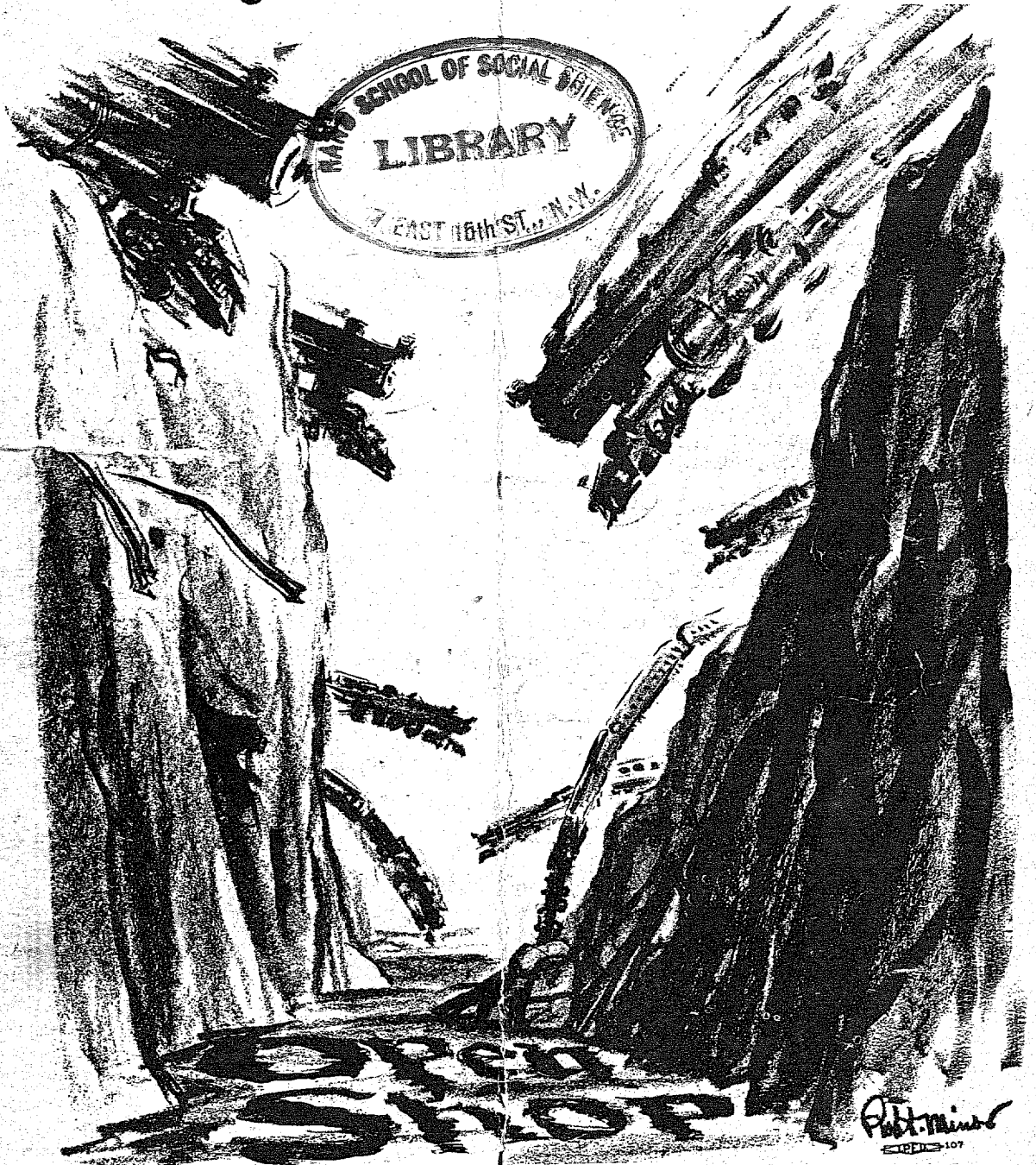


THE LABOR HERALD

Official Organ of The Trade Union Educational League



Pub. Mins
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By Wm. Z. Foster

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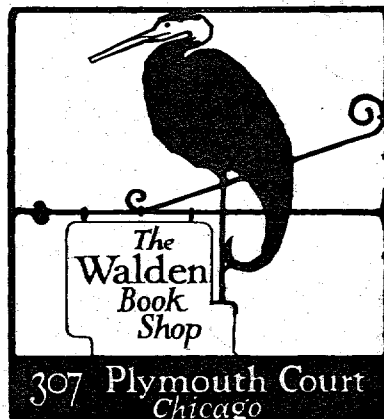
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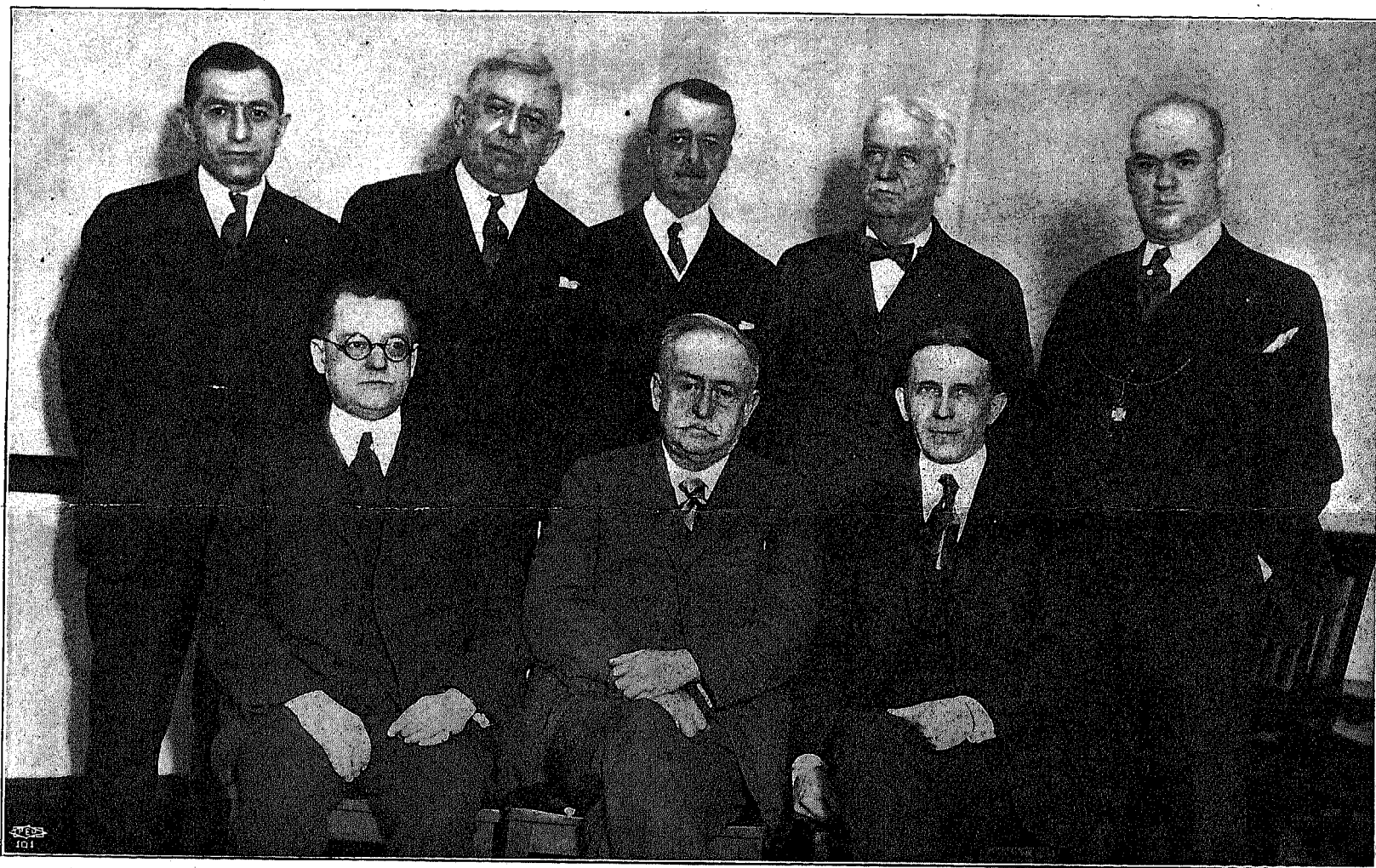
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THE LABOR HERALD

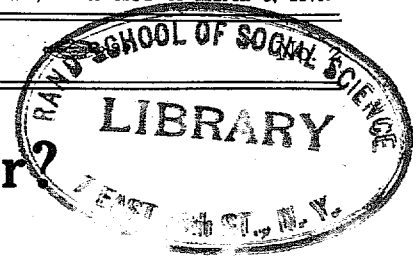
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Vol. I.

APRIL, 1922

Anvil — or Hammer?

By E. K. H.



THE railroad unions are now reaping the logical result of their failure to get together for really effective action in the strike movement last fall. Unable to recognize the vital necessity of hanging together, they are hanging separately on the capitalist gibbet, the Labor Board. The Shop Crafts, the Maintenance of Way workers, the Clerks, the Signalmen, the Stationary Firemen and Oilers, the Dispatchers; each in turn have suffered serious setbacks in the matter of hours of work, overtime wage provisions and other conditions of labor which had been gained by years of hard work. And the end is not yet. The other organizations, one by one, will be taken to a fall, when they come before the wage hearings of the Labor Board beginning on March sixth.

The Labor Board has thrown off the mask of hypocrisy worn by its predecessors during the course of the war. Like the government of which it is a part, it can only function as the executive committee of the capitalist class. They control it as they control every other department of our governmental structure. And controlling it they *use* it. Railroad labor is learning its lesson. Experience is the best teacher. The halo which surrounded the different government wage and adjustment boards during the war and shortly after is rapidly losing its glitter. The railroad unions will have learned their lesson well if they refuse to put further trust in labor boards but instead work with increased energy and determination to perfect their organizational structure, which in turn will bring to them vastly augmented economic power and ultimately emancipation from the present vicious system of wage slavery.

The federation of the sixteen so-called standard railroad unions failed to function efficiently in the test. The strike fiasco of last October proves it. We throw no stones. People in glass houses should not do that. We state the bitter facts. The five train, engine

and switching service organizations refused to abide by the co-operative compact entered into by the sixteen unions in February, 1920. In order to visualize fully the utter failure of federation to really perform its allotted and hoped for task, it may be stated that, under the compact, the sixteen organizations were divided into three groups as follows:

1. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, the Order of Railway Conductors, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, and the Switchmen's Union of North America.

2. Machinists, Blacksmiths, Boilermakers, Sheet Metal Workers, Electrical Workers, and Railway Carmen.

3. Order of Railroad Telegraphers, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, Maintenance of Way Employes, Stationary Firemen and Oilers, and the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America.

Now for the facts. "We are now in a position to advise our membership that the organizations comprising Group No. 1 . . . have withdrawn from the co-operative movement, and this action on their part was taken notwithstanding the efforts put forth by the organizations comprising Groups 2 and 3 to have continued our co-operative movement to the extent of having concerted action in this crisis. . . ."

"This information was authoritatively received Saturday, October 15, 1921, and we were further informed that it was the intent of Group 1 to suspend work as above outlined and to return to service again if a satisfactory settlement was secured *regardless of the actions of the organization comprising Groups 2 and 3, and regardless of whether or not satisfactory settlements were secured by the organizations of Groups 2 and 3.*" (Emphasis ours.)

"In other words the transportation organizations have taken the position that the other organizations comprising Groups 2 and 3 can

join them if they so desire, but they will not be parties to any movement which would restrict their actions in returning to work or upon final settlement; they reserving the right to make settlement and to return to work whether such settlement is made for the remaining organizations or not. (Emphasis ours.) The above is a clear and concise statement of the facts in the case." (Excerpts from circular letter to membership, Oct. 17, 1921, reprinted in THE SIGNALMEN'S JOURNAL, November, 1921, pp. 8-9.)

Further and more detailed statements of fact as to failure of the federative compact may be found on pages 10 and 11 of the same issue, THE SIGNALMEN'S JOURNAL, Grand President Helt's circular letter to membership, dated Chicago, Ill., Oct. 24, 1921; in Washington, D. C. LABOR, weekly newspaper of the sixteen associated railroad unions, issue October 29, 1921, page three, under heading, "Shop Craft Executives Make Statement of Joint Agreement," which article also includes action taken by Clerks and Maintenance of Way. Lack of space precludes further quoting here. Apparently the responsibility for failure to achieve concerted action rests with the five unions comprising Group 1, as, by giving careful attention to dates, it will be seen that definite and authoritative advice as to their refusal to fully observe co-operative agreement was given by them to Shop Crafts on Oct. 14, to Signalmen on Oct. 15. It was only after due consideration of the failure of transportation organizations to fully co-operate that the Shop Crafts issued on Oct. 22, their statement that they would not join the strike but would await the outcome of the Labor Board decision on working rules and conditions of labor. Similar action was taken by the Clerks on Oct. 23 and by the Signalmen on Oct. 24, the Firemen and Oilers deciding on like action. The Telegraphers, of Group 3, decided to strike with the train service unions, should the walkout materialize.

Had the strike actually occurred the men would have been beaten by their very failure to unite for concerted action. There is no need to give here the particulars of the gigantic combination of capital and its executive arm, the government, arrayed against the railroad workers. This has been admirably outlined in the pages of LABOR during October, November and December, 1921. As to the threatened use of force by the government, a careful reference to Charles M. Kelley's article on page one of the November 12, 1921 issue of LABOR, and the facsimile repro-

duction of the Navy Department's Receiving Station Order No. 91, dated Philadelphia, Pa., Oct. 21, 1921, endeavoring to recruit men with previous railroad experience and sharpshooting ability, will prove enlightening. Truly, the government *was* and *is* against the workers. This is recognized by conservative union officials and radicals alike. It is too patent for denial. But under the very nature of present-day society such an alignment is inevitable. Two great classes, with their hangers-on, compose this society. On the one hand, the proletariat, the workers of hand or brain, those who produce; on the other, the bourgeoisie, the capitalist-imperialist class, those who take, exploit, plunder, ruin *but do not produce*. Between these two gigantic opposing forces there can be no possible identity of interest. Instead there is struggle, bitter class warfare. The railroad question in this country is a mere incident in this world-wide struggle. The sooner the railroad workers recognize this fundamental fact, the better. Until the capitalist order is replaced by workers' rule, a Workers' Republic, such incidents as the fight of the railroad workers to save themselves from annihilation will continue to be the order of the day, with ever-increasing severity.

But what to do? That is the question. Federation has failed the crucial test. The old must give way to the new. Greater strength and solidarity for concerted action must be achieved. Amalgamation instead of craft separation. A thorough and complete fusing of the railroad workers' unions into a fighting industrial organization covering the entire railroad industry. Then an alliance with the miners and steel workers, *similarly amalgamated*, and we will have a triumvirate which will bring capital to its knees.

The question here arises as to whether the alliance recently negotiated between the miners and railroad unions will prove an effective one. Past experience with reactionary leadership and the fate of former compacts, in which a *loosely federated* group of unions were parties thereto, presages rather dubious results. Article 2, of the miners-railroaders agreement, as reported in the press, can not be said to be very binding. Vaguely phrased as it is, there are too many loopholes for getting from under during a time of crisis. But the very fact that the move for alliance has been made, is an indication of the increasing pressure of the rank and file of both miners and railroad workers upon their leaders for effective action to oppose the onslaughts of

capital. Watch your leaders! Make them toe the mark!

We find thirty-one different organizations, parties to the dispute under Decision 147 of the U. S. Railroad Labor Board. Thirty-one different policies, going thirty-one different ways. Unity for concerted action under such a structural formation is an absolute impossibility. On the other hand, we find some hundred or more railroad companies united solidly as to labor policy through interlocking directorates and their Association of Railway Executives. While the railroad labor unions are squabbling among themselves as to procedure, the employers, by reason of their solidarity, have not only already decided what to do, but are doing it. The battle goes not only to the strong, but also to the swift.

Amalgamations can begin immediately. Let the organizations first take the step along the lines of similar class or nature of work: locomotive engineers fuse with locomotive firemen; conductors with the trainmen and switchmen; then the two engine and train service groups amalgamate together, taking in all of Group 1.

Next, the organizations in Group 2, those who are already feredated closely as Shop Crafts, comprising the Railway Department, A. F. of L., can amalgamate their forces. To make the alignment conform more closely to the plan proposed above, they should take in also the Stationary Firemen and Oilers in railroad service, and the Maintenance of Way workers, both included under Group 3.

Thirdly, the Telegraphers and Clerks, whose work in many cases is very similar, can amalgamate together. This will complete the grouping or amalgamations into bodies of men whose work is of the same general nature. Hair-splitting as to jurisdictional rights and nature of work performed, the old "aristocratic" psychology, should not be allowed to interfere with the general plan. We are after power. The question should be approached in the attitude of give-and-take.

Lastly, the three amalgamated groups, now arranged in a general way, along similarity of work performed, can get together for the larger industrial amalgamation according to industry. This is the combination which will give the railroad workers the power so long sought for. This can be done if the workers will only approach it in the right spirit of solidarity. Nothing less will save the organizations. Leaders, some of them, may hamper or obstruct; there will be many points hard

to overcome, but the result will be well worth the hardest effort.

This step, taken by the old line organizations, will be a challenge to the old dual unionists, those who so loudly proclaimed "solidarity" while practicing the very opposite tactic. Many of them, though right in some of their theories and principles, overlooked the fact that by leaving the old line organizations they drew from the mass organizations much of the best and most militant membership, which accounts in great measure for the backwardness of the mass today. Given a rebel opposition, a militant minority to leaven the old "mossback" unions, a far different story would have been written these many years. Let the dual unions, or at least their minority groups with *vision* for the coming struggles in industry, work their utmost to bring their organizations over to this viewpoint. Get back to the masses! Why did Tom Mann, after his return to England from Australia, from 1910 onward, realize such remarkable results in organizing the English workers? Here is what Robert LaMonte has to say:

"Mann at once began a vigorous propaganda for Industrial Unionism, though he was careful to antagonize the existing trade movement as little as might be. His aim has been to induce the existing unions to open their doors to the unorganized and the unskilled, and to federate or amalgamate themselves into unions as broad as the industries in which they worked. He has never organized new unions save where the workers were unorganized, as among the waterside workers in Dublin; and he organized them, not into a new union, but into the already existing National Transport Workers' Federation. In this work he has been eminently successful." (The New Socialism, page 11; C. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago.) (Emphasis ours.) Let us take a page from experience, acknowledge our past mistakes and build for the new, for, in the words of an old writer:

"Man must be either the Anvil or the Hammer—let each make his choice, and then complain not."

"If you are the Hammer, strike your fill;
"If the Anvil, stand you still!"

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Amalgamation or Annihilation

By Wm. Z. Foster

THE present situation of railroad trade unionism is intolerable. It must be remedied at all costs. The sixteen principal organizations (not to mention the smaller ones) are in disordered retreat before the vicious attacks of the "open shop" employers. Either by direct pressure or through their lickspittle Railroad Labor Board, the railroad owners are whipping the unions singly and in groups. The Clerks, Maintenance of Way, Signalmen, and Stationary Firemen have lost the eight hour day and have had their wages cut to the bone. The shop trades have lost their national agreement and many of its hard-won conditions. Their wages have been slashed, and they have lost much of their work to the "independent" scab shops. So far the transportation men have escaped the lightest, but they are in for a trimming as soon as the roads have done with the other trades. All told the

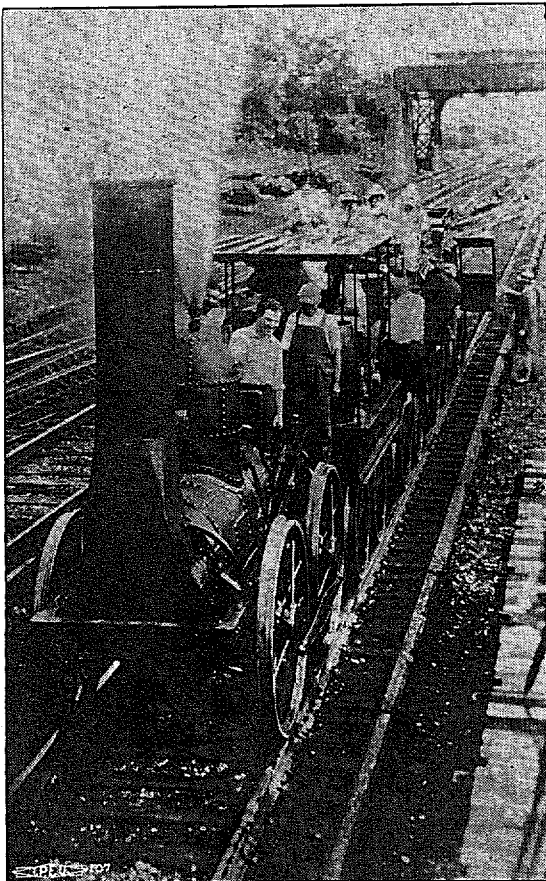
situation is a desperate one. The rank and file of the organizations are becoming discouraged and demoralized and are quitting in large numbers. Unless something drastic is done to stiffen the resistance against the companies the men will find themselves right where we were before the war, in "open shop" slavery.

What must be done? The answer is that we must stop our stupid and ruinous tactics of single trades or groups of trades going alone against the companies while the rest stand around twiddling their thumbs and awaiting the pleasure of the companies to give them a beating. What we must do is to so combine our forces that every railroad worker will stand shoulder to shoulder. We must build up such a solidarity that the entire body of railroaders in the country will move as one man, so that if one section is attacked all the rest will rally to its support. When we have accomplished that, then the "open shop" slave drive will soon come to an end. Really united, the 1,850,000 railroad workers would be invincible.

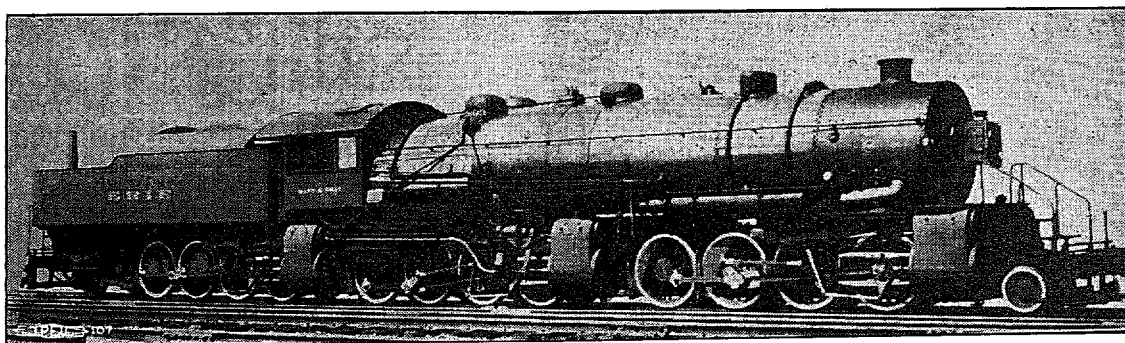
But how can such a thoroughgoing solidarity be built up? How can the great army of railroad men be got to act as a unit? We make bold to say that it can only be done by actually joining the many railroad organizations into one single body. So long as the various trades are in different unions just that long will harmony and common action between them be impossible, and just that long will the companies be able to play one group against another until all are defeated. Federations and "understandings" among the various organizations will not suffice; they always break down in the crisis and leave the workers divided in face of the foe. Only by organic unity of the unions, only through the medium of an organization as broad as the railroad industry, can united action be brought about. For the railroad workers the alternative is clear and inescapable: It is either amalgamation or annihilation.

Some Pretended Objections

Nearly everyone, no matter how reactionary, will admit that it would be a splendid thing to have one powerful organization to include all railroad workers. But many, often sincerely, object that it is an impossibility. They say that it cannot be done. And their reasons range all the way from the childishly ridiculous (like one urged recently in the B. of L. E. Journal that



1832: THE DEWITT CLINTON LOCOMOTIVE
At that time craft unionism was up-to-date



1922: A MODERN LOCOMOTIVE

Now craft unionism is as antiquated as the old DeWitt Clinton

for the Engineers to join hands with the Firemen would be a confession of weakness) to the semi-practical and sensible. Let us take up a few of these objections and see what there is to them:

A favorite one is that such an organization would contain so many classifications of workers that the interests of many of them, particularly the skilled men, would be lost sight of. But there is nothing to this. A general railroad union to include all the workers would have to be constructed upon the departmental plan, like the National Union of Railwaymen of Great Britain. That is, there would be several subdivisions to it. At first there would probably be one for each of the amalgamating unions. Later on, however, when these had been properly absorbed, the number of departments would be reduced as much as necessary; say to one each for enginemen, train service men, shop men, etc. Each of these departments would be headed by a committee composed of the different trades in the department. They would be perfectly capable of representing the interests of their men under any and all circumstances. The combined committees of the departments would make up the general committee. All told it would consist of tradesmen of every sort in the industry and would be thoroughly representative. This general committee would handle the affairs of the great body of railroad workers as a whole, and do it incomparably more efficiently than is now the case.

Another objection often urged is that the great diversity in the dues and benefit systems prevailing in the various organizations (with the unskilled workers charging only \$1.25 or so per month and the Brotherhoods as much as \$4.00 or \$5.00) make it impossible for these organizations to combine. It is argued that it would be a physical impossibility to get the unskilled to raise their dues and benefits to the level of the transportation men, or to get the latter to reduce theirs to the level of the unskilled. But neither of these is necessary. The departmental system

would take care of this problem without the slightest difficulty in a general organization. There is absolutely no valid reason whatever why a different set of dues and benefits could not prevail in the several departments, all based upon the wage rates, or other conditions existing in them. In such a union the Engineers, if they deemed fit, could carry just as much insurance as they now have or even more, and the section men could carry just as little as they wanted. The harmonizing of the many dues and benefit systems, instead of being the insurmountable problem some people believe, would really be solved easily by men determined upon a program of amalgamation and solidarity.

A further contention often urged by the opponents of amalgamation is that all the unions could never be gotten to agree to such a combining of their forces, that there would be bound to be one or more stand out and thus wreck the whole business. But such an argument will not stand up either. The fact is that under the departmental system the amalgamation could be brought about all at once or piecemeal, just as circumstances dictated. If all the unions agreed to go along, well and good, the combination could be formed complete, each union being given its department. But if only a few consented to the plan, while the rest hesitated, these few could be joined together, setting up the necessary departments. Later on, as fast as the other unions became converted to the project, they could be added to the general amalgamation and provided with their proper departments. We should aim at a complete amalgamation of all the trades, but we must be prepared, if necessary, to hook them together in ones and twos and threes, just as they join the movement. The thing can be done.

The metal trades men usually object that a general amalgamation would ruin their organizations because it would cut them in two, detaching the powerful railroad branches of their unions from the struggling contract shop sections.

But like all the other contentions against amalgamation, there is nothing to this one either. There would be no necessity to split the Machinists', Blacksmiths', of any of the other metal trades unions. On the contrary, such a division of them would have to be scrupulously avoided. All that would be necessary would be to transfer the bargaining power and strike control of the shop mechanics from the present craft officers into the hands of the railroad organization, and a sufficient share of the per capita tax to finance this work. The blacksmiths', machinists', etc. would remain affiliated with their respective craft unions, even as now. The vital difference would be that the latter would have nothing to say as to when they should strike or stay at work. That power would rest entirely with the general railroad union, which would thus be able to establish real solidarity of the workers in action. The Railway Employees' Department is a start, even though a very poor one, in this general direction. Everything that leads to strengthening its control over the affiliated railroad trades (as against their control by the old unions) is a step away from craft unionism and towards industrial organization.

Often the weak argument is put forth that a general railroad amalgamation would be such a large organization that it could not be handled. But this is childish. The British Miners' Federation has 1,125,000 members and it functions as easily as any craft union. The same is true of the giant Metal Workers' Union of Germany. It consists of metal trades workers of every sort, from those who make jewelry to those who build battleships. It has no less than 1,800,000 members. What European workers have done, Americans can accomplish also. Size is a great advantage, not a disadvantage, in the labor struggle.

The Real Objection

The foregoing are the most important of the arguments commonly made against amalgamation. But there is no weight to any of them, as even a casual examination shows. Labor practice all over the world has given them the lie. Indeed, they are not real objections at all; they are only so much camouflage to obscure the actual opposition to amalgamation. And what, then, is this hidden and powerful opposition? It is nothing else but a fear, conscious or unconscious, by the paid officials of the various organizations that they might lose their good jobs if the numerous bodies were fused together. That is the true obstacle to amalgamation. All the rest is but make-believe, arguments conjured up out of thin air to hide the real reason.

It is a deplorable fact that everywhere the very greatest difficulty to be overcome in join-

ing the workers' organizations into more powerful combinations is this job of the officialdom. It makes but little difference what industry or what country we consider, the thing works out pretty much the same. Nearly always the officials are against proposed amalgamations. No matter how badly the fusion of the organizations may be needed they can rarely be made to see its necessity. Usually they are adamant in their opposition. Sometimes this is consciously based upon job fear, but mostly it is unconscious. A typical case of the former was that of the International Association of Car Workers. That organization was ordered by the American Federation of Labor to amalgamate with the Railway Carmen. But it flatly refused to do so. And why? Simply because of the personal ambition of Patsy Richardson, who carried it in his pocket. He knew that he would not be the big fish in the new combination, and rather than play second fiddle he was willing to play into the hands of the railroad companies by splitting the workers into two warring camps. And the same thing has occurred upon scores and hundreds of other occasions. Have we not seen time and again little rags of craft organizations fighting desperately against being fused with other unions so that the workers might have some real power? And have we ever seen the officials of the unions in question lack for "arguments" to sustain their position, so fatal to the interests of the workers.

It is only fair, however, to say that much of the job fear of the officials is unconscious, or sub-conscious. They have good positions and this automatically prejudices them against anything which may cause the loss of them. When they hear a proposition of amalgamation proposed, they instinctively react against it as, by wiping out much duplication of effort, it seems to threaten their jobs. They do this not because they are bad, but because they are human beings. Men are swayed in their judgement almost entirely by their material interests, and officials generally have (or think they have) a material interest against amalgamation. Hence they oppose it flatly. Occasionally a few men can rise above this narrow conception and voluntarily yield for the benefit of the mass. But they are rare exceptions. In general, the only way one can interest officials in amalgamation is to prove to them that they will not suffer personally by it. If there are a dozen unions in an industry, and the president of one is convinced that he would be the president of an amalgamation of all of them, he will be hot foot for such an amalgamation, and the presidents of all the other unions (with the rare exception above noted) will be bitterly opposed to it. This is a common-

(Continued on page 30)

The Revolt of the Textile Workers

By W. E. Vinyarn

THE greatest strike witnessed in the textile industry began on January 23rd. Starting in the Pawtuxet Valley, Rhode Island, it extended quickly to Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont; like a great wave this demonstration of protest of the textile workers spread until it involved upwards of 50,000 cotton workers.

The cause of the revolt lay in the terrible working conditions in the industry. For generations the disease-breeding mills in the cotton industry have sucked the life of the workers, and greedy employers have ground down wages to bare subsistence level and below. Six months ago the wages, already at a starvation point, received a general cut of 20%. This cut into their very hearts was accepted by the timid and oppressed workers without a struggle. In January, emboldened by their previous success, the employers announced another cut of 22½% and an increase in hours from 48 to 54 per week. This was the straw that broke the camel's back. It was the signal for the strike.

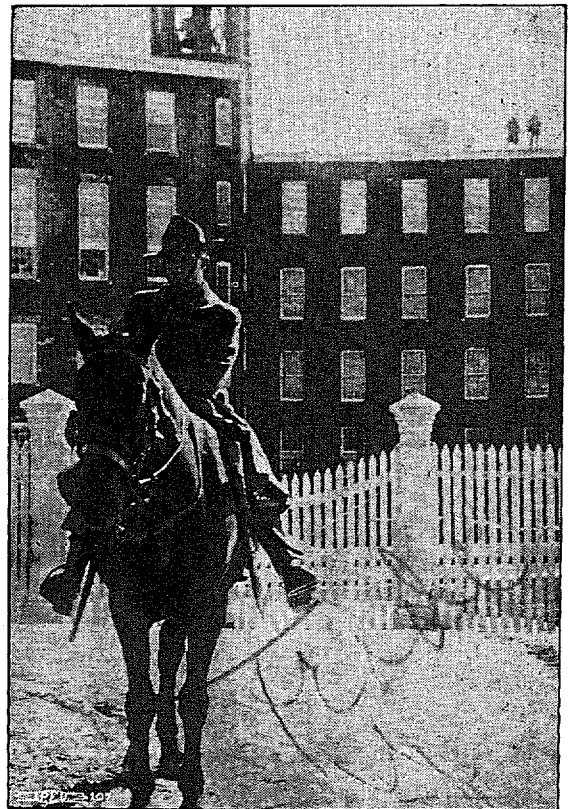
In the little village of Natick there was a local of the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America. They succeeded in striking the big mill of the B. B. and R. Knight Company on the morning the cut was to go into effect. The strikers then marched to the two adjoining mills and struck them. A speaker was sent from the Providence local to the mass-meeting of the strikers that afternoon. "The other workers are as anxious as you to resist this cut. Go ask them to join you," he said. The "Iron Battalion" was formed forthwith. The other mills were called upon and the whole Pawtuxet Valley was tied up 100% in a few days. The A. T. W. of A. enrolled thousands of members.

In the adjoining Blackstone Valley things went slower—not that the rank and file of the workers willed it so, but the red tape of officialdom held them in check. In that valley the United Textile Workers of America had a few locals of different crafts or departments. These naturally wanted their national officers to take the helm. But the International President was taken sick, and other "important" incidents happened to hinder action, so that nearly two weeks went by before the mills in the Blackstone Valley started to come out. Their strike was not so prompt and clear cut as in the Pawtuxet Valley, but

eventually they tied up all the mills and established a solid front.

The 12,000 workers in the Amoskeag Mills at Manchester, N. H., which are organized in the United Textile Workers, shortly afterwards joined the strike. Numerous other mills followed, until finally the cotton strikers totalled more than 50,000.

The mill-owners, swollen with their fat war-profits, and filled with rage at the rebellion of their hitherto so meek employees, fought the strike with great bitterness. With their enormous wealth they control the State institutions, and quickly the militia was thrown into the strike areas with instructions to shoot to kill. Private armies were also recruited, and the mills became small fortresses, with machine guns on roofs, and thugs and gunmen at every turn. Police were armed with shotguns. All this array of millions and of guns was pitted against the soup-kitchens



MOUNTED TROOPERS ON GUARD

On the roof of the mill can be seen machine gunners, part of the private army of the cotton owners



POLICE WITH RIOT GUNS

These are the kind of guns which fired into a crowd of strikers.

and solidarity of the striking cotton workers. The guns killed several of the strikers, but solidarity kept the mills closed.

The employers sullenly refused all offers of arbitration, and all attempts at mediation, preferring to fight the battle out to a conclusion on the basis of naked power.

The cotton workers were totally unprepared for the bitter struggle that broke over their heads. They had neither organization nor understanding of how to conduct themselves in a battle against the employers. They suffered from the same demoralization that prevails throughout the entire textile industry. This demoralization is due chiefly to the epidemic of dual unionism to which the textile industry had been subject for many years past. I call it dual unionism, but "multiple unionism" would probably be a better name, for there has been a regular shoal of independent and disconnected unions in the industry. It seems as tho every time a new revolutionary sect develops, or a new theory of unionism is worked out, its proponents come to the textile industry and set up a new labor movement there. The consequence is that the mass of the workers are so confused and demoralized by the conflicting claims of the various organizations that they don't know which way to turn, and so they remain unorganized and helpless.

The extent to which dualism has afflicted textile industry unionism may be judged from the following list of organizations, each of which either has now, or has had recently,

important influence in the industry. In addition to the United Textile Workers of America, which is the original organization, there are the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America, One Big Union, Industrial Workers of the World, Workers' International Industrial Union, besides nine or ten independent craft unions, several split-offs from the above unions, and innumerable rumors of more splits and more organizations that may lead to further splits. Unless this dividing up tendency is stopped I prophecy that it will not be long until there is a separate union for each worker in the industry.

This condition in the organizational field among the textile workers is a very real condition. I can name 15 organizations that now exist in this field, and there are certainly others which I do not know of. The list makes an imposing show, and occupies a lot of space to write it down, but it certainly does not reflect strength and power on the part of the textile workers. What could demonstrate weakness and lack of organization more than a list like this, each name standing for a separate union now acting more or less in the textile industry?

United Textile Workers,
Amalgamated Textile Workers,
Industrial Workers of the World,
One Big Union,
American Federation of Textile Operatives,
National Loom Fixers Association,
Amalgamated Lace Operatives,
American Federation of Full Fashioned
Hosiery Workers,

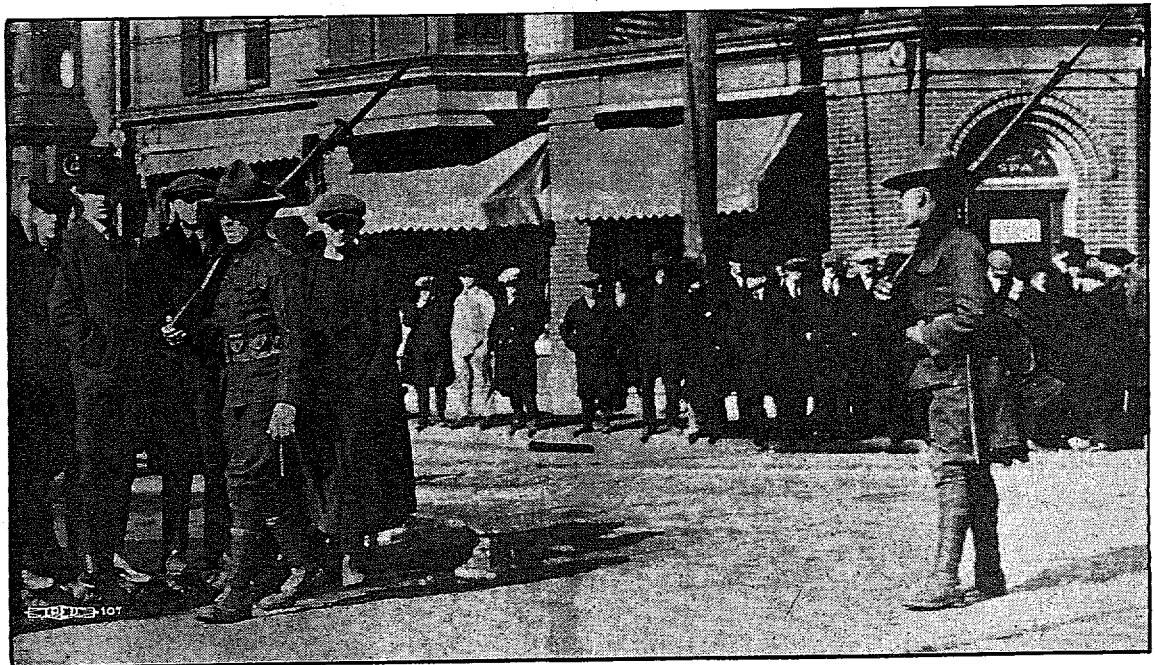
Brussels Body Weavers,
Mechanical Workers Union,
Tapestry Carpet Workers Union,
Associated Silk Workers,
Workers' International Industrial Union,
International Spinners Union,
Amalgamated Knit Goods Workers.

A typical case of splitting the splits occurred in Lawrence at the end of 1920. Following the big strike, which had taken place recently, the Amalgamated Textile Workers, itself organized as a rival to the United Textile Workers, was in control of the bulk of the workers in the Lawrence mills. But this did not suit the chronic dualists, advocates of union perfectionism. They soon found cause to disrupt the organization. It seems that the Amalgamated officials did not part their hair exactly right, or that they were delinquent in certain fine points of industrial union doctrine, so the dualist enthusiasts, led by Ben Legere, recognized that there was nothing left for them to do but to destroy the predominant organization and start a new one. Therefore they launched a branch of the Canadian One Big Union. Later this split-off split again into two sections. The final and natural outcome of such confusion and secessionism was the practical destruction of the Amalgamated Textile Workers in Lawrence and the disappearance

of unionism generally among the local textile slaves.

The great cotton strike, which at present writing is still on, emphasizes again the need for unity among the textile workers. Until such unity is achieved they will be helpless under the heel of their ruthless masters, notwithstanding possible local victories now and again. The necessary unity can never be accomplished so long as the old policy is followed of launching new organizations that are supposedly based upon more accurate ideas and scientific plans than the others already in the field. There must be a return to first principles. Efforts must be made to start a movement among all the various factions of the textile workers, that will culminate in joining them together into one mass organization. We have had more than enough of splits. The process must be reversed. We must join the unions together, instead of dividing them up. This will have to be the work of the Trade Union Educational League. No other organization in the country can or will undertake the job.

In the meantime, all possible financial assistance should be given to the starving strikers. All donations should be sent to the American Federation of Labor, or to Russel Palmer, General Secretary of the Amalgamated Textile Workers, 7 East 15th St., New York City.



MILITIA GUARDING JENCKES COTTON MILL

At Pawtucket, R. I., on the scene where one striker was killed and eight wounded by the police

Chicago Federation for Amalgamation

THE Chicago Federation of Labor has long been noted as one of the most clear-sighted and progressive central bodies in the American labor movement. It has never failed to point out the necessities of the situation, and to indicate the action that must be taken. At its meeting on March 19th, it went on record overwhelmingly for a general amalgamation of the craft unions in the various industries, when it adopted the following resolution, submitted to it by the unanimous Organization Committee. The labor movement, sooner or later, will have to adopt the course indicated hereunder by the Chicago Federation of Labor, representing 325,000 organized workers:

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS: The employers throughout the nation have solidly united, being bound together by a solidarity of interest and organization which leaves no room for divided action or desertions, and moreover, they are supported by the government, the courts and the press in any union-smashing undertaking they engage in, and

WHEREAS: They are carrying on a vicious attack upon the Labor Movement, singling out various unions and forcing them to engage in a bitter struggle for self-preservation, and

WHEREAS: These unions, because they are divided against themselves along trade lines and are thus unable to make united resistance against the employers, constantly suffer defeat after defeat, with heavy losses in membership and serious lowering of the workers' standards of living and working conditions, and

WHEREAS: The only solution for the situation is the development of a united front by the workers through the amalgamation of the various trade unions so that there will remain only one union for each industry, therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That we, the Chicago Federation of Labor, in regular meeting, call upon the American Federation of Labor to take the necessary action toward bringing about the required solidarity within the ranks of organized labor, and that as a first step in this direction, that the various international unions be called into conference for the purpose of arranging to amalgamate all the unions in the respective industries into single organizations, each of which shall cover an industry.

Organize the Organized

By L. M. Hawver

IN recent hearings before the Railroad Labor Board, our unions spent tremendous energies, and enormous sums of money, to plead for the unification of the operating systems of the railroads into one national system. W. Jett Lauck spent a great deal of time, and much of our hard-earned money, to prepare and present arguments for this unification of the railroads. And the arguments we thus brought forward were good arguments. They were unanswerable arguments. We failed to win our case before the Board but we won before the court of common sense and the interests of the vast majority. But if our unions had hired W. Jett Lauck for only a few hours to prepare arguments for the unification of the *railroad unions*, he could have prepared arguments even more clinching and powerful. The railroads are already unified so far as dealing with us workers is concerned. In wage negotiations they act unitedly and as one. And where there is one argument for their further unification, there are ten better ones for the amalgamation of our unions into one union for the entire railroad industry.

The Old Way and the New

There have been many railroad men in the past who have realized this need, but unfortunately their energies have been side-tracked onto the blind-siding of dual unionism. Since the days of the A. R. U. too many of our efforts for *one railroad union* have been directed toward deserting our present organizations and beginning all over again. This policy can lead us only to defeat and disaster. Let us at once realize this, and repudiate once and for all the idea that we shall scrap our present unions. On the contrary, we must say loudly and firmly, that our unions, built up through years of untold effort, shall be preserved at all costs. But they shall not stand still, they must change and progress toward greater power, greater efficiency, and greater solidarity. They must take the path of coming closer and closer together and amalgamating all our organized forces into one great force for the railroad workers. These organizations to which we have given our life's energy must be made to do the things we want done.

More Power and Economy

The first and strongest reason for amalgamating our unions is the increase in our power to deal with the employers. In the same way that

100 workers in a union are 1000 times stronger than the same men going it alone, so we will get the same rate of increase in our power by uniting all our unions together. Federation *adds* together the strength of our unions, but amalgamation will *multiply* it. In addition to this, however, there are other reasons, any one of which would constitute an unanswerable argument for this step. Take the question of economy. Our paychecks are not so large that we can afford to squander even a small part in inefficient organization and duplication of effort. What is the case today? We railroadmen have to hold sixteen different national conventions, the money cost of which (if W. Jett Lauck would only give us the statistics on it, which he could easily do) would stagger us if we knew the figures. Today we have sixteen inefficient and unread trade journals; one half the energy and money spent upon these could produce a national railroad daily paper, reaching and informing every railroad worker every day in the year. Sixteen sets of officers, organizers, greivers, chairmen, committeemen, cross each others trails and collide with one another in wasted efforts and duplication of energy; an amalgamated union could do all this more efficiently with one-tenth the force, turning the released men and money toward completing and perfecting our organization. This principle of economy would work out in every phase of our union work.

How Can We Do It

Amalgamation is our necessary next step; what lines will it follow, and what will be the method of procedure? This question can be answered by looking at our history for the past ten years. We must complete the process we have started in our System Federations, and the Railway Employee's Department. We must take hold of our Federations and the Department and unify them, making of them the instrument we want. We have been moving closer together for years. The establishment of the Federation of Federations in 1912 was one big step; all of our best thought and energy has been along this line, of concentrating our organizational strength. The next step is to *unify* these federated organizations with a single executive committee, the present separate unions becoming departments in the amalgamated union. This can be done with two or three or four unions, if only that many

(Continued to page 31)

How the "Machine" beat Howat

By John Dorsey

ALLEX. HOWAT and the Kansas miners were not fairly defeated at the recent miners' convention. Lewis won by the use of tactics that would shame Tammany Hall in its palmiest days. The incident was but one more in the long effort of the reactionary administration to crush the valiant fighter, Howat.

In order to show how some of the trickery was worked it will be well for us to start at the inception of the convention struggle. As everyone knows, the charters of the Kansas local unions were revoked and Dorchy and Howat, then in jail, expelled from the organization when they refused to obey the dictates of Lewis and knuckle under to the Kansas operators. All this was contrary to the International constitution, because no man may be removed from an official position (much less expelled from the union) without first having had a trial—and to this day Howat and Dorchy have not only had no trial, but they have not even been told why they were expelled. A fine situation this, indeed. Here is Lewis complaining about the unfairness of the capitalist courts and then he turns around and denies a trial to members of his own organiza-

tion in a way that no capitalist court in the country would be guilty of. It will take Organized Labor many years to live down the shame of the Howat case.

Howat went to the convention determined to get a square deal. He demanded a hearing, but Lewis, ruling that he was not a member of the organization and also that the convention was empowered only to consider scale questions, refused to give it to him. Howat upset this shaky contention by pointing out that every member had the right to a hearing at the convention before he could be expelled, and also that the present convention was not a special one, but merely a continuation of the September convention. He appealed to the body to reject Lewis's ruling, which it did with a rousing majority.

This was a fair test of strength, and it showed that the bulk of the delegates were with Howat and determined that the constitution and the principles of unionism should be lived up to. But Lewis was not deterred by this facer. His partisans immediately demanded a roll call—which represents an expense to the miners' union of about \$40,000. To secure a roll call the support of 700 dele-



LARGEST STEAM SHOVEL IN THE WORLD
A Kansas Strip Mine

gates was necessary. About 400 stood up, but these were conveniently counted as enough and the roll call ordered accordingly. The steam-roller, thoroughly oiled, was working fine. All that remained to do further was to count Howat out of the vote, and that was done scientifically enough.

Padding the Vote

The first move of the administration was an attempt to call the roll without the delegates being in possession of the customary printed report of the credentials' committee showing who was entitled to vote. But this did not go, it was too raw. The Howat forces insisted upon getting copies of the report. Defeated in this maneuver, the Lewis supporters were not slow to devise another. The claim was made that the credentials' committee's report had not yet been printed and that the convention would have to wait until such was done. Result, over two days' delay, and a splendid opportunity for the machine to fix things up so that the vote would go their way.

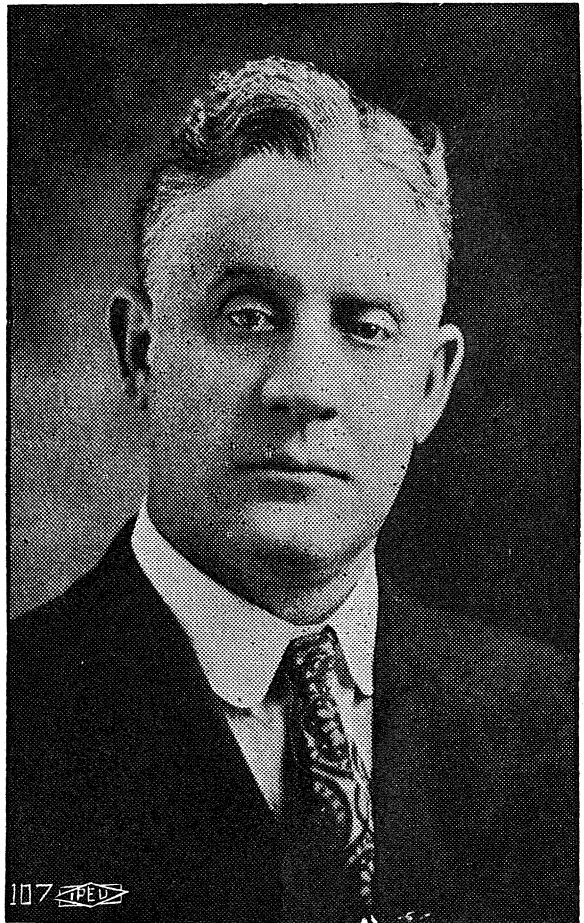
Finally the vote was completed, and on the face of it it showed that the administration had won by 2,073 against 1955, or a majority of 118. But even a cursory examination of the vote shows that Howat had a clear majority, probably as much as 400. Take the Kansas delegation's vote, for example. This body cast 63 votes against Howat, whereas, in all fairness, they should not have been allowed to vote at all as it was their case that was being tried. Howat lost not only the 125 votes of the old Kansas delegation, who were ruled out, but he also had the votes of the provisional organization cast against him. Had there been any honesty prevailing in the situation, the readjustment of the Kansas case alone would have given Howat a clear and clean majority. In passing, it is interesting to note that the administration advanced the Kansas provisional delegates \$100 each to come to the convention. Why, if not merely to pile up the vote against Howat?

But Kansas was only a detail in the general skullduggery to beat Howat. The administration whipped the paid officialdom of the organization into line and voted them solid against Howat. With the exception of John Brophy, Mother Jones, the Illinois officials and a scattering one here and there, the great number of district officers, international organizers, etc., voted with Lewis. They cast at least 700 votes, and if we count the votes of those who are dangling for jobs, the "payroll" vote would probably run up to almost twice

that number. The nature of the vote was that the actual miner delegates voted overwhelmingly for Howat and the officialdom almost entirely against him. It was the bureaucracy against the rank and file.

Many were the schemes used to swell the administration vote. One stunt that netted scores was this: In U. M. W. A. conventions the roll is called twice, the second time for absentees on the first call. Consequently the habit has developed for most of the delegates to stay away from the second call, when they have already cast their votes. Knowing this, the administration took advantage of it by not registering many votes that were cast for Howat on the first call. Then they called off the names again on the second call, and the delegates, believing that they had voted, would not be there to respond, and would be marked down "not voting." In this manner Howat lost many votes. How many it is impossible to say, but probably enough to have changed the final result. One delegate declared that

(Continued on page 23)



ALEXANDER HOWAT

The Urge for Unity

By Jay Fox

IN THE course of human events it becomes necessary from time to time to change our working plans. Not because they were wrong at the beginning. Often plans that are quite well suited to one period become useless at another because of a change in the conditions with which they had to deal. Let us take our trade union movement as an example in point:

Fifty or more years ago when our unions were founded industry was in its infancy. Manufacturing was confined to small individually owned factories, and there was a keen cut-throat competition for trade between the various owners. Under those conditions the trade unions could cope with the situation and did good service for the workers. However, capital accumulated rapidly and after the civil war huge corporations were formed, liquidating the small employers.

With the growth of these great corporations came the first real attack upon the trade unions. They not only refused to recognize the unions but combined amongst themselves to blacklist union men and initiated legislation having as its object the curbing of the union's freedom of action.

If, at that time, the unions had been alert and followed the lead of the employers by amalgamating their unions into industrial combinations of workers the condition of labor would be vastly different from what it is today. Instead, the unions struggled along in the old way against ever-increasing odds until today their activities are restricted on every hand and the closed shop confined to insignificant small employers. Eventually organized labor became partially awakened to the pressing need for industrial action and created industrial departments in the A. F. of L. But the short period of their activities has shown that as substitutes for industrial unions these departments are utter failures. There are too many unions to be brought to one mind for concerted action; too many officials to be satisfied. If we were all angels any sort of union would do; being mere humans we must have a form of union that will function with the least amount of friction.

Departmentism is in line of evolution. It leads in the right direction. Due to their natural conservatism workingmen try out all

sorts of makeshifts before they make a radical change. Having tried departmentism and found it wanting the next move must be Industrialism—the amalgamation of all unions in each industry into one union. For several years past the International Association of Machinists has been committed to the idea of the amalgamation of all the unions in the metal industry, but thus far no other union has come to the front. The rank and file are sleeping on the job. They see the power and prestige of their unions slipping away. They are discontented. They growl about the deplorable condition of their crafts; but growls wont improve their conditions. It is well to be discontented, but it takes action to get bread. We must close up our ranks all down the line. The industrial union is as necessary today as the craft union was forty years ago. — “Affiliation of unions” won't work. The Allies tried affiliation of commands in France, and it nearly cost them the war. The One Big Union of the German General Staff taught them a lesson in unionism they will never forget. Finally, rather than suffer defeat, the Allies were forced to sink their individual commands in one General Staff. Then they won the war.

In the light of this palpable fact let us turn our eyes upon our union movement with its hundred and a quarter general staffs going up against the One Big Industrial general staff in Wall Street. Is it any wonder we are making no progress in our battle for tolerable living conditions? We are working long hours while millions are without any work. We are accepting wage cuts. We are clubbed and shot and jailed and defeated when we strike. Why? Too many general staffs; too many unions and not enough unionism. “We are affiliated and federated, but that is not unionism,” writes the Toledo Metal Trades Council, addressing the metal trades on the subject. “Our proposition is to amalgamate the different national and international unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Council into *one organization*.” These metal workers show they have a thorough understanding of needs of the toilers.

Suppose the metal trades were banded together in one compact organization, what fool would say that the metal industry would be

in the abject condition for the workers it is in today? With few exceptions it is open shop; all the big factories flout unionism, and the union men they employ must work under cover for fear of losing their jobs. Wages are below the decent living line; hours are long and working conditions bad. The union men that stand by their unions in the face of the tremendous odds that is pitted against them are the heroes of modern industry. They are the very choicest material for the foundation of great industrial unions.

If the railroad brotherhoods were ONE instead of many, the Railroad Labor Board wouldn't be slashing wages, lengthening hours and in numerous other ways breaking down conditions that it has taken over fifty years of costly toil and suffering to build up. Railroad work is dangerous, responsible work. The railroad workers are well organized but they are *not united*. Thus a bunch of politicians, at the behest of the bondholders, can hold them up and rob them of their dearly bought conditions. It is time the railroad men came to a realization of their plight and took steps to build a real union out of their brotherhoods, that are little more today than insurance societies. A real union would take care of their insurance. It would also see to it that they would not have to die before getting the benefits of unionism.

In the building industry one union would at all times present a solid front to the solid front of the Master Builders' Associations and it wouldn't permit "arbitrators" to break down their uniform conditions, as was recently the case in Chicago, throwing the whole building trades movement into chaos and causing untold suffering to the rank and file.

In like manner the other industries—garment, printing, transport, food, etc.—are suffering from lack of unity between their different craft units. On the other hand, the ever increasing power of the employers, both as to wealth and organization, is reducing, day by day, the small measure of strength the unions still retain. Something must be done and done quickly or the labor movement will be so weakened and restricted that it will be entirely useless as a defense of the workers.

With about ten compact unions covering all industries the power and prestige of the labor movement would at once be increased a hundred fold. The power which such a change would give to the unions would attract the non-union workers while repelling the advances of the capitalist. With the advent of such powerful industrial unions would appear

a solidarity in the labor movement heretofore undreamed of. It is not for want of sympathy that so few sympathetic strikes occur today. Weak unions risk too much by striking. Remove risk by increased power and the workers will be free to express the sympathy they naturally feel for each other.

Just as we are driven to the formation of industrial unions to protect our crafts so will we be driven to the further step of protecting our industrial unions by a union of industrial unions that will have power to act. With industrial units the A. F. of L. can easily become the most powerful economic institution in America. What today is a mere shell of an organization, with no power to do anything but talk, and then doesn't say anything vital, can and will become a real federation of labor.

We have had talk enough, especially of the watery middle-class kind that issues from our headquarters in Washington. What we want now, and must have, is action. And this action must come from below because it will not come from above. The men at the top have jobs to lose and we cannot expect them to take the initiative. In fact we may reasonably expect them to oppose this movement on one pretext or another; but we must always keep clearly in our minds the very vital fact that the change to industrial unionism will greatly reduce the number of officials; thus we will not be misled by any opposition coming from official sources.

There is no sentiment in this movement. This is a struggle for bread and freedom—a fight for life. The power that be, organized capital, is busy making laws and judges to put unions out of business. We may as well quit as submit to compulsory arbitration. And that "remedy for unionism" is not coming, it is here already—in Kansas and Colorado. Soon there will be a similar law passed by Congress. And why not?

The capitalists are not idle dreamers. They put their dreams over. Let us put over this very practical and necessary dream of amalgamation as the first step in our progress towards the dawn of economic freedom.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

Leagues are requested to prepare to select delegates for the National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League, the time and place of which will be announced in the May issue of the Labor Herald. This will be one of the most important labor events of the year.

Which International?

By Earl R. Browder

RECENT events are convincing even the most conservative union men, that the labor unions of the different countries must be united. There must be an International of the Trade Unions. This must be so, because the enemy, the capitalists and the employers, are organized internationally and can continue to defeat us year after year, unless we are organized to meet their international front.

Need for International

The employers are organized across their national borders, even those of Germany with those of France, England and the United States. It is no accident that Stinnes, the German capitalist, makes billions out of the sweated products of German workingmen; while at the same time these goods flood the markets of the world and cause our factories to shut down. The employing class is trying throughout the world to break the trade unions. Its strongest weapon is the cheap German labor, and the indemnities which are wrung out of Labor by the German capitalists.

The German situation is only one side; the same things are true, in different measure, of the workers and capitalists of all countries. The capitalists are organized to pit the workers of one country against the workers of another. That is the way they are now winning in their drive for the "open shop." American miners send coal to Britain which helps to break the British miners' strike; British miners will return the favor when the American miners go out.

The trade union movement of the United States has no international affiliations. But within the next year this question is going to become a burning one—we must unite with the trade unionists of other countries. And then the question will arise—Which International? For there are two competing bodies on the international field, one, the International Federation of Trade Unions with headquarters at Amsterdam, and the other the Red Trade Union International, with headquarters at Moscow.

Amsterdam Federation

The Amsterdam International was organized under the protection and with the co-

operation of the capitalist League of Nations. It was formed by those trade union leaders who had delivered the unions into the hands of the Governments during the war. Legien, Jouhaux, Appleton, Huber, Thomas, and others were the leading lights; these are the same men who simultaneously were carrying out the formation of the Labor Bureau of the League of Nations, that capitalist annex which meets each year to talk contentment to the unionmen. The same men who officered the League of Nations Bureau, also officered the Amsterdam International. Add to this the fact that the Amsterdam International was formed without a program, without any definite guiding principles, without in any way telling to the workers of the world what course they expected to follow, and we can see what kind of an International this one is. It has consistently followed its first steps; it had been a weak echo of the League of Nations in all matters of working class welfare, and in internal tactics in the unions it has been a savage disruptor. The latest work of destruction done by Amsterdam is the split in the Confederation of Labor in France, which was forced by the Amsterdam International against the determined efforts of the French trade unionists.

Aside from such work of disruption, the Amsterdam International has done nothing but talk and pass resolutions. Not one single clear-cut act can be pointed to as evidence that this is an International of the organized working class, and hardly even a word to show that it thinks of the great problems facing the trade unions of the world. Amsterdam, in short, is the last stand of the forces of reaction in the labor movement; it is the organized "stand-patters," those who never learn, and whose highest conception of the movement is as a means to get a fat Government job.

The Red Trade Union International

The Red Trade Union International has quite a different aspect. It was organized on the initiative of the Russian trade unions, under the protection of the first Workers' Republic. It was formed by the trade unions, and union groups, who resented the betrayal in the Great War, and who were bitterly opposed to delivering the labor movement to the League of Nations. The first move in its

formation was the action of the First All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions, which resolved: "The Russian Trade Union movement cannot carry out its task without entering into close contact with the international trade union movement. The Congress regards it as its duty to co-operate to the fullest extent of its power in the revival of the international trade union congress. . ." It also decided to call such a Congress in Petrograd on the fifth of February, 1919. This attempt to get the trade unions together failed, because of the savage war which was launched against Russia at that time by the Entente Powers. Other attempts were made, which also failed. It was not until the summer of 1920 that the first practical steps could be made to form the Red Trade Union International.

In the years 1919-20 an active opposition to the policies of the Amsterdam International had sprung up in every country. In England began a remarkable agitation for direct action and struggle against the capitalist government; in France the little group organized by Monatte in 1914 to protest against the war policies, rapidly enlarged itself, brought out the revolutionary paper "La Vie Ouvriere" once more, and rapidly developed, until in 1921 they controlled half of the unions. Monatte and Rosmer led this movement with outspoken denunciation of the Amsterdammers. In Italy almost the entire movement was supposedly against Amsterdam. In Spain fully three-quarters of the organized workers had declared for the revolutionary attitude. In Germany the unions were in the hands of the Majority Socialists, but an organized minority of revolutionists amounting to more than a million workers, had been organized inside the unions. The Austrian, the Hungarian and the Checho-Slovakian unions were still held by the Amsterdam Federation, but strong minorities were organized in opposition. Jugoslavia, Esthonia, Norway, and other smaller countries had lined up with the revolutionary position. During these post-war years the labor movement was in ferment, masses were swarming into the unions, old loyalties and leaderships were giving way to new ones, and new trails were being made.

In the summer of 1920, for the first time since the war closed, there came an opportunity to bring all these elements of revolt together. Many trade union leaders of the world were in Russia, and they were called into consultation by the All-Russian Trade Union Executive and that of the III International on the question of forming a new Inter-

national of Trade Unions. Out of these conferences was selected a provisional executive committee, known as the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions, charged to prepare for a World Congress of Trade Unions in 1921.

The long-looked-for World Congress was called together eleven months after the Provisional Council was formed. The scope of this Congress exceeded all expectations. Whole national labor movements were represented; in other cases separate sections of the national unions; and in many cases, such as the United States, the representation was principally that of minority groups or city central bodies. It was estimated by the Provisional Council in its report that fully 15,000,000 trade unionists had declared their allegiance to the new International. Delegates were present from 42 countries, to the number of 384; although those given votes in the Congress were from 29 countries only, those with an established and working trade union movement. This Congress definitely organized the Red Trade Union International, uniting within itself all the active, courageous, healthy elements in the world's labor movement.

Stands for Unity

The Red International has, since its organization, very definitely shown what its policy means for the working masses; already it has stepped forward as the only spokesman for the workers of the world on the International trade union field. An outstanding evidence of the purpose and sincerity of the program of the Red International, looking toward the unity and power of the trade unions of the world, is seen in the strenuous efforts made to prevent the split in the Confederation of Labor of France. This split was deliberately brought about by the Amsterdam clique, the purpose of which could only be to deliver the unions into the hands of the Government. The Congress of the Red International emphatically opposed all attempts to split any national trade union movement; the French revolutionaries carried out this policy to the letter, by refusing to break with the old union even when the yellows controlled them by trickery. Up to the last moment before the split was finally forced by Jouhaux by the expulsion of over half of the C. G. T., the adherents of the Red International fought against the split. In December, Losovsky, Secretary of the Red International, sent a wire to the Amsterdam International proposing a conference of the

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The Need for Amalgamation

By a Sylvis III. Railroad Man

WHEN in the course of human tragedies, craft unionism goes bankrupt, it is high time for us railroad workers to begin to look around to find a way out of our present predicament. Our unions, which we once so proudly thought were able to meet the railroad companies on a basis of equality of power, are giving way weakly and pitiably, on point after point. We are losing ground every day, and every day sees us weaker and less able to make a fight.

Our present leaders tell us that this is not the time to fight. They tell us that we are not in a position to win. And then instead of laying before us some plan for strengthening ourselves, for preparing to fight, for changing this down-grade course we are following, they are silent. They have nothing to offer.

But we men who work on the roads, we men in the shops who have to feel the full effects of these wage cuts and changed working rules, we will not remain silent. We have in the past allowed our officials an almost absolute dictatorship over our affairs. No wonder that now they think only of perpetuating their own offices. But if these officials tell us "hands off" when we commence to take up our own affairs, we will reply to them: "You held your power in the past because our wages were not going down. Stop this drive against our wages, if you expect to hold our respect."

But our officials are helpless. Discrimination against our men is allowed without even protest. We are forced to find some way of action, we must get out of this present condition. And the only way is the amalgamation of all our forces into one railroad union. We must force our officials to put this into effect, if they will not listen to reason.

Recently we had an example in our shops here of why we are becoming weak and losing our strength. A militant pipe fitter was discharged by an officious assistant superintendent, for no valid reason, but principally to show his authority. Now the pipe fitters, under our out-of-date system of organization have been kicked around from one jurisdiction to another until they have become disheartened, and have no affiliation anywhere. When our Machinists' Committee, which believed in that almost forgotten slogan, "An injury to one is the concern of all," interceded in his behalf, an attempt was made by the officials to get the committee fired, and they were unmercifully criticized from the angle of pure

and simple (mostly simple) craft unionism. Luckily, we had a larger percentage than usual of intelligent members present at the meeting when this was taken up, so the pure and simplers failed. But their spirit is the spirit that still moves our officials, and that is why we are weak, and must take what the bosses give, without doing anything about it.

Railroad men have got to forget that they are nut-splitters, kettle-menders, etc., and instead realize that with the small group of railroad owners pooling their forces to break the unions and reduce wages, to abrogate agreements and to eliminate overtime—in short, to force us to accept conditions that existed years ago—with this condition facing us, it behooves every railroad man to get out of the old ruts of selfish and narrow craftism, to join hands with each other and unite their power. Then instead of a few federated crafts, without complete solidarity, meekly begging at the doorstep of the managers, we will have one Amalgamated Railroad Union standing erect and making demands, which, if not granted, would simply mean one united move of all railroad men. We would then just go and hold an old time barbecue until they sent for us.

Amalgamation of all railroad unions—that is the only answer to the present problems. We shop men in this district are for it, and for it strong. Speak up, all you railroaders.

WHICH INTERNATIONAL?

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Red and the Amsterdam Internationals, with the two factions in the French unions, in order to prevent the split. This offer was turned down by the reactionary leaders of the Amsterdam International.

Today it has become clear that the life-giving elements of the trade union movement are going with the Red International. All over the world the movement is taking place; and even in America, most backward in this respect, large bodies like the Detroit Federation of Labor, and, numbers of local unions, have voted for the Red International and its principles, and against the Amsterdam crowd. Every day the issue is becoming clearer, and the question is being raised sharper and sharper; the time will soon be here when every union man must answer the question—"Which International? Amsterdam or Moscow?" Let us work with all our strength, in order that the decision may be one which will face us toward the future—the decision for the Red Trade Union International.

San Francisco Rank and File Movement

By Jack Brown

THE movement known as the Rank and File Movement of San Francisco began early in 1921 as a result of the building trades strike. This strike developed as part of the big "open shop" fight along the Pacific Coast, early incidents of which were the smashing of the building trades unions in Salt Lake City, Butte, and Seattle in 1920.

San Francisco had long been a stronghold of unionism, but in the face of events elsewhere, it felt the impending storm, and in December 1920, the President of the State Building Trades Council of California, himself, without consulting the unions, selected an arbitration committee of three, composed of Archbishop Hanna, Judge Schloss, and George Bell, in the hope of averting a battle with the Builders' Exchange. But the hope was vain. Soon afterwards 17 building trades locals submitted demands to this board for wage increases. Not only were these denied but wages were heavily slashed.

The various crafts, particularly the Painters, strenuously protested this decision, forcing the union officials to reject it. But the employers were adamant, and finally served notice upon the rebellious unions that if they did not conform to the cut it would be made to apply to the whole building trades industry. The result was a big general lockout on May 11th, 1921, by those contracting firms who obeyed the demands of the National Chamber of Commerce as expressed through the Builders' Exchange of San Francisco.

From the beginning the employers' fight took on an "open shop" character. The bosses displayed great solidarity. Where some weakened and tried to run "fair" jobs, they found they could not obtain any building materials. But the workers showed the usual pitiful division. The loosely organized craft unions were unable to develop any unity of action. And their old-time leaders, chief of whom was P. H. McCarthy, one-time mayor of San Francisco grace to the support of the union-baiting United Railroads of San Francisco and the other ruthless interests responsible for framing Tom Mooney, were helpless to meet the situation. All their conferences, political wire-pulling, and the other devices so efficient in the former piping time of peace, failed ut-

terly in the face of the militant employers. As a desperate resort, the old leaders finally organized a company to supply building materials to the "fair" contractors. But this resulted chiefly in wasting the unions' funds; it could not break the employers' embargo.

The Revolt Starts

The situation soon became acute, with fully 80% of the local membership of all the building trades locked out. Slowly at first, but with increasing frequency, jobs were started on the "open shop" plan. The Chamber of Commerce publicly took charge of the fight, thus destroying the fiction that the Builders' Exchange was purely a local organization with no other affiliations. To a committee of union officials who had secured an interview, it submitted demands for the establishment of the "open shop."

Then the rank and file took a hand. On the evening of July 9th, in McCarthy's own local union of Carpenters, insurgency developed and the local elected a committee of five members. This committee visited other unions, with the result that on July 19th, the General Conference of the Building Trades was organized, with rank and file delegates from 79 local unions. McCarthy's followers tried to seize the new organization, but were overwhelmingly defeated in the election of officers.

The new body, which was not a dual organization, but merely a rank and file committee, sought to settle the strike. The Chamber of Commerce gave it the same answer as they had the old union officials, "We have nothing for you but the 'open shop'." When this answer was conveyed to the workers' conference, a resolution was adopted calling for a general strike of the workers of all trades in the Bay District, to fight this attempt to break the unions. This resolution was also endorsed the same night, July 28th, by the deeply-stirred Building Trades Council without a dissenting vote. Then a committee appeared before the San Francisco Labor Council on July 29th and asked that body to support the strike. The matter was referred to the Executive Committee for a report at the next meeting.

Internal Quarrels and Disruptions

In the meantime the Building Trades Council took a referendum of its membership on the following proposition, "We resolve that we hereby give our solid support to the policy of a general strike and place ourselves in readiness to respond to the strike call, when issued by the General Strike Committee." The General Strike Committee consisted of 10 members of the rank and file conference, 10 from the San Francisco Building Trades Council, and 10 from the Oakland Building Trades Council. A big majority voted for the strike, which was called on August 4th, and tied up building operations completely.

The General Strike Committee allowed no exemptions from the strike call. But this quickly brought a conflict with the old officials, President McCarthy granting many permits to craftsmen to return to work. The situation grew tense. It was worsened by the International officers, who had now appeared upon the scene, and begun to inject themselves into the local situation by means of a conference committee composed of all the business agents, local union officers, and International officers in San Francisco. Finally the break came on August 11th, when the Building Trades Council withdrew its endorsement of the strike.

More fat was added to the fire by the San Francisco Labor Council also refusing to go along with the strike. While agreeing that the labor unions as at present constituted could not make an effective stand against the onslaught of entrenched Capital, it declared that only the combined International Unions, and not any of the local central bodies, had the right under the A. F. of L. laws to call a general strike.

The Development of Dualism

These events—the withdrawal of endorsement by the Building Trades Council and the failure of endorsement by the San Francisco Labor Council—brought the situation to a crisis. Just at the time when the fakers were trying to split the workers and when the very greatest care was needed to preserve solidarity, the movement took the usual dualistic turn, it went the way of scores of other promising movements in the past and the Rank and File Federation of Workers was formed. This was a new central labor council, a dual organization.

Frankness demands criticism of many of

the radicals in the movement. When all attention and energy should have been devoted strictly to the winning of the general strike, many individuals, looking at the world through rose-tinted spectacles, were wasting the energies of the striking workers by recalling police judges, organizing ladies' auxiliaries, setting afoot proposals for workers' banks, cooperative societies, etc. Some even betrayed their unsophistication by wanting to depose the old President of the Building Trades Council, because the Chamber of Commerce Committee had stated that they would not deal with the workers unless McCarthy was retired from office. Fortunately, however, this proposal was voted down, the position being taken by the workers that they would retire their officers, when necessary, in their own good time, but most certainly would not do so upon orders of the Chamber of Commerce in the middle of a general strike.

The formation of the Rank and File Federation gave the old officialdom the argument they had been waiting for to attack the general strike. They played up the issue of dual unionism to the limit. From that time onward their attack became stronger and the defections from the ranks of the strikers increased. When the general strike was 10 days old, a gigantic mass-meeting, addressed by Wm. Ross Knudsen, was staged in the civic auditorium. But the workers could not be held in line. The long period of unemployment, the attacks of the local and International union officials, and the importation of armies of scabs, were too much for them. Disintegration of the ranks took place rapidly.

Finally, in the early part of September, the Committee composed of International officers, local officers, and business agents, submitted to the unions for adoption the practically unaltered "open shop" program of the Chamber of Commerce. The General Conference of the Building Trades strenuously opposed this proposition, overwhelmingly defeating it in a referendum vote. But the inevitable was not to be forestalled. On September 11th, the same delegate who had moved the original general strike resolution submitted a motion to the strike committee, "That the strike be declared finished, and all members of the unions be permitted to find work under the best conditions possible." This resolution was endorsed in a special session of the General Conference of the Building Trades, and thus the historic strike and lockout were ended in complete failure for the workers. The old officials of the Building Trades Council ac-

quiesced in the return to work, without, however, having by their votes endorsed the "open shop" program.

The Aftermath

The Rank and File Federation, like so many other movements in the past, has failed to achieve the great hopes placed in it by its proponents. It is only a skeleton organization, nor is it likely ever to be more. The insurgent locals quite generally weakened before the opposition of their International officials. The latter took a determined stand against the Rank and File Federation, warning their locals to withdraw from it. A dozen or so building trades unions, mostly carpenters, refused to do so. Therefore their charters were taken from them and "good" unions organized in their stead. Soon the movement boiled down pretty much to expelled and seceding members of the building trades unions.

The situation at present is not a happy one. Not only have the organizations been widely scattered by the big defeat, but factional quarrels rage between the opposing groups still remaining. Pessimism and discouragement and confusion are the order of the day. The only hope in the situation is the changed attitude of the rebels. The fever of dualism has largely passed away and the tendency now is to approach the old organizations so that unity may again be achieved.

To further this tendency should be the work of all sincere militants. The proper place for the latter is among the masses. They were right who, believing that the place of the militant fighter is in the unions where the greatest number of the workers are to be found, continued to hold their membership in the different A. F. of L. unions, in spite of denunciations poured upon them by their comrades in the late strike. The reactionary and corrupt officials have expressed their satisfaction at seeing the militant fighters outside the trade unions. This should mean something to the live wires, and if they properly understand the source of their opponents' satisfaction, they will never rest content until they have fought their way back into their old unions and have made them what they should have been long ago—fighting machines designed to produce better conditions for the workers—not for the officials only—in the present capitalist society and in the future order which will be based upon "the common ownership and control of the means of wealth production and distribution"

"Labor Omnia Vincit"

HOW THE "MACHINE" BEAT HOWAT

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in District No. 1 alone Howat was thus cheated out of 26 votes.

But this was only one means used by the administration to harvest illegitimate votes. There were many others. Every device known to the professional ward politician was used to fatten the vote of the "reliable" men. Often they were given the votes of locals that had expired since the September convention, and in some cases, of locals that had not sent any delegates at all. Besides that locals were voted, by administration men of course, that did not appear at all upon the credentials committee's report. Demands for explanations were either ignored or gavelled down. The whole thing was a cheat. It is safe to say that with an honest vote Howat would have carried the convention by a substantial margin.

No Secession Movements

Now the big question is, what are we going to do about it? Of course, the dual unionist (or rather the 57 varieties of him) is here to tell us that our only hope is in breaking up our organization and in joining his particular side-show. But it is very doubtful if he will get much of a hearing with the rank and file. Such secession movements have never worked out except in the interests of the bosses—at least that is the case so far as the mining industry is concerned. Fortunately, Howat is not one of those heroes who think that the best way to win a fight is to run away from it. He is a dogged battler, such as the radical movement as yet hardly produces, and he is going ahead with this struggle until he finally wins out.

Howat has stated many times that he is against dual unionism. He is for fighting the thing out within the organization. At a meeting in Indianapolis he said, "We shall never start a dual organization, we are going to belong to the U. M. W. A. The great rank and file will move when they learn the facts and they will know them eventually." After the September convention almost all the rebels, or those who most loudly proclaim themselves such, felt that he was hopelessly beaten—they are always ready to confess defeat in the old unions and to leave the reactionaries in charge. But Howat is not of this calibre. He has gone ahead fighting, and now, after going up against an apparently hopeless fight, has final-

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Resolution for the Amalgamation of the Sixteen Railroad Unions

Railroaders: Present this to your union. When adopted, send copies to the League.

Amalgamation or annihilation! That is the alternative before Railroad Labor today. Like a malignant disease the "open shop" campaign is spreading. Our unions are in steady retreat before it. They cannot withstand the terrific power of the united railroad owners. The latter move as a single unit all over the country. When we workers fight one company we have to fight them all. Moreover, the railroad owners have the undivided support of the banks, the courts, the newspapers, and the industrial interests generally. As against this monster unified power we have sixteen independent craft unions, disunited, mutually jealous, and consequently developing only a fraction of the workers' real power. The result is constant defeat for us. Our only hope is in the fusing together of the sixteen unions, so that all the great army of railroad workers can and must act as one body. Then alone can we withstand the mighty and ruthless employers. We must combine our forces or see our unions smashed altogether and our hard-won conditions ruined.

This indispensable and inevitable amalgamation of the sixteen unions is in harmony with their natural evolution up till now. As the employers have gradually extended and developed their forces, we workers have done likewise with ours. Thus we have slowly built up the great national craft unions and arranged the elaborate and complicated federations between them. And now, still following the lead of the employers, who have acquired a wonderful degree of organization, we must go on to the next step—the complete unification of our sixteen trade unions. Federation, with its loose and shaky alliances between the trades, no longer suffices. Nothing will do short of actually locking the organizations together through amalgamation. That is the cold logic of the present situation, and the worker who cannot see it is mentally blind.

A host of advantages will accrue from combining all the railroad unions into one body. Among these may be mentioned great financial economy. Instead of a confused maze of sixteen headquarters, sixteen staffs of officials, sixteen journals, sixteen conventions, etc., there will develop a unified system of management that can be operated at a fraction of the present fabulous expense. But the supreme advantage will be the increased solidarity of the workers. For the first time we will be enabled to act in one common body. And that

will mark a new day for America, so powerful will be the amalgamated union. Our present retreat will be turned into a victorious advance.

Sometimes it is contended that a general amalgamation of the railroad unions is impractical, because the crafts would be submerged and their interests lost sight of. But this is idle chatter. Such a great union would have as many departments as necessary, each being headed by men well qualified to develop and present the grievances of the crafts in their respective departments. The department system would also easily take care of the other supposedly "insurmountable" problems of the different dues and benefit systems prevailing in the various classifications of workers at the present time. The problem of the double interest of the shop mechanics—of the mechanics who have an interest in other industries as craftsmen, as well as in the railroad industry—can be solved by the system of double affiliation, by these mechanics paying a portion of their dues into the amalgamated railroad union and a portion into their old craft union, even as the Railway Employees Department is already beginning to develop. Whether with regard to representation, dues, benefits, or management generally, the amalgamated union is far superior to a group of separate or federated craft unions. Besides this it has the further inestimable advantage of giving the workers tremendously greater power. The railroad workers of England, France, Germany, Italy, and many other countries have found it practical to amalgamate their early craft unions into great single organizations covering the whole industry. Under no circumstances would they turn backward to the craft system again. And what they have accomplished, American railroaders can and will accomplish also.

A general union of all railroad men will not come through dual unionism and secession movements. It can only be brought about by the amalgamation of our sixteen craft unions. Many years of experience teaches this fact.

RESOLVED: That this union gives it hearty endorsement and co-operation to the above outlined project of amalgamation, and calls for the convening, regularly, of a special amalgamation convention of the sixteen railroad unions to combine all their forces into one general labor organization to take in all the railroad workers of America.

At Last the League

THE Trade Union Educational League is now a definite factor in the labor movement. Our big drive to organize groups of militants in the various centers is a pronounced success. During the past two weeks reports have been pouring into our office of local leagues being formed in the different localities. At least 150 cities and towns have been heard from, and there will surely be more to come. As things now stand there are few important centers where we have not established an organization. For the first time in the history of the American labor movement the militant elements have some degree of organization and co-operation among themselves within the old unions and are making a determined effort to liven up these sluggish bodies. This organization will be extended and perfected just as quickly as possible, until every labor union has within its heart a well-organized group of active workers consciously striving to make a real fighting instrument of it. Before long the Trade Union Educational League will be making its influence felt effectively throughout the entire labor movement.

There are a few things that must be said to the many newly formed local leagues. Above all they must be made to realize the true character of our organization, now coming into existence. The Trade Union Educational League is not a debating society or university extension proposition; it is the fighting vanguard of the working class. It must not confine its activities to the holding of lectures, mass meetings, and the other forms of the customary radical propaganda. On the contrary, it must plunge directly into the labor struggle, taking an active part in all the workers' battles and directing them into the way of militant action. In other words, the Trade Union Educational League is an organization for serious, intensified work, and not one merely to carry on a hot-air campaign.

We must go directly to the unions with our propaganda, not stand off at long distance and bombard them with manifestoes in the old, ineffective way. Their platform must be our rostrums, their membership our audience. In fact we must be the crystallization within their very hearts of all that is radical and progressive in them. We must become a living auxiliary of the labor movement functioning directly within it and through its organs. Only in this way can we actually win over the masses to our program. The local leagues which, failing to understand this vital principle, attempt to carry on the old-fashioned outside propaganda, condemn themselves to sterility from the start. We must go straight into the unions.

The very best way to introduce your educational work right in the unions is through THE LABOR HERALD. The way to do this is to pick out the liveliest man you have locally and commission him to act as literature agent—we will furnish him with effective credentials. Then you must see to it that he regularly covers all the friendly organizations each month with the LABOR HERALD. So eager are the unions for our program that few of them will refuse him admittance—provided he uses a little horse sense.

Three outstanding advantages come from this systematic circulating of the LABOR HERALD.

The first is that the members of the unions are gotten together to read our journal and thus to absorb its lessons. The second is that they get the benefit each month of at least one real talk (that of the literature agent) on live unionism. And the third is that in his work the literature agent will develop and become acquainted with many live wires, now hidden in the mass, who can be absorbed into your local league. In every center the success of the work will depend upon the thoroughness of the arrangements for circulating the LABOR HERALD. So get into the swim at the start by selecting an energetic literature agent, and see to it that he orders enough LABOR HERALDS to entirely cover your local movement. If your league does not do this it is not awake to the methods and possibilities of this movement and it can never hope to be really effective. The circulation of the LABOR HERALD will be the gauge that will show what your local league is actually accomplishing.

In the early weeks of April the League will settle down to its first big task, the creation and organization of sentiment for amalgamation of the railroad unions. This is a big job, one that will require every ounce of our energy, but one that will yield magnificent results if it is gone about right. Follow out the directions contained in our circular letters and go straight to the organizations with your educational message. Above all order large bundles of this number of the LABOR HERALD, and also of the pamphlet, "The Railroaders' Next Step—Amalgamation," and see to it that every possible railroad worker gets copies of them.

The leadership of the trade unions is intellectually paralyzed. It is helpless to meet the present critical situation. Bound by the conservatism of the past, it cannot rise to the occasion by adopting the measures of solidarity necessary to offset the "open shop" drive. It is up to the rank and file militants to blaze the way and to force vigorous and intelligent action. The Trade Union Educational League, working in harmony with the above-outlined methods, is the means through which this militant action can be developed. Let us therefore redouble our efforts and create vigorous local leagues, each with a heavy circulation of the LABOR HERALD, in every city and town in the entire country.

A LECTURE COURSE

The Philadelphia League has arranged a course of lectures, which is about half completed at this writing. The lecturer is Morris L. Olken, and the course is entitled "A few pages from the History of the American Labor Movement." The lectures are on Mondays, from Feb. 6th, to April 10th, as follows: Introduction; The Beginning of Capitalism in America; the First Labor Movement; The Knights of Labor and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance; The American Federation of Labor; The Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party; The I. W. W.; The Communist Movement in the U. S.; American Labor and the International Labor Movement; Latest Developments in the American Labor Movement.

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ANOTHER BUBBLE BURST

ONE OF THE most instructive things in recent labor developments is the spectacle of the Industrial Workers of the World expelling members for advocating affiliation to the Red Trade Union International. Only a few short months ago the representative of this organization appeared at the First World Congress, challenging the rights of all other delegates to sit there with delegates' powers, on the grounds that the I. W. W. was the only organization which was sure to really affiliate fully with the Red Trade Union International. Within three months after that delegate returned, the I. W. W. has become about as bitter as Gompers against the International, and more intolerant of its adherents. We are reliably informed that expulsion and strong-arm tactics are the order of the day in the I. W. W., directed against the proponents of the Red International. The I. W. W. has obtained the doubtful honor of being the first labor organization in America to expel communists for their political faith, and old-time members who have no political affiliations whatever, are being driven out if they advocate the Red Trade Union International.

Thus is another bubble burst, the idea that so-called revolutionary unions are more tolerant of new revolutionary thought. We have heard for years the claim that it is impossible to propagate radical ideas in the old unions without being thrown out. Particularly has the I. W. W. made this charge; but never have the trade unions been so intolerant as the I. W. W. is today. All this is perfectly natural. The trade unions are based upon common economic interests, and are necessarily tolerant of widely divergent opinions among the membership; while the dual unions of the I. W. W. type are organizations based upon common ideas, and therefore are intolerant of all ideas which do not fit their "ideal" scheme. The I. W. W. is not really a labor union; it is an anti-political propagandist sect. It is based upon a few dogmas which are held with religious fervor by a few scattered members; anything which contravenes their religion must be thrown out. Therefore the adherents of the Red Trade Union International find themselves ejected from the I. W. W., while in the old trade

unions they are finding, not alone tolerance in large measure, but even a certain amount of hospitality.

All of which, we say again, is entirely natural. Only those will be surprised who still think that it is a "revolutionary" act to draw a handful of militant workers outside of the masses, unite them on a dogma, and call it a revolutionary union. It is the logical conclusion of the counter-revolutionary tactics of the past. For the future the hope of the revolutionary workers lies in the mass organizations, the old trade unions, the organized labor movement of America.

THE MINER-RAILROAD ALLIANCE

IT WILL not do, Mr. Lewis, it will not do!—this touch-me-not alliance between the railroad men and the miners?

"When the devil was sick," he thought it well to make some motions of saintliness. When Mr. Lewis faces a fight which may result in his own discredit, it is well to prepare an alibi. But if he really wanted to unite the workers' strength, he is locking the door after the horse is stolen. When the steel workers were in desperate struggle, and asked for the miners' co-operation, Lewis refused to sit in conference with them. The rank and file of the Miners' Union has been demanding an alliance for many years; but Lewis makes not even a fake move like the present one, until driven up against a wall. Instead of taking advantage of the good strategical position occupied by the unions in the past few years to consolidate their power and prepare for the inevitable "winter," Lewis and other standpat leaders have dallied along until the situation is desperate. And now their proposals are entirely inadequate.

The public and some unionists have been led to believe that the conference of February 22nd was an important get-together affair. But the intelligent elements among the rank and file are not deceived. They know just how much value to attach to "friendly understandings"—next to nothing. They have seen such "understandings" in the past, and have seen them break up in the crisis. And the recent history of the British movement is fresh in their minds. There the miners, railroaders and transport workers had an alliance 100 times more definite and concrete than this miserable attempt of the February conference. Yet it broke up immediately when the Government began to exert pressure.

There is only one thing that will fill the bill. There must be absolute organic unity of organizations. Before the miners and the railroad men can really cooperate effectively they must be hooked up together in an organizational way, with an executive with power to direct their united actions. Labor History has no lesson plainer than this one; and until it is learned the movement will continue to pay the bitter price of defeat and disillusion.

THE LABOR POLITICAL CONFERENCE

THE Conference for progressive Political Action, formed in Chicago February 20-23, marks an important development in the labor movement of this country, not so much for its actual deeds (for it did not do much), as for the fact that here, for the first time, representatives of unions and radical groups with membership running into the millions,

met to consider the political problems of the workers organizations.

The gathering pointed out the political backwardness of the labor movement here, but it failed entirely to point out a definite path of development, or to put its finger upon any of the reasons for our backwardness. One of the reasons, the mention of which was carefully avoided, is Mr. Gompers. The whole world knows, or should know, that he has been the inveterate enemy of every progressive movement, political or industrial, started in the A. F. of L. or outside. He has for many years thrown the whole of his great power against progress and for reaction. He will be one of the obstacles which this Conference must overcome, if it is to really get any effective action started. Some one should have stood up in the Conference and said so. That the entire gathering was lacking in this respect is not particularly to be commended. A different spirit will be demanded in the national conference called for the second Monday in December, if this movement is not to go the way of similar movements of the past.

A JOYOUS EVENT

JUDGE Landis has quit the bench. This is a matter for great rejoicing among all lovers of virtue. Too long has this faithful servant our "best citizens" been forced to waste his great talent in the obscure post of a mere Federal Judge, with all the stigma that attaches to such a position. Last year Landis made a great step forward for himself by annexing \$42,500 on the side as baseball umpire. Now he emancipates himself entirely from his "humble bench" and becomes a "best citizen" himself. At last, after years of struggle to rise out of the obscurity and degradation of his former position, his heroic efforts have been rewarded.

Judge Landis' juicy position is the culmination of years of aspiration and effort. Since the days of the fake \$29,000,000. fine which was never collected, this man has left nothing undone to bring his person to the attention of those who hold the purse-strings of the country. He made a record of savage and cold-blooded punishment of politicals tried before him during the war hysteria. His name also became a terror to all the small crooks who blow safes, and otherwise crudely interfere with the regular capitalists. And last, but by no means least, he became the champion union buster. This last it is that so endears him to the union-haters, that he can now feel economically safe in resigning the judgeship.

So let everybody be happy—the little crooks because they are rid of a judge who was noted for his harshness toward minor offenders; the big crooks because they will now have his undivided services in exploitation schemes and union-baiting; and the rest of us, because we are given such a splendid and edifying example of the relative social importance of Federal Judges and Baseball Umpires.

WM. ROSS KNUDSEN

THE International Association of Machinists elect a president and several vice-presidents during the month of April. The feature of this election is the candidacy of Wm. Ross Knudsen for the position of President. He is making a whirlwind campaign, without any resources except his own good friends

and the militant groups, upon a clear-cut program, declaring for (1) affiliation to the Red Trade Union International, (2) Industrial Unionism for the Metal Trades, (3) Aggressive action against the bosses, instead of the present retreat and demoralization, and (4) Preparation of the machinists, through their union, for the establishment of a Workers' Republic, in which the workers shall run the industries without the intervention of profit mongers.

Knudsen has carried the West, and is now entering the Eastern districts in the final battle before the election. All good militant union men will do everything to help put this real working-class leader at the head of the Machinists Union. If this is done, it will mark an era in our trade union movement.

TOM MANN O. K.'s THE PROGRAM

London, 26 Feb., 1922.

I HAVE received your letter and THE LABOR HERALD, and a most excellent production it is. Your program is comprehensive, argumentative and unanswerable; I do not understand how you can get through with such a thorough going document when the authorities show such alarm in other directions. Anyhow, my sincere congratulations. I can see the U. S. A. greatly changed in a short time.

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

Tom Mann.

CLASS WAR PRISONERS STILL WAITING

MORE than a hundred working men are still in prison in frame-up cases because of their activities in the labor movement, or because of their opinions. America should be shamed by the fact. So long as these men lie in jail, that long is the labor movement failing in its duty.

Men like Tom Mooney and Jim Larkin should be among us every day, taking their place in the labor movement. What has your union done about it?

HELP THE MOONEY DEFENSE COMMITTEE

THE Mooney Defense Committee is calling for financial assistance to continue the fight to release Tom Mooney and Warren Billings who are still in prison after having had the case against them completely shown up as a frame-up and a fraud.

"Tom Mooney's Monthly" is a paper issued by the Defense organization, at \$1.00 per year. A subscription to this paper will help the publicity campaign, and at the same time give you your money's worth of good reading matter. We urge our readers to send in \$1.00 to Rena Mooney, Secretary, Box 344, San Francisco, California.

BUTCHER WORKMEN CALL FOR CONVENTION

DISTRICT Council No. 5 has sent out to all locals and districts of the Amalgamated Butcher Workmen, a resolution demanding a national convention of that organization. The resolution recites the fact that 30% only of the workers were organized at the time of the strike, yet 90% of them answered the strike call, and states that this is proof that things are radically wrong with the organization. Only a convention, says the resolution, can straighten things out in the organization, and put the packing-house workers again in a position to regain their recent losses.

THE INTERNATIONAL

DEVELOPMENTS IN FRANCE

THE SPLIT in the French trade union movement is now virtually an accomplished fact. Henceforth, it is an open struggle between the two organizations, the one conservative and the other radical, for the support of the working class.

The crisis came on February 12th, when the National Committee of the General Federation of Labor met. To secure harmony in the movement and to prevent disruption, the rebellious elements laid several propositions before the meeting. For their part they agreed to withdraw their affiliation from the Revolutionary Syndicalist Committee, the body which has served to organize them against the reactionary officialdom. Then they submitted the three following demands:

- 1, Abandonment of the policy of excluding revolutionary local unions.
- 2, Reintegration of all those that have been expelled.
- 3, Convocation of an extraordinary national trade union congress in the first quarter of 1922 to consider the question of trade union unity. At such congress only those organizations should be represented as were regularly affiliated at the last national trade union congress.

In these propositions rested the only possibility for restoring the unity of the French trade union movement. But the yellow officials grouped around Jouhaux and Dumoulin in the National Committee turned them down flat, for two very good reasons. For one thing, as pointed out in last month's LABOR HERALD, they are fully determined to rid their organizations of all taint of radicalism in the hope that they will thus be able to curry favor with the capitalist class—while the revolutionary branch of the movement will be subjected to the bitterest persecutions. And then they do not dare to call such a general congress, even if they wanted to, because the rebel elements are in control of the majority of the unions of the country and would dominate the congress by a large margin. So they refused to call a special general convention and went on record to assemble a "regular" one.

This means that the 60% or more of the trade unions lined up with the rebels are automatically excluded from the old General Federation of Labor, because the latter has already replaced them with "legitimate" organizations, mostly on paper, and it would be these rump unions that would be represented at the so-called "regular" congress. This puts the issue squarely up to the rebels, and they accept the gauge of battle. After having exhausted every possibility to avoid a split, they are now going ahead to establish their separate organization. They have issued a long appeal to the workers of France, showing them the dastardly efforts of the reactionary officialdom to divide the movement, and summoning them to a general national congress, to take place before July 1st, 1922, at which they will definitely found their movement. The manifesto says:

"In conformity with the Unity Congress (Dec. 22-24, 1921), the Administrative Commission of the Unity General Federation of Labor calls upon the unions to take part in the coming congress,

which, by the number of its delegates and the membership represented, should be a large and imposing demonstration of the desire for unity ever affirmed by the French working class. Obligated by the decision of the National Committee (in refusing to call the congress) to depart from the reserve that it had imposed upon itself, the Unity General Federation of Labor, yesterday still a "provisional bond," becomes automatically a definite national organism, which the congress will have charge of ratifying and consecrating the existence."

In the coming struggle between the revolutionary and conservative labor movements in France, for they will be separate bodies, the advantage lies on the side of the former. By their everlasting persistence of staying with the old unions, the rebels have won the support of the very best elements among Organized Labor and have successfully put the onus for the split where it belongs, on the shoulders of the reactionaries. With the next year, if the writer is not sadly mistaken, the Unity General Federation of Labor, or whatever the new body will ultimately be called, will be the dominating organization in France, and the old General Federation of Labor a thing of the past so far as real life is concerned.

THE RAILWAY STRIKE IN GERMANY

THE recent railroad strike, which covered practically the entire steam transportation system, was one of the most extensive and militant in Germany's history. It was of but short duration, beginning on February 1st and ending on February 7th. The strike was launched by the National Union of German Railwaymen, an independent organization consisting mostly of lower officials and train service employees. The engineers and firemen took the lead. Then the membership generally of the German Railwaymen's Union, a large industrial union affiliated to the Socialist trade union movement, rallied to their support in spite of the opposition of their own officials. This made the tieup complete.

The strike was brought about by a complication of causes all originating in the usual welter of capitalist exploitation. The falling of the value of the German mark was automatically reducing the workers to the point of starvation. Wage increases had not kept pace with the cost of living—since 1914 wages had gone up only about 1200%, whereas prices of life necessities had advanced at least three times as much, or 3600%. In addition, the new tax laws, after providing light duties for the rich, throw a vast burden of additional billions upon the workers who are already impoverished. Besides this, the ruling class, under the pressure of world capitalism, as expressed through the Versailles Treaty, were making a determined effort to make German railroads more "efficient and economical" by doing away with the eight-hour day and laying off a hundred or two thousand of the 1,000,000 railroad workers. Altogether it was a desperate situation, which offered no outcome to the railroaders except a strike.

From the beginning the attitude of the old trade union leaders was strongly against the strike. Like their reformist Socialist cronies in the Government, they are so capitalistic in nature that they have little difficulty in subscribing to the common employing class doctrines that the only way Germany can be re-habilitated is for the workers to accept semi-slave conditions. The German Federation of Labor condemned the strike as unauthorized and ordered the men back to work. "Vorwaerts," official organ of the Social-Democratic party, denounced the movement as a criminal project fomented by Hugo Stinnes as part of his general scheme to get control of the railroads of the country.

In harmony with the trade union leaders, the alleged Socialistic Government, headed by the arch-traitor, Ebert, resisted the strike with unheard of violence and illegality. Ebert issued pronouncements against it, denying even that the railroad men had the right to strike and providing heavy penalties for those who should dare to do so. Then the strike committee was arrested and the funds seized, not only of the railroad unions, but also of the other organizations which came to their assistance. The Government refused to meet or deal with the strikers' representatives, confining its conferences to only the respectable leaders.

But if the labor politicians and trade union officials were against the strike, the masses were very much in favor of it. At first the body of workers were rather unsympathetic, as the organization which started it had a yellow reputation; but when the Government took such an outrageous stand working class indignation flamed up and exploded. Like wildfire the strike spread all over the railroads, notwithstanding the vigorous efforts of the leaders to prevent it. The Communists were very active rallying the masses to support the railroad workers. The intense excitement was greatly added to by a general strike of Berlin municipal employees—street car men, gas workers, power house employees, etc.—which tied the city up tight. This affair, already simmering, was put boiling by the railroad strike.

The stirring of the masses quickly forced a settlement of the railroad strike. The Government conceded a 20% increase to the workers in lieu of the 40% that they demanded. Prosecution of the arrested committeemen was dropped and the union funds released. Besides this, considering the new spirit of rebellion that marks the workers, many of the ambitious plans for enslaving the workers, which the Government was going blithely ahead with, will have to be either indefinitely postponed or abandoned altogether. The strike has left a bad taste in the mouths of the German workers, both with regard to their officials—whom they regard as having betrayed their interests—and the Government—which they are coming to see in its true light as simply an instrument of capitalist oppression. The railroad strike was one of the most important in German industrial history.

SOMETHING of the strength of the sentiment for amalgamation in England may be gleaned from the fact that in a recent referendum vote the National Union of British Fishermen decided, by 3932 against 7, to amalgamate with the new Transport and General Workers' Union. Question: Were the 7 dissidents paid union officials who feared losing their jobs by the amalgamation?

IN ITALY the Seamen; Transport Workers; Postal, Telephone and Telegraph Workers, and Railroad Workers have formed an alliance, pledging themselves to support each other "with such means and in such manner as may become necessary." This federation probably is a prelude to a general amalgamation of these several organizations into one gigantic union covering every branch of transportation and communication.

THE LEAGUE IN CHICAGO

By J. W. Johnstone, Secretary

Chicago held its first general Trade Union Educational League meeting on Monday, February 27th. It was not a large meeting, some 400 being present. That it was a different kind of a gathering than that generally held when a group of radicals and progressives get together was soon apparent. From the outset, it was made clear that they did not come to listen to speeches, but came to discuss the best ways and means to inject a real fighting spirit into the trade union movement, and to put across the program of the League.

Enthusiasm was rampant. That is a good thing, and a necessary thing. However, it is results that count, and the Chicago group went to work to get them. Our League went off to a running start; permanent officers were elected, and now we are concentrating all our energies on four propositions that we consider of prime importance in the order named: (1) the circulation of THE LABOR HERALD, (2) The organization of a militant group of railroad workers, (3) the formation of groups in each industry, for handling of industrial problems, (4) to stay closely to the program as laid down by the National Office.

The results so far accomplished by our group are very encouraging; and we are justly proud of the record. We have taken 125 yearly subscriptions, and 210 half-year subscriptions for THE LABOR HERALD. We have placed THE HERALD on sale in 14 book stores. 20 volunteer literature agents have sold 1000 copies of the first issue, and we have ordered 1500 of the April issue. This is not written in a boastful way, but simply to encourage groups in other localities, who are undoubtedly up against a tougher proposition than we in Chicago are.

We have organized a real live militant railroad group, that started off with a bang on March 16th. They will certainly be heard from in the near future. In the needle trades, the metal trades, the building trades and the printing trades, we have organized strong minority groups whose influence is already being felt. A large number of our members are delegates to the various central bodies, and some of the strongest men in this locality are working for and with us. But our success depends upon our membership gaining the confidence of the rank and file; and that means we must understand the industrial situation, we must know the program of the League, and we must have an unquenchable thirst for work.

THE SHAME OF CALIFORNIA

The Reproach of America that Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings Should Rot in Prison—the Frame-Up Victims of Perjured Testimony.

AMALGAMATION OR ANNIHILATION

(Continued from page 8).

place of the labor movement and no one can deny it. In fact about the only way amalgamations are or can be effected is by arranging matters so that none of the officials of the amalgamating unions lose their jobs.

This job fear is the great hindrance that must be overcome before amalgamation can be had on the railroads. Its influence will be enormous. At present we have sixteen international presidents. If we were amalgamated we would have only one; the rest would have to retire to secondary positions. This fact will make amalgamation very unpopular among our chief executives. They may be depended upon to use all their great power against it. And the same is true of our editors. Instead of our sixteen separate journals, the amalgamated union would have only one, and that a live one. Consequently our many editors, most of whom would have to find other berths, will oppose amalgamation. To expect anything else from them would be to fly into the face of human nature. It would be ridiculous. The many members of the various executive boards will be in about the same situation. They will not want to give up their posi-

tions or see them jeopardized in any way. And how is it with the system chairman? As things now stand there are anywhere from ten to sixteen of them upon each big system. If the unions were amalgamated the saving in effort would be so great that four or five paid men on the various systems could do as much work, and do it better. Does anyone think then, with this clipping of their number in prospect, that the chairman as a rule will be in favor of amalgamation? If so he has a lot to learn about human nature and the labor movement.

The outstanding feature of the railroad industry is that the rank and file of the workers are the only ones who have a clear-cut interest in bringing about amalgamation, and it is up to them to do the job. Unless this is recognized from the start nothing can be accomplished. Never in the world will amalgamation come from the paid officialdom. They are constitutionally opposed to it. Although in actual practice amalgamation rarely reduces the number of officials—it merely transfers their activities—the officials as a class always fear that it will, and consequently they are firm in their opposition to it. Amalgamation always has been, and probably always will be purely a rank and file movement.

THE LABOR HERALD for MAY will be a SPECIAL METAL TRADES NUMBER

There will be articles on the special problems of the Unions in the Metal Trades, written by active members of the various unions.

Let a little daylight into your union. See that not only your own union, but every metal trades union in your town, gets a bundle of **THE LABOR HERALD** for May.

We must have a combination of the sixteen railroad unions into one solid body. The companies are solidly united and we must become so likewise, or have our organizations wiped out. It profits nothing for the various organizations to throw bricks at each other and to accuse one another of holding "petting parties" with the companies. All of them are in the same boat, none of them practice the principles of solidarity. And they never can or will until all are united in one organization.

The only reason we have not yet developed a general organization of all railroad men is because the bulk of our membership has not yet awakened to its necessity and advantages. This means that we have a great campaign of education before us. Amalgamation must be made a live issue in every railroad organization—local, system and national—in the country. We must insist upon a full and free discussion of the subject in our journals. We should also demand of every candidate for union office, be it local secretary, convention delegate, or what not, that he commit himself to amalgamation, and if he refuses, we should keep him safely out of office. If such a campaign is carried on energetically and persistently in all the unions, Brotherhoods as well as shopmen's and miscellaneous trades, it will not be long until sufficient sentiment has been created so that a general amalgamation convention can be regularly assembled and the sixteen craft unions amalgamated into a single militant and victorious organization of all railroad men.

HOW THE "MACHINE" BEAT HOWAT

(Continued from page 23)

ly got Lewis just about licked. All that is necessary now is a fair count of the votes, and Howat's tactics of everlastingly going to the rank and file and religiously staying away from dualism, will eventually get him that fair count, whether in another convention or in a referendum. It will be but a matter of a short time until Howat and the rest of the Kansas miners are reinstated in the United Mine Workers. And when they go back it will indicate that a revolution has taken place in that organization.

The thing to do now is to carry the word into every local of the U. M. W. A. and show what a rotten deal the Kansas miners have had. Lewis cannot stand against the truth. The only thing that can possibly keep him in power now is for the rebels to get cold feet, as they usually do, and launch into some reckless splitting away movement.

ORGANIZE THE ORGANIZED

(Continued from page 13)

are ready for the step, or it can be done with all at once if we can organize the sentiment that exists for such a move. But we do not have to wait, we can get to work right away. We, of the rank and file, know that we want this; we must organize ourselves to get it, and make our organizations act for it.

Towards Emancipation

The alleged owners of the railroads are highly organized; they find it easy to get together because they are so few. The railroad workers are as yet only loosely bound together; we find it hard to completely unite because we are so many. But we are faced with the hard necessity to unite, or be crushed. We *must* unite. The next step of amalgamation of all railroad men must be taken. We cannot think, however, that this is more than the next step. The railroad employers are solidly united with all the other capitalists, and together they control the Government and all social institutions. We must also prepare to solidly unite with all other union men. This is the reason why the present move, started by the Trade Union Educational League among the railroad workers, promises such good results; it hooks the railroad amalgamation movement right up close with the same kind of a movement in all the other industries. The League is moving first among the railroad unions, but that is only part of its program. It also is preparing for the same move in the Metal Trades, in the Building Trades, in the Printing Trades, and all the other big industrial fields. We already have the first connections made for the final movement to bring all these great industrial unions together, when we have succeeded in forming them, into one mighty labor union of the whole working class of the United States. Such a final step must be reached before our railroad problems can be finally solved. But the next step—that is the amalgamation of the sixteen railroad unions into one.

PROGRESSIVE TICKET IN THE INTERNATIONAL MACHINISTS ELECTION

The candidates that are expected to secure the greatest number of votes because of their progressive tendencies are:

William Ross Knudsen for International President; George Stool for General Sec'y-Treas.; Clinton Golden for Editor; Curly Grow for General Executive Board; J. A. Taylor for Vice-President; C. Laudermann for Vice-President; P. E. Jensen for Vice-President; L. M. Hawver for Vice-President; Edward Nolan for Vice-President; G. Fraenkel for Vice-President; Dennis E. Batt for A. F. of L. Delegate; R. A. Henning for A. F. of L. Delegate.

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