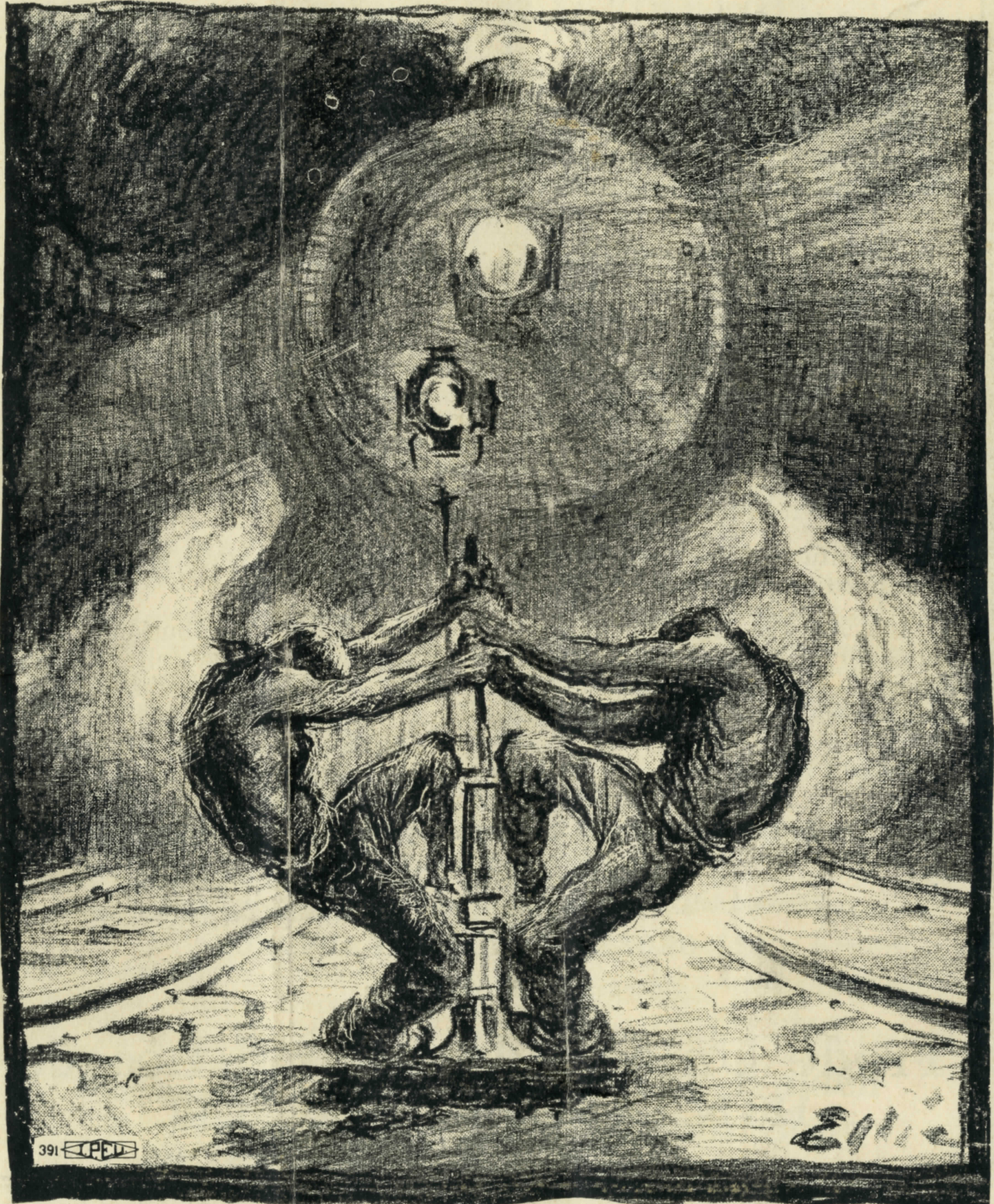


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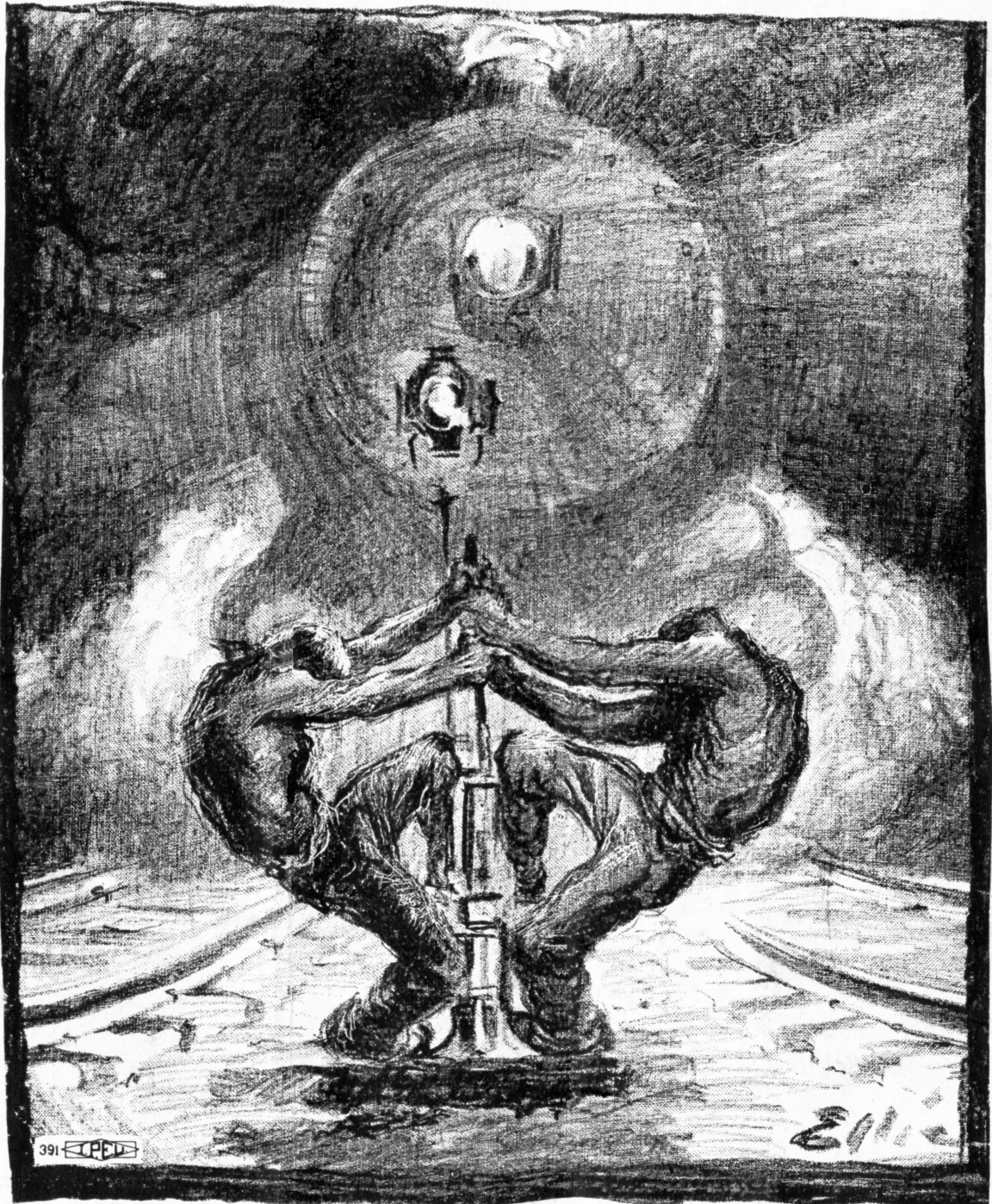
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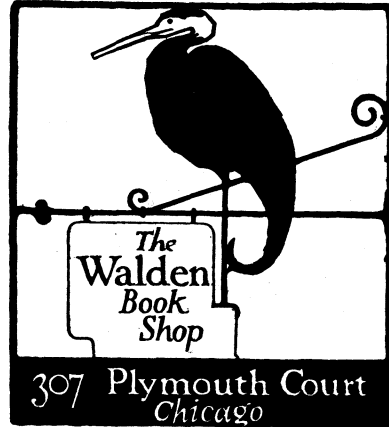
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Published monthly at 118 N. La Salle St. Subscription price \$2.50 per year. The Trade Union Educational League, Publishers.
 "Entered as second-class matter March 23, 1922, at the postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879."

Vol. I.

August, 1922



No. 6

One Union in the Printing Trades

By Al Smith

THE printing trades unions have been through a great struggle. Attacks against their wage standards and hours of labor have been most vicious. Taking the industry as a whole, the workers have suffered setbacks and have been weakened. The pressmen, stereotypers, electrotypers and bookbinders, have lost half their members, have had to take big reductions in wages, and have failed to hold the 44-hour week. On the other hand, however, the biggest union in the industry, comprising more than half those organized, the International Typographical Union, has held its membership well, losing less than 10%, has held the 44-hour week, and suffered no reductions in wages. This has only been done at the cost of millions of dollars and bitter struggle.

The smaller unions in the industry have suffered heavily. They have paid the price for lack of unity among the printing trades workers. They, above all others, should realize by this time that their only hope to protect their interests, and prevent the employers from crushing them, is for them to unite all their forces. One union for the printing trades would be a boon and protection to them.

Strange to say, however, it is the large union, the I. T. U., which is leading the movement at this time for one printing trades union. In spite of the fact that in going alone it fares better than any of the others, it is the first to suggest unity among them all. At the Quebec convention, 1921, it passed the following resolution, almost unanimously:

"Resolved, That this convention favors the amalgamation of the various printing trades unions, to the end that there be but one union in the printing industry.

This resolution is the most concise statement made of the principle of industrial unity, and is the latest statement of the principle which has animated the progressive elements in the printing trades for many years. There has always been a struggle going on between the advocates of unity, and the forces of disruption. Today the

movement for one union for the printing trades is gaining much headway, because the logic of membership figures, wage-scales, and hours of labor, is forcing the issue to a decision. It is amalgamation or annihilation for the smaller unions, as the immediate alternative.

How They Got That Way

The International Typographical Union was organized in 1850, of 15 local unions then existing. Membership was small, and the "printers" generally did everything around a composing room from feeding a press to editing the paper. But at about this same time, the steam power press was introduced, and those "printers" who specialized on these new presses, created the first division in the craft. The I. T. U. endeavored to keep unity of organization, and at the Chicago convention, 1858, recommended to all local unions that they encourage the pressmen to unite with them in membership.

Stereotyping was the next important specialization. During the Civil War the printing business attained a development theretofore unheard of, due to the fact that the people at home demanded news from the front. Stereotyping came into general use, and at the Louisville convention, 1864, the subordinate unions were urged to admit stereotypers into the organization in the usual manner.

In those days, and even up until the late '80s, the national body could only make recommendations, as the local unions were autonomous bodies; as a rule, however, these recommendations were generally carried out by them.

The unity of organization did not prevent the growing groups of specialized workers from being adequately represented. In 1882 the I. T. U. gave the pressmen the right to elect the second vicepresident to have charge of the interests of pressmen. Their delegation at conventions acted as a committee on legislation for the pressmen's locals, and the report of this committee was made a special order of the convention. By 1887 the International included 266 subordinate

unions—31 pressmen, 5 stereotypers and electrotypers, 1 pressfeeders, 1 book binders, 2 mailers, and 226 compositors. In cities where there were not enough members of a special craft, all were members of the main compositors' union. There were a few unaffiliated independent and Knights of Labor organizations, principally bookbinders.

Secession of Smaller Crafts

The splitting of the printing trades began in 1889, through the connivance of the employers with the ambitions and craft feeling of some of the pressmen. Local pressmen's unions, 11 of them, seceded and set up the International Printing Pressmen's Union. There can be no doubt of the influence of the bosses in this movement. Vice-President Hall (pressman), of the I. T. U., dealing with the matter at the Atlanta convention (1890), said:

"Eleven unions have gone out from among us since the date of my last report, and but four have been added. This has involved the loss of 469 members. The reason for this is to be found in the assiduous endeavors being made to build up the International Printing Pressmen's Union—an organization enjoying the favor of the Typothetae (the employers' organization). It was my fortune last year, under date of November 15, to address the pressmen, calling their attention to the close connection between these two bodies. My assertions were denied . . . but striking proof of them is afforded in the fact that both organizations will meet in Boston on the first Tuesday in September, 1890, a simultaneous determination on the part of those concerned in it."

The Typographical Union made every effort to get the seceding unions to come back, and more than two-thirds of the pressmen stayed with the main organization. Also five new unions of stereotypers and electrotypers were added. The sentiment throughout the trade was expressed at the Chicago convention a year later, when the new vice-president, McFarland (pressman), said:

"In view of the immense strides of invention, we must view with alarm any effort to divide or disrupt our present organization. I am firm in the belief that all persons who contribute labor to the production of a common output should be allied together . . . I feel satisfied that it would be almost an impossibility for any one of our allied trades to undertake alone the fight for hours and wages."

This convention discussed the problems of organization involved by the developing branches of the trade, and a plan was adopted which, while fully recognizing the general authority of the I. T. U., gave a more definite organization

to the pressmen. An amalgamation project with the German-American Typographia (German union of printers) was carried out. The forces of unification were thus at work even in this period of separation and division of the smaller specialized crafts.

Allied Printing Trades Councils had been formed in 21 cities. They were very successful and had incurred the wrath of the bosses. The worst obstacle in the way of the success of the Councils, was the unsatisfactory relations between the various unions. In many cases members of the I. T. U. worked for firms whose binderies and press rooms were non-union. Some of the more poorly-paid workers, such as the bindery girls and the feeders, were precluded from joining the I. T. U. on account of the high dues. However, this was later remedied by the union, which lowered the dues for these workers.

The bookbinders were in chaos. Since the granting of charters to them in 1887, only seven unions had come into the I. T. U. Some of them attached themselves to local unions of compositors or pressmen, and many belonged to the Knights of Labor. In 1892 a call was issued to these heterogeneous organizations to send delegates to Philadelphia to form a national organization of their own. To this gathering the I. T. U. sent a representative with an invitation to throw in their lot with the printers. But the many forces of division prevailed, and the invitation was not accepted. On two occasions following this, the I. T. U. attempted to open negotiations with the bookbinders, but the efforts failed.

Final Establishment of Separate Crafts

After many years of effort to harmonize the differences between the various organizations, and to unite them all, the progressive elements which had been pushing the idea of one union for the industry, had to give up the fight for the time being. Rather than have warfare between existing unions, who could not be brought to amalgamate, it was decided that it was better to enter into an alliance between them all, which should draw the boundaries of each. Accordingly an agreement was negotiated between the International Printing Pressmen's Union, the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, and the International Typographical Union. This alliance provided for complete autonomy for each, who was to recognize the jurisdiction and authority of the others over workers in their respective crafts, and completely separated the organizational and financial machinery. Joint action such as strikes were to be handled by an executive of an equal number of each union, and by agree-

ment of local boards after united request of local unions; any local of either union could strike as heretofore without the consent of the others, but could not compel the support of their allies. The conference was to have control of the label. The agreement was finally ratified on January 1, 1896.

The stereotypers and electrotypers made their first move towards separation at the Syracuse convention (1898), in the setting up of trade district unions. The next year the Chicago union seceded on a question of per capita tax. It attempted to get other unions to do likewise, but was unsuccessful. At the Milwaukee convention (1900) some of the remaining local unions proposed to withdraw and set up a separate international union. Their proposal was decisively defeated. The following year, however, the new president, Jim Lynch, favored the separation, and with his backing the proposal was carried by a referendum, the vote being about 10,000 to 6,000.

The same forces which had caused the institution of separate unions for these small crafts now made themselves felt among the photo engravers. According to Ryan, a vice-president

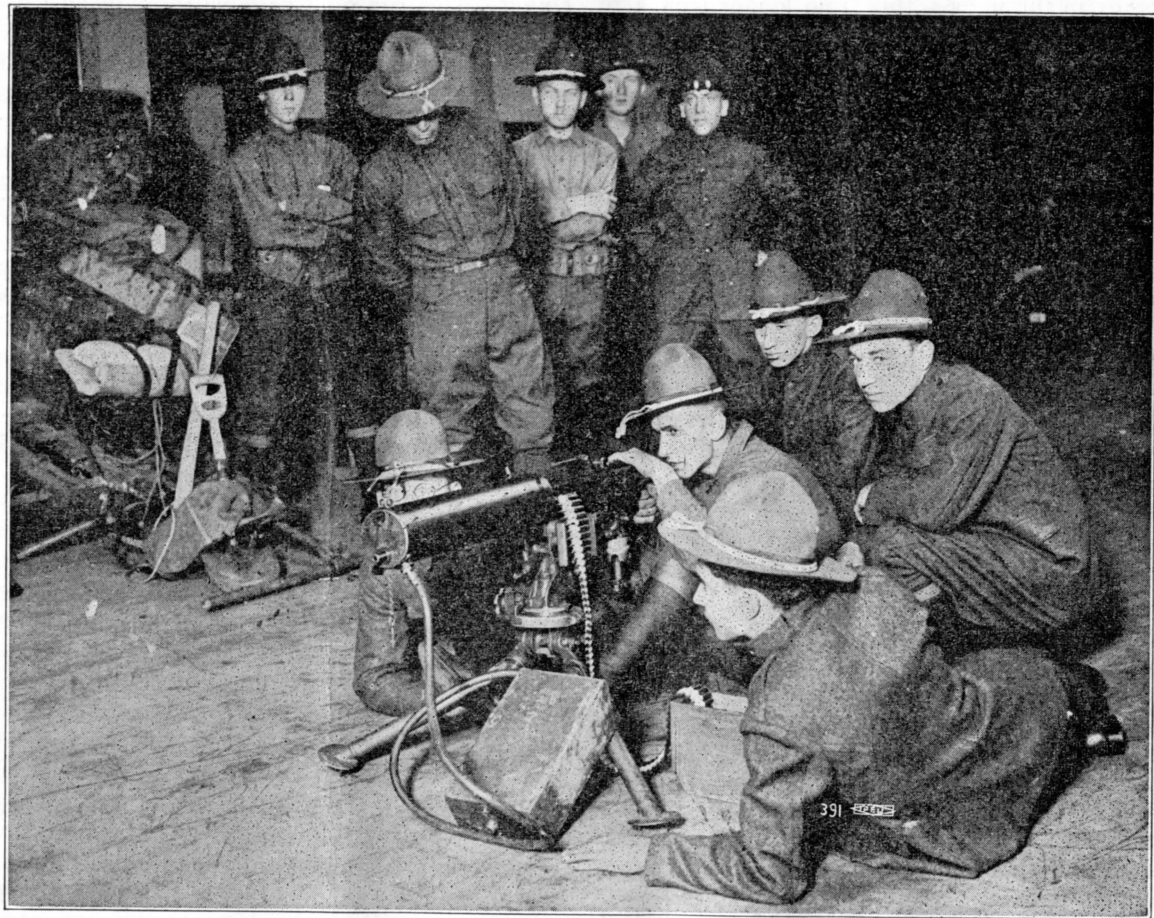
and representative of the photo engravers in the I. T. U., "a most farcical proceeding of a so-called convention of photo engravers" was held in New York. This was immediately in conflict with the I. T. U. which lost some of its local unions to the new organization. In 1902 some of the unions which had broken away from the international realized their mistake, and signified a willingness to come back. But in January, 1903, a conference between the photo engravers and the I. T. U. officials was held, and it was decided that it would be better for the I. T. U. to give up jurisdiction over the photo engravers rather than to suffer the disintegrating effects of dual unionism and fratricidal strife. The International Photo Engravers' Union proposal was definitely accepted by the I. T. U. on April 24, 1904, and the jurisdiction granted them. This brought the period of the establishment of the smaller crafts to a close. The I. T. U. now stood definitely as a limited craft union, comprising the compositors, mailers, newswriters, and type foundry.

The Problem of Industrial Solidarity

The great problem of the printing trades is



ILLINOIS STATE TROOPS MOBILIZED AGAINST STRIKERS



ILLINOIS STATE TROOPS MOBILIZED AGAINST STRIKERS

how to get common action, solidarity of the workers in the industry. The idea held so stubbornly in the I. T. U., of one union for the industry, is the only possible one to get this solidarity. The progressive elements failed in their efforts in the past. But in the very act of allowing the smaller crafts to establish themselves, the devotion to united efforts was shown; because the alternative was to carry on a devastating war with the incorrigible craft unionists who set up the beginnings of the separate unions. Now the situation is changing, and we must look the whole situation over again, to know what can be done.

First, the industry has been organized to a comparatively high degree. The deplorable lack of any effective organization which was such a stimulus 20 years ago to craft feeling and personal ambitions, has been largely wiped out. There has also been a great deal done to establish the comparative importance, strength, and mutual relations between these crafts. And where a few years ago they could probably increase their strength more by going out to organize the unorganized, than by closing up the ranks of those already in the unions, this is no longer true.

Much has been done for the workers in spite of the split-up condition in the unions. In 1897, for example, the nine-hour movement was inaugurated, the International Printing Pressmen, the Brotherhood of Bookbinders, and the International Typographical Union carrying on the campaign jointly. After two years of difficult negotiations and struggle, the drive was successful in establishing the nine-hour agreement, on November 21, 1889, with the Typothetae.

The Printing Trades Councils have been an important element of strength, in spite of their shortcomings and the obstacles in their way. But instead of growing in strength and importance, they have tended to become weak and idle. The principal activity left to it now is the control of the label. As the great bulk of printing buyers are actually against having the label on their printed matter, this becomes a petty affair.

"Open Shop" Drive Forces the Issue

The great attack of the past two years to force down wages, increase hours, and destroy the unions, has brought the matter to a head. It has shown up clearly the necessities of the situation. In the fact that the small crafts have lost fight after fight, or lost without even fighting, is the lesson that the bosses can only be whipped into line by large numbers. While the pressmen, the stereotypers and electrotypers, and the bookbinders, have lost the 44-hour week, have received slashing wage cuts, and been weakened in membership by one-half, small as they already

were; yet the big union which has had the mass of the workers in the industry, the I. T. U., has come out of the fight in comparatively good condition.

Suppose that the power of all these unions had been united, it is certain that all would have fared at least as well as the I. T. U. Considering the multiplication of strength, they might well have bettered themselves instead of merely holding their own. If there could be an argument today against the amalgamation of all the unions into one covering the entire industry, it would be expected to come from the big union. It could say, "we have got on fairly well alone; why take on the little, weak ones." But it is exactly this big, strong union which leads the way in calling for an industrial union. It knows through experience that the more workers in an industry belong to the union, the greater the power, and the larger the benefits which the union can wring from the bosses.

The problem before the progressive forces in the printing industry today is, then, how to bring all the smaller crafts into line with the splendid position taken by the International Typographical Union. This can only be done through an educational campaign, undertaken simultaneously throughout the entire printing industry. Such educational work can be done only by a grouping together of the progressive elements from all the unions, who will meet, work out the problems from the point of view of all the varied interests involved, and then carry on a propoganda in all unions at once upon the same lines.

Such a body as just proposed, is provided for in the Trade Union Educational League, in its Printing Trades Section. There in each local group would come together the live wires in the entire printing industry in each locality. The various local groups would then send representatives to a meeting which would elect a national educational committee. The latter would, in consultation with the local groups, work out a complete plan for amalgamating the printing trades unions, and launch a great national campaign for this end in every union. It is the need of the hour in the printing trades. Every militant union man should get busy to put it into effect.

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Gompersism in Full Flower

By Wm. Z. Foster

NEVER was a labor movement in more dire straits than ours is now. Viciously attacked politically, industrially, and every other possible way, it is literally backed up against a dead wall fighting for its very life. Yet in this supreme crisis its leadership is utterly incapable of even thinking clearly upon the situation, not to speak of doing anything vital to remedy it. To those who have hopes of some day seeing the working class master of society, the recent A. F. of L. convention was a tragedy. Faced by a multitude of grave problems, the solution of which would have required a conscientious overhauling of the labor movement from the top to bottom, it did nothing but play politics, mumble patriotic phrases, and run around in the same old circles, which are responsible for its present desperate plight. The Cincinnati convention was the most spineless, visionless, hopeless affair that has ever been staged even by the hard-boiled A. F. of L. It betrayed the complete intellectual bankruptcy of the old Gompers machine and showed clearer than ever its entire unfitness to lead American labor.

Political Stupidity

One pressing problem before the convention had to do with political action. As every one with a spark of intelligence and honesty knows and will admit, the Gompers political policy of rewarding Labor's friends and punishing its enemies has made a political zero of the American working class. Besides degenerating the unions into appendages of the corrupt capitalist parties and injecting crooked politicians directly into the ranks of the workers, where they have poisoned all about them, its preachments of capitalist conceptions have prevented the development of the class understanding and feeling without which no labor movement can prosper. It has also prevented the workers from securing any representation in the various local, state, and national legislative assemblies. It is one of the best aids to capitalistic class rule.

We have long paid the penalty for this foolish policy, but especially is its harm apparent during the present "open shop" and general anti-labor drive. Having full control of all legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the Government and despising the politically misled labor movement, the employers are ruthlessly destroying the basic rights of the workers. Free speech, free press, and free assembly, in the true sense of the word, are now things of the past. Besides, hard-

won legislation is fast going by the board; the Seamen's Act has been practically wiped out; the Federal Child Labor Law has been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court usurpers; and now the Coronado Coal Company decision, which killed the Clayton Act, apple of Mr. Gompers' eye, is threatening the whole labor movement with destruction. It is a grave crisis. If there ever was a time for serious thought and action it is now. The need of the hour is for the workers to cut loose from their old political moorings; to bid defiance to their tormentors, and to launch forth upon a campaign of militant working class political action through a party of their own.

But the hidebound Cincinnati convention did not understand this need any more than it understood the other problems confronting Labor. Made up for the most part of petty politicians and dominated completely by the arch-reactionary Gompers, it repudiated so entirely the idea of a labor party that the backers thereof dared not even introduce a resolution calling for one. Forty years ago or so Mr. Gompers decided that there should be no working class political party. That settled the matter. No matter how much current events may show this decision to be wrong, he still clings to it with all the stubborn bigotry which characterizes his nature. And this convention, like so many others that he has carried in his pocket, docilely bowed to his will. The best it had to offer was to enlist Labor in a campaign to put across four constitutional amendments clipping the prerogatives of the courts and guaranteeing the workers the right to organize. What a program! To send Organized Labor, demoralized, poisoned, disheartened, and disfranchised by Mr. Gompers' stupid policy of rewarding our friends and punishing our enemies, out to enact four constitutional amendments. Were it not so tragic it would be ridiculous.

Industrial Incompetency

If the Cincinnati convention failed dismally in the political field, it did no better in the realms of industry. Here again the convention was faced by a grave crisis. Our trade union movement, beset on all sides, is now actually threatened with extinction. According to Secretary Morrison's report the membership of the A. F. of L. dropped 710,893 during the past year, bringing the total down to 3,195,635. But everyone knows these figures are juggled. The condition is far worse

than they show. It is safe to say that in the last twelve months at least 1,000,000 workers, disgusted with Gompersism, have turned their backs on the labor movement. It is doubtful indeed if there are over 2,500,000 members in the Federation at this time. If the present rate of decline continues the organization will be wiped out in three years. Could the situation be more serious?

And what did the convention do about it? Almost exactly nothing. Above all there is a vital necessity for amalgamation, for the workers to fuse their scattered organizations together so that they may be able to make a united fight. Merger after merger is taking place among the employers. Ceaselessly their fighting force is being unified and strengthened. But the unions go along in the same old rut of craft division. Our backwardness in this respect is shown by the fact that in Germany the General Federation of Trade Unions, with 8,000,000 members, has this enormous army condensed into 49 national unions, whereas the A. F. of L., with only a third as many members, has 117 national unions. In other words, the degree of consolidation among the German workers is six times greater than among us. But the Cincinnati convention ignored this entire situation completely. The assumption was that its fragmentary and split up unions represent the very acme of trade union achievement. A resolution offered by the Railway Clerks to reorganize the movement upon an industrial basis was voted down unanimously. Not a single voice was raised in favor of amalgamation. The convention, characteristically enough, re-indorsed its stand of 21 years ago, by which the A. F. of L. graciously permits the affiliated organizations to fuse together if they so desire. The powerful employers are cutting the unions to pieces, because the unions are wrongly organized, but our labor leaders, intent primarily only on keeping themselves in office, stubbornly refuse to consider the cause or to adopt the obvious remedy of amalgamation. Not only that, but they denounce and attack anyone else who dares to point out the truth. The A. F. of L. convention was as barren industrially as it was politically. It had nothing to offer to the workers, no program that would rouse them to action to defend themselves from the exploiters. It was mentally dead.

Reaction All Around

Stagnant and refusing to take a single step ahead, the convention endorsed every reactionary proposition and condemned every progressive measure brought before it. Oppressed Russia, of course, came in for bitter condemnation. Again Mr. Gompers took his side with the Kolchaks,

Denikins, and the rest of the crew trying to smother out the Workers' Republic. In this, however, he had some opposition, and he had to call to his assistance such good friends of the working class as Herbert Hoover and Chas. E. Hughes, both of whom sent telegrams damning Russia. By refusing to endorse the opening up of trade relations with Russia, the A. F. of L. continues to maintain the most reactionary position of any labor movement in the world on this question. All the others, no matter how much they may differ in political opinions from the Bolsheviks, at least have the enlightenment to want to give Russia a chance to live. We alone among the world's organized workers are so barbarous as to try to starve her around to a capitalist point of view. It is a disgrace, a crime against American Labor.

Another cause to suffer was that of a genuine workers' press. The program now is to destroy the Federated Press. This is one of the few institutions of which the American labor movement may really be proud. It will compare favorably with any labor news gathering agency in the world. It is one of the most hopeful organizations in the country. But because it refuses to consider the Socialists, Communists, I. W. W.s and other radical and liberal tendencies as wild-eyed destroyers of civilization as Mr. Gompers does and gives them their due as parts of the great labor movement; because it dares to tell the truth about Russia, the Federated Press is slated to go. The reactionaries are determined to destroy it, hence they had their convention pass a motion to "investigate" it. Mr. Gompers and Crown Prince Woll were behind this move, and they will pick the "investigating" committee. As both these gentlemen have recently denounced the Federated Press in the public papers, it may be guessed what treatment it will get at their hands in the proposed "investigation." The time is at hand for the radical and liberal elements to rally behind this splendid press service; otherwise Mr. Gompers, who can brook nothing that is even mildly progressive, will stab it to death.

An effort was made to have the A. F. of L. affiliate to the International Federation of Trade Unions, with headquarters in Amsterdam. This is the yellow International, which is a loathing to all rebels. Yet the A. F. of L. refused to become a part of it, not because it is too conservative, but because it is too radical. The Executive Council was instructed to continue its efforts to get the laws of the Amsterdam International changed to Mr. Gompers' liking—that is to destroy even the trace of militancy that still remains in the organization—so that our capitalist minded labor leaders need not be compromised

or shocked by them. Once again European Labor will guffaw at our unparalleled intellectual timidity and backwardness.

One might continue far beyond the limits of this article pointing out the failures of the convention, such as the defeat of the resolution instructing the Executive Council to seek to bring the Amalgamated Clothing Workers into the Federation, the refusal to support Howat and Dorchy's fight against the Industrial Court Law, and the crime that was committed against the Maintenance of Way and the railroad workers in general by giving the Carpenters' Union the right over some 25,000 of their craft working on railroads. This latter was a long step backward; it means the encouragement of craft unionism at the expense of industrialism. It divides the railroad workers just that much more. Only at this great cost, only by giving up all these workers to the Carpenters' Union, which has absolutely no business on the railroads, was the Maintenance of Way allowed to re-affiliate with the Federation. Some of the shortsighted enthusiasts in our ranks are gloating over the victory in thus getting the track workers back with us, but before long they will learn that the price has been altogether too high. The presence of the Carpenters' Union on the railroads bodes no good to railroad workers as a whole. It menaces their growing solidarity and further complicates their already too complicated problem of developing concerted action. The Maintenance of Way decision was a distinct blow at Railroad Labor and altogether in harmony with the reactionary policies of the Gompers administration.

A New Triple Alliance

The American Federation of Labor, the American Legion, and the Ku Klux Klan—are their executives about to join hands in common cause? At first blush this seems an absurd suggestion, but there was much in the Cincinnati convention to make it a plausible possibility—and then anything may happen in a labor movement that permits its chief officer to sit in the inner councils of the enemy, the Civic Federation. What would these three bodies do in common? Fight the "reds" perhaps, for that, in Mr. Gompers' opinion, is one of the chief functions of the labor movement, even as it admittedly is of the other two bodies.

So far as the American Legion and the A. F. of L. are concerned, their relations have gone beyond mere friendliness and are approaching an actual alliance. Commander MacNider addressed the convention, not failing to point out in his patriotic talk, the common interest both organizations have in beating the radicals. To him replied George L. Berry, of doubtful fame

in the printing trades. Major Berry, besides being President of the International Union of Pressmen and Assistants, is also vice-commander of the American Legion. He seems to be a sort of unofficial delegate between the two bodies.

Mr. Gompers also took a hand, saying:

"So long as American Labor will hold its high ideals of freedom and justice and progress and safety for the American Republic, and the American Legion will stand true to its traditions, its history and its declarations under the leadership of a man of the character and type and idealism and practical understanding of Commander MacNider, there can be no division in our joint ranks."

The day following the expression of these true and noble sentiments the convention adopted a glowing committee report endorsing the developing alliance and instructing President Gompers to attend the national meet of the American Legion in New Orleans next October.

Friendliness was also shown towards the Ku Klux Klan. Since the exposure several months ago by the New York World, hundreds and thousands of organizations and individuals with some degree of public spirit have condemned this hooded menace. So a delegate, innocently believing that the A. F. of L. convention might be as progressive as these, submitted a resolution censuring the Ku Klux Klan as a danger to the working class. When, lo and behold! this resolution was laid aside and a substitute adopted which made no mention whatever of the Klan, and which merely disapproved mildly of parading through the streets with hoods. What is the explanation of this remarkable procedure? Why cannot even this American Fascisti organization be criticized by Organized Labor? How does its influence reach so high into the councils of the labor movement? Who among the A. F. of L. heads belong to it? Considering the convention action, these are pertinent questions. The A. F. of L. leaders condemn the Federated Press, tried and true fighter for the working class, but they refuse to condemn the vicious Ku Klux Klan. Could anything more clearly illustrate the perversion and degeneracy of the Gompers machine?

The Weak Opposition

More deplorable even, if possible, than the course of the Gompers administration was the attitude of the so-called opposition. This is made up primarily of the railroad trades and the miners. Possessed of enough latent strength to have swept the old guard off its feet, it accomplished absolutely nothing. This was because it lacked leadership and program. Johnston, the soft pe-

daller, was no man to fight Sam Gompers, the valiant battler. Had the opposition proposed anything and fought for it with a little "guts," the old man and his cohorts would have been licked. Witness the great drive in the Montreal convention, when the Plumb Planners knocked the machine into a thousand pieces. A fight like that at Cincinnati might have easily ended the old regime. Among the delegates there was a deep-seated discontent. But no one was at hand to organize it. Johnston fell flat. Despite all the force behind him, he could not elect a single member to the Executive Council.

But bad as was the showing of the railroader-miner opposition, that of the Socialist minority was even worse. The time was when the Socialists in the Federation waged a determined battle against Gompersism, but now, with the exception of a few irreconcilables, they seem entirely domesticated. They went along with the Gompers machine 100%, voting for all the administration candidates and measures, and against everything in any way radical or progressive. They voted against trade with Russia and industrial unionism. Their leader was Benjamin Schlesinger, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, who has gone over to Gompers boots and baggage. For his treason he was elected fraternal delegate to the British Trade Union Congress. Three years ago he was so despised in the convention because of his socialism that Frank Duffy refused to serve on the same committee with him, and Schlesinger had to get out. But at this convention we find Wm. Green, General Secretary of the United Mine Workers nominating him for fraternal delegate, and the Crown Prince, Woll, seconding the nomination. No doubt the needle workers

will be heard from regarding this betrayal by Schlesinger.

As a result of the lack of an intelligent fighting opposition to Gompers nothing was done by the convention. The only thing that in any way might be construed as a progressive step was a demand for a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti. But the A. F. of L. can claim small glory for that. Long after the labor movements in all other countries have demonstrated and protested against this brutal frame-up, we come and join the tail end of the procession. Had it depended upon the A. F. of L. to save them, Sacco and Vanzetti would have been long since devoured by quick lime.

After having visited the A. F. of L. convention, one may well be excused for being profoundly pessimistic as to the future of the American trade union movement. But it must never be forgotten that the deplorable condition in evidence there is largely the fault of the rebels. For years and years they have made no effort to establish their influence among the masses. Consequently stagnation reigns. But this will not continue. The hopeful sign is that the militants are now getting down to work for the first time through the Trade Union Educational League. And they will find a fruitful field, as the movement is fairly shrieking for competent and aggressive leadership. The big thing then for us to do is to redouble our efforts to the end that in every section of the labor movement all the live elements will be set into motion. The future of the labor movement depends upon the success of our work, because the old Gompers machine is intellectually and spiritually dead. The Cincinnati convention demonstrated that beyond all question of doubt.

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"Parties" In the Printing Trades

By Elwood Brewster

IN spite of our familiarity with the functions of political parties in Government, the development of definite "parties" in trade union matters of policy and administration has been very slow in the United States. That is to say, openly recognized political groupings on the basis of trade union issues have not been highly developed. More and more, however, the fight of the employers to crush the unions is bringing this matter to the fore. The future doubtless holds experience along this line for us, and it will be of value to study some of the past events of this kind. The outstanding example of party groupings in the trade unions, is doubtless to be found in the International Typographical Union.

Originally there was but one "party" in the I. T. U., the same kind of party which exists in every union in the country. This was the grouping of active, administration elements, who took charge of the affairs of the organization and had more or less of an understanding about matters among themselves. Such germs of party organization exist everywhere, and out of them come the definite programs and party lines which develop under pressure of severe class struggle. In the I. T. U., these original "stalwarts" were the radicals or militants of their day. They were the men who never missed a union meeting, who made it their business to know about every member, how he stood on union issues, etc. They were rather exclusive socially, and only slowly took new members into their informal circles.

"The Wahneta," a Union Party

In the loose grouping of the "administration" elements in the I. T. U. the idea grew that something more definite than common interest should bind them together. So a secret organization with a ritual and all the trimmings was formed, known as the "Wahneta." Information of an authoritative nature about this organization, is hard to obtain on account of its nature. There has been a great deal said and written about it, particularly of late, in controversy. In this article we will confine ourselves largely to statements which appeared in *The Industrialist*, organ of a group of New York progressives in the printing trades (March, 1922), which was quoted approvingly by the organ of the Wahnetas, *The Typo Blade* of Chicago (April, 1922). As both camps agree that the article in question is a good one, it may be safely taken as somewhat correct.

The Wahneta was launched about 40 years ago, according to this authority. Its object is

the control of the policies and offices of the union, local and international. It gathers together previous to each union meeting, to consider all business to come before the union; thus is obtained concerted and powerful action of all its members on each issue. The local secretaryship is always one of the main objectives, with a majority of all committees, and at least half of the delegates to international conventions. In each local of the I. T. U. where there is a Wahneta organization, one member is leader, having the ritual or "book." Meetings are seldom held in the same place successively, and the keeper of the "book" notifies the members of the place of meeting. If this information is not given to a member he knows he has been dropped.

The policy of this "ruling class" within the I. T. U. was originally a militant one, within the narrow confines of strict craft-unionism. But with the development of the industry, and particularly with the growth of power of the Wahneta organization, they became more and more conservative and reactionary. Today they are completely "standpatters," upholding the bosses against the claims advanced by the more militant membership. It is charged that they work in close cooperation with the employers. The charge is borne out by their attitude toward union policies, which has been stated as:

"The present social order, in which labor is a commodity worth what it will fetch in the labor market, always existed and always will. The employer is the "boss" and he should have unimpeded control of his composing-room in every particular other than in the matter of wages and hours, and, by the policy of arbitration, he is to have his say in what these shall be."

The success of the Wahneta in attaining its object was almost complete for a long time. For many years it was a common jest that a convention of the I. T. U. was merely an outing for the Wahnetas. Nothing came before such gatherings without their prior knowledge. Having complete control of votes, they were able to be "generous" in allowing malcontents to state their grievances, but the Wahneta decided the issues. Only of late years, with the rise of a rival "party," the Progressives, has their power been seriously challenged.

"The Progressive Party"

About 20 years ago the Progressive party became a distinct factor in the I. T. U. It crystallized out of a current of protest against the ruler-

ship of the Wahnetas, existing for some time without leaders or organization. Previous to the definite organization of the Progressives, it had been the practice of the Wahnetas, as resourceful politicians, to have one of their own number become a leader of the progressive faction whenever the opposition became threatening, in order to render it harmless to them. This was all the more easy to do, as the Wahnetas were a disciplined organization with a definite program, while the progressives were a heterogeneous collection of anti-administration elements.

The Progressive party has never entirely outgrown this indefiniteness of character. It comprises the most varied currents. The basis of unity is the common opposition to the domination of the "hard-boiled" machine, economy in administration, and more latitude in the official journal for opinion dissenting from the rigidly official. It might be called a "liberal" party, as opposed to the "tory" Wahnetas.

The Struggle for Dominance

The two parties have become commonly accepted factors in the life of the union. They are "respectable" institutions, in the sense that the leaders generally accept them as necessary instruments for determining the policy of the organization. So true is this that even Frank Morrison, for years secretary of the A. F. of L. and part and parcel of the Gompers machine, considers it in the natural course to be a candidate for I. T. U. delegate to the A. F. of L. on the Progressive party ticket.

The struggle against the Wahnetas first took the form of opposition to the existence of any definite grouping within the union. This move succeeded in writing into the laws of the I. T. U. an obligation intended to suppress such organizations. It reads: *"that I will belong to no society or combination composed wholly or partly of printers, with the intent or purpose to interfere with the trade regulations or influence or control legislation of this union."* But this did not do away with the Wahnetas, and the progressives themselves, perforce, established their party organization to make their influence felt.

The Progressive party made the first big dent in the Wahnetas machine in 1920, when they elected John McParland to the position of President of the I. T. U. After almost two decades they had at last become a power. But, in the language of the newspaper cartoonist, "then the fun began," the real fight was on. The struggle between the Progressive party, holding the presidency and a minority of the Executive, inexperienced as a party whatever the qualifications of their officials—and on the other hand, the old

entrenched "Wahs" with a majority of the Executive, and a tradition of rulership extending back for generations. And it cannot be said that the Progressives have not made a very good showing in the scrap.

It is entirely outside the scope of this short article to give the details of the struggle for power. We may say, however, that the Progressive party made good before the membership in some degree. At the elections just closed they re-elected McParland president, and won a majority on the executive. The secretary-treasurer's office still remains with Hays, the Wahnetas representative, together with a minority of the executive officers. The voting showed a decided gain in the strength of the Progressive party. They now have the administration powers—and responsibilities.

What of the Future?

The Wahnetas have lost. There does not appear any probability of them having the ability to come back. But the "party" history of the I. T. U. is not necessarily closed thereby. The Progressives are far from being a united body of common opinion. As they consolidate their gains, and as the menace of a Wahnetas "come back" disappears, the germs of a new line-up which now lie dormant within the Progressive organization will sprout and grow. But it will be upon an entirely new plane. The future party struggles promise to be much healthier than the past. They will be more nearly struggles upon principles and policies.

The new Progressive administration frankly proclaims itself "conservative." It is willing to tolerate the most far reaching educational work, but wishes it clearly understood that while "they are progressive" they are "in no sense radical." On the other hand we see such groups as those represented by *The Industrialist* proposing as a policy for the Progressive party—

"Labor must have the right to determine its hours of work and compensation, to exercise authority over working conditions, to elect the managers of the industry—foremen, superintendents, etc.—and to maintain shop rules by self-discipline."

Without doubt the present "liberal-conservative" administration will receive the united support of all the elements which put it in power, so long as there is a Wahnetas menace, and so long as the administration continues to give its best services to the union. But the present heterogeneous organization is sure to develop something new in the course of a few years—or less—which should be an omen of progress to all in the printing trades.

The British Engineers' Struggle

By Tom Mann

AFTER 13 weeks of struggle the engineers of Britain have gone back to work under the conditions laid down by the employers. It will be valuable to review this fight to see what can be learned from it. First, a memory refresher, to remind readers that in Britain the term engineer is applied to those workers engaged in constructional work of machine making, engine building, and every kind of mechanical repair work in factories, shops, mills and mines. The number of men so engaged, including ship-building, amounts to about 1,500,000, organized in about 60 different unions. The union with the largest membership is the Amalgamated Engineering Union, (A. E. U.), with 400,000 members. The lock-out first took place in connection with the members of this union who were in the employ of the Federated Engineering Employers, affecting rather less than one half of the total membership, the other being employed in non-Federated shops, or in enforced idleness.

The particulars of the dispute were given in my article in THE LABOR HERALD for May; we may add the following brief statement from the official document issued by the A. E. U., entitled "Why We Are Locked Out":

"The whole point for which the Union was, and is, contending, is that the necessity of overtime on production work must be agreed upon between the union and the employers before the overtime can be worked; in other words, that there must be joint consultation between the parties in advance of the actual working of the overtime."

The employers insisted that they were the only competent judges as to when overtime was necessary, but modified their original attitude by undertaking not to make any material change in the management of a works until they had given the workmen ten days notice of such intended change. This was not to apply to the working of overtime which the bosses claimed ought to be solely a matter for them to decide, but if in so doing they violated any agreement with the men, that the men should have the right

to bring the matter before the central conference.

The lock-out commenced, with the A. E. U., on March 13th, and finished by vote of the members on June 13th, thus lasting 13 weeks. Partial news report in the United States press will no doubt have confused the issue to some readers of THE LABOR HERALD, even if there was no such intention, because after the lock-out of the A. E. U., which was the principal fight, the employers also entered into negotiations with 51 other unions connected with engineering and ship building, over various items of wages and shop management. These other unions also

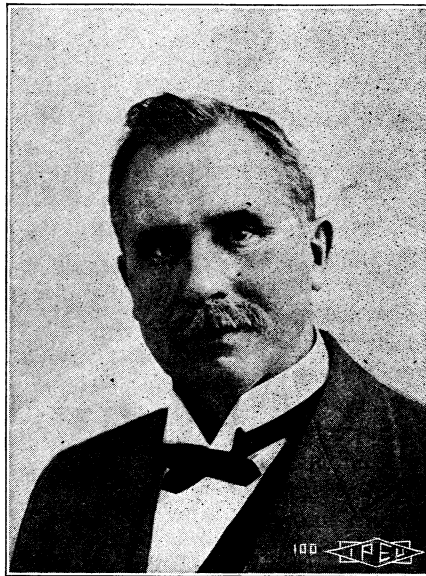
were locked out in April, and although numerous conferences were held no understanding was arrived at for 8 weeks. The whole of these unions, as well as the A. E. U., thus had their members locked out: then after some trifling modifications in the employers' attitude, the Executives of 47 of the unions agreed to submit the boss's proposal to the members to be voted upon, recommending the acceptance of the terms.

The members of the 47 unions ratified the acceptance of the employers' proposal, and on the same day a National Conference of the A. E. U. was held, and they made a similar recommen-

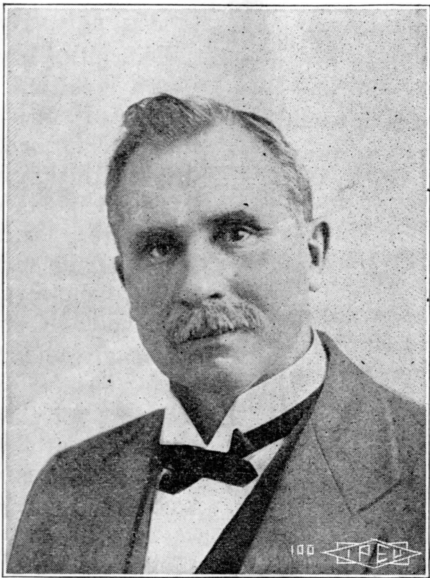
dation. All the unions involved voted to accept the proposal except the Boiler Makers and the Foundry Workers, and these have done so since. The last of these unions to accept the terms was the Boilermakers, who voted on June 17th (just before this is being written) to authorize their executive to close the dispute. So, in this third week in June, all those who have been locked out will return—that is, those for whom there is work—and the lock-out is over.

Lessons From the Lock-out

The big things to be learned from the struggle just ended are those that the live men were already familiar with, the outstanding lesson being *the futility of sectional unionism in coping with the organized capitalist forces*. This is the one big lesson which, if it be not learned and applied,



TOM MANN



TOM MANN

will leave the working mass in the same condition of inefficiency in the future. Such a condition presents a powerful *appearance* by parading the large number of workers enrolled in *some union*, but when the real test arrives, and nothing less than real solidarity will meet the boss's onslaught, we find ourselves pitifully feeble because of the multiplicity of organizations and their inability to sink their differences.

One of the greatest obstacles to the necessary solidarity is in the constitution of the A. E. U., which to this day remains a craftsmen's union, and does not welcome into its ranks the hundreds of thousands of semi-skilled and unskilled (so-called) men working in the industry. This latter type of man is increasing in numbers with the constant extension of automatic machinery. Although there is much that they cannot do, there is so much that they can do that they can be of great use to the bosses. If the main organization treats them as unworthy of being members, and checks their advance in the shops and factories, what can be expected when an industrial crisis arises?

To understand more fully some of the difficulties involved, it is necessary to examine some of the methods of organization. Thus, one of the unions in which many of the unskilled men in engine and machine shops, and shipyards, are enrolled, is the National General Workers Union, with about 500,000 members. Another is the Workers' Union, also with approximately 500,000 members. In both cases these unions have done most excellent work the last five-and-twenty years, organizing not only the hitherto unorganized, but also those who were considered unorganizable. As a consequence the status of the workers so united has been considerably benefited. These unions are on a polyglot basis, organizing any section or group, or individuals, so that their membership is engaged in a great variety of occupations, some not having the remotest relationship with each other industrially, but by their very variety and multiplicity of occupations, they have kept their organization intact, never having a preponderance of their members affected by any particular struggle.

Now, when in consequence of the fact that almost every person in the engineering industry belongs to some union, the only way to increase our power against the capitalists is to solidify the already organized forces, it becomes necessary to lay the basis for one organization to cover the entire industry. In order to wage war scientifically we must have an industrial union, a single organization to include all persons of every grade and of either sex. But the semi-skilled

and the unskilled men in the unions just described, find that such a policy of industrial unionism is calculated to disintegrate their existing unions. They naturally argue, if our members engaged in engineering are to leave the unions and join an Engineering Industrial Union, then for a similar reason we shall be called upon shortly to give up our members in the Building Industry, the Mining Industry, the Textile Industry, etc. and it will leave to us only the remnants of an organization.

To reply that the working class will be the gainers, and that it is a necessary stage of development, only partially meets their present-day difficulty, but this will be overcome, and I am able to report that forces are shaping themselves now in order to carry on the necessary campaign favorable to the formation of *one union for the whole engineering industry*.

Difficulties have existed and do exist also between members of the skilled unions in consequence of overlapping. Demarcation troubles they are termed. (In the U. S., jurisdictional disputes). Many such quarrels have arisen between members of the A. E. U. and the Ship Plumbers. Oftentimes the trouble arises as to which of the two bodies is entitled to fix piping of a given diameter, and whole districts have been laid idle as a consequence.

Frequently Boiler Makers and Engine Fitters have considerable friction, as also do many other sections; for these causes of trouble there is no cure but enrollment in one organization, properly departmentalized, with one executive and a common policy for every section.

The Unemployed In the Lock-out

A remarkable feature of the present dispute, and one well worth recording, was the part played by the unemployed. Before the lock-out there was a large number of unemployed, the A. E. U. alone having 92,000 of its members out of work. In past times the bosses could always count upon considerable sections of the unemployed consenting to accept their terms, and thus helping to break the strike. It is very pleasing to be able to report that all through the 13 weeks lock-out there was no blacklegging or scabbing on the part of those who were previously out of work. Not only so, to their credit I have to say that they have been so well organized as unemployed, in addition to being members of their respective unions, that they have strengthened the spirit of the struggle. By demonstrating and by forcible entry into the meeting chambers of reactionary Boards of Guardians—the public bodies administering the poor law—by their effective

(Continued at bottom next page)

The Swivel Chairs Win

By Jay Fox

SAM and the old guard have been re-elected without opposition, and the old policies re-affirmed; thus the convention has been one of the most successful of the forty-two held by the A. F. of L. since its formation in 1881. Of course no one at all conversant with the movement expected anything else. Not until a new set of delegates are elected to that body may we look for anything new and constructive to emanate from the federation. Next year the delegates will take a junket trip to far off Portland, Oregon, and re-elect and reaffirm, and the workers will pay the bill; and so it will go on to the end of time, unless the workers take a hand in their own affairs and elect men and women right out of the factories to the conventions.

The federation is in itself rather a useless body. It was originally intended to be a means of bringing the various unions together. In that it has failed, utterly. The international officials meet and talk and go back home to carry on their separate craft struggles against the united powers of capital. As a matter of fact all

the federation can do is pass resolutions, which the unions may ignore, and which they do with impunity. The penalty of expulsion is seldom carried out, for that would be defeating the object of the federation; and anyway, the unions don't fear it, since each international is an entity in itself, fighting its battles alone most of the time.

In recent years they have tried to patch up the deficiency in the system by the formation of "departments." Whatever of good that has accrued to the unions from the A. F. of L. has come thru these departments. But even these have proved to be poor makeshifts in the face of the big combinations of capital. Nobody knows this any better than the men at the head of the unions. But they will not make any move to remedy the defect. They know very well that as the "Department" was the first step in the evolution of the craft union, the next step must be amalgamation, and consequently, industrialism.

They know that if a department was a union instead of a dozen unions they could always get

statement of their case and courageous demeanor, they have obtained from the Guardians the necessities of life for themselves and families, and have through the whole dispute exhibited solidarity amongst themselves, and cooperated with the Lock-Out Committees. They have not only thus helped to encourage the men to carry on the fight, but have always been ready to take a big part in mass picketing, and have shown such readiness of resource and such plucky behaviour, that it may be said the unemployed, meaning particularly those who were unemployed before the lock-out began, have borne a large share of the brunt of the battle, and acquitted themselves as class-conscious workers equal to the best. Oftentimes they have been the pace-setters in all forms of militancy.

Herein there is genuine warrant for declaring that class consciousness has developed largely in recent times. Although the opposition forces have many things that favor them, it is most cheering to know that those victims of the capitalist system who have been barred the opportunity of employment, with all that such conditions carries with it, have definitely refused to sell themselves to the bosses, to the detriment of fellow workers engaged in class struggle, but on the contrary they are themselves organizing meetings and demonstrations, pointing out the

chief economic lessons to be learned from the breaking down of the capitalist system.

There is no misgiving on the part of the men. One-third of them (and in nearly all institutions it is only one-third or less that are active) are definitely out to carry on propagandist effort to bring into existence a union for the Engineering and Shipbuilding Industry, open to every worker in the industry, regardless of occupation or sex; the friendly society benefits to be kept separate from the industrial benefits; the object of the union to be, the full control of industry by those engaged in it.

But for the lock-out being on at the time, there would have been a meeting of the A. E. U. for the Revision of Rules in May last. This meeting had to be adjourned owing to the struggle, and will probably be held in September. It is very significant that many resolutions have been sent to it by branches, calling for the broadening of the basis of the union so as to include all workers connected with the Engineering and Shipbuilding Industry.

The result of the lock-out will give point and strength to all of these forces working for progress, and I expect that ere a year has passed the character of the unions, and certainly their bases, will have been changed substantially for the better.

action—united action, and get it quick. They know better than anyone can tell them that all the links in their department chain are weak, and that if the dozen links were welded into one that one would be unbreakable.

They know even more than that—they know there is no argument against the welding of the dozen links. They are pretty keen chaps when it comes to setting up an argument in defense of their position, but in this particular they are flabbergasted. They have their reasons, yes, but not for publication. They wouldn't look good in print. Even brother Gompers, who is the king pin of them all, when it comes to debate, was compelled by the exigencies of the situation to debase his exalted position as leader of the American labor movement by slinging mud.

Sam thanked the boys from the bottom of his heart for re-electing him president of the federation. Having the welfare of the labor movement so much at heart one would think he would be equally grateful to those who would bring forward an idea having as its object the solidification of the labor movement; something so devoutly to be wished, according to his own speech. At this time above all others, when it is so well known that a nation wide movement is at work to destroy the labor unions, one would think that the leaders of labor would be straining every effort to whip the unions together so they could present a solid front to the enemy. Instead we have the spectacle before us of these labor leaders fighting, actually fighting, against the solidification of the unions, knowing as they do so well the present weakness of the unions and their inability to withstand the onslaught of united capital.

We can understand them honestly opposing socialism; men can honestly disagree upon forms of society. But there is surely something radically wrong with the labor leaders who, in this hour of concentrated capital, will maintain that a dozen unions shall exist where one should be. And, mind you, theirs is not the opposition of indifference. It is not a negative opposition, an opposition that says: "Go on and try it if you like, but we don't think it can be brought about." It is a positive and intensely active opposition, that indicates plainly they do not want it to be brought about. They do not want the hand of labor to be strengthened. Do they fear lest a strengthening of the hand of labor would weaken their control over it?

All honor to the man who thinks differently from me and states his reason for so thinking; but I cannot have much respect for the man who answers my thinking with abuse. If there are

any good reasons why the unions should not amalgamate it is up to these brothers to state them. We want to know. We may be wrong. We are not dogmatists. We are always amenable to reason. Reason is our guiding star. And it is by following her lead that we have arrived at the decision that amalgamation is the only hope of the unions to save themselves from utter destruction at the hands of the all-powerful capitalist money machine that has been evolved for the purpose of crushing them.

Since the brothers disdain to favor us with their reasons for opposing amalgamation and hand us abuse instead, we must proceed to uncover them. For we know they must have reasons hidden behind this smoke-screen of abuse they have thrown up. Aside from any suspicion of their taking money from the enemy, which is out of the question, let us apply the test of self interest in another direction.

All of them have good jobs, better than they ever had in their lives. How would amalgamation affect these jobs? Under amalgamation one set of officers would suffice for each industry. What a saving of dues. That in itself would be a good reason for amalgamation. But it is not the big reason, and we are not enlarging upon it. It is plain, then, that the new alignment will cut out a lot of good jobs, and isn't it reasonable to assume that right there we have the source of official opposition?

I am not inclined to knock these brothers too hard for wishing to hold their jobs. A job is a serious thing for all of us. We have all got to have a job, and the best one we can get is not too good. But *all of us want* to get in on the good jobs. We are not willing to continue slaving in the open shop at the mercy of the money lords so our officers may hold down their good jobs and be their own bosses, and ours too. And if they don't give way gracefully, to the pressure of progress, they will be ruthlessly swept aside. It is the good of the many as against the good of the few. All for one and one for all.

The men who hold the good jobs in our unions are subject to the same influence as are the holders of good jobs all thru society. The holders of good jobs never want a change, least of all a change that would deprive them of their good jobs. All progress has been the work of men with bum jobs. There is no reason for a man with a good job to want a change. He can't take the chances that go with a change. He sits tight in his swivel chair, a universal standpatter. The man with a poor job has nothing to lose but his chains. That's our position in a nutshell; I mean we of the rank and file. So let us go to it and put our program over.

Railroad Workers Stand Together

AT last the great crisis has come! Finally, Railroad Labor, exasperated beyond endurance by inhuman wage cuts and the infliction of slave conditions, is striking back at its tormentors. As we write 400,000 workers have laid down their tools and the great railroad shops of the country have come to a standstill. The bitter struggle of exploited against exploiters, brewing for the past two years around conference tables, has now broken out into open conflict. The very life of the unions and the standards of living of our families are at stake. It is a fight to the finish.

Entering upon this crucial struggle, it will pay us well to examine carefully the organization of the two great opposing forces. As for our enemies, the capitalists, this is easily done. They present an imposing array of solidarity and power. Rich and powerful beyond measure, the companies are united in their opposition to us from one end of the country to the other. Moreover, they have the united support of the business interests generally, the Government, the Courts, and the Press. In a word, all the exploiters' many institutions are functioning efficiently as one great machine to beat us. It is a united front of the entire capitalist class to crush militant Railroad Labor.

Capital United: Labor Divided

But how pitiful the showing when we compare our own scattered forces with the mighty organization and unshakable solidarity of our enemies. Organized Labor as a whole, with its invincible millions, does nothing to help us, but stands around twiddling its thumbs and passing sterile resolutions of sympathy. And even Railroad Labor itself is split forty ways. Instead of acting as one united body, in accordance with one common interest, we have division everywhere. While one group of unions is making the fight, which will settle the fate of railroad unionism for years to come, the others, blind to their true interests, are calmly staying at work and helping to break the strike. It is a picture of demoralization. Where all should be unity there is division; when there should be solidarity and concerted action, there is separation and mutual betrayal. It is indeed a tragic situation for the workers.

How unfit our 16 unions, fighting singly and in detachments, are to withstand the mighty combination of the companies, is made clear as day when we compare our forces to an army. What would become of an army which, faced by a

modern military force, should send its infantry into battle alone, while its cavalry, artillery, air force, etc., stood by inactive; and then, when the infantry was defeated, send in the other branches one after the other to meet the same fate? Such an army would be useless, and fortunate indeed if it were not annihilated. Yet we railroaders are following exactly this stupid course when we allow the shopmen to fight alone, while the running trades and the others take no part in the struggle. Being such bunglers, is it any wonder that we do not win?

But we do even much worse than that. What kind of an army would it be which not only followed the foolish practice of utilizing only one branch of its forces at a time, but also permitted the others to have signed agreements with the enemy that they would not help their embattled fellow workers? Or what kind of a military power would this country have been in the late war, if several of the States had had treaties with Germany, agreeing not to war against her when the rest of the United States did? Such tactics would be incredibly stupid, suicidal nonsense, you say. And you are right. But it is just this foolish way that Railroad Labor "fights." In this hour of supreme crisis, when our utmost strength is needed, have not many of the unions signed treaties with the enemy, and are not others dodging around trying to peddle the interests of the striking trades so that they, too, may secure similar treasonable agreements?

Again, what sort of an army would it be that allowed some of its divisions to line up with the enemy to defeat their own forces? That is what Railroad Labor's army is doing in this great battle. The issue is that the strikers are trying to stop the railroads and the companies are trying to operate them. Whichever achieves its goal will win. It might be thought, therefore, that all Railroad Labor would unite to bring the roads to a standstill. But the unions at work are directly helping the owners to run the roads, and thus to break the strike. They are as soldiers who have loaned themselves to the enemy so that their own comrades, and therefore themselves, can be defeated. Can folly go further?

The Employers Command Our Unions

Yes, folly can go further, and we railroaders have found the way to make it do so. Can you imagine a state of affairs where the commander of an army permitted the opposing general to dictate to him which of his troops he should use, and when he should throw them into battle, or

pull them out of it? Such an army would be only a ridiculous caricature of a fighting force, and its commander would be cashiered instantly as an incompetent. But it is exactly thus that the railroad workers' army operates. For all practical purposes of the struggle, we have abandoned the main command of our forces into the hands of the companies. They are the ones who determine which of our battalions and regiments shall and shall not fight. They directly control and manipulate the extent and breadth of our strikes. Now let us see how they do it.

Our organization is split into many fragments of single unions or groups of unions. Being autonomous and imbued with an individualistic spirit, these do not recognize the common interest of all, nor do they rally to each others' support. They fight only when their own individual interests are involved, only when pressure is put upon them directly. Aware of this fact, the railroad monopoly, operating through its agent, the Railroad Labor Board, plays them against each other just as it pleases, selecting whichever ones it wants to do battle with and whenever it chooses. The real command of our unions is thus in the hands of the enemy.

Never was this more clearly illustrated than in the present crisis. The Railroad Labor Board, which, we repeat, is nothing but the willing tool of the companies, slashed the wages of the Maintenance of Way to the bone. When the Board did this it virtually ordered this organization into battle, with dissolution as the penalty if it dared disobey the Board's instructions. Moreover, the Board commanded it to fight alone, for it knew very well that the other unions, hopelessly divided against each other, could not rise to the heights of making common cause with the trackmen. It was just as though General Von Hindenburg had sent this order to General Foch:

"Now we are going to attack your 4th Army as we are ready to whip them. But be sure to keep your other troops out of action until we say the word." Can you imagine Foch or any other general with an ounce of brains obeying such a command from the enemy? Yet that is exactly what our railroad union generals did when they allowed the companies to single out the trackmen for slaughter and did not rise in protest against it.

Very well, the Railroad Labor Board, realizing its control of the situation and not greatly fearing the power of the Maintenance of Way, decided they could extend the fight profitably—for the deflation of Railroad Labor must proceed as rapidly as possible. So they slashed the wages of the Shopmen and the Clerks, thus throwing these bodies into the fight as directly as though the Board had wired their headquarters that they had either to strike or dissolve. But, not wishing to take on too big a contract, the Board decided that the train service unions should be kept out of the struggle until it is better able to trim them. So it just tells them to wait around a few months until it has the time and opportunity to settle their hash. And they obligingly do so. It is like Von Hindenburg sending this order to Foch and getting away with it: "Now send in your 2nd and 3rd Armies. We can take care of them as well as the 4th Army, which you delivered promptly as per instructions on the 'steenth. But do not fail to keep those heavy shock troops of yours, the Brotherhoods and Telegraphers, in reserve. We will let you know in due season when to bring them onto the field of battle so that we may dispose of them with the fewest possible casualties to ourselves."

And now that the battle is on, the Railroad Labor Board has by no means lost command of our forces. Should the situation become threat-



LEAVING THE SHOPS — SOME OF THE 400,000



LEAVING THE SHOPS — SOME OF THE 400,000

ening, it can pull out of the fight just whichever sections of our army it deems necessary. All it has to do is to grant a few concessions to the group which is wants to pull out of action, and the job is done. Obediently they will join forces with the employers and thus help beat the rest whom the Railroad Labor Board has decided must stay in the fight.

Let's Seize Our Own Command

Can anybody deny that the foregoing is a true picture of the situation? Who can dispute the fact that the Railroad Labor Board is playing checkers with our unions, throwing these into battle and pulling those out, just as it sees fit by cutting wages here and withholding wage cuts there? Could a situation be more unfavorable for us, with the practical command of our forces in the hands of our enemies? And is it not high time that we put a stop to this ruinous condition by seizing command of our own organizations, so that we, and not the Railroad Labor Board, shall determine the number of troops we shall bring to bear against our opponents at any given time?

And we can seize this command only by amalgamating our many unions into one. So long as we are divided into many sections, the bosses will be able to play one against the other, as they are

now doing to our sad detriment. Only when we are all in one general railroad union, only when the whole body of us will rally to the support of every section of us that may be in trouble, will we actually have charge of our own unions. Now they are controlled in their most vital function by the bosses.

In the present great struggle, two supreme tasks confront us. One is to win the strike. We must and will carry that to victory, regardless of obstacles. This can be done, as the panic of the employers now shows, if we hold fast and extend the strike. In spite of our serious divisions we have delivered a smashing blow, which if followed up relentlessly cannot fail to bring a favorable result. And the other task is to point out to the railroad workers the need for united action by all of us against the companies, and also to show them that this unity can only be secured by amalgamating our unions together. In one gigantic union, built up of our 16 craft organizations, embracing all classes of railroad workers, lies the only remedy for the division and lack of solidarity which is costing us so dearly in this struggle. Amalgamation and victory, should be our slogan.

Railroad Workers' Section.

Trade Union Educational League.

Herrin: A Warning

By Earl R. Browder

THE miners of the United States have had bitter experience with the gunmen and private detectives hired by the operators. Particularly in the coal fields owned or operated by the steel trust and the oil trust, the lawless violence of private armies against the strikers has gone the limit. Ludlow, Cabin Creek, Calumet, West Virginia, are still open wounds inflicted upon the miners.

Williamson County, Illinois, has been a peaceful spot during all the recent coal strikes. But the Southern Illinois Coal Co., operating a strip-mine between the towns of Marion and Herrin, suddenly became militantly active in June, against the strikers. After working, under agreement with the union, only upon uncovering the coal while the strike was on, they suddenly announced they would begin to mine the coal itself. The union men immediately walked off the job. Armed private detectives and strike breakers were immediately rushed in, and scab operations commenced under charge of C. K. McDowell, a gunman who had "seen service"

in the mine strikes of Colorado and whose record was familiar to the strikers.

Then the information began to spread about that the steel trust had put money into the company and was directing operations. This was borne out by the identical tactics used in the West Virginia coal fields operated by the steel trust. Armed guards began to terrorize the inhabitants; public roads were closed; even representatives of the Chicago newspapers and of the State government, were stopped, and allowed to pass over the highways only under the permit of McDowell. The miners appealed to the State to remedy these conditions. The adjutant general of the State militia sent Colonel Hunter to Williamson County to investigate.

Hunter came, and was also stopped on the highway. When he inquired about the conditions at the mine, the matter of guns and ammunition stored there, etc., McDowell answered "this is being kept for ducks." When appealed to by the representatives of the State and county to withdraw the gunmen, he replied: "I've

broken other strikes, and I'll break this one." Hunter reported to Lester, the ostensible owner of the mine, that the gunmen were threatening the peace of the community, and action must be taken to curb them. He made this statement over the long distance telephone in the presence of the union officials.

Nothing was done. The gunmen ruled unchecked. The scab operations went on. On Wednesday, June 21st, the union miners sent a delegation to visit the mine to try to get the workers there to join the strike. According to one of the strike breakers, when interviewed in the hospital, the gunman McDowell in charge of the operations, saw the committee approaching through the woods surrounding the mine, raised his high-powered rifle and saying, "That looks like a man; let's see if it is," he fired, killing George Henderson, one of the strikers' committee, and another guard fired, killing Joe Picovich.

The news of these wanton murders spread throughout the county. Coming on top of all the previous terrorization, intimidation, insults and provocations, with the remembrance of West Virginia fresh in their minds, it roused the entire county to action. Thousands of miners flocked to the scene on the next day, and a battle ensued. When it was over the gunmen were either dead, wounded, or missing.

The coroner's jury which investigated the matter immediately after the battle, brought in a verdict placing the responsibility squarely upon the coal company which had imported the hired gunmen. The facts of the authority of the state having been flouted by these capitalist agents, of newspaper reporters having been threatened with violence by the detectives, of public roads

having been closed to traffic, and the brutal and cold-blooded murder of Henderson and Picovich, of the warning given by Colonel Hunter to the adjutant general that the gunmen would have to be curbed, and the failure of the State to act; all these things combined to make such a clear case that even the capitalist newspapers have had to quit printing "news" and fall back upon editorials in order to condemn the miners of Williamson County.

The people of Williamson County all know the merits of the battle. When a correspondent met the Mayor of Herrin and asked him for some particulars, the Mayor said: "As a matter of fact, the mine office is at Marion, and the mine is closer to there than to Herrin. So Herrin does not deserve, according to your point of view, the honor or the blame."

Williamson County as a whole considers it an honor that it prevented a repetition of the West Virginia slaughter of strikers. When they had the old challenge of the steel trust thrown in their faces they met it and wiped it out. Herrin stands as a warning to the predatory capitalists, that the use of private armed force is not entirely a one-sided game; it is a warning to the Government that it cannot continue to wink at murders committed by detectives in order to break strikes.

When the striking workers have to face the armed forces of the Government thrown into battle for the capitalists, that is one problem which has yet to be solved. But the use of *private armies*, detectives, thugs, and gunmen, has been met by the miners of Herrin, and a challenge has been accepted. It is a warning that the times have changed.



THE SCENE OF BATTLE AT HERRIN



THE SCENE OF BATTLE AT HERRIN

Babson Versus Gompers

Roger W. Babson is the expert adviser of the capitalist class in America. He has build up a great personal fortune, through Babson's Statistical Corporation, by furnishing the "hired brains" to Big Business, which is glad to pay most generously for his keen capitalist vision and judgment. Babson sends his clients *confidential bulletins*, containing his judgment on financial and labor matters, for which he is highly paid.

Samuel Gompers is ostensibly the leader of the American labor movement, standing as he does at the head of the A. F. of L. His leadership is well described in his own words, uttered on the eve of the recent convention;—"I always like to look back." Gompers opposition to amalgamation and industrial unionism, as well as his tactics in fighting the upholders of these principles, have been fully reported. Standing in the position of leader of American Labor, he delivers himself of the most puerile slush, petty personalities, and peanut politics.

Compare and contrast the childishness of Gompers, with the *confidential communication* given by Roger Babson to his capitalist clients on the same subject. In his Confidential Labor Bulletin No. L 195, discussing the railroad strike, Babson says, "So long as the unions are divided as they are, and particularly when the strike starts with those of least consequence and with those whose places are easiest to refill, the country need not worry."

"In other words," says Babson, "W. Z. Foster is right when he says that what the unions of the United States must do, if they are to become effective fighting bodies, is to get away from the trade union form of organization and to organize industrially. Mr. Gompers' attempt to answer Foster by besmirching his character does not touch this fundamental fact. The only great unions which have put up a winning fight in the past two years have been industrial unions."

Babson gets down to brass tacks in talking with his own people. While Gompers denounces the amalgamation of unions along industrial lines, offering instead of increased power his own senile dreams of brotherhood with the capitalists, Babson is busy explaining the real nature of the struggle to his clients. He understands the question of power between the unions and the bosses, and frankly and confidentially discusses the matter with his employers. He tells the capitalists they control the press, the church, the schools, and the Government; and shows them how to use these institutions against Labor. Then he points out how to divide the workers, and play off one group against the other.

Babson's contempt for the power of the unions is significant, because he speaks to and for the capitalist class. His words show how they use our weaknesses against us, and despise us because we are so weak. So long as the organized workers allow their organizations to be headed by weak-minded old men, without program or goal, just so long will Babson and his kind continue to sneer at the futility of our efforts. The struggle against capitalism is a matching of power; capitalism wins until we learn how to gather all our forces—until we learn amalgamation.

Italian Labor Preparing to Assume Power

By Emilio Luigi

THE Italian labor and political situation is today characterized by the fact that the capitalist class is attacking, concertedly, deliberately and violently, all that Labor has conquered during three decades and more of sustained struggle. The capitalist class, ably exploiting the divisions of the proletariat in various factions and parties, is trying to break up the labor organizations and reduce the workers' status to standards surpassed a long time ago; it arms mercenary bands to destroy the offices of the labor unions and set afire the buildings, factories, machines, shops and crops of the co-operative societies; because, these latter, have made such inroads into the capitalistic system of production and distribution that its very existence is menaced at the most strategical points. And this deliberate and organized war is not directed only against communist organizations but is waged with equal ferocity against catholic, socialist or republican bodies. To succeed in breaking up the labor organizations would mean the breaking up of Labor's political power, the absolute rule of the profiteers.

During these last weeks this reaction has taken such alarming proportions that Labor and Socialism have finally decided to create a new labor organization embracing all branches of the labor movement, and to abandon their traditional and systematic opposition to any government.

A few days ago the most powerful labor bodies have laid down the foundations for a General Confederation of Labor Organizations (G. C. L. O.) in order "to direct and discipline the working class struggle against the capitalist regime of production and labor; simultaneously the Socialist Parliamentary Group has declared to uphold a Government that will defend Liberty and the labor organizations.

The following organizations are the constituent bodies of the G. C. L. O.:

- a) the League of Resistance (the present General Confederation of Labour);
- b) the National Co-operative League;
- c) The Federation of Mutual Aid and Pre-vident Societies.

The functions of the G. C. L. O. are as follows:

- a) the general control of the labour movement, industrial and agricultural, in its various forms of activity; to coordinate and discipline the unional, co-operative and mutual-aid movements;
- b) to maintain the relations with the national and international organizations in the fields

of politics, co-operation and mutual aid.

c) to regulate the relations between the unional, co-operative and mutual aid movements and to resolve the controversies that might eventually arise amongst them.

The G. C. L. O. is directed by:

- a) a National Council;
- b) a Directive Council;
- c) an Executive Committee.

The Delegates to the National Council are elected by the constituent bodies; every group of 50,000 members may elect one delegate.

The National Council sets and controls the policy of the G. C. L. O.; it must meet once a year, but can be called together in extraordinary session every time it is so decided by the Directive Council or one of the constituent bodies.

The Directive Council is composed of 24 members; of these 6 represent the League of Resistance (the unions), 6 the Co-operative League, 3 the Federation of Mutual-Aid Societies, the remaining ones are the presidents and general secretaries of the constituent bodies.

It is the executive body of the new organization, managing its funds, publishing an official organ, organizing propaganda, realizing in short the latent energies of the whole working class movement.

The creation of this body was a necessity even independently of the present situation brought about by Reaction. Trade unionism on the increase and its growing tendency of assuming productive enterprises and its intensified relations—both financial and legislative—with the State needed central management—coordination and discipline—to avoid overlapping and confusion and to become efficient.

This new departure in the field of Labour and Politics is of utmost importance for Italy; it will enable Labour to withstand the capitalist attack and may determine an entirely new situation characterized by Labour's assuming responsibilities of Government and by the beginning of the transformation of the social structure of the country; transformation based on the methodical extension of the productive activities of labour unions and co-operative societies in conjunction with the State and on a policy of control over the capitalistically managed enterprises. This what we may call, for short, a guild policy will be equally backed by the catholic, republican, socialist or communist organizations as it corresponds to the actual preparedness of the working class and its most profound tendencies.

Wages: What are They?

By Tom Lewis

A PERSON often hears the word "wages." In fact all working people use it, and the reason is, that is what they get for working. But how many people really know what wages are? Some have an idea it is a gift from the boss to them from the goodness of his heart. Others again think it means what they are worth, and that to be paid more would be a crime. Then there are many who say they are getting more than they are worth,—and while they believe in that fashion it may be all too true. And with some, because of being somewhat cute, they may get more for what they do than others. Yet that is no answer as to what wages are, but rather a statement of the confusion that prevails among the workers about it. And further, let it be understood that many do not even give, as to what wages are, even a thought. The ignorance prevalent on this question is simply stupendous.

Owing to the teaching some have had, they measure wages only in a religious sense, because it has been dinned into their ears that "the wages of sin is death." Consequently they cannot see why what they get for working should be confused with the theology they have been taught from childhood. Therefore in order, if possible, to clear the atmosphere of some of this fog, this article has been written. Its intent is solely to make the solution so simple that any worker can understand it by solid attention, even by reading it once over. Watch how simple it is, then try to remember it. You may learn, like many of your fellow workers, something of importance to yourself. From that knowledge, once you have mastered it, you will gladly join with those you have previously opposed, in the movement to destroy the wages system. Because when you learn how degrading it is, and how inhuman, and—what is more—what a poor chance you have of ever rising out of the ranks of the wage-workers, you will then realize that your greatest hope is to aid in demolishing a condition of society that denies the workers the right to the fruits of their toil, to say nothing of the denial of an education, leisure to enjoy art, science and literature, and Nature in all her grandeur and beauty.

First we must not allow "salary" and "wages" to be confused, because there is quite a difference. Quoting from a dictionary, here it is: "Salary, a periodical allowance as compensation for service," while wages are "payment for services rendered." Note the divergence—wages for "services rendered," salary a "periodical allow-

ance." The dictionary further says of wages, "especially pay of workers by the day, week or month." That ought to be plain enough, but keep in mind that the dictionary only defines words and their meaning. Apart from that we ourselves must solve the problem. Now to the subject matter, what are wages?

Wages are that which the boss pays to the worker for his labor time, whether he is skilled, common laborer, or specialty worker, so that he will return and work again. Or it can be said in other words, "wages are determined by the cost of reproduction." Yet to those who have not studied the wages problem, that is difficult to understand, and after all that is not explaining. To make it simple, the best way is in the form of questions.

You know that the worker must eat? That he must wear clothing? That he must have some place to live in? Yes, we all know the three essential things to live, food, clothing, and shelter.

Can the worker, individually, produce these for himself? No, because machinery and large scale production has driven the mass of the people to work for wages; that is, to use the machinery belonging to the boss, or work in the boss's organization of the job, and in return get a certain amount of money to buy necessities.

Why does the boss pay him wages? Because by his labor he produces more values than the boss pays him back, and thus the boss makes a profit without himself working.

Is the amount of wages determined by the value of the workers product? No, the boss pays only as much as is necessary to bring the worker back to the job again.

Are not the varying rates of wages paid a proof that the worker's production determines his wages? No, the only relation is that the worker must produce *more* than his wages, and equal to what other workers would produce for the same wage.

Wages Up and Down

To see clearly how wages fluctuate without much change in productive ability, recall what happened during the world war. In such times wages may rise, because the workers may take advantage of the relative scarcity of workers. The Government called millions into service, and war industries boomed. This is later offset, and the advantage wiped out with the return of all the soldiers not killed or crippled. Then we have wages going down, factories closing, "open

shop" drives to break the unions, etc.

And now look at another thing about the recent changes in wages. During the war the greatest percentage of increase was gained by those hitherto unorganized. When the crash came their wages went down first and went lowest. The workers solidly organized in unions kept their wages up the longest and suffered the least cuts, a rule with some exceptions. In other words, the wages depend more upon the power of the workers' organizations than upon production. Fluctuations in the world market, and economic crises effect them strongly in different ways.

Today wages are going down. With the closing of the world war, the capitalists have taken advantage of the unemployment and economic crisis to start a wage slashing and union smashing campaign. The war between the nations has been turned into the war between the working class and the capitalist class, about wages and hours of labor. But the sad difference about this war is, the capitalist forces are well organized and conscious of their interests, while that cannot be said of the workers. The latter are largely without organization of any kind, and those who are in unions are divided into hundreds of different unions,—craft, federated, and independent. Very few of them know that they have interests as members of the working class, opposed to those of the capitalist class as a whole.

If the workers want their wages to go up, it will do them no good at all to work harder on their jobs. What is necessary is the amalgamation of all the present unions into a few *industrial unions*, each one covering an entire industry and organizing all the unorganized. Then with these industrial unions hooked up closely together, knowing what they want, the working class becomes a power fit to meet the power of the capitalists. Then we can fight, and have some degree of control over what the wages shall be.

Of course, even this is merely the first step in solving the problem of the workers. But until we get some kind of an understanding of this question of wages, what they are and what they mean, how can we control them? And when we finally learn some of these simple truths about wages, we find our mind reaches around the earth, because the wage system reaches round the earth—when we understand the question of wages we understand more about what is going on in the world.

Money Wages and Real Wages

We have only begun to know the interesting things about wages when we find out that they

are based, not upon the amount of product but upon the reproduction of the worker. When we learn this and go on to examine more about the question, all kinds of light flows in upon our minds, showing many things hidden before. Workers are only now realizing, for example, that there is a difference between money wages and real wages.

It would seem if a worker getting \$2. per day obtains on increase to \$4., that he had doubled his wages. The money received is twice as much as before.

But the money is in his hands only for a few hours. It means nothing until it has been used to purchase food, clothing and shelter.

And while the workers' wages were being increased from \$2. to \$4. per day, the prices of food, clothing, and shelter had increased from \$2. to \$5. So that the worker who thought he was getting a wage increase of 100% was being actually cut 25%.

The difference between the 100% increase in money and the 25% cut in food and clothing, is the difference between money wages and real wages.

The German workers are getting an education on this subject. Before the war their wages were 1,000 to 5,000 marks per year; now they run into the hundreds of thousands, but the workers are starving; their hundreds of thousands of marks don't mean anything. What they want is bread and meat, not marks.

This opens up a vast field for investigation. It is too big for this article. The whole question of "values" and "money" is involved. If you want more knowledge about how these things work, get the little 15c. book by Karl Marx, called "Value, Price and Profit." Another book worth reading is "The High Cost of Living." You can get both from the book advertisers in THE LABOR HERALD.

To End the Wage System

The worker under this system can only live by bowing to the rules laid down by the bosses. He must work the number of hours the boss says; he may shorten them a little by striking sometimes, but now the boss increases them in spite of strikes. The worker has to sell himself in competition with other sellers of labor power. He becomes like a head of cabbage or a quart of onions, sold upon the market.

The profits of the bosses, arising out of the difference between the workers product and his wages, are rapidly bringing the whole system to collapse. This is another thing we will learn, when we finally learn something about wages. But that is another story, to be told another time.

The Workers' Committees in Great Britain

By J. T. Murphy

IT is easier to-day to estimate the significance and importance of the Workers' Committee Movement in Britain than at any time since the first uprush of committees which characterised the union movement in the early days of the war period. It has passed through a variety of changes and its latter stages are as important as the first. Then it was a movement wholly in the factories. To-day it is an Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement so far as independent organisation is concerned.

It was the failure of the orthodox labor union leaders to remain true to the interests of the masses that compelled the coming into being of independent leadership and organisation of the union elements in the factories. It was the failure of the same leaders and organisations to tackle the problems of the unemployed which compelled the creation of the Unemployed Workers' Committees. To-day in all the important industrial centres where unemployment is so rife there is a network of committees operating under their own national leaders striving continually to save the unemployed workers from starvation and degradation.

Strange as it may seem neither in the case of the factory committees or the unemployed committees have the masses attached to these organisations fought against the unions in spite of their sometimes violent condemnation of the union leaders. In the Engineers Lock-out of recent date the organised unemployed have played an heroic part, organising mass pickets with the locked out workers, marching into factories, pulling out the scabs and stopping firms from working overtime. They have pursued a policy of utilising whatever means lay to hand to assist in the struggle of the workers NOW, attaching themselves to Trades Councils, Lock-Out Committees, union committees, etc., and using them. To have set out on a campaign to smash the unions would have lost them whatever assistance they have gathered from the unions, and also a large proportion of their own members. This they realised even as the Workers Committees of the war period realised.

There never was much support forthcoming for a separatist policy even during the time when they were most powerful. To start off for the building of new unions when large powerful organisations were already in the field has been recognised by the advanced workers as a fatal policy intensifying the problems of sectionalism

rather than solving them. To make 52 unions into 53 unions is not the way to get One Union for the Industry. Such a policy stands no chance in the trades union movement of this country. And it is because of this fact that the spontaneous movements which rise from time to time in the union movement leave their permanent marks and help in the transformation of the labor organizations to more perfect forms and durable instruments of struggle.

Before the war only a few unions had shop stewards. To-day every union in the engineering and shipbuilding industry have shop stewards and are committed to the formation of workshop committees. The "Shop Stewards and Works Committee Agreement" made between the employers and the unions in 1918 was a big factor in defeating the unofficial Shop Steward and Workers Committees as an independent organization. But it did so only by committing the unions officially to adopt the factory organization



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methods which had been the feature of the unofficial movement. Certainly it took the sting out of the revolutionary movement at the same time, and gave it a new direction, but it committed the unions officially to strive for the control of labor conditions in the factory and to the introduction of new methods of struggle. The unions have now consciously and openly invaded the factories. The question "Who shall control the factories?" has thus become practical politics for the unions. Once it was a theme for the active minority alone. To-day it is in the forefront of the industrial struggle. Witness the Engineers Lock-out and the challenge concerning "managerial functions."

More even than this has been gained. The amalgamation of the unions has received an impetus. Big schemes are afoot and the demand for one union for the Engineering and Shipbuilding industry has become a live issue. This demand has been a theme of the Workers' Committees from their inception. Their attempt to practice the idea in the workshops by forming the factory committees to include all the unions represented there, has been a force to be reckoned



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with. And to-day it is realised that the one means of saving whatever the unions have gained in their struggle through the years, is to get together at once in the factories and proceed rapidly towards amalgamation.

Equally permanent and durable will be the effect of the Unemployed Workers Committees. When unemployed the differences between the skilled and unskilled workers are swept away by the common factor of hunger. Of what value is it to talk about your skill or your craft to the Boards of Guardians when you are hungry and there are so many more in the same predicament?

This struggle for bread has pulled the unemployed workers together as never before. The many attempts to use their suffering as a weapon to defeat the unions have failed because they have organised and lined up with the unions for common defense.

These are the services which the Workers Committees have rendered to the workers movement as a whole. They have been successful mainly because they have refused to be sectarian, used the existing organisations, sought to mould them to better forms, and give to them a greater purpose.

Frenzied Labor Journalism

IN times past many papers have put on circulation drives, but never has there been one so spectacular as that of the *One Big Union Bulletin*, published in Winnipeg. A four-page weekly, its circulation leaped from 8,000 to 600,000 in six months. Now it has by far the biggest circulation of any paper, capitalist or otherwise, in Canada.

Whence came this marvelous development? By what strange alchemy did the radical *One Big Union Bulletin* become so overwhelmingly popular? The answer is easy. It was through the aid of one of the cleverest gambling schemes of recent years. Several months ago the paper, poor and obscure, in casting about for circulation hit upon the idea of starting a football pool. The thing caught on remarkably well. The number of participants in the pool became larger and larger, and the prizes ever greater. When the football season ended the pool was changed into a baseball pool. It became constantly more and more popular, until the people generally went half "nuts" over it. The prizes mounted rapidly until they reached veritable fortunes and the circulation of the paper grew like mad.

The scheme is a simple one. In each copy of the *One Big Union Bulletin* there appears a coupon containing a list of 20 baseball games to be played on a given day in five leagues. The "reader" tries to guess the winners, marking crosses after his various selections. Then, and most important of all, he sends in 25 cents with each coupon. The total money so assembled, after deducting contest expenses, is put into the pool and divided among the best guessers, on the basis of, 1st prize 50%, 2nd prize 30%, and 3rd prize 20%. In the week of June 24th, the total prize money distributed was \$63,479.00. There were four first prize winners, each of which received \$7,934.87, 47 second prize win-

ners, each receiving \$405.18, and 264 third prize winners at \$48.09 apiece.

Canada, from Porth Arthur to Calgary, has fairly gone crazy over this get-rick-quick scheme. The *One Big Union Bulletin* goes like hot cakes everywhere. In Saskatoon, a city of 21,000 people, 25,000 copies of the paper are sold each week. In Winnipeg, the circulation is much greater than the entire population of the city. Throngs of newsboys crowd the streets, each loaded with the *One Big Union Bulletin*. The purchaser is hailed with a cry of "How many?" when he buys—for people purchase them in bunches so that they may get the voting coupons. So large are the sales profits that many newsboys refuse to handle the daily papers. In Winnipeg one often has trouble to buy a capitalist sheet, while the "O. B. U." peddlers are on every hand. On trains, in offices, in banks, everywhere is the *One Big Union Bulletin*. When the winners are announced, police have to be on hand to keep people from being crushed. Over 60 people are employed in the *Bulletin* office sorting and checking the voted coupons. Four of the largest print shops in the city are taxed to the limit printing the paper, while scouts dig up fresh supplies of paper as far away as Minneapolis. So intense is the interest in the guessing competition that the saying is that "there are only two social classes in Winnipeg, those who sell the *O. B. U. Bulletin*, and those who buy it." The whole thing is a riot of passionate gambling, such as has not been seen since the days of the Louisiana Lottery.

The O. B. U. officials behind this scheme justify it on the grounds that it is the means of getting radical propaganda (the *Bulletin*) into the hands of great numbers of people. It may get such propaganda into their hands but certainly

(Continued on page 30)

The League Moves Forward

THE Trade Union Educational League has moved forward decidedly in the past month. Reports of activity pour into the national office, and in each locality the militants are getting down to constructive work. Preparations are being made everywhere to send delegates to the National Conference in Chicago, Aug. 26-27. The circulation of THE LABOR HERALD is receiving boosts regularly, and a healthy activity is evident from every side.

The New York Local General Group was launched in a great meeting in Beethoven Hall, with an attendance of 700, amid enthusiasm. Herman Defrem, well known labor man and active in the Farmer-Labor Party, was elected chairman. The Chicago organization had an exceptionally large meeting, which heard reports from the A. F. of L. Convention, and from the struggle at Herrin; also reports of progress from the industrial groups, all of which are going forward. From the Pacific Coast comes the word that a special conference of all coast cities will be held in San Francisco the latter part of July, while Foster is there. Al Schneider, secretary of San Francisco, is organizing the conference with the cooperation of the national office. About 20 new groups have been organized in as many towns and cities in the past thirty days, and as many more report new activity.

A great move toward the amalgamation of the railroad unions was made by the Minnesota Shop Crafts Legislative Committee, in issuing a leaflet, outlining a practical plan of amalgamation. This is probably the most concise and complete thing of its kind, and its sponsors are to be sincerely congratulated. It may be obtained at the price of \$1.50 per hundred copies from O. H. Wangerin, 411 Dakota Bldg., St. Paul, Minn.

The Molders' Journal got a strong come-back from its membership when it reprinted Matthew Woll's tirades against the League. Last month we reported one of the letters sent in by a local of Molders in St. Louis. In the Molders' Journal there were two more, which we would reprint if we had space, as they are hot shots. The Brother Editor had no word of apology, explanation, or come-back to offer.

Efforts to further amalgamation in the metal trades is being made by Local 68, I. A. of M., San Francisco, which has called a local conference of metal trades to devise practical ways and means to bring about amalgamation. They are asking the militant metal tradesmen in other lo-

calities to do likewise, with a view to holding a national conference in the near future, to launch a national campaign. Each delegate to such a conference should be actively engaged at his trade. All metal tradesmen should get in touch with Al Schneider, 528 Oak St., San Francisco, about this move.

The Machinists' Journal, following the recent election in which a fourth of the members voted for the Red Trade Union International, has suddenly awoke to the fact that "the Metal Trades should amalgamate." The June issue has a long editorial, favoring the proposition which has often been endorsed by the I. A. of M. Referring to Gompers' outbursts it says, "The fear has been expressed that the amalgamation of trades would eventually lead to the destruction of the A. F. of L. Nothing is farther from the truth." There is no word of explanation as to why Johnston, President of the I. A. of M., opposed amalgamation of the railroad unions. Can it be that industrial unionism in his eyes applies only to commercial shops?

THE LABOR HERALD announces that with the next issue the price will be reduced to 15 cents per copy, \$1.50 per year, and in bundles 9 cents per copy. This is done to enable our boosters to enlarge the circulation. It is absolutely imperative, if this is to be successful, that each League and bundle agent increase his order to at least double the former amount. The magazine will maintain its same standard of size, quality of contents, and make-up. This means that we must get an increased revenue by means of a greater circulation. We expect to double the circulation this month on the strength of the lower price, and we want each reader of this to do his or her part. Write at once giving the new order for your bundle.

Elections are now being held for delegates to the National Conference. If your local group has not met and elected, see that it does so at once, and notify the national office. This Conference will be the most important event for many years, as it will determine the course of our movement for a long time to come. Only once in a generation it is given to men to take part in the birth of a new tendency, a new movement, and a new form of organization. August 26th and 27th in Chicago will be such a time, and those who come to the Conference will constitute the national organization of the left wing in the trade unions. By all means every militant union man should try to be there.

THE LABOR HERALD

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Trade Union Magazine**

Official Organ of the
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WM. Z. FOSTER, EDITOR

Subscription price, \$2.50 per year

Published at
118 No. La Salle Street
CHICAGO, ILL.
Member of The Federated Press

THE MINERS HOLD FAST

AFTER three months and a half of struggle, the miners are still holding fast. The coal reserves are being rapidly exhausted, and the country faces a coal famine. The bosses are getting nervous, and the Government, acting as their agent, is threatening to take over the mines, conscript labor, and produce coal once more.

Why all this furore about conscripting labor to dig coal? If you want coal you can have it any time. The miners will dig it for you just as soon as you give them their national agreement and put their wages up to a decent level. Or do you think, Mr. Harding, that men of the calibre of the United Mine Workers can be coerced by your high-sounding words into becoming slaves, bending beneath your whip and accepting your conditions?

If any one expects to see the miners dig coal under military orders, let them go out and take another look over the United Mine Workers of America. Don't judge the miners by the men who go into the little conference room with the boss. The U. M. W. A. has thousands of men like those who have been fighting in West Virginia for more than a year. It has thousands like the valiant miners of Williamson County. It has more thousands like the Kansas battlers, who put Governor Allen's Industrial Court on the bum. Will these men be "industrial conscripts"? Think again.

AN EMPTY BLUFF

AMERICAN Federation of Labor's Remarkable Membership Increase" runs a big headline in the A. F. of L. newsletter. It is followed by some figures purporting to show that the unions are doing finely, thank you, and all's well with the world. After losing something around 1,000,000 members in one year, the leaders of the A. F. of L. turn for consolation to the days when they were even smaller, and find a "remarkable increase."

This is an empty bluff. It is an optimistic camouflage, used to cover up the complete inability of the present officialdom to do anything to stop the present disastrous retreat. In full flight from the battle in which the boss has licked them completely, where they did not even fight these "leaders" console their followers with tales of "remarkable" increases over 40 years ago. Their mental operations are similar to those of the Railroad Labor Board when it cuts wages. To justify the miserable rate of 23 cents basic wage, they dug out of the past the worst possible conditions of

the lowest and most oppressed workers, in the year of lowest standards, in order to show by comparison that the slashing cuts were "really a remarkable increase." In the same manner the bankrupt Gompers & Co., juggle statistics so as to point with pride to a situation which should discredit them.

Specious statistics will not, however, satisfy the union men of the United States. They cannot be convinced that they are winning wonderful victories, when their wages are being cut, payment for overtime being abolished, hours being lengthened, and unions smashed. They know that a few more such "victories" and they are lost. In spite of Gompers' propaganda, the rank and file know that the unions are in retreat. They do not want any more nursery tales. They want a change in tactics that will stop the capitalists, and put the unions on the forward march toward more power.

THEATRICAL INTERESTS UNITE

LEE Schubert and A. L. Erlanger, formerly bitter rivals in the theatrical industry, have united their interests, according to a news dispatch from New York. These magnates of the limelight are credited with being, as the result of this move, the arbiters of the destinies of the American theatre. They have become the heads of the International Theatrical Association, Inc., which, with their already powerful positions, is said to place them in control of virtually every branch of the amusement industry in the United States and Canada.

This gigantic combination controls the lives of all the workers in the amusement trades. Because the workers are not thoroughly organized, those who are in the unions are divided between half a dozen organizations. They act as small groups and crafts, while Messrs. Schubert and Erlanger act throughout the whole industry at once if necessary to defeat the workers. Like the other industries of America, the bosses are uniting more and more, while the workers lag behind with their divided forces.

The answer to the new amusement trust should be an industrial union of the amusement trades. Amalgamation of the White Rats, the stage hands, the electricians the movie men, and the organization of all the unorganized throughout the industry—that is the necessary program.

CLASS WAR PRISONERS

THERE are still more than 100 class war prisoners in the Federal and State penitentiaries. There is no possible excuse for the continued imprisonment of these men—except that the capitalist class wants them in prison, and Labor does not demand their release loud enough.

Tom Mooney and Warren Billings are still in San Quentin after six years continued exposure of the bribery and corruption that sent them there.

Sacco and Vanzetti are still in the shadow of the electric chair, in spite of the fact that even the black reactionaries of the A. F. of L. officialdom, acknowledge that they are victims of a frame-up.

Ben Gitlow and Jim Larkin are ordered back to a ten-year term in a felon's cell.

Scores of others less known but just as innocent of any crime except loyalty to Labor's cause, have lain in prison for two to five years.

An impression has been created by Lucy Robbins, in her book on the class war prisoners, that they are all released. The fact is, that in this matter as in so many others. Lucy Robbins' book is absolutely unreliable. It reflects the distorted views of its official

sponsor, Gompers, who will not admit that there are class war prisoners in America, but who is much wrought up over the fact that the assassins of Volodarsky and the assailants of Lenin in Russia are in jail. In spite of Lucy Robbins' opinions, Labor still has more than a hundred prisoners of war.

Nothing is of any avail in this situation except loud and emphatic protest from Labor. Telegrams, letters, resolutions, should be sent to Harding, his cabinet, and to Congressmen, and to the Governors of California and Massachusetts. Demonstrations should be held. In every possible way Labor should let the world know that these prisoners are under Labor's protection, and the men who continue to keep them incarcerated will have to answer for it.

AN ENGLISH CONSERVATIVE LEADER

IN the May number of *The Labour Magazine*, organ of the Labor Party, conservative section of the British labor movement, Fred Bramley has an article on the Growth of Federations. It offers an illuminating contrast with our reactionary officials of the A. F. of L. to read what Bramley, holding about the same position in Great Britain as the Crown Prince Woll does in this country, has to say about amalgamation. He says:

"The difference in the figures for 1920, as compared with 1915, reflect a welcome tendency in trade union organization, namely, the tendency towards amalgamation. During the years 1915 to 1919, amalgamations took place in many important industries, and to such an extent is trade unionism now represented by big battalions that six out of the 18 trade groups embracing the unions affiliated to the Trades Union Congress, represent two-thirds of the total membership."

"The failure of federations to secure the best results is very largely determined by the fact that the affiliated unions insist on retaining executive authority regarding the most important matters which concern federation activity."

"Against the powerful combinations of the employers the individual union is as useless as a pop-gun on the modern battle field, or a cockle boat against a dreadnought. To meet the requirements of the near future, the reconstruction of the trade union movement is not merely desirable, it is a necessity. 'United we stand, divided we fall,' no longer applies only to individuals. Recent history proves that it applies also to isolated organizations."

THE TRIALS IN MOSCOW

THE eyes of Labor throughout the world have been turned upon the trial, in Moscow, of the 47 members of the Social-Revolutionary Party on charges of assassination, sedition, and insurrection against the Soviet Republic and its leaders. The extraordinary interest in this trial arises from the fact that the Second International, representing the majority socialists in Germany, the British Labor Party, the French Socialist Party, the Scandinavian Parties, and smaller parties throughout Europe, has officially made itself the defenders of these accused S.-R. Party leaders and used their trial as the pretext for breaking up the efforts to constitute a united working class front.

There is a peculiar contradiction here; the parties of the Second International are violently opposed to the communist organizations because the communists will not pledge themselves to confine their activities to the bounds of the existing capitalist states. But when the S.-R. Party attempts to overthrow the Soviet State

by violence, but comes to grief in the attempt, the Second International rushes to their rescue. Appropriately enough, they find complete agreement with the capitalist press and Samuel Gompers, when they plead for the right of the S.-R. Party to assassinate Volodarsky and Lenine. At the same time they refuse to deal with the Third International because of its "undemocratic" ways.

The substance of the whole situation is, that the Second International and its parties, the Amsterdam International of Trade Unions, the 2½ International, and Gompers, agree on this "fundamental principle" of the class struggle—

"Violent action against the capitalist governments and the capitalist system, is "undemocratic" and cannot be allowed."

"But violent action against a working-class Government and a soviet system, is all right, and we will support it to the limit."

But even the uninstructed, ordinary worker who follows these "leaders" will not be able to stomach such a rank betrayal of the world's working class movement. He knows that the Workers' Government of Russia is a triumph for his class. He knows that violence against it is violence against the interests of the workers everywhere. And the Second International, with all its satellites, will soon hear from these workers in very clear terms: "Withdraw your support from these murderers of the S.-R. Party. Let the workers of Russia judge their case."

"NEWS" FROM GERMANY

IN the Berlin *Vorwärts*, organ of the Majority Socialist, of June 15, 1922, is an article on the convention of the A. F. of L., which contains a curious mixture of information and misinformation. After describing the general condition of the labor movement, Gompers' stand on the Amsterdam International which is such a puzzle to European unionists, the shattered condition of the socialist minority, and noting that the Socialist Party has decided to "cooperate with bourgeois parties," the article says:

"Under these conditions it is not surprising that an ever-growing opposition to Gompers is making itself felt inside the American trade unions. Although this opposition, lacking socialist leadership, is neither unified or determined, still it must be seen as progress against the system of Gompers. This opposition which is principally under the intellectual leadership of Foster—who has strong Bolshevik leanings and therefore no real vision—sought to prevail by nominating the president of the coal miners, Lewis, against Gompers. Politically and industrially Lewis differs little or nothing from Gompers. Moreover, he has announced that he would not accept the nomination. Therefore Gompers will continue in office and likewise the impotency of the American trade unions will remain."

NINE AUTO CONCERNS AMALGAMATE

THE capitalists continue to amalgamate their financial and industrial forces, knowing that thus they increase their power. One of the mergers of the month combines nine manufacturing corporations, with a capitalization of \$80,000,000.00, into the Associated Motor Industries. The new corporation, it is announced, will not be a holding company, but will take over the component companies entirely through exchange of stock. Plants in seven states will be started on full production as a result of the merger, and five assembling plants will be operated. Another industrial giant thus rises out of a multitude of small concerns.

FRENZIED LABOR JOURNALISM

(Continued from page 26)

not into their heads, for the overwhelming mass buy the paper solely for the baseball coupons, and pay no attention to anything else. As soon as they get hold of their bunch of papers they clip the coupons and ditch the rest forthwith. In the outlying towns the people don't ask if the *Bulletin* has arrived, but if the "coupons" have got in yet. In many places the dealers cut out the coupons and sell them at 5 cents apiece. This saves the buyer the trouble of clipping them himself. Nobody thinks about reading the paper. It is idle to talk of the benefits of the large circle of readers, for it is a dead circulation if there ever was one. The whole scheme is poisonously demoralizing. Baseball of itself is bad enough, as it turns the workers' minds away from the real things of life. But with this gambling attachment it is incomparably worse. The *O. B. U. Bulletin* scheme has made multitudes baseball made. They are busy day and night "doping out" the various teams, hoping to get rich quick as a result of their superior calculations.

The *O. B. U. Bulletin*, coining a big profit from the sale of its papers, has made a barrel of money from its "guessing contest". Naturally many are jealous. Much competition has developed. The *Western Labor News*, an A. F. of L. sheet, has launched a similar scheme, and two other papers, *The Badge* and *The First Baseman*, were started solely for baseball purposes. Four papers in Winnipeg are thus living on the gambling system. But the *O. B. U. Bulletin* stands far away above all the others put together. Its scheme has caught the popular fancy 100%.

But the *Bulletin* has found an obstacle, far more serious than the competition, in a legal attack upon its scheme. The very first week it was in operation, the *Bulletin* operators were arrested. Judge Sir Hugh J. McDonald held, however, that the pool was legal. Then the city of Winnipeg appealed to the higher court, which ruled the scheme illegal. The *O. B. U.* then carried the case to the Supreme Court, and as their hearing was pending, the Ottawa Parliament amended the Criminal Code so as to expressly forbid all such pools. This finished the game, and got a loud squawk out of the *Bulletin* which said: "There are a lot of disgusting features to the system of capitalism, but we cannot conceive of anything more despicable and mean than the actions of some of the business men's organizations in trying to find excuses for their wire-pulling and intriguing with the powers that be to get them to stop *this harmless form of amusement.*"

As things now stand the thing seems dead. With the law in effect no money can be collected for prizes. There is \$70,000.00 on hand, however, which must be divided. This is being given out as free prizes at the rate of \$10,000.00 per week. When it is gone the bubble will be bursted. The *Bulletin* has made considerable money out of its high finance scheme, but its inflated circulation will collapse at once. And the effects of the pool on the general organization, now reduced to about 4,000 members, will unquestionably be bad. Dissentions have already developed over the scheme. In a resolution recently adopted, the Newsboys' Unit of the *O. B. U.*, which was discriminated against by the *Bulletin* officials in their efforts to cater to the newsdealers, declared that these officials' actions have been "utterly unworthy of individuals who claim to be acting in the interest of the working class." Other members and groups are sincerely disgruntled. It takes no prophet to see that in playing with capitalism through the baseball pool, the *O. B. U.* has made a cardinal mistake, and one from which it will not recover soon. It has squirted poison right into its own body.

Complete report of National Conference of the T. U. E. L. in THE LABOR HERALD for September.

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THE INTERNATIONAL

FRANCE

THE new constitution and laws of the Unity General Confederation of Labor (C. G. T. U.), which was reported in THE LABOR HERALD for June, has been the occasion of a communication from the Executive of the Red Trade Union International to that organization, in which the projected statutes were subjected to a searching criticism. Involving as the matter does, the most vital principles of organization, which will doubtless have a bearing on many decisions in the labor movement generally, this communication is herewith quoted in full. It will be found of the most vital interest. The letter follows:

After a careful study of the statutes that were published in the *Libertaire* and in *La Vie Ouvrière* dealing with the *French Confédération General du Travail Unitaire* (Unitaire General Confederation of Labor—C. G. T. U.) the Executive-Committee of the Red Trade Union International considers it necessary to call the attention of the members of the C. G. T. U. to the following:

1—The present draft of the statutes is based upon the decentralization of the struggle of the working class, a fact that must be looked upon as exceedingly dangerous for the French proletariat in the face of the concentrated and centralized power of capital.

2—This decentralization which is seen in the granting of all control over finances to the local unions, as well as in the right granted to every union to carry on the struggle wherever and whenever it considers it necessary, will lead the workers of France towards a series of defeats, for the simple reason that the workers will only be able to oppose the well-organized army of our enemy class in small isolated divisions.

3—The statutes contain the mechanical discharge of labor leaders chosen for responsible posts; in fact those leaders who deserve the absolute confidence of the revolutionary workers. This mechanical discharge of leaders is called forth by abstract principles and fear of functionaries, and cannot support the least criticism because such a procedure would make it impossible for the proletariat to develop a number of well-schooled leaders who understand complicated social economic problems and whose knowledge constitutes a necessary prerequisite to a successful class struggle. The mechanical elimination of leaders will in no way insure any labor organizations against bureaucracy or misuse. The struggle against bureaucracy can only be carried on by means of a regular, wide-awake indefatigable and systematic control of the activities of the chosen organs and persons by the union members themselves.

4—The statutes are based upon the principle of the equal representation of unions and federations, regardless of the size of their respective membership. With such a form of representation, neither the national nor the local congresses, or any of the higher organs of the trade-union movement will be able to reflect the interests of the working masses faithfully. With such a method it is possible for a majority of delegates to reach a decision while the majority of organized workers may be against it. Under such circumstances, the tactical carrying out of the various decisions (and this depends solely upon the activity and revolutionary initiative of the working masses themselves), will be rendered considerably more difficult and the most important decisions of the Trade Union Executive run the danger of remaining scraps of papers.

5—The new statutes leave questions of an international character absolutely untouched. From the statutes it is not clear whether the C. G. T. U. is at all in favor of an international amalgamation of trade union organizations or not, and what is still less evident is its attitude or relations to the Amsterdam International and to the R. T. U. I. This silence on such a vital question can be explained only through the desire of their formulator to remain isolated and to enter into no relation whatsoever with the international organizations of revolutionary trade unions. Such a shortcoming cannot possibly be permitted, because not a single one of the labor federations can or should pass over nor can any of these turn a shoulder to international problems, if it makes any claim at all to be a revolutionary class organization.

6—All the points here mentioned make it impossible for the central organization of the French trade unions to become a real fighting organization, and they furthermore exclude the concentration of the whole revolutionary energy of the working class, as well as the struggle of the latter against organized capital.

7—Of course, every national organization has the right to adopt such statutes as it sees fit. The Red Trade Union International cannot challenge this right, but it considers it its duty to express its opinion and to communicate it to the members of the C. G. T. U. Moscow, May 13, 1922.

GERMANY IN spite of the fact that the 8-hour day is written into the constitution of the German Republic, the employers are determined to abolish it. Dr. Kurt Sorge, president of the National Association of German Industrials made this clear, speaking before the opening sessions of that organization, when he said:

"We have become an expensive country, with very high production costs. If German industry is to compete in the world's markets it is at least doubtful whether she can afford the luxury of a general cessation of work early in the afternoon."

About the same time, Borsig, president of the Association of Machinery Manufacturers, urged the abolition of the 8-hour day and a systematic reduction in wages. A confidential letter was recently sent out by the Hansa Association of Western German Industrials, urging a campaign for abolishing the 8-hour day.

This is in spite of the fact that living standards of the German workers are already so low that the laboring masses are degenerating physically. Theodor Leopart, president of the German Federation of Free Trade Unions, the largest organization in Germany, said: "The purchasing capacity of the German people has decreased enormously while that of the working-class is nil." German industry is slowing up, and unemployment is on the increase. The almost total lack of purchasing power of the workers, combined with the shortage of raw materials, competition on the world market, etc., is bringing the industrial situation to a crisis. The latest slump in the value of the mark has intensified this, and practically cut wages in half. Before the last drop, wages per hour would purchase less than one-fourth their pre-war amount of food.

The great strike of the metal workers has been lost. The struggle involved 150,000 workers, and lasted 8, 10, and 13 weeks in the different districts. The cause of the struggle was the employers' determination to

lengthen the hours of labor to 48 per week, instead of 46, the previous standard. The movement was started by the employers' organizations in Bavaria, Wurttemberg, and Baden. The workers decided by a vote of 95% to reject this, on the ground that it would immediately mean the loss of the 8-hour day. The fight was taken up with great energy and solidarity, even the Socialist, Christian, and Hirsch-Dunker unions working together in the fight.

The strikers were doomed to defeat, however, by the policy of the national leaders in preventing its spread to other districts and other industries. Instead of bringing wider circles of workers into the battle, they contended themselves with levying a strike assessment upon the other districts to maintain the strikers. The leaders' persistent refusal to extend the conflict was based upon a fear that the strike would develop into a fight for political power by the workers, and the leaders are closely allied with the present capitalist-social-democratic government. They tried to persuade the workers that they could win by means of the strike assessment and financial assistance. But when the employers themselves threatened to extend the battle by locking out 50,000 more workers in the Frankfort district unless their terms were accepted, this threatened to make the financial burden unbearable. From that moment the leaders gave up the resistance, and endeavored to end the struggle as quickly as possible. By manouvers, and threats, they finally succeeded in bringing the unions to accept the employers' terms and go back to work on the basis of 48 hours per week. The next move will be to break down the 8-hour day, which is being openly threatened from all sides.

The annual convention of the Butchers' Central Federation held in Halberstadt early in May, decided to work out a scheme in detail for the creation of an industrial union for the food industries as a whole.

The German Federation of Building Workers, meeting in annual convention in Leipzig early in May, decided by a large majority in favor of the amalgamation of the building trades unions into one organization. The chief arguments advanced in favor of amalgamation were that it would simplify the administrative work, and strengthen the feeling of solidarity among the building trades workers.

A proposal to amalgamate all the printing trades unions into an industrial union, to include the printers, lithographers, binders, and workers in auxiliary branches, was made at the congress of the Federation of Bookbinders and Paper Workers, at Cassell, May 20th. It was referred to a special committee for further elaboration.

ITALY

THE *Confederazione delle Corporazioni sindacali* (the trade unions in the hands of the *Fascisti*) held a national congress at Milan early in June. This band of strikebreakers, assassins, and thugs (the Italian Ku Klux Klan) claims a membership of 458,284. The *Fascisti* gave another demonstration against the labor movement of Italy in May, when they invaded Bologna, a stronghold of the union and political labor organizations, with an army of 50,000. These white terrorists murdered, pillaged and destroyed, throughout the working class ranks. Union leaders were assassinated, houses and co-operatives were burned. The Communist Trade Union Committee has proposed a united front for a counter-offensive against these outrages, which should lead the General Confederation of Labor Or-

ganizations (Alliance of Labor) to a real goal, they holding that only by uniting all proletarian forces and launching them in one general action, that the enemy can be brought to reason.

SWITZERLAND

HERE as throughout the capitalist world the hours of the workers are being increased and wages cut. The latest move against the 8-hour day was made on May 19, in the form of an amendment to the Factory Act, increasing the hours of work per week to 52.

The printing unions of Switzerland (typographers, lithographers, and binders) at a conference held at Berne in May, reached an agreement calling for the amalgamation of the unions into one organization covering the entire industry. The joint proposal has been submitted to a referendum of the branches of the four federations.

GREAT BRITAIN

THE Transport Workers' Federation, which met in annual conference at Cardiff in June, adopted the proposal to bring the railroad trade unions into the Federation. The railroad unions had agreed previously with the executive of the Federation that if the new constitution was adopted, the reconstituted Federation would hold its first meeting soon. The proposal was adopted with great enthusiasm by almost every organization concerned. This means that the National Union of Railwaymen and the Associated Society of Engineers and Firemen are now a part of the Transport Federation.

"We must make up our minds to organize towards the one big organization, embracing all workers, breaking down all boundary lines that divide us, and recognize that because of our different occupations we are not necessarily separated and different units of a class; we are one unit with one objective." These are the words of A. G. Cameron, general secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, at the annual convention in June.

"Forty-seven unions—a union for every hour in the working week," says G. D. H. Cole, in the *Daily Herald*, London, discussing the situation in the engineering (metal and machinery working) industry. "And yet you congratulate yourselves on the great progress the amalgamation movement has made. Come, do something. Make it 46."

INTERNATIONAL

THE Second International, meeting on June 18th in London, abandoned definitely the project of establishing a "united front of the working class against capitalism," proposing instead a "democratic united front" of the reformist parties to the exclusion of the communist parties and groups. Because Vandervelde, the representative of the Second International at the trial of the Social Revolutionaries in Moscow, claimed that he had not been allowed a stenographer, that the court would not recognize his special rights claimed under the Berlin agreement, and because he had been criticized in the Russian press, he had withdrawn from the trial. The Congress gave him a vote of confidence, damned the Soviet Government, and resolved not to try to come to any understanding with the Communist International. Outside of passionately denouncing the latter organization, the Congress of the Second International made no move of note except to invite the 2½ International to join with them.

The Labor Herald

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For example:

An enemy, *Babson's Statistical Corporation*, finds it advantageous to subscribe to THE LABOR HERALD. These expert advisers of the capitalist class want to know the facts—and they know where to get them.

A friend, *The Labor Bureau*, keeps THE LABOR HERALD on file for reference on questions of amalgamation, industrial unionism, and the trade union left-wing movement. These expert advisers to the labor movement also know where to get the facts.

These illustrate the growing interest in the program offered by THE LABOR HERALD to meet the burning questions before the trade unions. A little light is showing in the darkness of the American movement, and all sides now realize that

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This is not a charity; it is better than charity. If an unemployed man came to you in the street and asked you for a hand-out to prevent him from starving, you might give it to him. But you would say to yourself that charity does not solve the problem of unemployment. What is needed is a new deal that will set the wheels of industry going and give the man a job.

That is just as true of Russia as it is of the man in the street. Russians are starving; we have given money to buy them food; we will keep on giving it. But that money is eaten up. Here is a chance to help Russian industry get started so that Russia will be self-sustaining. Money invested in this company will not be eaten up; it will keep going the wheels of textile mills and clothing factories. It will give additional jobs to Russian workmen.

Here is **your chance** to invest money in the Russian Revolution. Do you believe in the Soviet Government? Do you want to give it an opportunity to make good? Here is a chance to say so with hard cash.

President Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

The Russian-American Industrial Corporation

Sidney Hillman, President. 31 Union Square, New York City

LENIN'S MESSAGE TO YOU

Moscow, June 7, 1922.

SIDNEY HILLMAN, RUSSIAN-AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL CORPORATION:

YOUR COMMUNICATION IN REFERENCE TO R. A. I. C. CAMPAIGN RECEIVED. SOVIET GOVERNMENT SATISFACTION. ASSURING ALL POSSIBLE SUPPORT SOVIET GOVERNMENT URGES EXERCISE ALL EFFORTS SPEEDY REALIZATION YOUR PLANS.

(Signed) RYKOFF,
ACTING CHAIRMAN COUNCIL LABOR AND DEFENSE (Substitute for Lenin).

came back from Russia with a contract signed by representatives of the Soviet Government.

This contract agrees to turn over to the Russian-American Industrial Corporation six factories in Petrograd and three in Moscow making cloth and clothing. They are worth between \$2,500,000 and \$5,000,000.

Sidney Hillman inspected these factories and found that they are in good condition, turn out good clothing, and now employ about 7,000 people.

The Russian-American Industrial Corporation has been incorporated under the laws of Delaware. Its authorized capital is \$1,000,000.

Any one may subscribe at \$10 a share. Careful provision is made that control of the corporation will not fall into the hands of a few large owners. This is a people's enterprise.

Russia has plants, workers and raw material in great abundance. She needs working capital and technical aid.

Russia has gone to foreign governments and bankers to get the money and the aid. These bankers are eager for the profits waiting to be made. But they will make bargains only on conditions that Russia does not wish to accept.

They want Russia to abandon all communistic ideals. They want the debts of the Tsar to be paid. They want control over Russian courts and other impossible things.

Cannot American working people furnish the necessary capital without depending on the bankers to do it for them? Instead of putting your money in the bank, invest it in the Russian-American industrial Corporation.

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