

THE LABOR HERALD

Official Organ of The Trade Union Educational League

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By Wm. Z. Foster

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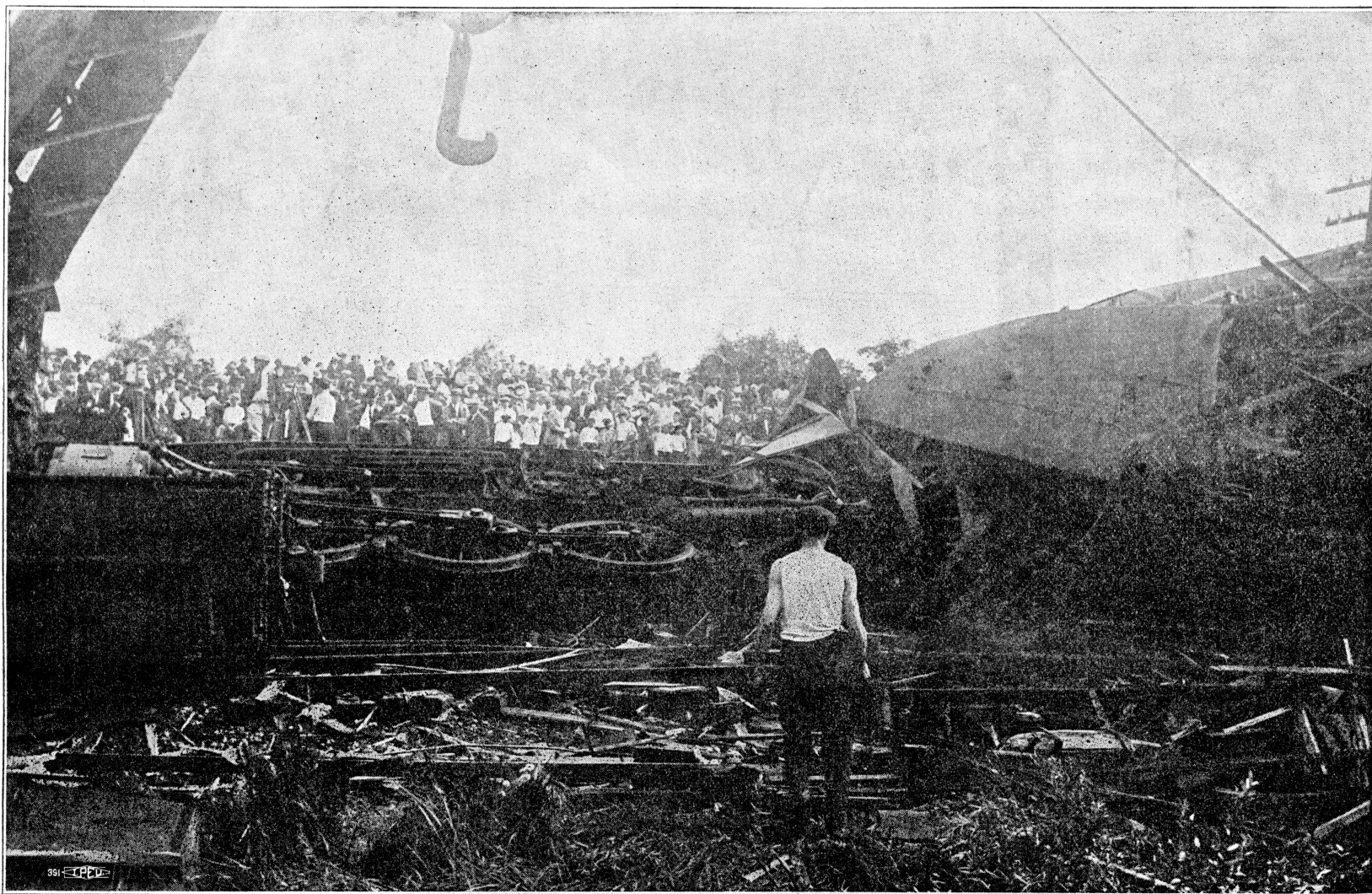
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THE GARY WRECK
FOR WHICH THEY TRIED TO FRAME-UP THE LEAGUE

THE LABOR HERALD

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OCTOBER, 1922



No. 8

Progress of the Amalgamation Movement

By Earl R. Browder

WHEN a few months ago the Trade Union Educational League launched its campaign for amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial unions not even the most optimistic could have foreseen the tremendous response on the part of Organized Labor. The situation is more than ripe for industrial unionism, and the workers realize that readily when the program of the League is laid before them. State federations, city central bodies, local unions, independent unions, and international craft unions galore have gone on record for amalgamation since our campaign started. It has been a veritable landslide towards consolidation of the workers' ranks.

The State Federations Act

The amalgamation movement has gone particularly strong among the state federations. Almost every one of them that has met since the inauguration of the campaign has gone on record in favor of industrial unionism through amalgamation. The movement has taken on such impetus that it has run far beyond the immediate membership of the League. Consequently many organizations may have adopted the proposition without our getting to hear of it. So far reports have come into our office from League militants of six important state federations that have endorsed amalgamation. These are Washington, Wisconsin, Indiana, Nebraska, Utah and Minnesota.

Just as this issue of THE LABOR HERALD goes to press word arrives at our office that another State Federation has joined the amalgamation movement. At its regular convention in Battle Creek on September 21, the Michigan State Federation of Labor adopted a strong resolution for amalgamation of all industries. Reactionaries of the Gompers type fought the proposition to a standstill, but when the vote was taken all voted in favor of it except two delegates. Who is next?

Long one of the most progressive state federations in the country, the Washington State Federation of Labor went on record at its recent convention in Bremerton in favor of consolidating all the craft unions in the respective industries. This was due primarily to the activity of militant League members. Shortly afterward the Wis-

consin State Federation of Labor, another progressive body of long standing, also adopted a similar resolution at its regular convention. And now comes the Indiana State Federation of Labor and does the same thing at its convention, which was held early in September in Marion, Indiana. The amalgamation resolution was submitted by the Indiana State Conference of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America. It declared "the only solution for the situation is the development of a united front by the workers through the amalgamation of the various crafts so that there will only remain one union for each industry." The reactionaries fought the proposition, submitting a minority committee report against it. But after a sharp fight they were defeated, and the majority, or amalgamation, report was adopted.

Not to be outdone by its live sister Federations in other states, the Nebraska State Federation of Labor also adopted the amalgamation plan at its convention in the early part of September. Again the reactionaries, supporters of Sam Gompers, were on hand to block progress, but to no avail. The proposition was adopted unanimously, except for one vote. One of the resolves reads:

"That the Nebraska State Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, hereby urge the American Federation of Labor and the various international unions in each industry into conference for the purpose of devising ways and means of so amalgamating the unions that there will remain but one union for each industry."

League members are active and influential in the Utah State Federation of Labor, and when that body met in convention at Ogden, on September 11th to 13th, they raised the amalgamation question strongly. Understanding the need of the situation, the Federation adopted a straight amalgamation resolution, calling for the complete industrialization of the whole labor movement. Copies were ordered sent to all affiliated organizations.

The Fight in Minnesota

Important as the foregoing victories for amalgamation were, they pale beside that one at the convention of the Minnesota State Federation of

Labor held in Crookston in the latter part of July. Organized Labor throughout the State knew that the proposition was going to come up. Hence both reactionaries and progressives mustered in force at the Convention. Sam Gompers had his henchmen there to see to it that nothing was done that might modernize the labor movement. Defenders of his reactionary principles were Secretary-Treasurer Hays of the Typographical Union, President Manning of the Label Trades Department, and Organizer Paul Smith. Chief among the fighters for amalgamation were the militants from Minneapolis and St. Paul, and the shopmen's delegates from the various railroad centers.

From the beginning of the Convention the gathering quivered with expectancy anent the coming struggle over amalgamation. And when finally the resolution came before the house the battle began in earnest. The reactionaries, following out their usual tactics, tried to discredit the proposition by smearing it all over with "red." Organizer Smith, in particular, viciously assailed the project as the work of the Trade Union Educational League, and threw against it all the thunder of the American Federation of Labor. But it did him little good, and the reactionaries who lined up with him. The amalgamationists were able to so completely carry the Convention that when the aye vote on the resolution was taken it fairly shook the building. And it shook all the fight out of the reactionaries, because not a single one dared to vote against it. It was a victory to cheer the heart of every militant worker and to give him renewed faith in the labor movement. The last part of the resolution reads as follows:

"Whereas, the manifest solution for this problem is to develop a united front of the workers in each industry by the organization of industrial unions having full jurisdiction over all crafts employed in any industry, and

Whereas, this change involves serious re-arrangements of the workers along new lines, a process of rational education must be carried on in order that interested unions may effect this transformation voluntarily and without contention or friction, therefore be it

Resolved, by the 40th Convention of the State Federation of Labor, that this fundamental change in the form of labor organizations be recognized and approved, and that the officers of the Federation assist in promoting discussion and education amongst the rank and file, so that this transformation may take place at the earliest possible date, and that the locals in every industry confer with each other for the purpose of developing a method of facilitating this change."

Central Labor Councils for Amalgamation

If the state federations are awake to the necessities for amalgamation in this hour of bitter

crisis for the labor movement, the central labor councils are no less keen to realize that Labor must consolidate its forces if it is to withstand the crushing drive of the employers. Several score of them have endorsed amalgamation since the League's campaign began, including Minneapolis, Omaha, Milwaukee, Chicago, Lincoln, Joliet, St. Paul, Seattle, Tacoma, Belleville, Sioux City, Council Bluffs, Ogden, Salt Lake, etc., etc.

The biggest fight with the reactionaries was had in Chicago at the very opening of the campaign. The amalgamationists presented a resolution, which has since been adopted in whole or in part by labor bodies all over the country. The reactionaries fought this resolution tooth and nail. But their efforts availed nothing, because it was adopted by a vote of 114 to 37. This alarmed the reactionaries exceedingly and they declared they would clean up on the "reds" at the next meeting of the Federation. When this came about the assemblage was packed to the doors and the battle began. It was not long until it was seen that the craft unionists were overwhelmingly beaten. So evident was their downfall that the crowd did not wait for the vote, which this time went 103 for amalgamation to 14 against it.

Alarmed still more by this renewed defeat, the reactionaries made another attempt to defeat the amalgamationists. Mr. Gompers himself came to Chicago, denounced the Federation, the League, and amalgamation generally. His supporters immediately got into action and it was quite evident that they were determined to reorganize the Federation and to seize control of it. But prudence stayed their hand from such rash action. The amalgamation sentiment was too strong for them, many of the largest and most influential trade unions in the city voting hearty endorsement of it. The Chicago labor movement as a whole went squarely on record for industrial unionism in the industries generally.

Among the Independent Unions

One of the most remarkable features of the League's amalgamation campaign is the favorable response it had among the independent unions. These organizations are nearly all secession movements from the old unions, and up to the advent of the League advocated dual unionism almost as a religion. But now they have become infected by the general get-together tendency as stimulated by the T. U. E. L. and they are showing pronounced amalgamation movements.

No industry has suffered more from dual unionism than the textile industry. Now, however, the many unions are awakening to the folly of

warring upon each other and are proposing a general consolidation all around. One of the first steps in this inevitable merging of the many textile union fragments was the formation of the American Federation of Textile Operatives, which joined together several of them. Likewise in the boot and shoe industry, another that has been cursed with secessionism, the amalgamation tendency is showing itself strong since the League began its propaganda. In a convention held in Boston in the early part of June, this year, several of the independent unions joined forces and called themselves the Amalgamated Shoe Workers of America. In this industry, too, the goal, ever becoming clearer to the workers, is a complete consolidation of all the existing unions. The old time policy of constant splitting away and warring to the knife against each other is a thing of the past. The new idea of solidarity, as presented by the League, is the dominant program.

Another striking illustration of the spread of amalgamation sentiment is the project on foot between the American Federation of Railroad Workers and the United Association of Railway Employees. The first of these organizations was the old-time International Association of Car Workers, which seceded from the A. F. of L. many years ago, and the second was an outcome of the so-called "outlaw" railroad strike of 1920. These two organizations are now in negotiations with each other looking towards a fusion. Undoubtedly it will be consummated. This movement has been directly influenced by the general amalgamation propaganda carried on by the League. So far the two organizations, which in the past have been noted for their bitter hostility towards the old unions, have not yet become reconciled to an amalgamation with the railroad craft unions. But this will soon come, as the amalgamation program gains ground in the railroad industry generally.

The *Montreal Labor World* recently reported another consolidation movement that has been greatly stimulated by the League's activity. This is an amalgamation of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees, and the International Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks. Conferences will be held between the executives of these organizations as soon as the strike difficulties in the United States are over. The elimination, by amalgamation, of the first of these two unions will do much to straighten out the tangled union situation on the railroads of Canada.

Metal, Clothing and Printing Industries

For 20 years past it has been clear to all progressive workers that industrial unionism is an

trades are to maintain any organization at all. A number of years ago the Machinists' Union awoke to this need and went on record for a general amalgamation of the metal trades unions. But because of the unresponsiveness of the other organizations and the prosperity brought about by the war period, the agitation was dropped. The League, however, has succeeded in reviving it again. In his whirlwind campaign for International President of the I. A. of M., Wm. Ross Knudsen stirred the whole organization to the imperative need for amalgamation. Consequently the militants everywhere are demanding it. Even the official journal of the Machinists' Union has been compelled to make propaganda for the plan.

A stumbling block in the way of all progressive movements in the metal trades in the past was the Molders' Union. The League has woken up this old-fogey-ridden organization also. Just now its militants are making a big issue of amalgamation for the whole metal trades. A referendum is now being taken on the subject of "Shall there be an amalgamation of metal trades national and international unions, thereby forming an industrial organization of all metal workers of the nation?" As never before the live spirits among the Molders are determined and organized to modernize and industrialize their organization. It is safe to prophesy that the amalgamation movement in the metal trades will soon take on such size and impetus as to be irresistible.

In the clothing trades the League's influence for amalgamation is strong and unquestioned. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers has officially endorsed the proposition and the Needle Trades Section of the T. U. E. L. is fighting to make it prevail in the other organizations of the industry. Tremendous headway is being made in the various clothing centers, and one union for the needle trades may be confidently looked forward to as an achievement of the near future.

The International Typographical Union is the standard bearer for amalgamation in the printing trades. At its Quebec Convention a year ago it declared for one union in the industry. The League militants in all the printing organizations are agitating to realize this program. Likewise they are seeing to it that the officials of the I. T. U. are kept moving in the spirit of the Quebec resolution. The Bookbinders' Union has already been won over to the proposition. The chief obstacles now are the personal interests of Matthew Woll, President of the Photo Engravers' Union, and George Berry, President of the Pressmen's Union, two prize reactionaries. Amalgamation and the Trade Union Educational League are living movements in the printing industry.

Amalgamation of Railroad Crafts

Especially effective has been the League's work for amalgamation of the railroad trades. The pressure put upon the unions by the companies has been so intense that the former have been fertile fields for the doctrines of solidarity. The whole body of railroad workers, of all trades, have been permeated and enthused by the amalgamation program. Something of the new spirit coming over railroad workers was evidenced at the Dallas Convention of the Railway Clerks, which declared for amalgamation of not only the railroad trades but of the craft unions in all other industries as well. Likewise the coming together in one union of the Engineers and Firemen is symptomatic of the rapid spread of amalgamation sentiment.

But the real amalgamation movement has centered around the Minnesota Shop Crafts Legislative Committee of which Otto Wangerin is Secretary. This body adopted a comprehensive and scientific plan of amalgamation and scattered it broadcast among the many thousand local railroad unions, asking their endorsement. The response was overwhelming. Many hundreds of locals, of all crafts, have declared their support to the project of joining the 16 standard railroad unions into one united organization. It is safe to say that an overwhelming majority of the rank and file of railroad workers are now in favor of amalgamation. The big job is to register this sentiment in concrete achievement, and

the Minnesota Shop Crafts Legislative Committee has dedicated itself to this task. Steps are now being taken to publish an amalgamation bulletin, which will carry the message of solidarity to railroad workers everywhere. In addition, amalgamation committees will be organized in all the principal railroad centers so as to intensify and crystallize the already existing sentiment. Before long amalgamation will be an actual achievement in the railroad industry, despite the active opposition of the Gompers type of labor leaders.

From the foregoing necessarily brief sketch of the amalgamation movement that has developed since the League started its work, it is strikingly evident that the American labor movement is ready for industrial unionism. A curious illustration of this fact, and a typical example of the materialistic viewpoint our labor leaders hold towards the unions, is the case of a certain well-known President of an International Union, who recently said to a group of his organizers, "Save your money, boys, amalgamation's coming." And the one thing needed to make it come is a determined effort on the part of the Trade Union Educational League militants. In these critical days for Labor the worker who has not put his union on record for amalgamation is asleep at the switch. By that very fact he proves his inefficiency as a militant rebel. Amalgamation is the great issue now before the American labor movement. To the League belongs the credit.

Lessons of the Shopmen's Strike

By Wm. Z. Foster

FOR years past, but particularly since the advent of the Trade Union Educational League, railroad militants have declared again and again that the present system of 16 separate railroad organizations was incapable of putting up a winning fight against the highly organized companies, and we have demanded a general amalgamation of all the unions into one body. The shopmen's strike has given the most overwhelming demonstration of the soundness of our contentions. The whole thing has been a piteous debacle of craft unionism. The companies have played the various organizations against each other just as they have seen fit, forcing some into the strike and keeping others at work scabbing, exactly as they desired. Consequently railroad unionism has suffered enormously all around, if it has not actually been dealt a mortal blow. The shopmen's strike, evidencing as it did the deplorable lack of solidarity between the railroad trades, is an unanswerable argument for

industrial unionism through amalgamation.

Seven unions on strike and nine at work. The shopmen's organizations battling valiantly in face of terrific odds to bring the railroads to a halt, and the other unions faithfully help the companies to keep the roads in operation. What a pitiful exhibition of working class stupidity. Who can defend such a condition? No one. Yet it was exactly the state of affairs that was bound to develop, and the leaders, who have consistently fought every get-together movement between the organizations, deliberately walked right into it. It was the logical and inevitable climax of their contemptible craft policy of each union for itself and the devil take the hindmost.

Some Traitors Unmasked

As the great shopmen's strike began the rank and file of the railroad workers generally were stirred to the depths and wanted to make common cause in the fight. They seemed to realize instinctively that the interest of all were directly

at stake. Never in the history of American railroading was there such a splendid spirit of solidarity developed, never such a pure realization that the welfare of all railroad workers, skilled and unskilled, is bound up together. The stage was all set for the most tremendous strike in history, for a movement that would have been gloriously victorious and that would have dealt a heavy blow at the very foundations of capitalism. But the leaders of the nine non-striking unions ruined it. They betrayed their members into the hands of the companies. They compromised the whole fight. They robbed the workers of victory. They are traitors to the working class.

In the great strike there have been so many acts of stupidity committed, so much betrayal of the workers' interests by the leaders that one hardly knows which to single out for mention. Consider for example the attitude of Grable, President of the Maintenance of Way Workers. Could anything be more contemptible? There was his organization, made up for the most part of unskilled, undisciplined, and unstrategically situated workers. Anyone with the brain of a twelve year old child could see that its interest laid in making common cause with the shopmen, that it could not possibly win by going alone. Yet what did Grable do? With the wages of his men cut to starvation levels he went cringing to the Railroad Labor Board seeking to trade on the struggle of the shopmen, offering to sell the integrity of his union for the sake of a few cents per hour increase. And on the strength of a promise of consideration he abandoned the embattled shopmen and went over to the side of the companies. Who can doubt the ultimate ruinous effects of such tactics even upon Grable's own union? If the companies can smash the powerful shopmen's organizations it will not be long until by a mere gesture they wipe out the Maintenance of Way. As the price of this treason the trackmen's organization will probably be destroyed. Unions cannot survive by crawling to the employers and betraying each other. Their very breath of life is to make an intelligent fight together. And this Grable ingloriously failed to permit his union to do when he deserted the shopmen in the midst of the battle.

If the Maintenance of Way, under Grable's leadership, committed crass betrayal, so did the Railway Clerks, headed by Fitzgerald. This union, similarly situated as the trackmen, in that it is made up of inexperienced and undisciplined members, had every possible reason to win in the fight. It, too, had had its wages slashed by the Railroad Labor Board. But, like the Mainten-

ance of Way, it was pulled out of the fight in the crisis. Its leadership quite evidently is proceeding upon the fatal theory that the way for the railroad unions to defeat the militant and ruthless railroad corporations is through a policy of lickspittle subserviency, rather than one of determined and intelligent struggle. Should the shopmen be crushed we may depend upon it that the clerks' organization will be speedily swept aside also. The railroads have nothing but contempt for such conduct as that of the clerks' leaders in this strike. They make use of labor treason and then crush the organizations guilty of it.

Fitzgerald is also to be condemned for his open opposition to amalgamation. At the recent convention of his union in Dallas the body went on record for a complete amalgamation of all the railroad unions and instructed Fitzgerald and the other executive officers to seek to bring it about. He betrayed this trust at the A. F. of L. convention in Cincinnati, where his delegation not only made no fight for amalgamation but did not even vote for their own resolution on the subject, which they had been instructed by the Dallas convention to introduce into the A. F. of L. convention. And now Fitzgerald is writing around the country denouncing as enemies of his organization those who dare to work in accordance with the mandates of the Dallas convention by advocating amalgamation.

Lee at His Old Tricks

For many years past whenever there has been any signs of an awakening on the part of railroad workers, Bill Lee, President of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, has always been on hand to club them back into insensibility again. Nor has the shopmen's strike been an exception. Lee has done his utmost to facilitate the fight of the companies. He has acted faithfully his usual role of auxiliary to the railroad owners by fighting back every semblance of solidarity on the part of his organizations' membership.

No less than the other non-striking trades, the Brotherhood men in the train service have felt the warmest sympathy for the striking shop mechanics. Almost unanimously they realized that the latter were making their fight; that if the shopmen's unions were destroyed their own will be doomed. A tremendous strike sentiment developed among them. At least one prominent official, Stone of the Engineers, showed some understanding of the situation. Although not bringing his powerful organization directly into the fight as should have been done, he yielded to the spirit of the men to some extent by instructing them not to directly scab on the mechanics by making repairs, and by conceding to

them the right to strike where conditions of work were dangerous either because of defective equipment or the presence of armed guards. These were small enough concessions but the rank and file of the train service men siezed upon them with avidity. Strike movements developed here and there all over the country in strategic railroad centers. The employing class became intensely alarmed. It looked as though the railroad workers, triumphing over the primitive policies of craft unionism, were actually going to strike in a body and really tie up the transportation system of the country. But just then, when victory seemed assured, Lee, loyal servitor of the companies, took a hand and arbitrarily ordered his men back to work. This effectively checked the budding general strike movement and left the valiant shopmen to make the fight alone against the combined power of the companies and the nine non-striking unions. Lee had added one more act of treason to his long and unsavory record.

A Battling Rank and File

The one relieving feature of the great shopmen's strike is the wonderful spirit being shown by the strikers. Seldom have a body of rebellious workers been more harassed than they, and never have any stood up better under persecution. The shopmen's struggle will go down in labor history as the most militant fight ever waged by the American working class up till this time. It is an inspiration to all who one day hope to see the workers strike the shackles from their limbs and become freemen.

Of all the difficulties faced by the strikers there were few except of Organized Labor's own making. Chief of these was the incompetent leadership of railroad unionism in general. Had the high-paid officialdom been worth its salt the workers would have been lined up in such a solid phalanx as to convince the companies from the beginning that their ranks were unbreakable. But as it was, with the leaders keeping the unions apart from each other and thereby destroying all possibility of united action, the companies were directly encouraged to go ahead with the fight. They knew that they could depend upon at least half of the organized workers to stay on the job and to co-operate with the scabs in keeping the roads in operation. The greatest obstacle that the shopmen had to contend with in the strike was the leadership of the railroad unions. This was so utterly unfitted for the situation as to make the fight an almost impossible one.

Another towering handicap against the workers winning the strike was the raw attitude of opposition assumed by the Government and the

courts everywhere. Troops were sent any place any time that the companies wanted them to overawe the strikers; injunctions were issued by the score all over the country and the railroad property everywhere plastered white with them. The crowning infamy of this anti-union campaign was the Wilkerson injunction outlawing at one blow 400,000 peaceful strikers. All of which official tyranny is to be blamed upon no one but Labor itself. For many years Mr. Gompers, backed by weak-kneed henchmen, has forced upon the labor movement his absurd political policy of rewarding friends and punishing enemies, and he has fought down every attempt to found an independent working class political party. The result is that the working class has been reduced to a political zero. The governmental power has passed entirely into the hands of the great employers. And who can blame them for using in the shopmen's strike this power which a reactionary labor leadership has given them? The shopmen have paid a bitter price for the A. F. of L. leadership's political stupidity.

Still another obstacle of tremendous importance that the shopmen had to contend against was the gigantic armies of scabs recruited by the companies. Never has the country seen the like before. Scabs by hundreds of thousands were gathered from the ends of the country and thrown into the railroad shops to take the places of the strikers. It was a veritable deluge of rats. And for this condition, when the employers can so easily assemble such multitudes of strikebreakers, Organized Labor itself must take the blame. Because of the sterile leadership of Mr. Gompers and the coterie of reactionaries gathered around him; because they have desperately and successfully resisted every effort to modernize the labor movement and to make it capable of combating a militant capitalism, the big industries of the country have remained unorganized. They are great reservoirs of industrial rats, perpetuated by our leadership's desperate clinging to an obsolete craft unionism. In the great shopmen's struggle the employers simply drew upon these reservoirs. The enormous armies of scabs used in the strike, like the craft betrayal and the raw opposition of the government and courts, were but shameful monuments to the incapacity of the Gompers regime to lead American Labor.

The Work Before Us

As the LABOR HERALD goes to press a settlement is being negotiated on a number of the roads, including the Baltimore & Ohio, New York Central Lines, Chicago & Northwestern, etc., while the strike is going ahead on the rest, which

(Continued on page 32)

The Sustaining Fund

To all League Secretaries;

Money makes the mare go. Your local Leagues must have finances in order to accomplish their work. Very well, the National Conference has mapped out a plan whereby you can easily secure these finances. This is the Sustaining Fund.

The Sustaining Fund is a system whereby the supporters of the movement can contribute. In every locality there are friends and sympathizers who will be glad to donate to the work of the League through the Sustaining Fund. Besides every militant in the League can be definitely counted upon to do his share financially. You must put the Sustaining Fund into operation in your locality at once.

Before any collections are made for the Sustaining Fund, local secretaries must get authorization from the National Office. Write at once for complete information. This is vital to the success of your local movement as well as the League nationally.

A local League without a Sustaining Fund is a gun without ammunition.

The spread of the League's work depends upon the development of the Sustaining Fund.

An army travels on its stomach—the League on its Sustaining Fund.

Don't miss this opportunity to put your League on a working basis.

Get busy at once.

WM. Z. FOSTER, Sec'y-Treas.

British Building Workers and the United Front

By George Hicks

General President, National Federation of Building Trades Operatives

ON "Black Friday" the British Triple Alliance of Miners, Railway men and General Transport Workers came to an ignominious end, not because of any natural wickedness in the hearts of labor officials but as a result of the inherent weakness of British trade-unionism. It was a defeat of ignominy because it was a victory of ignominy. It was the shame of craft selfishness and craft cowardice. These are hard words, but words more just than most that are flung at men who faced the urgent hazard of industrial war in July 1921. Organized labor in this country is not ready for national control of trade union policy. This must be understood at the beginning if any account of British trade union development is intelligently to be understood.

The building trade here is in a position somewhat unique for a trading nation. Its principle raw materials are home stock. Its finished product is not susceptible to foreign competition. Of all trades this is one that, on the employee's side, ought to stand four-square against capitalist aggression, and in a measure its economic strength has been actualized. Only in a measure however, since the building trade, like the rest, has paid the price of division.

Beginnings of Amalgamation

Old as the industry is in trade union history it was not until 1911 that any demand was heard aloud for amalgamation. By that time industrial unionism was in the air. The political side of British trade-unionism was harried by the propaganda of economic power, the practical result of which propaganda since has been to confer strength upon movements less revolutionary but of a consolidating character.

In the case of the building industry the movement in favor of amalgamation came to a head as a consequence of the action of the Trade Union Congress in calling a conference of all the unions concerned. This conference decided upon a ballot vote which resulted in an overwhelming majority in every union for cohesion. All would have been plain-sailing but for the fact that no amalgamation could take place legally at that time unless seventy-five per-cent of the members of each society concerned had exercised their franchise, and on such proportion had voted. The national law was on the side of those who did

not care. Apathy once again had been the stumbling-block.

The ballot, under the legal restriction then in force, (the proportion now obligatory is fifty per-cent) was a blow to those, of whom I was one, who had been active in the move towards unity. It was with the idea of cutting the dead weight of apathy adrift that a Building Workers' Industrial Union was formed by the Editor at that time of *Solidarity* Jack Wills, soon after the ballot in 1914. The enterprise was a courageous one, but it was not practical enough to overcome the many technical difficulties, let alone of sufficient magic to strike the imagination of the workers in its sluggishness. In default of amalgamation, ways and means had to be found to bring about co-ordination of policy.

Local Federation of the building industry had already been set up in some districts and, with the help of energetic propaganda for industrial unionism, these were increased in number and made widespread throughout the country. The initial impetus to National federation was given, however, by the building lock-out of 1914 which began in February on the refusal of trade-unionists to sign an agreement to work with non-unionists and lasted until the war started in August, ending indefinitely in the absorption of that acute moment.

Formation of Federation

The National Federation was formed after a ballot of the Unions had been taken on a federal scheme. All unions in the building industry came in, and for the first time in British building-trade history machinery was created for purposes of common industrial action in place of mere craft action. It was not yet "the One Industry" union, but it was the best that could be done. The story of this federal organization, now called the National Federation of Building Trade Operatives is one of steady progress and sound, if not sensational, achievement.

Under the craft system and, where they existed, the local federations, there were almost as many different sets of hours and working conditions as there were towns. In backward districts as many hours as 56½ a week were worked, while, with one or two exceptions, the lowest working week was 47 hours. Wages

rates were in a state of even greater chaos. Determined to bring about a more uniform system and one capable of control, the new Federation began to organize what became known as "area schemes."

Great Britain, under this arrangement, was divided into nine regions, leaving out Scotland, which had its own wages board. Scotland has since joined with the big National movement and there are now ten regional areas with ten full-time organizers doing the general coordinating work of the various unions. The Federation work that takes precedence in the story of early growth is that of grading the towns, villages and rural districts of the whole country in regard to standard rates. This had to be done very carefully in order to avoid dissatisfaction and ensure smooth-working. True, it is what the Dockers' leader, Ernest Bevan, called "the fodder basis." It costs less to live in a country village than it does to live in London or Manchester, therefore the worker must get less. But we were obliged to look at the question from the other side and force the masters to recognize that it costs more to live in London and Manchester than in the country. Big towns therefore, and in some cases immediately adjacent small towns, were graded "A," semi-industrial towns "B," residential towns "C" and villages "D." Between each of these four grades there is maintained a difference of one penny an hour in wage rate for both mechanics and laborers.

Beyond the question of wage rates and in many respects above them is the question of hours. It is plain to the Federation that unless a reasonable working week can be maintained throughout the building industry unemployment will increase to numbers beyond control with a result fatal to discipline and ultimately fatal to what we are compelled to regard as proper wages. It is interesting to note that only last year the Government attempted to impose a "dilution" scheme on the unions to provide "employment for ex-service men in an industry in which there could be no fear of unemployment." In this scheme the Government subsidized the employers who took on the ex-service men, guaranteeing such men two years employment while learning the trade.

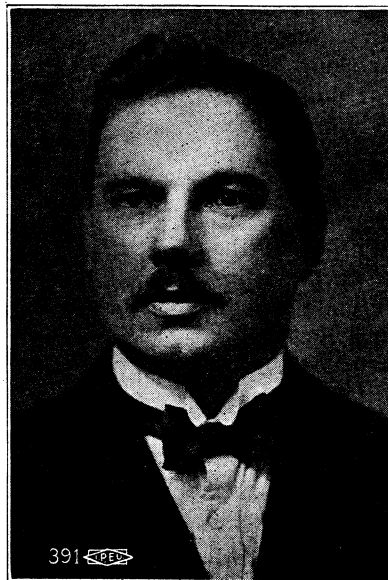
Unemployment

Such a scheme might have been satisfactory for the ex-service man if it were possible to become skilled in any branch of the industry within so limited a period, providing there was no actual or prospective unemployment; also it might have been tolerable to the trade if in the first place the Government could have been trusted to carry out its program of National Housing Schemes (since practically abandoned) and also that no building trade workers who had temporarily found employment in other industries could, with the approach of settled conditions, wish to come back. None of these fortunate circumstances prevailed. Actually, at the time the proposals were made there were no fewer than 163,000 men unemployed belonging to the building industry.

Building workers have special reason to fear unemployment. They have suffered severely from unemployment as it affects the industry in normal times and in a sense the trade has a special form of unemployment of its own; that of seasonal unemployment as it affects the job. That is why the unions have kept the 44 hour week an outstanding issue. An aggregate of another five or six million hours a week means another hundred thousand out-of-work. That's how it looks to the man on the scaffold whose alternative is the streets.

"Forty-four and No More" became, therefore, the "slogan" of the building industry. We negotiated with the

employers on this issue at a time when the machinery of negotiation was far less efficient than it is to-day, and after many months' protracted discussion, the "forty-four" was established as the building trade standard in May 1921. It goes without saying that the operatives' representatives possessed no mandate for the principle of the forty-four hour week at the expense of wages. The settlement on hours co-incided with the agreements fixing wages according to grade at amounts that brought the weeks' income for forty-four hours' work up to the pre-existing level for the district whatever number of hours had been worked, not exceeding fifty. No recognition was given to more than that number because it was felt that in cases where those intolerable hours had been



GEO. HICKS



GEO. HICKS

previously worked the responsibility should rest to some extent at least on the men themselves.

Method of Wage Negotiations

The method of wage negotiation prior to 1921 after the area schemes had been set up was that of dealing with one region at a time. It became evident, however, that regional settlements were unsatisfactory on both sides. No proper co-ordination was possible and no adequate national organization on an industrial basis. If regional negotiation was acceptable, as it had been, there could be no reasonable objection to the creation of a national Wages and Conditions Council. As in the separate areas, employers and operatives alike would meet, and would meet on an equal footing. There would be mutual advantage. To the fighting spirits of the movement to whom industrial war is the very breath of the nostrils this notion of meeting round a table is preeminently distasteful. But if you can't "bite" the employers it is better to meet them than bite the dust. Even in war in its least ruthless stages there may be common understanding between combatants and collective bargaining is but an efficient substitute for individual bargaining.

Whatever theoretical criticism may be advanced against the policy of negotiation from the standpoint of the class struggle the fact remains that, short of industrial organization to a man each fit and ready for the fight to a finish, you can get more as a rule by argument than by force. If you have force enough behind to make the alternative unpleasant. It is like a game of chess where this or that position can be manoeuvred by skillful play as a preliminary to the main attack, or at least without prejudice.

National Collective Bargaining

The National Wages and Conditions Council for the Building Industry was formed and it represents to-date on the operatives' side over half a million building trade workers from Land's End to John o Groats. Scotland, as I have said already came into the national movement, but the situation in Ireland has unfortunately hindered so far this process of knitting together the hitherto scattered threads of the building trade forces. We have faith enough in the future to believe that peace "in our time" will bring balm to the bruised body of that country and we await with confidence the opportunity to better organize the Irish building worker. There is a nucleus over the other side of the channel (that is sometimes described as a gulf) of a few strong branches.

That negotiation on national lines with the power of a national federation behind is a valu-

able instrument—much more valuable than strike after strike where the employers uncover their strongest battery, starvation—is proved by the figures given in the following table. Averages for London and the country areas are shown of wages in 1914 and June of this year, the latter figures subsequent to an all-round reduction of twopence. The percentage of increase is then compared with the percentage of increase in the cost of living as indicated by what is called the Government index figure:

Area (average)	Craftsmen's Average Rate			In-dex	80% above 1914
	Rate per Hour		In-dex		
	1914	1922			
London	*10d	1/7.6	107%	above 1914	
Southern Counties...	8d	1/3.8	97½%	"	"
South Western	7d	1/3.9	127%	"	"
Eastern Counties ...	7d.4	1/4.2	119%	"	"
Midland Counties ...	8d.3	1/6.7	125%	"	"
South Wales	8d.4	1/6.9	126%	"	"
Yorkshire	8d.8	1/7.4	120%	"	"
North Western	8d.2	1/6½d	123%	"	"
Northern Counties ..	8d.5	1/7.2	126%	"	"
Scotland	9d.1	1/7.1	110%	"	"
Ireland	6d.7	1/ 2	17%	"	"

Area (average)	Laborer's Average Rate			In-dex	80% above 1914
	Rate per Hour		In-dex		
	1914	1922			
London	6d.8	1/2.7	116%	above 1914	
Southern Counties ..	5d.2	1/—	126%	"	"
South Western	4d.6	11d.9	159%	"	"
Eastern Counties ...	4d.6	1/—	161%	"	"
Midland Counties ...	5d.6	1/1.8	146%	"	"
South Wales	5d.9	1/2.3	142%	"	"
Yorkshire	6d.4	1/2½d	127%	"	"
North Western	5d.6	1/1.7	145%	"	"
Northern Counties ..	5.9	1/2.3	142%	"	"
Scotland	6d	1/2½d	142%	"	"
Ireland	3d.7	1/1.2	257%	"	"

* To be read: 10 d is 10 pence, and 1/7.6 is one shilling and 7.6 pence, etc., etc.

These substantial increases, not merely in nominal wages but in the standard of life, prove that collective bargaining, while it can never take the place of the power to withhold labor and has definite limitations, can be utilized with advantage if only in the light of skirmishing tactics in front of the more sinister battle that most of us foresee.

What the Future Holds

That struggle of the future is an inevitable factor of industrial development in this as in other capitalistically developed countries. So much is plain to even the faintest prophetic vision. The Federation of British Industries represents fabulous capital, with an organization stupendous in its ramifications. It has 360 out of between five and six hundred members in the British House of Commons. They are the "hard-faced

men who look as if they did very well out of the war." Labor in this country ought not to be under any illusion about the menacing influences that threaten the very life of the working-class movement. The miners in 1914 were attacked on the issue of "decontrol" and the debacle came, let it be clearly understood, because the capitalist government of Great Britain were prepared and organized to use "all the resources of civilization" against the working class—and the leaders knew it. They knew more, that labor was not solid, not organized, not loyal enough to wage with any chance of success a pitched battle of that kind. The railway workers came next on the issue of wages. The particularly insidious line of attack against us in the building industry was the proposal for "dilution" in which all the good-natured but uneducated prejudices of the "community" to which we are not supposed to belong when it suits the ruling class to make that assumption were enlisted to besmirch the good name of our men.

These are but indications, mere rumblings of distant thunder, remarkable in the fact that the strongest, richest and best organized of the trade unions have been singled out for attack first. In that fact alone labor has been beaten on strategic points. The lesson of these facts, written in strong arresting characters, is that labor must pool its resources, consolidate its power, and integrate its enthusiasm. Taking the class struggle as the basis of its education it must build the new movement industry by industry, forging the necessary national and international links to the end that the full world-wide power of labor shall be used to check the rapacity of international capitalism. Labor, moreover, must here and now declare its right to the control of industry through the workers' organizations, until the day comes when by the twin forces of industrial and political power King Capital shall be dethroned and there shall reign in its stead the industrial co-operative commonwealth.

Hail the day! The world for the Workers!

The Printers' Convention

By Al Smith

THE convention of the International Typographical Union, held at Atlantic City during the week of September 11-15, was one of the most constructive in many years and a number of progressive measures were adopted. But the strange paradox of the proceedings was that the Wahnetas, or so-called reactionary elements led by Jim Lynch, were behind this progressive legislation generally and the so-called progressive minority were against it.

One of the big issues of the convention was amalgamation, which the Typographical Union is fathering in the printing industry. It fared quite well in the Convention, and took several forward steps, although the general proposition did not come to a direct vote. The three propositions received were referred to the Executive Council for action. Several delegates spoke for amalgamation of all the printing trades and not one came out boldly and directly against it. Some thought, however, that it was impractical at this time but favored it later. The speeches indorsing amalgamation were very effective, and undoubtedly impressed the delegates. There is no doubt that if the question had come to a direct vote it would have been overwhelmingly adopted by the Convention. Laws were passed by the Convention regarding the Mailers, which amount to clearing the ground for the absorption of the other printing trades into one general organization.

Other legislation passed was the five-day work-week in times of unemployment; the removal of the law which calls for the expulsion of any member convicted under the Espionage Act; a resolution demanding the release of all class-war prisoners; a resolution to have I. T. U. represented at the political conference to be held in Chicago in December to consider the question of forming an independent labor party; the nullification of the Denver decision, which gave shop foremen too much power; the granting of strike sanction by a majority vote of the Executive Council instead of by unanimous consent as heretofore, and various other progressive propositions.

It was the decision of the Convention to prosecute the present 44-hour fight to a successful conclusion, even if the prevailing 5% assessment has to be raised to 10% or even more. There was not a note sounded against continuing the strike, and all felt sure of ultimate victory.

A handful of radicals dominated the Convention from the first day to the last. Jim Lynch was the only one of the reactionary elements that had any ability as a floorman. Thus the radicals were able to do a great deal of educational work and undoubtedly left a lasting impression on the minds of many of the delegates. The Convention indicated clearly that the future is bright for progress and radical propaganda in the printing trades.

A Letter from Debs

Terre Haute, Ind., August 26th, 1922

William Z. Foster,
Chicago, Ills.

Dear Comrade Foster:

My brother has read of your brutal and shameless persecution with feelings of deepest indignation and resentment and wishes me to write to you as follows:

"If I were not confined to a sanitarium under treatment I would at once be with you and tender my services in any way in my power. The miserable wretches in Colorado and Wyoming, especially the capitalist hireling who masquerades as governor of the former state, who so brutally manhandled you in the name of law and order, have sown dragons' teeth from which will spring in due time the warriors of the revolution who will sweep the corrupt system of which they are the servile lackeys from the face of the earth.

You are to be congratulated, after all, upon the infamous outrages perpetrated upon you in the name of capitalist law and justice, for in these outrages, committed by their liveried hirelings, is revealed the fear of their thieving and brutal masters, and this is the highest compliment they could possibly pay you. They know you cannot be bought, bribed or bullied, and so they set their dogs at your heels to drive you off their reservation.

I need not sympathize with you nor bid you be strong for you have the strength to stand and withstand, and you need no sympathy, and all I have to say is that when I have recovered my strength sufficiently to take up my work again, I shall be with you shoulder to shoulder in your stand for the working class and industrial freedom, and meanwhile I am

Yours fraternally,
Eugene V. Debs."

Please let me concur heartily in the above sentiment of my brother and to also subscribe myself, with great respect and all good wishes.

Yours fraternally,
Theodore Debs.

The League and the General Strike

By Tom Matthews

WHEN, following the issuance of the Wilkerson injunction against the shopmen, President Gompers informed the public that Organized Labor had poured into his office over 200 demands for a general strike of all trades in all localities, it was a plain recognition of the effectiveness of a great movement started by the Trade Union Educational League. For the first time in a generation the general strike had become a living issue among American workingmen, and the League was the means that raised it.

The general strike movement, which even the reactionary Mr. Gompers had to acknowledge, began by an action taken on July 21st, by the Omaha Central Labor Union. At that time and in that body a resolution calling for a general suspension of work in protest against the outrages now being visited upon the workers, was introduced by an active militant of the Trade Union Educational League. It was adopted unanimously and ordered sent broadcast to all the central labor unions in the United States. The 200 endorsements which Mr. Gompers speaks about are the result of this action by the Omaha Central Labor Union. The principal resolve of the resolution is as follows:

"Resolved that we, the Central Labor Union of Omaha, in regular session assembled this 21st day of July, 1922, call upon the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to immediately set in motion the machinery which shall bring the full power of Labor to bear in one grand national protest against the slavery conditions that are being imposed upon us, and to call a national strike at the earliest possible date in order that this warfare upon American homes may cease."

The unprecedented spread of the general strike idea is a striking testimonial to the ripeness of American workers for radical programs, and also to the effectiveness of the League's methods. One of the most remarkable features of the movement was the fact that great numbers of the organizations endorsing the general strike plan had not the slightest idea in the world that they were going along with the program of the Trade Union Educational League. All they could see was that the project fitted the need of the struggle, therefore they were in favor of it. All of which indicates that the League's policies are fitted to the actual needs of the workers. An amusing instance in this connection was seen in Kansas City. There the League members had helped to initiate a move through the Trade Union National Committee for Famine Relief, for a tag

day in behalf of the Russian hunger-stricken. The local trade union bureaucrats were angry with these brothers, condemned their proposition as "red," and succeeded in defeating it. But in the very same meeting the T. U. E. L. general strike resolution from Omaha, which was a hundred times "redder," was passed by a rousing vote without anyone suspecting its parentage. Even Mr. Gompers, the wise old fox, did not know that he was giving some sort of credit to the Trade Union Educational League when he stated that never before had there been such a great demand for a general strike. And he might have said the same for industrial unionism through amalgamation, another item in the League's program.

So far the only immediate practical results obtained directly through the general strike movement have been of an educational character. Of course, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. has not responded, except to brandish the resolutions in a mild way before the capitalists. And no one even slightly familiar with the mental processes of these gentlemen expected anything different. The Council has met, talked, and gone its way in the time-honored manner of doing nothing fundamental. Mr. Gompers has assured an expectant world that there will be no general strike. His words, which are so comforting to the nervous employers, are no surprise. But the time will soon be at hand when the sentiment for general strike action in such a crisis as this will grow so strong and insistent that all the fageyized labor men in the country will not be able to block it.

Once again, after a lapse of 30 years, general strike propaganda has taken root in the trade union movement. For this the League must be given the credit. As in the question of amalgamation, one little spark of intelligent education set forth by it has lighted a fire which, in this case, at least, has clarified the minds of thousands of workers. That it has also caused a quiver of fear to pass up and down the spine of the capitalist class is not the smallest part of the achievement. Again the League, despite its still being in its infancy, has shown the soundness of its tactics and of its program. The forces of life itself are pushing the labor movement over to our side. The magnificent general strike movement, initiated by the Omaha League, should encourage the militants everywhere to redouble the energies and, more than ever, to put their own local Leagues on the map and into the struggle.

Labor Rallies to Arrested Militants

Among many other labor organizations, those two live central bodies, the Chicago Federation of Labor and the Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly, have raised their voices in protest against the latest "red" raids a la Palmer, and have adopted the following resolutions of protest.

The Chicago Resolution

Whereas, the arrest of more than a score of men noted for their progressive views and activities in the labor movement on the charge of violating the so-called "Criminal Syndicalist Laws" of Michigan creates a crisis that cannot be ignored by any one concerned in the maintenance of American civil rights or in the struggle of the workers for a decent standard of human rights; and

Whereas, The unlawful invasion of a public meeting and the indiscriminate arrest, without warrants or due process of law of men and women and the cruel treatment of union men and women by the police is contrary to every principle of American right and justice; and

Whereas, The arrest of Wm. Z. Foster and Earl Browder, members in good standing in recognized trade unions of Chicago is an outrage and disgrace to every real American; therefore be it

Resolved, By the Chicago Federation of Labor that we protest against these unlawful practices and declare our fullest confidence in these men both as union men and as peaceful citizens.

The Minneapolis Resolution

"Whereas, it appears that certain progressive members of the working class, including W. Z. Foster and William F. Dunn, are being made the victims of attack by certain labor-hating, labor-baiting detectives reputed to be in government employ; and

"Whereas, such methods as are being used both as regards action by such officers and publicity as to their actions, are the ever-present methods and tactics of tyranny, and of financial tyrants and exploiters in control of government,

"Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Minneapolis Trade and Labor Assembly, that we hereby avail ourselves of the empty right that we thought we reserved to ourselves in the constitution 'to petition the government for redress of grievances,' and hereby petition the president of the United States, and the department of justice to assign William J. Burns and his able coterie of thugs to the prosecution of the financial pirates and profiteers who during and since the war have so enriched themselves at the expense of the starving workers and farmers, and to relieve W. Z. Foster, W. F. Dunn and other representatives of the workers, of the pleasure of their unscrupulous attentions."

Every branch of the Trade Union Educational League should get busy at once to see that as many as possible of the trade unions in their respective localities take action similar to the above. The fundamental rights of Labor are involved in the Michigan case, and once the workers are made aware of the true situation they are quick to make their protests heard. Now is the time to become active to prevent the railroading of a large number of militant workers in the labor movement. Let's hear from you.

The Rise and Fall of the One Big Union

By Tim Buck

WHEN one writes of the Canadian One Big Union, no matter how objectively, one must expect to be criticized sharply. So much bitterness was engendered at this organization's inception, and so many antagonisms aroused on all sides during the few years of its existence, as to make this question one of the most controversial that could be chosen. To the writer it seems that two great mistakes have always been made in discussing the O. B. U. One, made by both enemies and friends of the organization, is that its phenomenal rise and apparently irresistible sweep over the prairie provinces and British Columbia was merely the exploitation of the wave of enthusiasm born of the revolutionary temper of the militant workers of that time. The other mistake lies in the claim, put forward by most of its protagonists and most ardent supporters, that the mass of the workers were determined upon launching the O. B. U. as a new labor movement, in consequence of which the secession was inevitable, and any individual standing in its way would have been swept aside.

Without either being fully correct, both of these explanations contain some truth. For more than a year prior to the actual secession, the organized workers of the western provinces had been very dissatisfied with their respective international organizations. This was particularly true of the railroad shopmen. Composing as they did the very vanguard of the Canadian trade union movement and accustomed as they were to higher wages and better conditions than generally prevailed elsewhere, the shopmen could not stand the studied tardiness of the railroad executives in giving consideration to their claims. Early in 1918 they threatened an outlaw strike. So tense did the situation become that Wm. H. Johnston, International President of the Machinists, threatened to revoke the charters of any lodges that might embark upon such a strike. The Winnipeg local of the I. A. of M. withheld their per capita tax, and Johnston was compelled to visit them personally on September 30th, 1918, to smooth the matter over. The organization of Division No. 4, while it brought some hope, failed to meet the radical expectations of the workers. More and more the sentiment grew that the international unions, by their inertia, were actual barriers to progress.

On April 26th, 1918, fuel was added to the fire of discontent by Samuel Gompers. At that time the organized workers of Canada were treated to the spectacle of a man who was supposed to represent them fraternizing cheek by jowl with

the most sinister figures of the country. Gompers was welcomed to Canada by a joint session of both houses of Parliament, and official speeches of welcome were made by Speaker Rhodes and Minister of Justice Doherty. On the same day the government tendered a complimentary banquet to their chosen idol, Gompers, which was attended by many members of Parliament and some of the best known exploiters of Canada. This disgraceful affair, described by the capitalist press as "unique," aroused such shame and resentment among the thinking and self-respecting elements of the international unions as to cause many of them to seriously talk of secession even then.

The lackadaisical spirit of the leadership was in sharp contrast with the militant temper of the rank and file and minor officialdom. This temper was well illustrated by the famous 24 hour strike in Vancouver on August 2nd, 1918, as a protest against the shooting of Albert Goodwin, of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, for evading military service. The 1918 convention of the Trades Congress in Quebec added the last straw to the camel's back of revolt. Armed with a fighting program and backed by a militant rank and file, the western delegation was easily the cream of the gathering. But lacking contact with the few progressive elements in the east, and faced with a phalanx-like machine of the old guard, they were overwhelmed.

Beaten at every point, they called a meeting of all the delegates from Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia to discuss their future actions. At this meeting it was decided with only one dissenting vote to call a general conference of all the labor organizations in the four western provinces. The understanding was clear that the proposed conference was not to launch a secessionist movement, but to develop means whereby the organized workers of the west could more clearly formulate their plans and more effectively present them to the next convention of the Trades Congress. This is very significant, because while the foregoing is all against theory number one, which holds the whole movement to be merely a momentary flash, the action taken tends to discount the theory that the rank and file got the idea from heaven and insisted on seeing it through.

Rise of the One Big Union

On March 13th, 1919, the proposed conference was opened in Calgary. This conference was one of the most inspiring and momentous

gatherings ever held by trade unionists on this continent. It presented the finest opportunity (which was unfortunately lost) for the organization of a left-wing in the Trades Congress of Canada. There were present no less than 237 delegates, representing almost every trade union body in Canada west of the Great Lakes. Without a doubt the calibre of the delegates was such as to satisfy the rebels of a secessionist tendency that the assembled delegates held the trade union movement of Canada in the hollow of their hand. The British Columbia Federation of Labor intentionally held its annual convention at the same time and place, so as to enable the delegates to be present at the Western Conference, and they were there in full strength. The president and secretary-treasurer, Jack Cavanaugh and A. S. Wells respectively, two of the strongest men in the B. C. Federation, and incidentally two of the best rebels in the country, were among the most active spirits in the whole affair.

The railroad shopmen were represented by some of the most influential men in the trade union movement, including such powerful figures as R. J. Tallon, President of Division No. 4, who was Chairman of the Conference; Dave Rees, Vice-President of the Dominion Trades Congress; Bob Russell, Secretary of District No. 2, I. A. of M., comprising all of Canada; Dick Johns of the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council, several international Vice-Presidents and a whole host of lesser officials and local celebrities. The enthusiasm was wonderful. It seemed that the Canadian labor movement was about to embark on a new and great era of development.

The Pitfall of Secession

In the period preceding the calling of the Conference the sentiment for a secession movement grew rapidly, and when the gathering came together that was the dominating idea. This is not strange considering the fact that radicals in Canada have been fed for so long on dual unionism. The final outcome was that the Conference put forth a referendum on the proposition as to whether or not a new organization should be formed. The enthusiasm for the new movement was great and a ready response was had all through the West. By June 258 locals had voted on the proposition, of which 188, with a membership of 24,239, voted in favor, and 70, with a membership of 5975, voted against. So the One Big Union was born.

Thus this great movement, seemingly so promising for the future of Organized Labor in Canada, was turned from its true course and run into the desert of dual unionism. Considering the splendid start that had been made in the old unions, it is safe to say that if the Conference

had gone on record for continued organization and activity in the trade unions the most substantial results would have been achieved. But the orthodox and fatal course of secession was decided upon, with the usual results of a weakening of the old unions and a wasting of the forces of the revolutionary, life-giving elements. These sad effects are now evident to all except those who do not desire to see.

Decline of the One Big Union

Once launched, the One Big Union swept through Western Canada like a prairie fire, gaining great prestige as it went. An enormous stimulus was given to it by the disastrous failure of the International Unions in the Winnipeg general strike. Never did a new movement get away to a better start. This was one secession organization which could not fail, so it was said. By the fall of 1919 the One Big Union had an estimated membership of 40,000. Every thing looked rosy for success.

But the forces of disintegration, even if unseen, were steadily at work and soon made themselves felt. Soon the One Big Union experienced the same thing that all other secession organizations do. Once the enthusiasm had died out the masses of workers grew cold and began to quit. The pull of the International Unions was too much for them. Their departure was hastened by internal quarrelling over the form that the One Big Union should take. One group, strict industrial unionists, demanded that the organization should follow the lines of national industry; while another, essentially localist in character, fought to give power to the local Councils with little regard for their industrial character.

One of the most serious blows dealt the organization was the withdrawal of the British Columbia Lumber Workers, with 10,000 paid up members, who quit because the O. B. U. refused to properly departmentalize itself. Other considerable groups of workers deserted for this reason and that. Between the argument over the industrial versus the geographical form of organization, and the constant forces that always operate against dual unionism, the O. B. U. rapidly lost strength. By June 1920, its membership had dwindled to approximately 18,000 members, including the Lumber Workers who later seceded. At the present time, throughout the entire length and breadth of Canada, it has no more than 4,000 members at most. The O. B. U. is now only a memory of the great revolutionary movement within the trade unions which gave it birth. It has demonstrated beyond all peradventure of a doubt, the futility of dual unionism.

(Continued on page 32)

A Truce in the Mine War

By John Dorsey

THE miners have gone back to work. After a battle of five months in which they displayed a solidarity amazing to all, and which was the most complete industrial general strike America has ever seen, they have gone into the pits again to produce coal. The wage scale is to remain the same as before the strike—but only until next spring. As for the six-hour day and other demands of the miners, they have been side-tracked. The miners have not got a settlement, they only have a truce.

Those of us who have battled for years in the United Mine Workers of America knew that an attempt was due for a compromise. Both the operators and the officials of the union had good reasons to come together. The operators were licked. If the union had held out another month we could have dictated our own terms. And the officials wanted a compromise, because nominations for election of officers in the union were due—and they needed a platform to run for office on, the platform of “we saved your old wage scale for you.” When we miners heard of the Cleveland meeting called by Lewis, a group of old timers met in one of the Illinois towns and talked it over. We all agreed on an outline of what we thought would be done there. Our agreement fitted the actual outcome like a tailor-made suit. So there wasn't much surprise, although much bitter feeling arises at the thought that this splendid battle has brought only a quarter-victory.

A Battle Against Big Odds

In entering upon the great struggle just ended, the miners faced some terrific handicaps. Other odds against them developed in the course of the fight. The finances of the Union were at a low ebb. Numerous suits and injunctions were being fought in court. Bitter factionalism was tearing the organization. A strike had been on in Mingo County, West Virginia, for nearly two years, which had developed into civil war. Great unorganized fields were in operation in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, and Colorado. These odds against the workers counted heavily, and were only overcome or offset by the heroic energy and splendid fighting spirit of the rank and file, and some most excellent organizing work in the Connellsville field.

The Connellsville coke region of Pennsylvania, a stronghold of non-unionism operated by the steel trust, was one of the weak spots of the miners' Union. The story of how the union invaded this field and enrolled scores of thousands

of new members here, was told in the May number of THE LABOR HERALD. This new organization, gained early in the strike, grew in power and numbers. It is a permanent addition to the ranks of organized labor. This was one of the best bits of organizing work that has been done. It counted mightily in the growth of the power of the strike.

West Virginia, in spite of the two-year war of Mingo County, also held its own in this strike. Super-human energy must be in these sturdy American miners, for right at the outbreak of the strike, more than 300 of their officers and leaders were dragged away 500 miles, to Charlestown, to stand trial for treason and murder. Along with them had to go 500 of the most active union men of the coal fields, as witnesses to keep them from being railroaded to the penitentiary. In spite of the bleeding of the Union of its most vital element, the militants, in this fashion, the West Virginia district accomplished wonders in upholding their end of the strike.

Even in Colorado, where John D. Rockefeller and the Steel Trust go hand in hand, and their vassal, Pat Hamrock of Ludlow infamy, rules the land with Cossacks, rifles, tanks and tear-gas, the employers did not have a free hand. Only by the most ruthless suppression, by force, were the miners prevented from sweeping the fields. Their organizers were rearrested as fast as they could get out on bail, until all available bonds were exhausted, and then they were held in prison until the strike was over, or they agreed to leave the state.

Separate Agreements and “Labor Leaders”

One danger which threatened the strike, was the determined efforts of some “leaders” to bring about separate district agreements, instead of battling it out for a national settlement. This was particularly true of Frank Farrington, President of District No. 12 in Illinois. How the danger was met and overcome there is a story all by itself. But the separate agreement menace was actually made a reality in one instance, Alabama, and threatened to have disastrous consequences for a time.

It happened this way: A man who was once International President of the Union, John P. White, was put on the pay-roll at an outrageous salary, and sent to Alabama, one of the weakly organized districts. White was head of the Union at the outbreak of the war; he continued to draw his salary from the miners, while he went to Washington to serve the Government at \$1 a

year. Then he got a good government job, and was succeeded by Lewis as President of the U. M. W. of A. But in some way White lost out, so Lewis, for unknown reasons, put him on the job again for the union. White went to Alabama, signed up separate agreements which tied up the miners under an arbitration board whose decisions they were bound to accept, and then resigned to accept the position of —*head of the arbitration board!*

But in spite of all handicaps, in spite of treachery, the miners of the country as a whole, in bituminous and anthracite fields alike, stood solid without a serious break in their ranks. They emerged from the struggle stronger in numbers than they went in. Their spirit is unbroken. If they have not won a complete victory it is not because they have not earned it.

What Will the Truce Mean

The temporary settlement has checked the "open shop" drive to some extent, and thus far is a victory; but it is only a temporary and very partial one. What will it mean for next spring when the truce ends?

One of the provisions of the truce is the naming of a commission to investigate the conditions of the industry and report a plan of organizing it to guarantee the miners a decent standard of life, without interfering with the bosses profits. This commission is to be named by agreement between the Union and the operators; in case of disagreement it is to be named by President Harding. This "joker" makes it certain that the report of the commission will be adverse to the miners. This year the miners went into battle with the mass of so-called public opinion on their side. Next spring the report of the commission, which is morally sure to be against the miners, will be a powerful factor in swinging "public opinion" against them. On this point the truce is favorable to the bosses and distinctly unfavorable to the miners.

The five month's fight has drained the miners of financial resources. They have no way of recuperating themselves, except their regular wages. On the other hand, the mine bosses are already reimbursing themselves for their losses in the strike, in a most princely fashion. For example, the *Chicago Tribune*, of August 30th, carries the story of a State Fuel Commission, in deciding the price which could be charged for coal, solemnly agreeing that it is perfectly in order for the companies to add \$1.00 per ton to the price to cover the cost of the strike. To understand this fully, remember that the miner, for his entire labor in producing that ton of coal, gets only 91c to \$1.10. Every time the returned miners produce a ton of coal, they will be putting

another dollar into the coffers of the companies which will be used to break the next strike. Financially the truce is favorable to the companies, and unfavorable to the workers.

The settlement of the bituminous strike carried terms differing from those accepted in the anthracite strike. The former established a truce until April first, the latter for one year, or several months beyond the other. This destroys the solidarity which existed between these two branches of the industry in the fight this year. If the bituminous miners must strike next year, the anthracite workers will have still several month's contract to fulfill. From the point of view of solidarity the miners have lost an advantage by this truce.

The Union is faced with bitter persecution in the courts. The Coronado case has laid them open to furious raids upon their funds. The Herrin persecution threatens to command a tremendous amount of the energy and attention of the Union. All of this drain upon the Union strength has another nine months to get in its work before the issue of a cut in wages comes up again. From this point of view, the Union will face a more unfavorable situation next Spring.

In the strike just ended, the importation of coal from abroad was resorted to very late in the struggle, and did not grow to very great proportions before the truce. But if the employers decide to cut wages next spring, there can be little doubt that the systematic importation of coal from abroad will be one of the well-prepared weapons. This is another factor unfavorable to the miners.

The Opportunity for the Miners' Union

Against all these things which may, if not offset, make the present breathing spell a prelude to defeat, there is the opportunity before the Union to not only protect the present wage scale, but to realize an increase and the six-hour day when the truce is over.

The one factor which can enable the bosses to cut wages next spring is the unorganized districts. West Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, Colorado, and other outlying fields, have been neglected by the Union for political and other reasons. If Lewis would only send the "organizers" who are idling around the hotels in districts already organized 100%, down into these unorganized fields with the word that they would be fired instantly unless they began to show results, the mines of the country would be organized completely before Spring.

The trouble is that the administration deliberately keeps these districts partly unorganized,

(Continued on page 32)

The Gary Frame-Up

By Moritz J. Loeb

ON Sunday morning, August 20, a Michigan Central train was wrecked at Gary and two men lost their lives. All signs indicate that the smashup was caused by faulty equipment, arising out of the shopmen's strike. But it would never suit the company's interests to allow the fact to be made known. The thing had to be covered up, and quickly. Hence, immediately the wreck was metamorphosed into the result of a diabolical plot of the strikers and their friends, and the police started out to "get" some one for it. As usual with them, the question of guilt or innocence was a minor issue. The main thing was to land some one at once, regardless of the methods used or the frame-up necessary.

The first move was made that same night, when the office of the Trade Union Educational League was broken open and robbed, in an attempt to frame-up on Foster. But this was such a palpable fraud that, realizing it could not get by, the police dropped it, although not before the newspapers had broadcasted the most libelous charges. New stories and new arrests were demanded by the interests of the railroad company, in order to keep the public mind properly occupied. They were quickly forthcoming in the ensnarement and arrest of Joseph Popovitch, Charles Uselius, John Petrovsky, James Pavletich, and Alvenio Alessio upon the accusation of the latter, an acknowledged stool pigeon. The world was treated to the most lurid stories of union plots, confessions, and all the trimmings of the typical frame-up.

The Police Get "Confessions"

In the long and brutal history of the frame-up in America, there is none more sickeningly bestial than the case of Popovitch, Uselius, and Petrovsky. The so-called confessions came as the result of four days of torture, the nature of which can only be hinted at. When Attorney Paul Glaser, of Gary, took charge of their defense, he found these three men in a serious condition. Doctors were called in to examine them, including Dr. H. M. Hosmer, C. W. Yarrington, Ira Miltimore, and Olga Feinberg, all well known and reputable physicians. Petrovsky's back and hips were a mass of bruises, his legs beaten, hands bruised, shoulder injured, the back of his skull battered, and an eye blackened. Uselius had been tortured in an unnameable fashion, and in addition he was injured internally, and found bleeding from the ears. Popovitch was a mass

of contusions, especially over the head and face. All had been beaten by rubber pipes, in addition to the special "civilized" tortures, a description of which is prohibited by the postal laws against obscenity. Pavletich had also been beaten, but before the examination was released by the police; and taken by a friend to a Chicago hospital. Even Alessio, the stool pigeon, had been beaten. All this was the work of Chicago and Gary police. Thus had the "confessions" been procured.

The irony of the situation is that these men had never been in Gary until they were taken there by the police after their arrest. A mass of evidence is available to this effect, while against them is only the unsupported word of a confessed stool pigeon, and their own repudiated "confession," obtained by torture. The police simply went out among the strikers of Chicago, picked out a few foreigners who looked least able to defend themselves, hung the story of the "detective" upon them, and forced them to confess to committing a crime in a town which they had never seen.

Alessio, the Stool Pigeon

The "detective" in the case is the typical degenerate type which furnishes most of the stool pigeons. According to his own statement, published in the *Gary Post Tribune*, he has had a long career in the game. He claims that he joined the I. W. W. in Boston, during the 1912 Lawrence strike, while in the pay of the chief of police. Later, during the war, he was employed by the Department of Justice at Buffalo, to work among the Italians under the name of Tony Ross. Part of the time he was connected with the Army Intelligence Bureau. According to his own story, when the railroad strike threatened he applied to a man named Cook, in the Fort Dearborn Hotel, Chicago, for a job as stool pigeon. Cook, who is supposed to have been hiring men for such purposes for the New York Central, questioned him as to his qualifications. When Alessio told him his record, Cook immediately hired him at the rate of \$85.00 and expenses every two weeks.

Of course Alessio, like all others of his ilk, had to earn his money. So, four day after the Gary wreck occurred, he turned up with the story that certain men, known to him by their first names, such as Joe, Jim, and John, had met him in a union meeting and proposed that they all go wreck a train. He agreed, according to his tale, went with them to Gary, and acted as

a lookout while the others tore up the rails. On August 24, as a result of this story, Joe Popovitch was arrested. Uselius and Petrovsky followed on August 25 and 27. Finally the stool pigeon himself was arrested.

Uselius was the first to break down under the torture, because he was the victim of the most horrible and unmentionable crimes committed during the "third degree." He agreed to the story the police told him to confess to. Then they put him in a cell with Popovitch, after beating the latter and telling him that he, too, would get the same as Uselius. In this way they got the same story from Popovitch, and later also from Petrovsky. James Pavletich, another of the accused, was likewise tortured into confessing, but for some reason the police got his story mixed up so badly that it did not fit into the other three, and he was turned loose. Up to this point the stool pigeon, Alessio, had been "in good" with the police. But now that they had the confessions of the others, they demanded more from him. When Alessio refused to confess to what they wanted, they beat him up, too, and threatened him with death. This caused him to acknowledge his detective connections, as published in the *Post Tribune*. Then he demanded that his employers get him out, and pay him his current stool pigeon wages.

The Trade Unions Aroused

From the beginning the unions have had a keen realization of the sinister forces at work in connection with the Gary wreck. They knew at once that the employers' cry of a "wreck plot" was a dastardly subterfuge to discredit the workers and their strike. In the first stage of the frame-up, when the cloud of suspicion was still hanging over the League, Vice-President McGrath of the Railway Employees' Department, came out with a statement showing clearly that the smash-up was due to defective railroad equipment. And when the second stage of the frame-up developed, namely the torture-wrung confessions from Popovitch, Uselius and Petrovsky, the organized workers quickly became interested in that. No sooner had Attorney Paul Glaser made his big exposure of the torture-chambers of the Crown Point, Indiana, jail where the confessions were extorted, than the shop unions and other labor organizations became active. Determined that the outraged foreign workers be given a square deal, they called a great mass meeting in the benighted city of Gary, and invited the mayor to come down and explain to them how such outrages could happen.

The mayor came, but his lame excuses did not pacify the aroused union men. They hissed him, and howled him off the platform, telling him

not to come back before a gathering of Gary citizens, until he had dismissed policeman Connelly, whom they believed to be personally responsible for the outrages. Organized labor in the whole Calumet district is deeply stirred over the case. It is determined that these three humble workers shall not be railroaded to the gallows. Should their case ever come to trial it will unquestionably be one of the hardest-fought in recent years.

Frame-up System Must Go

Notwithstanding the complete exposure which has been made of the terrible barbarity practiced upon Popovitch, Uselius, and Petrovsky, the entire lack of evidence against them, and the complete alibi which they have established, the Michigan Central Railroad and the police are going ahead with the case. They still hold the men, and threaten an indictment in the near future. The exploiters and their lackeys are making good their original pronouncement, that they will use every possible resource to convict the "plotters" and to punish them to the full limit of the law. They are determined to hang these men at all costs. Consistency, if nothing else, now demands it.

Is it not time that Organized Labor called a halt to the frame-up gang? Things have reached the point now, where no labor man is safe. The unscrupulous employers, with the connivance of their unsavory agents, "put away" any union man hateful to them. The penitentiaries are already too full of labor militants, perjured into jail: Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings in California, Jacob Dolla in Pennsylvania, and Sacco and Vanzetti in Massachusetts, are only a few of the martyred many.

The insidious and treacherous frame-up, now a recognized weapon of the employers in the labor struggle, is doing more than almost any other influence to shatter the faith of the workers in the established Governmental institutions. It is a menacing danger to the liberties of the people. Labor must stop the frame-up. Popovitch, Uselius, and Petrovsky, must be released. The militants must stir the labor movement from end to end to see that justice is done to these workers, and that the framing plotters are balked in their deadly designs. More than that, Organized Labor must bring to book the police and higher-ups responsible for this criminal outrage, and make them pay the proper penalties. An aroused working class must defeat the Gary frame-up.

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Pat Hamrock Versus the Law

THE Trade Union Educational League's fight to subordinate Pat Hamrock to the Constitution of the State of Colorado, and thereby to compel him to permit the propaganda of the League's principles, has taken a new turn. Now it appears that Mr. Hamrock is the only one who has been deeply injured by the whole affair. According to the press, he declares that Foster has slandered him grievously, and that if Foster dares to return to Colorado Hamrock will jail him immediately for libel, and demand "body judgment,"—which means that if Foster has not the money to assuage Hamrock's wounded feelings he will have to lie in jail in lieu thereof.

Now it is clear why Hamrock deported Foster. It seems, according to Hamrock's press statements that Foster called him "a murderer" in his speeches in Nebraska immediately after the deportation. Being a far-sighted statesman, if not an actual mind-reader, Hamrock foresaw that this would happen, took time by the forelock, and put Foster out of Colorado before he could make the speeches complained of. So Pat is going to raise the "murderer" question in the Colorado courts. Now that will be very, very interesting. Shades of Ludlow! That will be your opportunity!

This deportation case, which has attracted national attention and brought down a storm of condemnation upon lawless Colorado, has become a vital issue in that State. All those people who have even an atom of independence in their make-up are rallying to the support of the local T. U. E. L. in its fight for free speech and free assembly. The Civil Liberties Union, represented in Denver by Carle Whitehead, is taking the lead in rallying the liberal forces. Even the Democratic Party has been stirred over the matter to such an extent that it has made the deportation case a distinct political question.

On the other hand, if the liberal elements are uniting to establish free speech, the reactionaries are assembling their forces to prevent it. The Colorado Fuel and Iron Co., the Union Pacific Railroad, and the various other capitalistic aggregations, which have ruled Colorado for a generation at their whim, may be depended upon

to back up Hamrock to the limit. Likewise, the lickspittles of these, from Governor Shoup downward. In the *Denver Express* for August 28th, Mr. W. H. Hover, president of the U. S. National Bank, typifies the general capitalistic attitude, when he says:

"I want you to know that the good citizens of the community are behind you in your efforts directed to law enforcement, and should you be called upon to incur any expenses in defending the threatened suit" (being prepared by free speech forces) "referred to in the news columns of our newspapers a few days ago, we will be ready to render you our aid and financial assistance."

The monumental duplicity of this statement would be absurd if it were not so dastardly. Hamrock and the men working under his immediate direction violated fully a score of laws in the deportation case, not to mention shattering the State and Federal constitutional provisions about free speech and free assemblage. They picked Foster's pockets, they robbed him of his baggage, they kidnapped him and illegally detained him, they threatened him with assault and battery, and they conspired with the authorities of Wyoming to do all these things, not to mention many other technical violations, such as the Colorado officers turning Foster over to Wyoming authorities without extradition papers, holding him prisoner illegally in the State of Wyoming, etc. And as a fitting climax, Hamrock, according to all the newspapers, then publicly (and deliberately) boasted that "No law was consulted" in the whole affair. Notwithstanding all this, the hypocritical Mr. Hover has the brass to distort Hamrock's illegal activities into "efforts directed to law enforcement." Such is the class-conception of "legality" held by up-to-date exploiters.

At present, because of Michigan extradition proceedings pending against him, Foster cannot leave the State of Illinois. But as soon as this matter is untangled he will go to Denver to speak at a mass meeting there. Then the country will learn whether the constitution is still in effect in Colorado, or whether the lives and liberties of the citizens depend entirely upon the whims of such men as Pat Hamrock.

MILITANTS:—Has your Local League taken up the matter of the Sustaining Fund? If not, see to it that your Secretary writes to the National Office at once for full particulars and authority to solicit funds. This is one of your most important immediate tasks.

The Significance of the League Conference

By S. T. Hammersmark

THE First National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League has come and gone. Occurring at a time of crisis in the labor movement, and crystallizing a great body of new sentiment and understanding, developed in the main within the past year and a half, it was a historic and significant gathering. It closed the door on the past generation of mistaken and disastrous tactics of the rebel trade unionists, and opened the way to the new policies of aggressive, constructive organization of the working class forces, the establishment of the militant elements within the mass unions. The Conference marked the beginning of a new period in the labor movement.

There have been other gatherings in the past, which have wielded a large influence upon the revolutionary unionists, and which, therefore, have been freighted with destiny for the labor movement generally. Unfortunately for America, however, these past conferences have been dominated by utopian and preconceived tactics, which have worked nothing but disaster, both for the revolutionists and for the trade unions. Such, for example, was the Convention of 1905, which launched the I. W. W. That gathering, on the vital question of its relation to the mass organizations, did not even discuss the question of whether the revolutionists should work within the existing unions or whether they should separate themselves—that issue was predetermined before the Convention came together. At that time the whole ideology of the American rebel turned in the direction of a utopian, dual unionism. Its classic crystallization in the I. W. W. has worked untold mischief, dominating the rebel elements, and cutting them off from the body of the working class.

The outstanding fact of historical significance in the National Conference just ended, is that it marks the passing, once for all, of the dual union and secessionist philosophy. The Conference mercilessly analyzed the mistaken tactics of the past, and definitely repudiated them. In their place it adopted a comprehensive, detailed, scientific, and revolutionary program, based upon the realities of the conditions and of the struggle. No issue was shirked, and no question soft-pedalled. The program of the Trade Union Educational League was made clear and definite, for the guidance of all revolutionary trade unionists.

The Program of the League

The general program of the League, as worked out by the Conference, covers a wide scope of

theory and practice. Clear-cut and constructive stands were taken on many subjects, including industrial unionism, amalgamation, secession, political action, Russia, the Federated Press, Shop Committees, Red Trade Union International, the Workers' Republic, the railroad and coal strikes, the Mooney-Billings case, the Sacco-Vanzetti case, political prisoners, etc. The work of the Conference constitutes a complete revolutionary industrial program.

Particularly important was the Conference's realistic manner of approach to the question of bringing about industrial unionism. The old system was to have a ready-made formula, and then in its behalf to sweep aside the whole labor movement. This method was conspicuous by its absence, in the League Conference. There, on the contrary, the manifold problems of each industry were attacked by militant unionists of experience and standing in the actual struggles of the organized workers in those industries. Thus definite, practical programs of consolidation were worked out in several of the principal industries, including Building, Clothing, Metal, Mining, and Railroad. In those industries that had no experienced militant delegates present, the Conference did not make the mistake of trying to work out programs, but took the sensible course of referring these matters to future conferences of the militants in those industries who would be competent to indicate correct lines to proceed upon. Contrast this method with that of the constituent Convention of the I. W. W., for example, where the cart-wheel chart, product of some intellectual's secluded chamber, was arbitrarily made to fit the multitudinous conditions of the many industries. The League Conference clearly marks the passage of American trade union revolutionists from Utopianism to realism.

The Sustaining Fund

From the beginning the League has been greatly handicapped by the lack of an adequate financial system. It dare not collect dues or per capita tax, because under no circumstances could it afford to lay itself open to the charge of dual unionism, which it would have done had it established a dues system. In this respect it will not make the mistake that the French revolutionists did in the campaign that led up to the recent split in their general labor movement. So far, the League has been completely successful in warding off the charge of its being a dual organization, and this has been accomplished only because it has none of the elements of dualism in

it. The League has a great field before it. It must put out organizers to systematize the League's program in all the ramifications of the labor movement; it must establish left-wing papers in the big industries and cities of the country. All this takes money, and the League has had no means of raising it. Up till the present its financial income, upon which it has done its great work, has been derived solely from the slender subscriptions to THE LABOR HERALD.

To meet this situation the League Conference has established what it calls the Sustaining Fund. The Sustaining Fund is a systematic organization of the financial support of the League's members and sympathizers. There are many thousands of active workers in the trade union movement who will be only too glad to make yearly contributions to the work of the T. U. E. L. once an organized means to secure their donations has been developed. In addition, there are also many liberals and other forward looking people not directly in the trade unions, who may be counted upon to help in a movement of this character. The Sustaining Fund will be a national campaign to develop such support. Of the funds received, fifty per cent will go to the local Leagues directly collecting them, and fifty per cent to the National Office. Thus the League, both local and national, will be provided with the sinews of war. When the militants understand the importance of the Sustaining Fund and take hold of it in dead earnest, the League thereby will soon be able to build up such a staff of organizers and publications as to multiply its present organization and influence manyfold.

Organization of 'Left-Bloc' a Success

The Trade Union Educational League was founded upon the theory that it was possible to get all the revolutionary factions and the honest elements generally to work together in the trade unions on a common program of progress, as against the sterile methods of the bureaucrats now in control of the organizations. In some respects it was patterned after the Revolutionary Syndicalist Committee of France, an organization which succeeded in bringing into co-operation all the progressive and radical trade unionists of that country. This combination was able to crack the power of the social-traitors at the heads of the unions and to open the doors generally to progress. The very nature of a 'left-bloc' organization such as the Revolutionary Syndicalist Committee, is that the various groups hold in abeyance those questions upon which they do not agree, and concentrate upon those they hold in common. It was felt that in the United States, where the movement is in

such a pitiful need of progress, that such a general agreement and combination of the radical elements could be formed. So the League was founded.

The League Conference gave a striking proof of the soundness of this theory. It brought together the trade union militants of almost every faction in the left-wing generally. There were Farmer-Labor Party men, Workers' Partyites, Communists, Socialists, members of the Proletariat Party, Syndicalists, Anarchists, United Toilers of America, and honest trade unionists unaffiliated to any faction. The only established group that was not represented was the Socialist-Labor Party, a fact of which they will doubtless boast. The apparent medley of political groupings could have spent a month fighting each other, without result, if each had insisted on bringing forward its complete program. Instead of such a nonsensical proceeding, the Conference spent two days of hard, practical work, marked by the most complete harmony. The League also stood up under the assaults of the police in a splendid fashion, and definite bonds of solidarity were welded between all the participants. There was not a single serious difference developed throughout the wide range of the deliberations of the Conference.

Prospects of the League

Like a flame sweeping through a dry forest, the program of the League is making its way through the trade unions. All that is needed is for every militant to get busy. The workers are caught between the relentless assaults of the capitalist class, on the one side, and the treachery and stupidity of the union officialdom on the other. They have no way to turn, except the way toward which the League is directing them. And they are turning with the League, even many, indeed, who do not know that they are carrying out our program but who see its necessity. Gompers and Woll may curse, they may repeat their witch-hunt, but they will only accelerate, not hinder, the inevitable development. The future belongs to the League.

Soon off the Press! THE BANKRUPTCY OF THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

By Wm. Z. Foster

A merciless exposure of conditions in our labor movement generally, with a critical analysis of its causes which spares the prejudices of none, conservative or radical. A pamphlet which will be read and quoted by friends and enemies alike. 64 pages, 25c per copy. Send no money now — just send your order. First orders received will have first attention.

Labor Day: Its Origin

By Jay Fox

LABOR DAY, a day of rest for the toilers, far from being a modern institution, is older than civilization, older than feudalism, older than capitalism. Primitive man made his living by hunting. In the course of his evolution toward wage slavery he gave up the chase and, settling down on a plot of land, became a farmer. That was the beginning of slavery. That was what I call: The fall of man, his first big blunder. How a sane man could give up the free life of the forest and settle down to the painful task of tickling the earth with a crooked stick I can never get myself to understand, since there were no real estate sharks in those days. Anyway, why should this initial blunder give me so much pause, when I can find the record of a new one in the morning paper?

So we easily imagine that at the end of the season, when the crop was harvested, after intense labor, there would be rejoicing. And there was, a week of it. The folks got together and had a good time. And in order that they might not be impeded in any way, all moral restraints were suspended. These festivities were especially characterized by the freedom with which the sexes associated, a freedom permitted at no other time during the year. Among the peasantry of Europe the "Barn Ball" or "Harvest Home" is still a feature of the ending of the harvest.

Rome Observed Labor Day

So much was this festival a part of the life of the ancient workers that the Romans, when they conquered and enslaved them, found it a part of wisdom to permit the annual enjoyment of it. Thus for two days all law, both human and divine, was suspended. No slave was ever brought to account for anything he did on Labor Day. There being no law there could be no crime. So he was free to drink to the dregs of all the "vices" within his reach. What of it that on the morrow the chains of economic servitude would again be adjusted to their limbs. They lived the present moment, even as you and I.

The industrial expression of old festival comes to us by way of the International Workingmen's Association, and organization comparable to the Red Trade Union International, that flourished in Europe in the seventies, under the leadership of such eminent economists as Marx, Bakunin and a score of other illustrious figures.

They selected May first as the most appropriate day for the industrial worker to celebrate.

The latter have often started big strikes on that date, which made the day one of business instead of pleasure. Indeed the European workers have never regarded Labor day as a play day. They always aim to make it a special day of effort in their drive for emancipation. For these European workers can never forget, even for a day, that they are slaves.

There is always a certain amount of fear and trembling upstairs around May first in Europe: "Who knows but that those red devils may start something? And if they should, the Lord only knows where it might end. Look at what they did in Russia. Are the police loyal? Is the garrison reliable? Suppose it should go over to the Reds? Where could we hide? And our jewelry, our bonds, our estate? We would be penniless, GOD." Such are the thoughts that haunt the capitalist class of Europe around Labor Day.

Labor Day in America

In America it's different. We are more reasonable than those "ignorant" foreigners. We are not nearly so red, to begin with; and therefore much easier to handle, safer in every respect. Our masters need have no fear of us starting anything more dangerous than a base ball game on Labor day. And in order that we may remain forever in this blissful state, every foreigner caught with an idea in his head bigger than a dollar is deported forthwith. "American for the 'sissorbills,'" is our Master's motto.

In the pioneer days, before we were rich and conservative enough to have a private Labor day of our own, we sometimes used the old one to good effect. I remember May first, 1886. On that date the national unions inaugurated their strike for the eight-hour day, Chicago being the storm center. On that occasion there was great enthusiasm in the ranks of labor. The workers were much more militant than they are today. They had a definite aim. They had a reason other than play for their parades. On May first the factories were closed, not for a day, but for an indefinite period. The workers fought a valliant fight against tremendous odds and won their point in many cases.

This was before the advent of radical dual unionism and parlor socialism. In those days every radical was an active worker in the union of his craft. It was this infusion of rebel blood that put pep into the rank and file, and kept the leaders from retreating into the slough or reaction.

The Need of the Hour

A letter reprinted from the Machinists' Journal

Although it is some months since the Journal has contained a report from Schenectady, I believe the time is opportune to show why, in my opinion, all metal trades must amalgamate or go down to defeat. Nearly every strike of the metal trades coming under my observation in recent years, which has been a failure, is due to the lack of concerted action on the part of the different trades engaged in the metal industry. I have in mind a particular case; namely, the strike at Hoosick Falls, N. Y. A member of Lodge 617 of our organization, who was also President of the local Central Body, had been discriminated against, and all organizations whose members were employed in the plant, except the members of the Patternmakers League, voted to stand by this brother. However, when the matter was referred to the international organizations, strike sanction was refused. The machinists did strike, however, and were out for a period of one year, while all other crafts continued to work; the patternmakers furnishing men to take the places of our striking brothers. As a result of this lack of unity, this company has placed a sign over the gate of its plant, containing the following: "Open shop—Recognize no Unions." Thus, another concern which had been 100 per cent organized has gone by the boards.

Another case in point is the situation existing in the works of the General Electric Company. About two years ago the Executive Board of the Iron Moulders Association ordered a general strike of the moulders employed by the General Electric Company, some of whom had been in the service of the company for twenty-five years. It so happened that the moulders were not affiliated with the local metal trades organization in Schenectady. As a matter of fact, the other trades were not even informed that the moulders were going to strike. As a consequence of this action the company furnished union men with scab castings obtained from outside concerns; and for a period of one year all crafts worked on same. Although the moulders held out for over a year and lost but three members during that time, the strike was called off, and the company does not now recognize the Moulders' Union. It is said that this strike cost the General Electric Company more than one million dollars, and although the moulders were defeated, they surely put up a wonderful fight. As a result of this strike being called off by the international organization the men were left upon the streets without jobs with no money, and no members employed in the plant where they had

heretofore had a 100 per cent organization. Many of these men are without employment at this time; others are working for the city in the street cleaning department. In many families the father was on strike, while sons were working in the machine shops. This condition created ill feeling, and organized labor lost a great many of its members as a result thereof. Depression of business then came on, many men being laid off; others working short time. The company seeing an opportunity to wreck organized labor in the Schenectady plant of the General Electric Company, where it had been recognized for twenty-five years, took advantage of the situation and endeavored to operate its shops on the so-called American plan.

I am told that seventy-five thousand dollars was appropriated to put this scheme in operation. Vice-President of the company, Mr. Emmons, through the local manager Mr. Erben, called a committee of fifteen employees into the main office, informing them of the company's intention. Later the committee was enlarged to eighty-four men, and then to two hundred and fifty, among whom were union men from all trades. A committee was appointed to draw up by-laws, a copy of which was given to each employee in the plant, after which a referendum vote was taken to decide whether the men would accept or reject the plan. When the vote was counted it showed 3459 in favor, and 5704 against.

I am of the opinion that many men who voted to accept the plan did so because they had dropped membership in their trade unions, due in some instances to their being unable to pay dues, owing to working short time, while those who had been members of our organization had neglected during their period of un-employment to obtain free "out of work" stamps. No doubt the increase in the dues of the machinists and of the electrical workers also had its influence in this direction. I could name a number of other reasons why the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. is a failure as now constituted, because I have had much experience with the General Electric Company—one of the largest manufacturing industries in this country, more than twenty-three thousand persons being employed in its Schenectady plant for a period of fifteen years. I am firmly convinced that the future success of the metal trades organization depends upon amalgamation, and regardless of the outcome of our coming election, I will endeavor to do my best to bring this about.

JAS. F. MURRAY.

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THE END OF A PERFECT YEAR

IN a Labor Day message to American trade unionists, Mr. Samuel Gompers, in his usual florid, grandiloquent style, presents the indecent spectacle of a futile attempt to cover up the nakedness of his impotent policies with the fig-leaf of sonorous phrases. To read his effusions might lead one to believe that this Labor Day sees the end of a perfect year for the working class.

What is the reality of the past year for the workers? It has been a period of the most vicious "open shop" drive which has broken the lines of Labor, thrown them into confusion and retreat, trampled down their standards of living, slashed their wages to the starvation level, and robbed them of their most elementary industrial and political rights. The Juggernaut of capitalist greed has rolled for the past year with unprecedented mercilessness over the prostrate bodies of the men, women, and children of Labor. It has been a year of holocaust for those who toil.

The employers have taken heart from their successes, and they have learned to have nothing but contempt for Labor as led by Mr. Gompers. Characteristically enough, the capitalist forces, represented by Attorney General Daugherty, dealt organized labor a blow in the face on the very eve of Labor Day, by obtaining from Judge Wilkerson the most complete and sweeping injunction against the railroad shopmen that history has ever witnessed. It was a fitting close for the past year, and a warning of what we may expect in the new one.

All these reverses mean nothing to Mr. Gompers. He can see no reason for the application of new methods by Labor. He still comes forth with his moth-eaten formulas and his empty cry of "Organize, organize!" He has even the assurance to claim that the struggles of the past twelve months have resulted in a victory for Labor. A few more of such "victories" and we are lost.

THE MICHIGAN CASES

THE frantic attempts of the capitalist enemies of the League (who have taken a leaf from the book of its labor enemies, Gompers and Woll) to frame up any kind of plausible excuse for its persecution, have finally brought forth the Michigan cases of alleged violation of the anti-syndicalist law. To the accompaniment of hysterical headlines in

the daily press, the notorious American game of frame-up has again been brought to the front of the stage.

The purpose of connecting the League with the Michigan raids is quite evident. The League is getting real results. This anyone must admit who will read the articles in the current LABOR HERALD on the progress of amalgamation and the general strike idea. The powers that be feel that if they can paint the active workers in the League a glowing red, that the masses will be frightened away from the organization and the work, therefore, ruined. But this time they will be mistaken. The League is fundamentally different from any radical organization that preceded it. It is working in the heart of the organized mass, and furnishing the workers with the practical policies they so bitterly need. As a consequence the League is gaining so much prestige with the masses that no red-scare can destroy it.

Mr. Gompers, and his hand-picked crown prince Matthew Woll, tried that game, too, and with some results that must be disappointing to them. Wherever the amalgamation question has been raised in the unions, their agents have denounced it as the program of the agents of Lenin, and have generally smeared it with red. But the workers, who must have amalgamation and who can get it from no other source except through the League, are taking it with all the red trimmings Mr. Gompers has attached to it. Mr. Gompers is popularizing the red cause in the unions, and the authorities responsible for the Michigan frame-up will do the same. The Trade Union Educational League, with its modern methods of working within the masses, is not to be blocked by its enemies' waving of the bloody shirt.

THE TWO-FACED TRIBUNE

IN an editorial entitled "Manhandling Foster," the CHICAGO TRIBUNE, known as one of the country's bitterest enemies of organized labor, surprises itself and a gullible citizenry by sharply criticizing the Colorado officials for illegally deporting Foster. Amongst other things it says:

"The state violated its own law by using lawless force instead of legal procedure. It manhandled a man regarded as undesirable. If he had committed an offense there was a legal remedy. It was a stupid thing. If Americans wish to conduct their governments by ignoring their laws they will promote lawlessness. Nobody will respect the law when it is more convenient to go outside of it. That is one trouble with American society and it gets some inspiration from the methods of government."

To one who does not know the CHICAGO TRIBUNE this sounds very liberal and broad-minded. In reality, however, it is nothing but sheer hypocrisy. Hardly was the ink dry on the TRIBUNE story of the Colorado-Wyoming deportation, than that same paper itself was actually participating in a much more outrageous proceeding against Foster. When the Assistant State's Attorney, accompanied by a dozen police, made the illegal and midnight raid on the offices of the Trade Union Educational League, breaking in and robbing the premises, the TRIBUNE gave its active co-operation. It

had its photographers on hand to take pictures of the raid, and it scored a "scoop" on its rival, the HERALD-EXAMINER. Next day it carried great headlines connecting Foster with the Gary train wreck and endeavoring to implicate him in it.

After this deliberate attempt to unjustly fasten upon Foster a crime which would have sent him to the gallows, it ill befits the CHICAGO TRIBUNE to throw stones at other and lesser law violators in Colorado. Low as the civic morality of Pat Hamrock may be, still it is far above that of the CHICAGO TRIBUNE.

GLENN PLUMB

THE death of Glenn Plumb marks the passing of one of the most notable figures in the history of the American labor movement. A thinker, an idealist, and a fighter to boot,—among reactionary, materialistic, and weakling leaders—Plumb played a tremendous part in the trade unionism of recent years.

The big thing that Glenn Plumb did was to give the railroad workers at least the beginnings of an ideal, through his famous Plan. He made clear to them the futility of capitalism on the railroads and inculcated in their brains some conception of their future function as controllers of the industry. In a movement as barren intellectually as ours, this was a service of the first magnitude. Moreover, Plumb taught the great body of railroad men the lesson of their interests in common. He it was, through his agitation, who first lined up the 1,800,000 railroaders of America in one fight. And political though the issue was, it has had profound effects in the industrial organizations by making them, too, perceive their common interests. Glenn Plumb swept away a forest of difficulties that had formerly stood in the path of the development of an industrial union for all railroad men.

Incidentally, Plumb did the labor movement a further service in giving Sam Gompers the defeat of his career. Never was the old reactionary so overwhelmingly crushed as at Montreal, when Plumb swept through the Convention like a cyclone, scattering the remnants of the Gompers machine on all sides. Plumb was the first radical, for many years past, practical enough in his methods to get hold of the imagination of the rank and file and to sway them against the arch-reactionary, Gompers. The death of Glenn Plumb leaves a gap in the labor movement not likely soon to be filled.

THE GERMAN CRISIS

SIGNS multiply that Germany is on the eve of a tremendous crash. The generally desperate situation is reflected in the fall of the mark. This is now lower than the Russian rouble was two years after the fall of the Czar. In other words, the German financial system has suffered more from the past two years of the Versailles peace than that of Russia did from two years of revolution. Germany is now in the throes of a profound crisis.

This situation has been caused deliberately by France. That country, embarking upon a career of wild imperialism, is cold-bloodedly seeking the ruin of her ancient enemy, Germany. France has stolen the Saar Valley, she has turned over to Poland the rich Silesian industrial districts, and now she is just awaiting an excuse to seize the Ruhr. By virtue of her impossible reparations demands, and the harsh

penalties for non-payment thereof, France is proceeding directly to destroy Germany financially, industrially, politically.

Such a state of affairs is naturally driving the German people to desperation. One manifestation of this is a rapid drift left politically by the workers. They are becoming ever more radical, and ever more discontented with their democratic and pseudo-socialist leaders who urge the slavish fulfillment of France's impossible demands. Communism is becoming a power among the masses. Another symptom of the change that is taking place in the national psychology is the rapprochement with Russia. The German people, oppressed and robbed beyond endurance, are turning for assistance to that other great world outlaw, Russia. Nor are their efforts unavailing, as the famous treaty of Rapallo announced to the world.

As yet the newly born German-Russian alliance is weak and shaky; for partnership between a capitalist and a communist state, even during a crisis, is difficult to establish. The one thing needed to make the combination a living, flaming reality, is a communist revolution in Germany. And such a revolution is coming, as sure as Fate. Imperialistic France will attend to that.

A Germany and Russia united in proletarian revolution will end capitalism in Europe, if not through out the world. France, in her greed, is pushing international capitalism over the brink. Lloyd George sees this, and is attempting to forestall the disaster by relieving the pressure upon Germany. But without success. France is determined to rule or ruin, and ruin it will surely be. Whom the Gods would destroy they first made mad.

CAPITALISM RECOGNIZES ITS OWN

WHEN, several months ago, Emma Goldman published her slanderous and traitorous attacks upon the Russian revolution, some of her unsophisticated followers believed she was putting across valuable working-class propaganda in the capitalist sheets. But the capitalists themselves are not deceived about the matter, even though many anarchists may be. A typical opinion they hold is that expressed on August 11th, by the San Francisco EXAMINER, which says:

"We imagine, judging from Miss Goldman's recent paper articles severely criticising the Russian government, and from other reports of what is happening to the minds and emotions of many other social revolutionaries who were deported from the United States, that these people are feeling fundamentally different about America; that they now realize that, in some considerable degree at least, they had in this country a chance to live freely and lead constructive lives, which is life's greatest privilege and greatest use. It is more than likely that many of them, at any rate, would, if permitted to return here, be among our most patriotic citizens, and might do a valuable work in explaining to other foreigners in this country the finer and freer aspects of American life and traditions."

There are only two sides to the revolution, that of the workers and that of the exploiters. Emma Goldman, despite her disclaimers, has gone over to the latter, and they are waking up to the fact. Capitalism always recognizes its own.

THE INTERNATIONAL

GREAT BRITAIN

WHEN a labor movement has gone through a disastrous experience it finds itself the prey of internal wranglings between two mutually hostile elements: One, ignoring the true causes of the defeat and having but little faith in the workers' prowess, believe they can secure by cringing and begging the things that they could not win in open battle. These are the crawlers. Then there is the other element, who, inspired by boundless faith and courage, seek to correct the mistakes of the past by remodelling the workers' tactics and organizations in preparation for still more determined assaults upon the enemy. These are the fighters. Between the two, crawlers and fighters, the war goes on.

Such a situation now presents itself in the British labor movement. As a result of the "Black Friday" debacle of eighteen months ago, when the railroaders' and transport workers' leaders turned yellow during the Triple Alliance movement, the whole trade union organization has suffered a tremendous defeat. One branch after the other of organized labor has been whipped, among the late defeats being that of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. And as a result a great cry has arisen as to what must be done about it. To this the crawlers and the fighters are making answer in their wonted way.

Spokesman for the crawlers are Arthur Henderson of the Labor Party and Frank Hodges, Secretary of the Miners' Federation. They are industriously putting forth a scheme whereby the workers can get something for nothing, win concessions without fighting for them. Their plan is to bring about an industrial truce, to establish "a pact of peace" between the workers and employers, and to rule the economic life by a Parliament of Industry. In short, it is the old moth-eaten and threadbare doctrine of the harmony of interest between capital and labor re-upholstered and burnished up to look like new. As a justification for the proposed Parliament of Industry, Henderson, in *The Labor Magazine* for July, points out the well known *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* of Germany, an organization that was repudiated by the German trade unions at their recent Leipzig convention.

While the crawlers are thus striving to make Labor still more helpless by entrapping it in the harmony of interest snare, the fighters are going ahead with their program of bringing the great battalions of the working class into closer and closer alignment so that they may act as parts of one gigantic army. The one big union idea (minus of course the dualism that characterizes it in this country) is making great headway among the unions. The big London District Committee of the National Union of General Workers has just condemned the policy of separate craft organization as being out of date, and calls upon the Trade Union Congress to urge the amalgamation of all existing unions. Likewise, the Birmingham Trades Council has called a general conference of Trades Councils for October 14th to consider a proposition of industrial unionism, the principal feature of which is as follows:

That all existing unions shall be merged into one national organization for all classes of workers, with proper departments or sections for each industrial group, occupation or craft, the whole to be subject to one national General Council.

In the approaching Southport Congress of the trade unions a determined step will be made to realize some degree of this proposed general amalgamation. Especially the attempt will be directed towards developing the General Council of the trade union movement into a real general staff with power. At present it is little more than an advisory body, a sort of figurehead to Organized Labor. The plan, ever gaining wider support, is to turn it into the directing body of the movement, into an organization capable of throwing a vast section of the workers into battle should need arise.

While the movement for a general amalgamation spreads apace, the unions in the respective industries are fast coming together. One of the latest developments of many that might be cited is the progressive merging of the Tailors' and Garment Workers' Union and the Clothing Workers' Union. This is now practically completed. Further developments of importance occurred at the recent convention of the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives. This body, as its name implies, is a federation. But it is now in process of digesting the many unions that go to make it up. One step in this direction, taken at the convention, was the pooling of the organizers; that is to say, hereafter the general body will have charge of the 100 or more national organizers, which hitherto have been selected and controlled by the separate craft unions. This innovation will do much to break down the old craft spirit and to inculcate the principles of solidarity. It will also be a big saving to the union by preventing duplication of work. More significant than this advance to industrialism, however, was that the convention instructed the National Executive to call a national conference for the purpose of amalgamating all existing building trades unions into one industrial organization.

As between the crawlers and the fighters, the victors are easy to pick. The crawlers may succeed for a time to delude the workers into believing that they have aught to hope for from class collaboration and Parliaments of Industry, but experience will soon demonstrate the folly of such methods and the wisdom of the militant tactics proposed by the fighters. It is safe to say that the English labor movement is on the verge of a profound reorganization. The sun of craft unionism is setting and that of industrial unionism is rising.

While American railroad shopmen are fighting so desperately to hold their ground, it is interesting to note that the mechanics in the British railway shops have defeated their employers without a strike. This is because they are industrially organized in the National Union of Railwaymen and have the backing of the running trades. On Aug. 21st the companies made demands upon the Industrial Court for reduction in the wages of the shopmen, whereupon such a general commotion ensued, during which

all grades of railroaders showed their determination to stand by the shopmen, that the Industrial Court saw fit to rule in favor of the men. Who can doubt but that if there had been division in the workers' ranks the decision would have gone against them?

RUSSIA AN event of prime consequence in the economic life of Russia was the Third Congress of the Centrosoyus, or National Co-operative movement, held in Moscow during July. The co-operatives occupy a very important part in the Russian industrial mechanism, particularly since the new economic policy entered into effect some 18 months ago. Upon the co-operatives falls the great burden of distributing the necessities of life to the mass of the people, and also the organization of a tremendous amount of small scale industry.

One of the principal problems confronting the Congress was the establishment of such relations between the co-operatives and the trade unions as would facilitate the provisioning of the people. Up till this time the two important elements in Russian life, the co-operatives and the trade unions, had worked pretty much detached from each other, with the consequence of a great loss through disharmony and lack of co-ordination of their related efforts. To overcome this it was decided that henceforth a proportion of the members of the Central Board of the Centrosoyus and its state branches are to be elected in agreement with the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions and its local trade union councils. The Centrosoyus will be responsible to the labor unions in all matters connected with the supplies for the workers.

In the early days of the revolution the Centrosoyus was a nest of reactionaries, who devoted the economic strength of the organization to counter-revolutionary armies aiming at overthrowing the Soviet Government. This brought down upon them the weight of the revolutionary elements, who took charge of the co-operative movement and made of it a bolshevik institution, twelve members of its Central Board being avowed Communists and only three so-called nonpartyites.

GERMANY THE International Congress of miners was held in Frankfort from Aug. 7 to 11. There were present 118 delegates, representing 11 nations and 2,128,000 miners. The bulk of the membership was made up of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, and the United Mine Workers of America.

The congress was controlled completely by the leaders of the Amsterdam International, with the usual result that practically nothing was done to solve the desperate problems now confronting the world's coal diggers. One of the principal matters before the body was the extension of help to the striking American miners. This was solved by sending them a telegram of sympathy and providing for a paltry donation of 10,000 pounds sterling. No action was taken to prevent the shipping of scab coal to the United States, due primarily, it is said, to the activities of Frank Hodges of Great Britain.

The reactionary temper of the congress may be measured by the treatment accorded the Russian

miners. These workers, heroes of a thousand revolutionary struggles, made application for representation. But their case was referred to the executive committee "for study," where it died. Their delegates were refused seats.

About the only thing of a constructive nature done by the congress was the adoption of a resolution providing for an international general strike of miners in case of war. But it has become the fashion for international congresses to adopt such measures. No one supposes that the Amsterdammers would seriously try to put them into effect did a war crisis impend. The next congress will be held in Prague, Checho-Slovakia in 1924.

ITALY SINCE the debacle of the metal workers' strike two years ago, the labor struggle in Italy has been one long bloody drama. The latest act in this was the recent general strike and its aftermath of Fascisti outrages.

The strike was a natural reaction of the workers against the black tyranny carried on by the Fascisti. It covered the length and breadth of Italy and was handled by the Labor Alliance, a newly formed organization co-ordinating all the principal workers' unions. The strike was very brief, lasting only two or three days in most places. It was declared the last of July and called off on August 3rd.

The movement, led principally by reformist Socialists, was marked by the same timidity and indecision that has characterized the Italian movement generally since the end of the war. The old reformist officials, bred in a period of comparatively mild struggle, seem unable to fit themselves to the militant action demanded by present day conditions in revolutionary Italy. These leaders called off the general strike in the face of a 48-hour ultimatum by the Fascisti threatening the direst consequences if such were not done. The Communists wanted to continue, but to no avail. Thus the splendid movement was wrecked. It was the metal workers' strike of 1920, all over again.

No sooner was the great strike ended than the Fascisti threw themselves with the utmost violence against the workers, who were led in the open fight principally by the Communists. Civil war conditions prevailed over great stretches of the country. Armed with all the implements of modern warfare, the Fascisti marched against the principal cities, capturing them one after the other. At least 10,000 men were sent against Ancona, 20,000 against Parma, 15,000 against Milan, 15,000 against Genoa, 5,000 against Leghorn. While the Government forces stood aside, the battle between the Fascisti and the workers raged. Turmoil prevailed everywhere. A conservative estimate has it that the fighting cost 200 dead and 5,000 wounded, of whom about 50% are Fascisti.

And the end is not yet. Italy is passing through a revolutionary upheaval. So far, the reactionaries seem to have the best of it, because of the workers' timid leadership. But the masses are becoming imbued with the realization that they are confronted with a life and death struggle and they are taking on an ever increasing degree of militancy. It will not be surprising if Italy soon takes a plunge into the sea of proletarian revolution.

LESSONS OF THE SHOPMEN'S STRIKE

(Continued from page 8)

make up at least three-fourths of the total mileage in the country. Such a partial settlement bodes no good for the railroad shopmen. Even if it can be widened out and made to include great numbers of railroads that are yet refusing to adopt it, it will mark a long step backward for the organizations. Almost certainly many of the larger and more strategically situated systems will be lost to the shop unions. The mere fact that such a settlement has to be entered into is a defeat in itself. It would have been entirely unnecessary had the many unions understood to stand together in a united front. Then a clean-cut national settlement covering all the trades and all the roads could have been secured. More, victory could have been won without a strike at all. But we will revert back to the strike settlement in later issues of the LABOR HERALD.

In the meantime in addition to bending every effort towards winning the strike, we must go ahead more determinedly than ever with our campaign for a general amalgamation of all the railroad unions. This is the solemn duty of every militant in the railroad industry. Only by consolidating our organizations into one can we prevent a repetition of the disastrous mistakes made in the shopmen's strike. Already the overwhelming mass of the rank and file of railroad workers are convinced of the necessity for amalgamation. What must be done now is to crystallize this sentiment into definite action. The boycott of our union journals must be broken and the subject of amalgamation discussed in their columns. Active steps must be taken to get all the unions to call a general amalgamation convention. If we will do these things; if we will profit by the experiences of the shopmen and bring all our organizations under one head, then the great struggle of the past three months will well repay the bitter suffering and heartrending effort that it cost. Let us make a reality of the long-dreamed of industrial union of all railroad men.

A TRUCE IN THE MINE WAR

(Continued from page 20)

so that they will be dependent upon the assistance of the national office. Thus they become obedient voters in the conventions and referendums. Thus bureaucrats hold office from one term to another. But the miners lose thereby.

This vicious system must be broken. The situation next Spring will be a serious one, unless the miners close up their ranks, wipe out the weak spots in their organization, and prepare to go into battle again with redoubled vigor and

power. The rank and file must get busy, in the local unions, in the subdistricts, in the districts, and prepare to swing the ax in the national convention. Action, energetic and intelligent, to force the organization of the unorganized fields, is the crying need of the American coal miners.

But above all the rank and file must be imbued with a fighting spirit. They must understand that this is just one battle in the great war between the capitalist class and the working class, a war which can end only in the establishment of the workers' power and the complete defeat of capitalism. The idealism and spirit arising from such an understanding will carry the miners to victory.

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE ONE BIG UNION

(Continued from page 18)

The New Way

I repeat, the O. B. U. is now only a memory of the grand revolutionary effort of four years ago. If it has done no other service it has proven conclusively to the majority of the rank and file that sessionism, under any name or any leader, is a mistake. In Winnipeg the group who runs the remnants of the once promising organization now aim only at the disruption of such unions as the workers still possess, with little or no hope of gaining anything for the O. B. U. Their latest activity was an insidious attempt to create an artificial division in the ranks of the railroad employees, and through the so-called Western Shopmen's Committees, to seriously weaken, if not ruin, the chances of the Negotiations Committee of Division No. 4. For the weak-kneed standpatters on this Negotiations Committee I have no respect, but I have less for the action of the little group of officials calling themselves the O. B. U. Throughout the West their conduct brought forth the sharpest condemnation. If anything further was needed to convince the rank and file that some other philosophy, other than that of split, is required, this filled the bill.

The new spirit of the Canadian militants is to steer clear of the secessionist policy. That method has done enough harm to Labor. The prevailing philosophy today is "no secession, no splits, no dualism." The militants of Canada have at last discovered the real road to industrial power—consolidation through amalgamation, and the Trade Union Educational League. And once they find themselves in a position of power, as the militants of 1918 did they will not make the fatal mistake that was made in the Calgary Conference that initiated the O. B. U. They will stay with the masses and not allow themselves to be hypnotized into destruction by high sounding phraseology and Utopian programs.

The Labor Herald

Is necessary for those who seek
**Facts About the American Labor
Movement**

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