the American Labor
Movement Is to PUT ACROSS the Work

FOR THE RELIEF OF THE FAMINE IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Food is the great need in Soviet Russia.

The only food surplus in the world is in America.

If the Russian famine situation is to be met it must be met by America.

If America is to meet the situation it is the workers who must act.

There is no one else with the desire or the power.

In every shop, mine and factory; in every local union; wherever there are workers, the drive for the collection of funds for the Russian Famine Relief must be made the matter of primary importance.

ONE HOUR'S PAY A WEEK

FROM EVERY UNION WORKER IN THE UNITED STATES WILL SAVE 10,000,000
LIVES IN SOVIET RUSSIA

It is up to the trades unions and the trade union men and women, which means that it is

Up to the Trade Union Militants *To Put the Work Across*

The Friends of Soviet Russia has 140 local branches in as many cities. It has collected \$400,000, which has been spent for foodstuffs which has been sent to the Kazan District of Soviet Russia in cases marked

"FROM THE AMERICAN WORKERS to the RUSSIAN WORKERS and PEASANTS"

The work of the Friends of Soviet Russia must be extended to every city and town in America. The collections must be increased to the very capacity of the American working class, which means that it is

Up to the Trade Union Militants

Send all communications and contributions to

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

American Section of the International Workers' Famine Relief Committee

**201 West 13th Street
New York City**

This advertisement is donated to the Famine Relief Campaign by THE LABOR HERALD