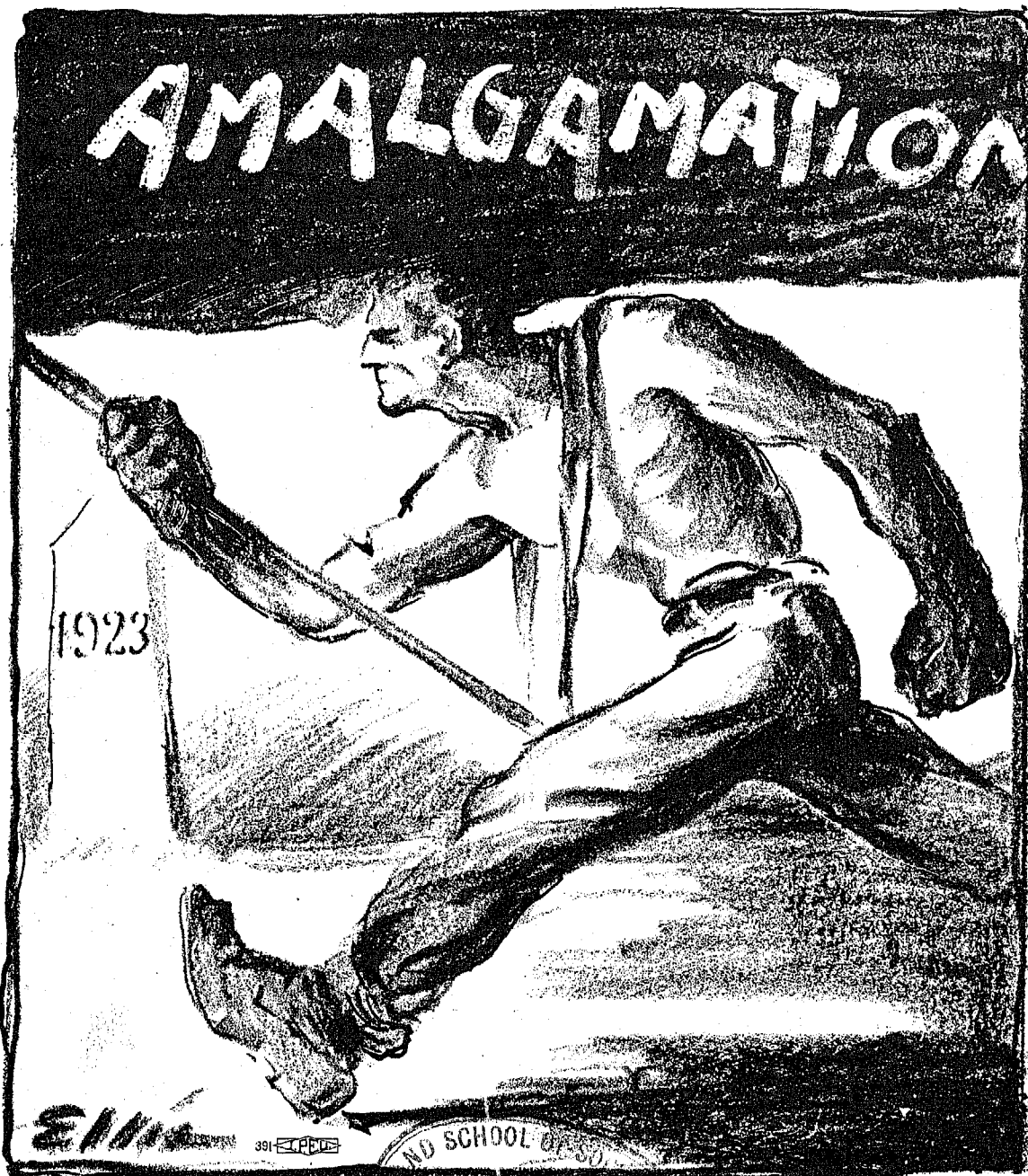


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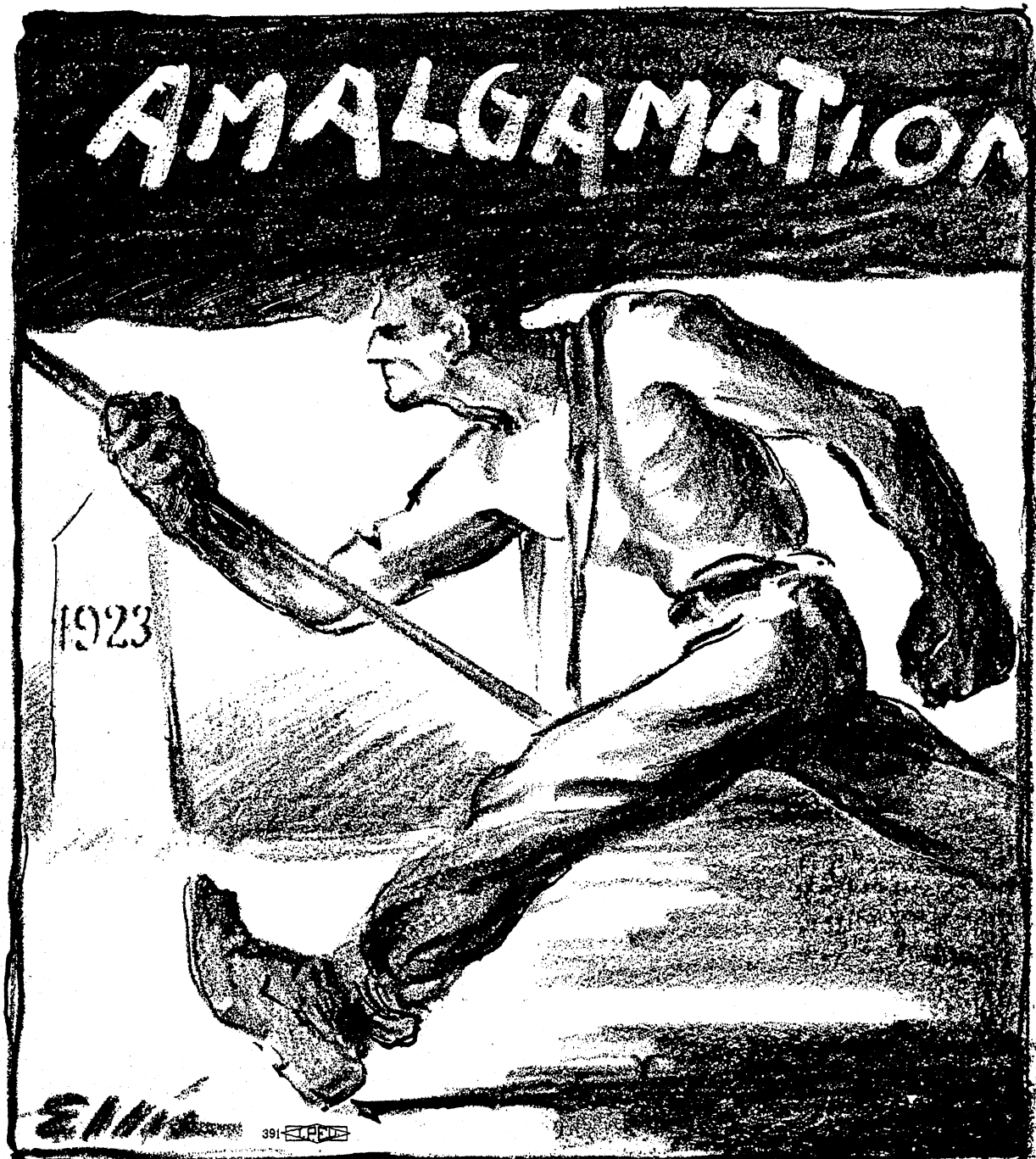
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By Wm. Z. Foster

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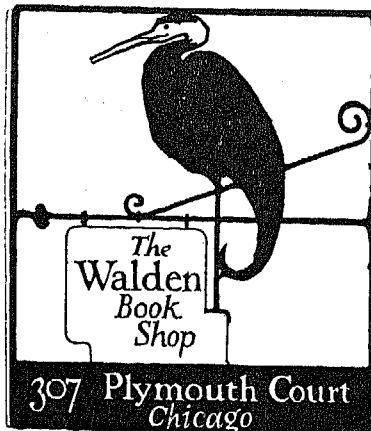
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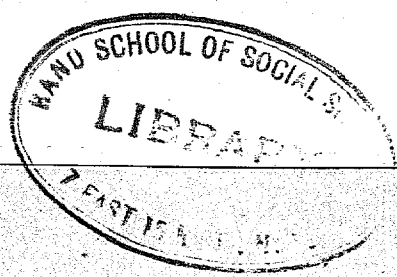
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FOUNDING THE FASCISTI DICTATORSHIP

The Fascisti Army, victorious over the Italian workers who were betrayed by their yellow leaders, is here shown entering Rome to set up the dictatorship under Mussolini,

THE LABOR HERALD

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Vol. I.

JANUARY, 1923

No. 11

The National Railroad Amalgamation Conference

By Wm. Z. Foster

THE National Railroad Amalgamation Conference, so long looked forward to by militants in all industries, has come and gone. It was a tremendous success. On Dec. 9-10, in Chicago, some 400 delegates, of all trades and calling, including smaller delegations from the four Brotherhoods, from all over the United States and Canada, came together to consider the proposition of amalgamation. They endorsed it 100%, declaring whole-heartedly for one union for the entire railroad industry. Then, organizing a committee of 100, members of which will be located in all the principal railroad centers, they prepared to launch a great campaign to bring the many organizations together. Local committees will be formed, great mass meetings held, the circulation of the *Amalgamation Advocate* built up, referendums on amalgamation initiated, special conventions held, and every other possible device used to wake up the rank and file and to actually fuse the many organizations together into one powerful body. It is safe to say that after this historic conference the realization of industrial unionism on the railroads, the dream of militants for a generation, now looms as a prospect of the near future.

Difficulties Overcome

The conference was held in the midst of great difficulties. Prime among these was the shopmen's strike, which still involves half of the railroads in the United States. The effect of this was paralyzing. With practically all the unions financially broke, it was impossible for them to send delegates. If this situation had not been at hand, instead of there being 425 delegates at the conference there would have been 2,000, so strong is the sentiment for amalgamation in the strike-bound organizations. Hundreds of letters came from all over the country bemoaning the fact that they were unable to send delegates, but pledging their undivided support to the amalgamation movement. At this conference it was made clear as day that, taking them as a body, the railroad men of this country and Canada are overwhelmingly in favor of industrial unionism for the railroad industry.

Another obstacle, though not so serious as the strike situation, was the thundering of certain officials, particularly Johnston, President of the International Association of Machinists, and Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. Both of these men warned their membership to stay away from the conference. Neither attempted to meet the issue of amalgamation, but both contented themselves with slandering the men carrying on the movement and in denouncing the movement itself as another dual organization in the making. Many Brotherhood militants were kept away thereby, but sent assurances of support.

The delegates were indignant at this misrepresentation and betrayal of the workers' interests, and by formal motion challenged the detractors to debate the question with representatives of the newly-launched International Committee for Amalgamation in the Railroad Industry, said debate, if it takes place, to be published in pamphlet form and to be scattered broadcast among the rank and file. Many delegates however took some consolation from this official opposition, particularly Johnston's. For many years Johnston and other members of his official family have been going around the country posing as progressives and amalgamationists. But the vicious statement they issued against the conference exposed them as reactionaries of the typical Gompers type. Their rank and file militants, with the anti-conference statement to go on, will know how to deal with them at the first opportunity. Johnston and his Executive Board "broke their pick" in openly opposing amalgamation, and this even high officials in the Railway Employees' Department frankly admit.

No Craftism: No Dualism

A remarkable feature of the conference was the overwhelming sentiment for complete amalgamation. The partial amalgamationists, those who advocate the fusing together of two or more closely affiliated trades here and there, got absolutely nowhere. The almost unanimous sentiment was for a thoroughgoing consolidation all along the line. Everyone recognized that the companies have become so militant and pow-

erfully organized that the only way railroad workers can hope to stand against them is by complete solidarity of all trades. Federations and understandings between the various groups will not do. There must be an organic connection between them; they must be so many departments in one all-inclusive union, as the so-called Minnesota Plan of amalgamation outlines. Conductors, Engineers, Firemen, Trainmen, Switchmen, Trackmen, Clerks, Shopmen, and all the rest united in this opinion. The general conclusion was that craft unionism, particularly since the shopmen's strike, is entirely out of date on the railroads and that only complete industrial unionism will suffice. When the conference voiced this conclusion it was not giving expression to the opinion of a few radicals, but the determined conviction of an overwhelming majority of the great rank and file of nearly all the organizations.

Another remarkable feature of the conference was the absence of dual union sentiment. Had such a meeting been held two years ago the demand for a new organization would have been practically unanimous, particularly from the more radically inclined. But in this conference not one speech was made in favor of secession; in fact, not even a sentence was spoken in favor of quitting the old organizations. Everyone was against such a course as suicidal. The radicals especially condemned it. The conference repudiated it formally by resolution. This speaks nothing short of a revolution in the minds of American militants. And the significant part of it is that just now the rank and file, particularly in the shop trades, are discouraged and are tending to quit their unions as individuals or to secede in small bodies in the time-honored disastrous way that has so long cursed our movement. The conference went on record unanimously to check this tendency and to divert the attention of the demoralized rank and file towards amalgamation. Wonder of wonders, who, two years ago, could have thought such a thing possible. This changed attitude by the militants betokens a new day for Labor in this country.

Amalgamation the Chief Issue

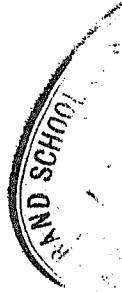
Seeking to avoid division in its ranks and striving to concentrate all possible amalgamation sentiment, the conference rigidly restricted its business to the proposition of fusing the organizations into one body. Few departures were made from this policy. Chief of these was about the shopmen's strike. The shadow of this great struggle hovered over the conference constantly, affecting its deliberations in many ways. The delegates went on record unanimously urg-

ing the striking shopmen to stand their ground and pledging all possible financial and other help to them. Another diversion was the adoption of the so-called "Chicago" resolution, calling for the amalgamation of the craft unions in all industries. A further resolution protested the suppression of amalgamation discussion in the official journals and demanded that their columns be opened to this subject. *Labor*, the official organ of the 16 standard organizations, came in for considerable criticism in this respect. A flurry was caused by the introduction of a resolution condemning W. G. Lee, President of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, for his traitorous conduct in pulling his organization out of the "Big Four" alliance. Objection was raised that it would be unwise to inject personalities into the struggle and that the better policy would be to make the fight strictly upon the merits of amalgamation. Although probably everyone present looked upon Lee as an agent of the companies, this viewpoint prevailed and the resolution was withdrawn. The determination of the conference was to stick to amalgamation as the great issue, and not to permit other issues to be injected and thus to wreck its splendid chances for early success.

Railroad Men and Metal Tradesmen

The conference was marked throughout with excellent debates. Several delegates from the Maintenance of Way, especially Bailey and Siminoff of Buffalo, distinguished themselves in these discussions. Many delegates coming from the more aristocratic trades openly admired the able way in which these two brothers, both thoroughly posted rebels, pointed out the way to industrial unionism and the ultimate goal of emancipation. An amusing and highly significant phase of the conference, which was made up of at least 95% American-born delegates, was the reiteration by many delegates that one of the principal tasks confronting the movement was to interest the foreigners in amalgamation and industrial unionism. In past years radicals have insisted that it was the Americans who were almost hopelessly resistant to such ideas. This conference goes to show that when these ideas are put up to the Americans so they can understand them—in their old organizations rather than in new-fangled ones—they will take to them readily and assume their proper place of leadership in the militant wing of the labor movement.

One of the most intricate problems confronting the conference was the question of what part the metal trades shop mechanics are going to play in the proposed industrial union. At the present time the heads of the metal trades unions are opposing the railroad amalgamation on the



pretended grounds that if it takes place it will tear the railroad mechanics away from the contract shop men who are also members of these unions, thus greatly injuring both. But the conference refuted such contentions by adopting the principle of double affiliation. That is to say, while the railroad shop mechanics shall retain their membership in the purely metal trades union (because they have an interest as metal workers in maintaining good conditions in the metal industry generally) they shall also be subject to the discipline of the railroad industrial union. Their negotiations with the companies shall be carried on by the general railroad union committee, and in case of a crisis they shall participate directly in general strike votes and in the strikes themselves, without the interference of the outside metal unions. A part of their dues would be sent directly to the railroad union, sufficient to defray their pro-rata share of the latter's expenses. In reality they would be members of both the metal trades and railroad unions. The beginnings of this double affiliation system now exist in the relations between the Railway Employees' Department and the present craft unions. The virtue of the system is that it guarantees the solidarity of the shop mechanics with the railroad workers as a whole without tearing them away from the outside metal workers.

Realizing the close relationship of the metal trades and railroad unions and the great desirability of amalgamation movements proceeding simultaneously in both, the conference authorized the calling of a special sub-conference of metal trades workers to initiate a general amalgamation movement in their industry. This was held on the evening of the first day of the general conference. It consisted of some thirty delegates from railroad and contract shops all over the country. These delegates elected a provisional committee, entitled the International Committee for Amalgamation in the Metal Industry, and instructed it to initiate a campaign in the metal industry along lines similar to those that have proved so successful on the railroads. With these twin amalgamation movements at work, attacking the problem from all sides, and both agreeing on the double affiliation principle, it will be impossible for the reactionary leaders of the metal trades to block amalgamation in either industry.

The Campaign Ahead

The conference changed the name of the amalgamation committee from the National Committee to Amalgamate the Sixteen Standard Railroad Organizations to the International Committee for Amalgamation in the Railroad

Industry. Brothers Kennedy, Woods, and Wangerin were continued in office as Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and Secretary-Treasurer respectively. Kennedy showed exceptional ability as presiding officer at the conference, and Wangerin submitted a splendid detailed report showing the activities of his committee, from the time of its organization in 1912 until the present campaign. The International Committee of one hundred militants was partly chosen at the conference, some 65 being nominated and elected. The remainder will be selected by the three executive officers from the large number of militants who are active in the amalgamation movement, but who could not be present at the national conference.

The conference adopted a general plan of action looking forward to the calling of a general amalgamation convention, at which all railroad unions, or as many as possible of them, shall be combined into one body. Instructions were given the executive officers to push this relentlessly. The plan or program is of the utmost importance, destined in fact to mark an epoch in American trade unionism. Therefore, we give it complete for LABOR HERALD readers. They should study it carefully. It speaks for itself and requires little or no explanation from us:

Railroad Amalgamation Program

1. Necessity for Amalgamation.

Various factors combine to make the creation of a general union of all railroad workers absolutely indispensable. One important reason is the burning need for more economy and efficiency in administering the union affairs of railroad employees. Under the present arrangement, with its endless multiplication of official staffs, headquarters, journals, etc., there is an unheard of waste of money and duplication of effort, with the result that our business is not only bunglingly managed but also insupportable burdens of high dues are thrown upon the membership. A great union, including all railroad workers, would correct both these evils by greatly systematizing our union administration and cutting the cost thereof so much that dues could be substantially reduced. Added economy and business efficiency are valid reasons for such a general organization, but the supreme, all-conclusive one is our need for the enormous increase in power which it would give us over our present system of craft unions. During the past few years railroad capital has consolidated so tremendously that we with our old-style type of unions are no longer able to cope with it. The shopmen's strike is ample proof of that. If this powerful aggregation could be blocked by the companies, what chance would any other of our present railroad unions have against them? None whatever—defeat awaits any of them which dare to go against the companies in their present split-up condition. As sure as fate this alternative

(Continued on Page 26)

Fascisti and Bolsheviki

By Paul Dupres

AS capitalism enters its death agony, giving birth to the new society, the struggle between the regenerative and reactionary forces becomes more and more acute. New tactics and new organization forms are developed by both. In the two countries where the battle is bitterest, Russia and Italy, the final forms have probably been produced. On the workers' side it is Bolshevism and on the capitalists' side, Fascism. Between these two ultra-modern types of movement the ultimate issue will in all likelihood be decided. Apparently they represent the fighting power of both classes, workers and exploiters, raised to the *n*th degree.

Strangely enough Fascism and Bolshevism, in their *modus operandi*, greatly resemble each other. The essence of both is dictatorship; the one is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the other the dictatorship of the proletariat. Both are compact, enthusiastic, highly disciplined, military organizations composed of the militants of the two warring groups; both are based upon the principle that in the supreme crisis all the riff-raff of ignorants and inconcients in the respective classes must be pushed to one side and that the direction of the struggle shall pass into the hands of those active spirits who not only understand the true interests of their social group but who also have the energy, courage, and initiative to battle for them relentlessly to the end.

Mussolini Apes Lenin

The fact is that the organization methods of Italian Fascism are patterned after Russian Bolshevism. Mussolini is a very intelligent and energetic leader. Before the war he was editor of *Avanti*, the principal Socialist journal of Italy, and he was a great power in the labor movement. He has studied the Russian revolution carefully and has grasped its supreme lesson, even if thousands of so-called revolutionaries in other countries have failed to do so. And this great lesson is the marvellous and all-saving power of the Russian Communist Party, achieved by its close organization of the militants in the mass. Mussolini, the tool of Italian capitalism, is a pale reflection of the great proletarian leader, Lenin. His organization is copied after that of the revolutionary Russian working class.

The proletarian dictatorship in Russia, expressed by the tightly-knit Communist Party, was born of the sheerest necessity. The situation confronting the revolutionary Russian people after the overthrow of the old regime was desperate in the extreme. Wars raged on every

front, counter-revolution surged within, the defeated capitalists disastrously sabotaged the industries, the inexperienced workers were unable to operate the factories, famine and pestilence devastated the country. In such a paralyzing crisis the amorphous mass, through lumbering democratic institutions, were unable either to understand the situation or to take the necessary drastic steps to save it. The only thing that could be done was for those militant elements who did understand to seize control and to lead the nation safely out of the valley of the shadows, to liberty. The Communist Party came to the front. It swept away the decorative and hindering trappings of democracy, manned the strategic social posts with its militants, and generally assumed responsibility for the conduct of the struggle. This is the great act which saved the Russian revolution and the one which will eventually carry the tremendous movement to success.

The Meaning of Mussolini

The Fascisti capitalist dictatorship in Italy was set up for pretty much the same reasons. Italy was confronted with a most critical situation. On the one hand there was the revolutionary working class just about ready to seize control of the industries and the government, and on the other hand a rapidly disintegrating capitalist system. The parliamentary government, hamstrung by the red tape of democracy, was practically powerless. It could not make effective resistance to the militant working class, neither could it adopt the measures necessary to prop up the collapsing capitalist social structure. Things went from bad to worse for the exploiters. Then came the Fascisti, the organized militants of the capitalist class, with their dashing offensive against their social enemies, and their drastic policies of economic reconstruction sweeping aside the, to them, fatal democracy. In essence, it was the Russian experience all over again. When the Fascisti overthrew the Italian parliament and set up their dictatorship, it was an act comparable to that of the Bolsheviki dissolving the Russian Constituent Assembly and establishing the control of the Communist Party. Both were strategic moves by these groups to bring out the highest possible fighting power of their respective classes. In each case it was the order to "Clear ship for action." The essential difference being that in Italy the wonderful principle of militant organization is being used on behalf of the reactionary exploiters, while in Russia it is the weapon of the revolutionary

working class. The Fascisti are the "Communist Party" of the capitalist class.

Many well-meaning workers and workers' friends are appalled at the thought of the present Russian dictatorship. They demand "freedom" and "democracy" forthwith, and condemn the Soviet Government roundly because it does not grant these things. But such are intellectual hangovers from pre-war times, when revolutionary conceptions were nebulous utopian dreams. In those days we believed that dictatorship, armies, and prisons, were purely exploiter institutions which would disappear at the outbreak of the revolution. But the Russian experience has dispelled this naivete. It has proved that the workers have to use many of these same weapons against their enemies, or perish. There is a world of difference between the Red Army defending the revolution and a capitalist army defending wage slavery. Likewise, between the Russian proletarian dictatorship, battling for the freedom of the toiling masses, and the Italian capitalist dictatorship, fighting to degrade and enslave them. In the case of Russia the most powerful organizing principle known is being utilized to further the workers' cause, and in the case of Italy this principle is being used to defeat it. The sentimentalists in our ranks, those who are so opposed to the present Russian dictatorship, will do well to learn a lesson from the undisguised joy with which the capitalists of the world greeted the success of the Fascisti. The exploiters are quick to see that the latter have developed a new and powerful weapon against the proletariat, even though our labor and liberal sentimentalists are blind to the value and inevitability of proletarian dictatorship.

The Prospective Struggle

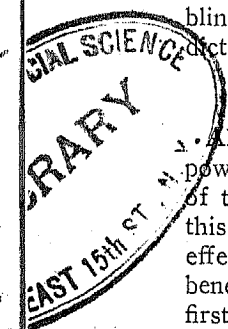
Although the Fascisti's rough surge forward to power has thrown demoralization into the ranks of the workers and scattered their organizations, this setback is only temporary. Eventually the effect of Mussolini's *coup d'etat* will be highly beneficial to the Italian labor movement. In the first place the Fascisti dictatorship will inevitably sharpen class antagonism, the foundation of the labor movement everywhere. Mussolini cannot possibly solve the economic contradictions of capitalism and make the system operate satisfactorily to workers and employers. The only way he can even prolong its existence is to still further enslave the workers, to take it out of their hides. He must emphasize the worst features of capitalism. Already he is slashing wages and lengthening hours in the public service. Besides this, according to *The Nation*, he "has dissolved the

commission to investigate war profits, cancelled the act confiscating war profits above 10%, and revoked a law intended to stop corporate evasions of the income tax." He intends to turn the railroads, telegraphs, and telephones over to private ownership and to initiate a general era of speculation and capitalist exploitation. Despite his flourish of Syndicalism, a bait to catch unwitting workers, he will make the conditions of the workers, industrially and politically, constantly worse, with an inescapable intensifying of class oppression all around.

Fight Forced Into the Open

But more salutary even than this sharpening of class antagonism, was the puncturing of the democratic illusion, brought about by the Mussolini *coup*. Through its pseudo-democracy the Italian capitalists have ensnared the workers intellectually, keeping them deluded with the hope that they could look for eventual emancipation through class collaboration on the political and industrial field. But it was a costly method, involving the maintenance of cumbersome make-believe democratic machinery. This machinery, as we have seen, broke down in the crisis and had to be scrapped. The result is that, in the Fascist dictatorship, the capitalist class has been forced to step forth in naked truth, stripped of the hypocritical democratic pretense which has served so well in the past to enchain the workers.

Consequently, the issue has been clarified and the Italian labor movement thrown onto a fighting basis. Up till now the curse of that movement has been reformism—this it was that defeated the great metal workers' revolutionary strike of 1920 and gave opportunity to the Fascist organization to develop. But Mussolini has dealt reformism a death blow by reducing capitalist law and government to mere puppetry. He has destroyed the illusion of democracy. With desperation born of the critical situation, he threw aside the sham of legality and exposed the true dictatorial nature of capitalist society. Further continuance by the workers of the class collaboration policy would be sheer folly. Reformism is a corpse. The fight has been forced into the open, where the advantage eventually lies on the side of the workers. Whether it wills it or not, the Italian labor movement must adopt clear-cut revolutionary policies and accept the leadership of real fighters. From now on it will be class war to the bitter end. And of this the eventual outcome must be the victory of the workers and the establishment of a free social order.



The Case of Jacob Dolla

By Moritz J. Loeb

IN the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania a young man named Jacob Dolla is serving a sentence of 12 to 17 years. His case is one of the most atrocious examples of the American frame-up system, as well as one of the least known. Dolla was sent to prison on account of his unremitting service to the workers during the steel strike of 1919, and he is the only one of the thousands incarcerated in that great struggle who is still behind prison bars. He has been particularly singled out by the steel trust hatred for the battlers who menaced profits in that rebellion of the mill-slaves.

For some time hardly any one even knew that Dolla was in prison. It was but some months ago that his local friends finally succeeded in getting in touch with active workers in the labor movement who would take up his case. Since that time a mass of evidence has been gathered which shows glaringly the complete prostitution of the Governmental machinery of Pennsylvania to the forces of Garyism. The story as revealed by the affidavits in the hands of the investigators, discloses a dastardly frame-up which will rank beside that of the Mooney, and Sacco-Vanzetti cases.

Dolla a Steel Striker

A member of the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers, Jacob Dolla worked in the mills of Lebanon, Pa. There was a large body of foreign workers there who were not members of the union. Dolla was well known by them all, belonging to most of the lodges and societies, speaking five languages, and being a most energetic, likeable fellow. He is a foreigner himself, born in Apatin, Hungary, on July 4, 1889. A skilled worker, he was living comfortably and owned an automobile, and a home where he lived with his wife and two children.

On April 7, 1919, the Bethlehem Steel Co., and the Lebanon Iron Co., announced a cut in wages of 25%. This was, especially for the lower paid workers, a blow at their very lives. It came right in the midst of the great organizing campaign throughout the steel industry. The companies, counting upon the mass of foreign non-union workers, decided it could run the mills without the union men. The union called a strike in the two big mills. At this time Dolla was not an official of the union, but he was immediately called into strike service on account of his high standing and influence among the workers generally, and especially to pull the

foreigners out. He was made captain of the picket forces, and working day and night in his automobile, he kept the pickets on the job at all hours. In less than a week he had the Lebanon steel workers entirely under the leadership of the union, the mills closed tight, and a solid picket line drawn tight around the Lebanon steel mills.

Stool Pigeons Begin Their Work

The Steel Company officials were furious. They soon learned who it was who had accomplished this thing which they had thought impossible. A man who was posted inside the mills by the union, reported that the superintendents and foremen were meeting in there and that Dolla's name was being frequently mentioned. His friends then noticed that he was being followed night and day by detectives, and that his house was being watched. Warnings were sent to him through friends, to drop out of the union work. He was told that in spite of his high standing with the American unionists, as he was a Hungarian of German descent, all the Steel Trust needed to do was to call him an alien, wave the flag, and they would all desert him. If he did not heed the warnings, he was given to understand, "the machinery" would be set in motion. Disregarding all threats, Dolla continued his work.

One day as Dolla and a group of friends were on the picket line, a man from the mills walked right into the group. They stopped him and asked him if he did not know there was a strike on. He said he did not, that he had been brought from Baltimore in ignorance of the strike, and put up a hard-luck story. He won the sympathy of Dolla and his co-workers, and when he readily agreed to quit work, they took him into the union. His name was John Aldrige. He worked his way into the confidence of the union men, attended every meeting, and was elected a trustee of the union.

Soon after establishing himself as a member of the union, and a trustee, Aldrige began to agitate in a wily manner for action against the steel companies which would involve the strikers with the law. Rushing into union headquarters, he would excitedly report how many scabs had just been brought in by train. Persistently he urged that something be done to "scare the scabs out of town." He was full of suggestions for methods of preventing the state Cossacks from riding down the pike to the mills each morning.

On September 28, 1919, the efforts of the *agent provocateur* of the Steel Trust finally resulted in a crime being committed. Some dynamite was exploded by the house of Steve Fistrovitch, damaging the porch to the extent of about \$100 to \$150. No one was injured, and this was the extent of the crime. Four men, Miller, Mumford, Sohn and Dissinger by name, were soon arrested charged with the explosion, and on October 5th, Jacob Dolla was taken into custody.

Steel Trust Frame-up Sprung

Upon his arrest Dolla was taken to the State Cossack headquarters and put through the third degree in an attempt to force a confession out of him. When this failed, he was put in a cell where he was left until deep into the night, when he was awakened and again put through the tortures. Then he was told that a mob was waiting outside to lynch him, and unless he confessed he would be handed over to them. But Dolla withstood all their pressure.

Mumford, Sohn and Dissinger were brought to court first. They confessed that they had done the dynamiting, but laid the whole thing onto Dolla, who had forced them, they said, to do the job. Mumford took the stand first, and the others followed his story as close as they could. He claimed that Dolla had helped steal the dynamite, and pointed out, three days before, the houses at which to place the bombs. In addition to the house of Fistrovich, another, Karl Witzman's, was claimed to have been dynamited. Dolla, he said, had been with them up to 30 minutes before the explosion. Dissinger testified to the same thing, and admitted that the dynamite found in his place was part of what had been stolen. Dissinger and Sohn claimed not to know anything about the dynamite plans up until the very night of the crime, when it had been forced upon them by Dolla. All of them said, at the same time, that the bombs had been made by the four of them in Dolla's garage.

In spite of all the glaring and manifest evidences, upon the face of their own stories, that the whole tale had been manufactured by the Steel Trust stool pigeons and forced upon these weak-minded dupes under threats of long prison terms, yet the case against Dolla was pushed relentlessly. The Steel Trust hired a large bat-

tery of special lawyers to assist the prosecution, consisting of Walter Graeff, Eugene D. Segrist, Warren Light, and Saylor Zimmerman. When Dolla's wife tried to hire a lawyer for him, most of the local attorneys refused to handle the case, evidently overawed by the Steel Trust array, or dependent upon the corporation favor for their livelihood. She finally got Becker and Ehrgood, law partners, to visit Dolla.

Whether these lawyers were under the influence of the Steel Trust, or whether they were afraid of losing against the forces of the frame-up machinery, cannot be stated, but whatever their motive their actions fitted closely to the desires of the prosecution. After they had been retained for a fee of \$1000, all that Dolla had, they soon discovered that the case against him was "hopeless" and urged him to plead guilty.



JACOB DOLLA

Helpless in Steel Trust Grasp

Hundreds of affidavits now available show that Dolla had witnesses to shatter every point made against him by the Steel Trust lawyers. On the night he is charged with being with the dynamiters he spent the whole evening with a large group of friends in the Mannerchor Hall, and later went with some of them to a Tea Room, where he was when the explosion occurred. When he was supposed to be pointing out the houses to blow up, the records of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad show that he was several miles out of town on a work train. In his ga-

rage, where the bombs were said to be made, there is not room for one man to turn around, let alone four to work. Some of the men with whom he was supposed to have plotted, were proved to be absolutely unacquainted with him. Testimony of the others was contradicted by dozens of witnesses available at that time. On every point the material was at hand to shatter the entire frame-up. But this was not done. Dolla was told by the lawyers supposed to represent him, his case was hopeless, and that the only way to avoid a 30 year sentence was to plead guilty.

To complete the dastardly conspiracy, the prosecution charged Dolla not only with the explosion that occurred at the house of Fistrovitch, but with an explosion that never occurred at all. Karl Witzman testified that his house



JACOB DOLLA

was blown up, but it is well known that nothing of the kind ever happened. Plenty of witnesses were available to prove this. Yet the explosion that did not occur was a principal count in the indictment upon which sentence was later passed. For when Dolla was given a hearing all of his witnesses were chased away by the State Cossacks, and even his wife, children, and mother, were not allowed to be present, or even to see him in jail except with the lawyers.

Dolla's lawyers made no effort to get his witnesses, or the other evidence which they had been told about. They put pressure upon him to plead guilty. Dolla steadfastly refused to do this. Then they began to work upon his wife, and persuaded her to go to the jail and plead with him to plead guilty. Completely isolated, cut off from communication with all his friends, and pressed by every person who came near him to plead guilty, under threat of 30 years sentence if he did not and promise of a light one if he did, Dolla finally gave way. His attorneys obtained his consent, finally, by promising that he would not have to say anything in court. They promised to "fix that all up."

They did. They gave him papers, which he signed without reading. These proved to be pleas of guilty to all of the charges, including that of the explosion that never occurred. Then the "light sentence" that had been promised was given — 12 to 17 years in the penitentiary. The others were given, Mumford 5 to 11 years, Sohn and Dissinger 2 to 6 years, and Miller 3 to 5 years.

Exposing the Frame-up

After three years of imprisonment for a crime with which he had not the slightest connection, and for another which was not committed at all, Dolla has finally found some friends who are taking the trouble to investigate the case. That it has taken so long to expose this terrible injustice is not Dolla's fault. His union, the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers, were advised about the case but did nothing. Mike Tighe, the president, was fully informed, but did not raise a hand. The officials even quit answering letters about Dolla.

After Dolla had been in a year, without obtaining action from his union, the facts were written in a letter to Samuel Gompers. No answer was ever received. Then the matter was taken up with Frank Morrison, secretary of the A. F. of L., who replied that he could not touch the case unless it was brought to the A. F. of L. by the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers Union, which had already failed miserably to do anything.

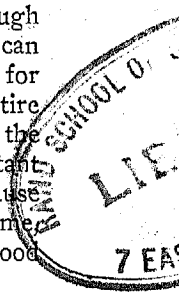
Finally some of Dolla's local friends got in touch with James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, Clinton Golden of the Machinists, and Wm. Z. Foster. They immediately got busy investigating. Other influential labor men became interested, including John Fitzpatrick and E. N. Nockels of the Chicago Federation of Labor. The result has been that the whole disgustingly familiar case of frame-up, the great American game of the capitalist class in dealing with their rebelling workers, has been brought to light. New evidence has been found which double-clinches the proof which was available before.

Dolla Must be Freed

In addition to the overwhelming evidence that Dolla had no connection with the explosion which damaged a porch to the extent of \$150., the only crime in the whole case, it is now clear that the entire affair was a plant by the State Cossacks. Members of that tool of capitalist oppression have boasted that they knew all about the affair before it was ever pulled off. The Steel Trust attorney has admitted that Aldrige was a Steel Trust spy, and his engineering hand has been traced through the affair, although he was spirited out and never arrested. Miller has confessed that his testimony was perjured under threat of 20 to 30 years imprisonment. Witzman has been proven to have perjured his evidence. The whole rotten case has been left without a leg to stand on, except for the plea of guilty which was obtained by fraud, duress, and coercion.

There is only one legal recourse to obtain belated justice for Jacob Dolla. That is executive clemency. This is already being delayed overtime, and it yet remains to be seen if the influence of the Steel Trust can reach far enough to prevent it. There is only one thing which can make sure that Dolla is not kept in prison for another 9 to 14 years, and that is for the entire labor movement to be made acquainted with the terrible persecution to which this labor militant has been subjected for his devotion to the cause of Labor. For that is Jacob Dolla's only crime, that in the struggle with the Steel Trust he stood with the workers and would not flinch.

It would be a terrible blot upon the record of the American labor movement if it should continue to ignore the case of Jacob Dolla. Every militant should get busy to bring this to the attention of the unions everywhere. Labor must be made acquainted with the case, and prepare to bring pressure in the proper place if Dolla is not quickly released. The frame-up game must be put out of business. Dolla must be freed.



Five Vital Conferences

By Wm. Z. Foster

DURING the latter half of November there were held five meetings of militants, inaugurating movements destined to play most important parts in the near future of Organized Labor. These were conferences looking to the establishment of National Industrial Sections, or educational committees, in the Textile, Clothing, Printing, Food, and Boot and Shoe industries. They were organized by Joseph Manley, Organizer for the T. U. E. L.

Friends and enemies alike admit freely that the Trade Union Educational League has made a tremendous showing in the short time it has been in operation. But the most remarkable thing is that the League has achieved these results with only the barest skeleton of an organization. As yet the League consists of hardly more than general groups of militants in the various industrial centers carrying on the work of regeneration in a necessarily planless and unorganized way. The National Industrial Sections, upon which will fall the burden of the task of systematizing the work in the respective industries, have not yet come into existence, save in the railroad industry. The encouraging fact is that if the League has been able to accomplish so much with so little organization it will surely make astounding progress when its real machinery, the National Industrial Sections, get under way in the near future.

The National Industrial Sections will be the backbone of the Trade Union Educational League. They are a recognition of the fact that the reactionary trade union bureaucracy are a national machine whose leadership and policies can be defeated only by national movements of the militants. Little can be accomplished upon a local basis, which is the present status of our movement. What must be done is to map out programs and to set up national educational organizations in all the industries. These will unite the militants everywhere and enable them to sweep ahead victoriously against the reactionaries. At its National Conference the League recognized this fact and instructed the National Committee to get the National Industrial Sections into action as soon as possible. The following described conferences were the first steps in that direction:

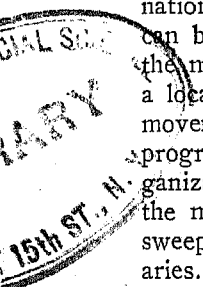
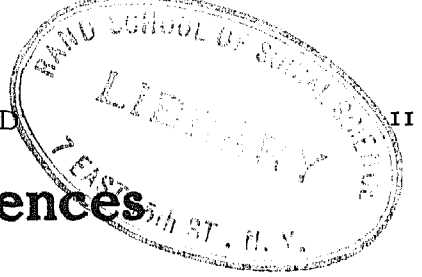
The Textile Industry

The first of the conferences related to the textile industry. It took place in New York on November 19th. A group of militant workers from several of the textile unions participated. The

first thing done was to survey the industry generally to determine the state of unionism therein. This was found to be fragmentary enough. Of a total of about 1,000,000 workers in the textile industry only 100,000 are organized. Approximately half of these are in the United Textile Workers, which is affiliated to the A. F. of L., while the rest are scattered through a score or more of independents, among which the principal organizations are the American Federation of Textile Operatives, Amalgamated Textile Workers, Mule Spinners' Association, Amalgamated Lace Operatives, Brussels Carpet Weavers, Tapestry Carpet Workers, Knit Goods Workers, Art Square Weavers, National Loomfixers' Association, Associated Silk Weavers, One Big Union, Friendly Society of Engravers, Wool Sorters and Graders, Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers, etc., etc. In August, 1922, an alliance was completed between the nine first-mentioned of these independents. It is called the Federated Textile Unions of America.

The confusion in the industry, from an organization standpoint, is unequalled in the United States. Besides the flock of craft unions, there are several industrial organizations, including the United Textile Workers, American Federation of Textile Operatives, Amalgamated Textile Workers, and One Big Union, not to mention the I. W. W. and W. I. U., both of which have a certain following. The welter of unions has developed in the course of many years largely by a splitting-up process. Originally the United Textile Workers was predominant in the industry, but because of the shameful mismanagement of the notorious John Golden, secession after secession took place, until finally the present demoralized condition has been arrived at. The long continued dualism of the rebels has also been a big factor. Instead of the militants standing their ground in the old unions and fighting the bureaucrats there, their tendency has been to abandon the field and to launch new organizations.

The conference delegates were unanimously agreed that this multiplicity of organizations spells defeat for the textile workers and that means had to be found to crystallize all existing organized bodies into one militant industrial union. But the big question was how this could be done. Two courses of action lay open. First, the League could throw its support to one of the existing industrial unions and help it try to kill off or absorb all the rest, or, second, it could



start a drive to consolidate them all upon a genuine amalgamation basis. Faced by this alternative, the conference was not long in choosing. The first course would be a dog-cat-dog policy, which is essentially the one now prevailing. It would mean war to the knife all around and hopeless division in the ranks of the textile workers for an indefinite period. So the second course was determined upon. Taking a non-partisan stand, the League militants will appeal directly to the rank and file of all the organizations to call a halt to the present chaotic condition and to unite their forces into a general amalgamation.

To put this program into action the conference selected a provisional committee to carry on the educational work. This was named the General Amalgamation Committee for the Textile Industry. It has since met and mapped out a plan of industrial unionism, providing departments for the principal divisions of the textile industry, Wool, Cotton, Silk, etc., and sub-departments for the respective crafts. This amalgamation plan will be printed and then submitted to every union in the industry, A. F. of L. and independents, for their consideration. And to those who are acquainted with the attitude of the organized mass these days the power of such an appeal is at once evident. It is safe to say that before many months have passed the new movement will have created a great demand for a general amalgamation in the textile industry, a demand that will sweep all opposition before it. Dualism, the curse of the textile workers, is doomed. Solidarity and industrial unionism through amalgamation are the new watchwords of the textile industry.

The Clothing Industry

Perhaps the most important of the several conferences was that of the needle trades. It was held in New York on November 22nd. The meeting was of a representative character, comprising 40 delegates from Shop Delegate Leagues in the following organizations and industry branches: Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Waist and Dress Makers (I. L. G. W. U.), Cloakmakers (I. L. G. W. U.), Capmakers, Millinery Workers, Furriers, and Journeymen Tailors. Two of the delegates came from Philadelphia, the rest were local.

In the clothing industry a splendid opportunity presents itself for the realization of many features of the League's program. The workers employed there are by far the best educated in the whole labor movement and they are ready for real progress. A tremendous body of sentiment exists for industrial unionism, the shop delegate system, affiliation to the Red Interna-

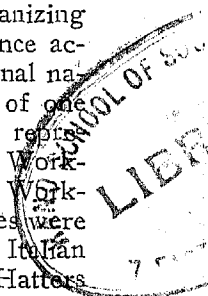
tional of Labor Unions, active support of Russia, a more militant conception of the revolutionary task, and all the other left policies, advocated by the League. The situation is ripe for a great move upward and onward by the clothing workers.

But as yet, so far as the industry as a whole is considered, this splendid sentiment is very little organized. There are many League branches in the industry, but these are mostly local and of a craft character. In nearly all the big needle trades centers will be found these groups, mostly called shop delegates leagues, in the respective trades carrying on a more or less detached and desultory movement in favor of the League's policies. The need of the situation is to crystallize all these local bodies into one sweeping national movement which will at once include all crafts and every locality.

It was to satisfy this need and to place the left wing movement in the needle trades upon a national basis that the New York conference was called. Joseph Manley, Eastern District Organizer for the League, presided. When he and others had presented the necessity for organizing the League groups nationally the conference accepted the suggestion at once. A provisional national committee was selected, consisting of one delegate from each of the organizations represented, except the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the International Ladies' Garment Workers, which were allowed two apiece. Places were provided also for two delegates from the Italian League groups. Although the United Hatters were not represented at the conference, they were considered to be part of the general needle industry, and efforts will be made to have their militants select a member for the national committee. The new organization calls itself the Needle Trades Section of the Trade Union Educational League.

The conference instructed the provisional national committee to launch an active campaign of education immediately in all the unions. To this end it will draft a plan of a departmentalized industrial union for the industry based upon the shop delegate system. This will then be submitted to the various international and local organizations for their consideration. An intense campaign for amalgamation will also be started in all branches of the industry. To facilitate this educational work joint committees of all the needle trades will be set up in the various clothing centers. If possible a representative of the provisional national committee will be sent out to organize these educational committees.

The conference was full of enthusiasm. Every one present recognized the need for united ac-



tion in the needle trades and also that the plan of the League offers the best means to achieve such unity. It will be strange, indeed, if the newly organized Needle Trades Section does not become a great factor for progress in the clothing industry before many months have passed. The times are overripe for its policies. Craft unionism and Amsterdamism are altogether out of place in the ranks of the militant needle trades workers.

The Printing Industry

Another most important conference was that of the printing trades militants, which was held in New York on November 23rd. About a score of active workers, of all crafts, were present. The object was to further the League's program nationally, and especially to take active steps towards bringing about one union of all the printing trades.

As developed in the conference discussions, the situation in the printing trades is very favorable for militant propaganda, particularly with regard to industrial unionism. Several factors have combined to open the eyes of printing trades workers generally to the necessity for one union in their industry. An important one was the great open shop drive of the employers. Not only has this tested the last ounce of strength of the respective organizations, but it has also shown clearer than ever the weakness of craft unionism. As the unions, under terrific pressure from the employers, have betrayed each other in the usual craft fashion, even the blindest have been able to see the folly. The necessity for united action has stood out like a mountain. Another most important factor was the breakdown of the old bureaucratic machine in the International Typographical Union by virtue of years' long hammering from the progressives and radicals. That has let a little daylight into the situation, and given progress a toehold. The general consequence from the effects of the great open shop drive and the successful revolt in the I. T. U. is that a broad-sweeping movement for industrial unionism has sprung up throughout the entire printing trades.

But, like in the clothing trades, this movement lacks rank and file organization. The whole thing is too much upon an official basis. Letters from McParland of the I. T. U. to the heads of the other printing trades unions asking their opinions about amalgamation are not enough. What must be done is to build backfires behind these unwilling brothers. Widespread movements must be developed among the rank and file of their organizations. Otherwise the industrial union agitation will be quarantined and confined pretty much in the I. T. U. where it began and now

flourishes. This was the experience in the metal trades a number of years ago when the Machinists' Union went on record for complete amalgamation. Instead of the militants reaching out to the rank and file of the other organizations and winning them over to amalgamation, they contented themselves with instructing their own officials to negotiate with the officials of the remaining unions. The natural result was that, inasmuch as the heads of the other metal trades organizations refused to go along with it, the amalgamation movement was restricted to the Machinists' Union and eventually came to naught. And the same thing will happen in the printing trades if the same method is followed. Above all, amalgamation is a rank and file movement and the first condition for its success is rank and file demand for it in all the organizations concerned.

Recognizing these facts, the New York conference went on record to launch a general campaign for amalgamation in all the printing trades organizations everywhere. As the means to this end it endorsed the methods proposed by the League, which are now becoming recognized as standard for such educational work. First, a national committee shall be erected; second, a definite plan of amalgamation shall be drawn up and presented to all the organizations in the industry for their adoption; third, local committees of printing trades workers shall be organized in all printing centers to popularize the program among the broad masses of the rank and file; fourth, a journal shall be established to propagate the principles of the movement. At the last convention of the International Typographical Union a provisional national committee was organized to advocate amalgamation throughout the printing trades. The conference voted to support that movement. The delegates generally were convinced that one union in the printing industry is a prospect of the immediate future, and the conference ended with a determination to push the work of education and solidarity unremittingly.

The Food Industry

The food industry conference took place in New York on November 24th. A score of militants were in attendance, coming from many A. F. of L. locals of the Butchers, Bakers, and Hotel & Restaurant Employees, and also from the Amalgamated Food Workers. A splendid spirit prevailed. From the discussions it developed that with regard to economic power and solidarity the unions in the food industry are in a bad way. Only a very small percentage of the enormous army of food workers are organized, and these are hamstrung by craft unionism, dual

unionism, and reactionary leadership. There are five principal unions in the broad industry, including the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, the Bakers and Candy Makers, the Brewery Workers, and the Amalgamated Food Workers. The first four are typical A. F. of L. craft unions, while the latter is an independent industrial union with its stronghold in New York and vicinity.

The meeting was unanimously of the opinion that the present situation of the workers' unions in the food industry is intolerable. So long as the A. F. of L. crafts remain in separate organizations, and so long as the present bitter war goes on between the old unions and the new one, there can be no real power developed to pit against the employers. The determination of the militants assembled was to end this disastrous state of affairs and to head for the creation of one union, under progressive leadership, for the entire food industry. The way to achieve this, it was recognized, is not to plunge into the present fratricidal struggle by helping the craft unions to fight the independent organization, or vice versa, but to start a general amalgamation campaign among the rank and file of the organizations, so intense and widespread that it will compel these bodies to lay aside their jurisdictional fights and craft prejudices and to amalgamate whether the reactionary part of the leadership wants it or not. With the various craft and industrial union factions in the industry once united a great drive could be put on to organize the unorganized masses of food workers. To express the sentiment of the conference the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved that we, the food workers organized in the Trade Union Educational League, pledge ourselves to work for amalgamation of all existing unions in the food industry so that one powerful industrial organization of the entire industry can be established, being convinced that this is the only effective way to fight the bosses.

The conference selected a committee to work out a practical plan of amalgamation which, when completed, will be referred to the rank and file of the entire industry for their endorsement. This committee will also submit a proposition, at a future conference, to organize a provisional national amalgamation committee for the whole food industry. The November 24th conference is pregnant with promise. It marks the beginning of a great movement for solidarity among the food workers and is destined to be a red letter day in the history of their unions.

The Leather Industry

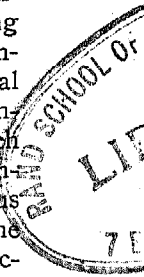
The conference of the militants in the leather

industry took place in Boston on November 25th. There were present active workers from the general leather industries of New England, including members of the A. F. of L. and independent organizations.

The conference resolved itself into a long discussion of the situation in the industry. From this it was made clear that the workers suffer from the usual evils of dual unionism, craft unionism, and reactionary leadership. Only a minority of the workers in the industry, and these boot and shoe workers principally, are organized. These are divided into three main organizations, the Boot & Shoe Workers, the Amalgamated Shoe Workers, and the United Leather Workers. There are also a number of smaller crafts. The Amalgamated Shoe Workers are an independent union that was formed a few months ago by an amalgamation of several independent organizations. The Boot & Shoe Workers and the Amalgamated are dual to each other.

After reviewing the situation from every angle, the conference decided that the proper thing to do in the circumstances was to launch a general amalgamation campaign among the several organizations, to the end that they shall all be combined into one powerful industrial union, which will then be enabled to go forward to the organization of the masses unhampered by ruinous dual unionism and jurisdictional warfare. The prevailing condition of internecine and destructive struggle between the many unions was condemned as fatal to the best interests of the workers.

It was reported that there is some opposition by Amalgamated militants to the League's amalgamation program, because they have acquired the notion that if it is applied in their industry they will have to abandon their present organization and flock back unconditionally under the domination of the reactionary bureaucracy now controlling the Boot & Shoe Workers' Union. But this, it was pointed out at the conference, does not correspond with the facts. First, because the League is advocating genuine amalgamation, not the gobbling up of one union by another. Its plan is to convince the many unions in the respective industries of the necessity for industrial unionism, and when this is done, to bring them together as organized bodies into a new, general consolidation. And second, because the League fully realizes the necessity for progressive leadership in the unions and is bending every effort to this end. When amalgamations are actually brought about, and this involves the selection of new officials, the League militants will be found fighting valiantly to put men at the head of the movement who are capable of lead-



ing it to victory. Far from strengthening the grip of the old officialdom, amalgamation will almost certainly break it altogether. This is because the reactionaries will fight against amalgamation so desperately that when it actually is forced upon them by the rank and file they will be swept into the discard. Consider, for example, what happened in the recent Detroit convention of the Maintenance of Way. Amalgamation spells defeat for the reactionaries, and they realize it 100%. The militants, no matter to what union they belong, should have no fear of it.

The conference commissioned a committee to draft up an amalgamation program for the leather industry. This will be submitted for ratification at another conference of militants to be held in Boston in the near future. At the proposed gathering, now being arranged for, active workers will be present from all the principal boot and shoe and other leather workers' unions in New England. This conference will definitely

launch a national movement to consolidate and invigorate all unions in the leather industry.

In the near future the League intends to organize national conferences of militants in the mining, metal, and building trades, so that general movements for progress may be started in those industries also. It will not be long until each industry will have its National Industrial Section, or educational committee, backed up by hundreds of local committees. There will be a veritable network of militant organization, striving everywhere to modernize and to put life into the labor movement. It is safe to say that once this mechanism gets established and fully into action, the American labor movement will enter upon a period of progress and development now hardly deemed possible. As sure as fate the paralyzing grip of the Gompers' machine will be irreparably shattered, and the whole labor movement be set traveling definitely and rapidly towards its ultimate goal of working class emancipation.

Fighting Industrial Slavery

By Alexander Howat

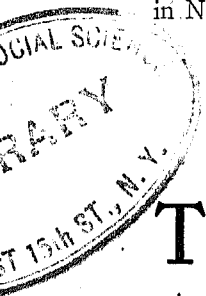
THE Thirtieth day of September, 1921, is a day that will long be remembered in Kansas, because it was on that day that every mine worker in the State laid down his tools, and the real fight against the Industrial Court Law was on in earnest.

The action taken by the Kansas miners in striking against the enforcement of this so-called Law, was intended to serve notice on the law-makers of this State, that in making laws, the right of the workers must be respected, and that no man, or set of men, regardless of who they may be, would ever be permitted to chain the working class of the Nation to their jobs like slaves. We resolved that we would never surrender the principles of free men; that we would never take a backward step while fighting for a just cause; that we would not betray the workers of the State, and of the Nation; that we would not permit the Industrial Court, composed of a few corporation tools, to rule the miners' union in this District. We held to the principle that the suffering and the struggles of the past should not be in vain, and that the shackles of oppression which had enslaved the Kansas miners for many years, until we were liberated through the strength of our organization, would never again encircle the limbs of the miners of this District, as was intended through the creation of the so-called Industrial Court. We proclaimed to the

people of this country, that we would fight to the last ditch against the Industrial Court Law or any other law that interfered with our constitutional rights as free American citizens, or any law that is intended to make slaves of the wealth producers of the Nation, and in making the fight to uphold the principles on which our Republic is founded, that the people of this country shall be free, and that no form of slavery shall exist, the Kansas miners were willing to make every sacrifice in fighting to maintain these principles.

It was necessary to make the fight in Kansas, because it was here, with their Slave Law, that they first tried to crucify Labor. Little did the miners of our District think, when they began their heroic battle for Industrial Freedom against tremendous odds, that the power and strength and influence of our Union would be used to drive them back to the mines, and to crucify them, as has been done for the past year.

Contrast the difference between the International and the Illinois miners and their officials. All the power of the International was used against the miners of District 14, in their brilliant fight against the Kansas Slave Law; a fight that was the concern of the workers of the entire country; a fight to establish the principle, once and for all, that the workers of this Nation shall be free men and women, and that all the



laws and lawmakers that ever lived would not be permitted to destroy this principle.

It was while engaged in this fight for Liberty and Justice, with the International organization against us, that the brave miners of Illinois, one hundred thousand strong, took up the fight of the Kansas miners. Nothing was left undone by them. They rendered every assistance possible. They stood with us to the last in our fight against the Industrial Court Law, and when we were expelled from the Union in violation of our International constitution, the miners of Illinois again came to our assistance, and under the leadership of President Farrington, all the power and influence of the Miners' Union in the State of Illinois was brought into action in trying to secure justice at the hands of the International, for the expelled miners and their officials.

President Farrington, in accordance with the action taken by the Illinois Miners' convention, a short time after we were expelled from the Union, wrote several splendid articles on the Kansas question, calling attention to the outrage that had been perpetrated against the miners of our District, and showing clearly how the constitution had been set aside and trampled under foot by the International officials in removing us from our official positions, and expelling us from the Union, with no charges against us, and without a trial. The articles written by President Farrington had a tremendous effect throughout the mining districts and resulted in resolutions being sent to the International from Local Unions in all parts of the country. Vice-President Fishwick, and John H. Walker, President of the Illinois Federation of Labor, made a splendid fight in the Missouri Miners' convention.

If the officials in other districts had insisted on a square deal for Kansas, as the Illinois miners and their officials have done, the miners and their families in this district would not have been required to suffer as they have, through the action of the officials of our Union.

It appears that a large majority of the members of the International Executive Board intend to keep some of us out of the union as long as they can do so, and in doing this they have the unqualified support of the district officials in all parts of the country, with a very few exceptions.

President Gibbons and Vice-President Fagan of District No. 5, Pennsylvania; President Hessler of District No. 11, Indiana; President Wilkinson of District No. 21, Oklahoma; President Helm of District No. 25, Missouri; and O'Leary, Dalrymple and Steele, International Board Members of Districts Nos. 5, 21 and 25, along with practically all other officials in the four above named districts, were extremely bitter

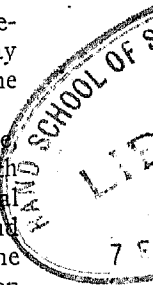
in their denunciation of the expelled miners of our district. It was their desire to make the crucifixion of the Kansas miners complete. They deliberately misrepresented the real facts to the miners of their district. They tried to impress them with the idea that I and others were trying to disrupt the organization, and that they were the real Saviours of the Labor Movement, and that it was necessary that I and several thousand others should be kicked out so that they, with their wonderful knowledge and influence, might be able to save it from destruction; while the real facts are, I was fighting for the United Mine Workers of America before such upstarts as Helm and Wilkinson, and many of the others who were instrumental in kicking us out, knew anything about the Organization.

I know that the miners of the country believe in a square deal. I know it is their desire that we be reinstated into the union, but they are opposed at every turn by their officials. It appears that the power of the International is to be used to crush and destroy any man, or men, who may incur the enmity or differ with the policy of the International president.

Let us hope that the time may be near at hand when the miners may be able to defeat their officials who assisted and who upheld the International in the cruel and inhuman treatment that was imposed on the miners of District 14, and elect in their place, men who will not surrender their principles as men, in order to hold an official position in our Union; men who have the manhood and courage to stand for what they believe is right and just for each and every member of our organization, regardless of who it may be necessary for them to oppose in so doing.

To the few International and District officials, and to the miners in different parts of the country who have stood with us in our fight for reinstatement to the organization, I can only say that we appreciate more than words can tell the efforts you have put forth in our behalf.

If it is still your desire that we receive justice then each and every one of you should put forth your best efforts to defeat every official of the Miners' Union who has upheld, and is yet upholding, the International in the cowardly and dastardly outrage that has been perpetrated against the Kansas miners. Elect men who have the courage to oppose any man or men who stand in the way of Justice. When you do this, then we who were kicked out of the union, and have been kept out for the past thirteen months, without a trial, may receive some consideration at the hands of the International Executive Board. On with the fight, and in the end the great principles of Justice must and shall prevail.



Who's Who in Prison

A Series of Sketches: I. JIM LARKIN

By Jack Carney

SEVENTEEN years ago the employees of T. J. Harrison, a large Liverpool steamship concern, went out on strike. The employers appealed to the leader of the strikers to stay with the firm, to take a three month vacation on full pay and to return to work when the trouble was over. The strikers appealed to him to lead the strike. He sided with the strikers. That man was Jim Larkin, born near Newry, Ireland, in 1878.

Larkin was made national organizer by the National Union of Dock Laborers, and within less than ten months he had enlisted over 45,000 members for the union. In 1907 he crossed over to Belfast, Ireland, and there took up the fight of the longshoremen. He also took up the battle of the teamsters, and when the longshoremen struck they were supported by the teamsters of Belfast, who had not previously been organized. Larkin realized the futility of craft unionism and advocated industrial organization. This brought him the enmity of the standpat officials, who set out to "get" him.

In 1908 Larkin was the victim of a frame-up. Three notorious scabs conspired with James Sexton, secretary of the union, and Sir Wm. Sutton, head of the Cork Employers' Federation, and brought about his arrest on the charge of misappropriating union funds. The basis of the charge was that the Cork members had decided to organize into an Irish union on an industrial character. In 1909, twelve months after his arrest, he was sentenced to one year in prison. The frame-up was so glaring that Nationalist members of parliament, clergy, and publicists, backed by the forces of British and Scottish Labor secured his release.

Time after time was Larkin arrested, to be released by the forces of Organized Labor. Continuous turmoil, and the success of the workers in the Irish Transport Union, from 1908 until the 1913 lockout, made him hated by the employing class. They decided that Larkin and his organization must be destroyed. In 1913, William M. Murphy, head of the employers' federation of Dublin, declaring that he had the British soldiery, the forces of Dublin Castle, twenty millions dollars, and the complete backing of English finance, set out to destroy root and branch the Irish Transport Union. Let it never

be forgotten that to the credit of the Dublin workers they refused to give way. Thirty thousand workers were locked out.

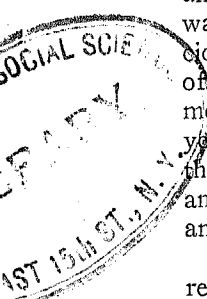
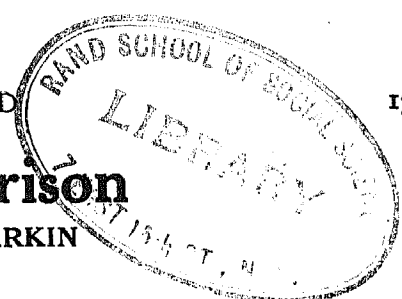
Jim Larkin picked up the gauntlet of the Dublin employers and started his fiery cross crusade. For over six months he showed tremendous energy by addressing meetings night and day, arousing British and Scottish Labor to the support of Dublin. Contributions amounting to more than \$1,000,000 were secured, besides a shipload of food and clothing. The arrival of the food-ship "Hare" into Dublin was a demonstration of real international solidarity. For six months and twenty days it was a drawn battle. Then the men and women were allowed to join the union of their choice.

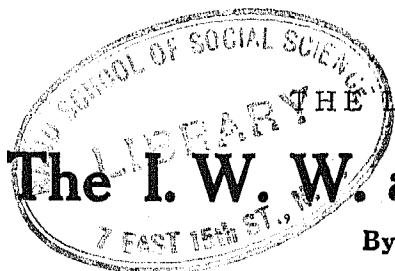
The rank and file demanded that Larkin take a holiday. They urged him to make a world's tour and tell the story of that memorable battle of 1913. He finally consented, making America his first stopping place. As soon as he left Ireland a special war measure was passed, outlawing him and warning him not to again set foot in the British Empire. The holiday terminated with his arrival here, for he immediately got into action to secure aid for the Irish Republican Army and the Irish Citizens' Army which he had founded. He made thirteen attempts to leave for Ireland, but each time his plans were frustrated by the British Secret Service.

Only 24 hours before Larkin was to leave for Ireland, he was arrested on a charge of "criminal anarchy" in the State of New York. He was charged with being a member of a committee which issued a left-wing Socialist manifesto, was convicted, and now lies in Sing Sing prison. His "crime" consisted of standing by the workers of America as he had by those of Ireland. For eight years the Irish Transport Workers have refused to allow anyone to challenge his position as secretary of their organization. They want Larkin back, and are now appealing to Organized Labor in America to help release him. What are you going to do? Peter Larkin, Jim's brother, who recently arrived from Ireland, and Jack Carney, former editor of the *Voice of Labor*, are touring the West in his behalf. They need your assistance. If you can help, write to Minnie Carney, 2620 Seminary Ave., Chicago, Ill.



JIM LARKIN





The I. W. W. and the Communists

By Earl R. Browder

ONCE holding the position of foremost exponents of revolutionary unionism, the Industrial Workers of the World have today the doubtful honor of being the only labor organization that expels Communists for their political opinions. And now, the recent convention of the "wobblies," by approving of the past administration's activities and the expulsion of Brown, Hardy, Novak, Newman, and others, has carried that organization into company with the most reactionary bureaucrats of the world's labor movement. In the American labor movement, it is the I. W. W. alone which has made it a crime against the union to advocate affiliation to the Red International of Labor Unions.

The I. W. W. has often protested against the expulsion of rebels from the trade unions, and made great arguments thereon. But few records of violent suppression of minority opinion in labor unions are more complete than that of the 'wobs' against "The Temporary Committee for Working Class Unity," formed to propagate affiliation to the R. I. L. U. after the I. W. W. had denounced that organization. The details, published in the *Unity Bulletin*, issue No. 3, leave nothing to the imagination. The story of the kidnapping of Bartell, in Detroit, by Raddock, secretary of I. U. 440, and a gang of fellow workers, and the robbery of his papers and \$213 in money, still stands unrefuted and unrebuked. The assaults upon the persons of Joe Carroll, Lorence Borzik, Walter Bates, and Mike Novak, are there recorded as typical of many others; the attack upon the members of the Unity Committee went to the length of a raid upon the home of Newman, the seizure of his desk, typewriter, money, and other personal property. Any one who said a good word for the R. I. L. U. was called a Communist and treated as an outlaw.

Leaders of Reaction

These methods are worse than those used even by Gompers, the arch-reactionary. In the capacity of president of the A. F. of L. this bureaucrat recently excluded a union of office workers in New York because it was officered by rebels and communists. But when the *Locomotive Engineers' Journal* reported this as an exclusion of radicals, Gompers took pains to get in the record his denial that the action had any political significance. He placed the entire case upon the ground of the immediate functioning of the union, without any consideration of the radical views of those excluded. In the whole American labor movement it is only in the I. W. W. that

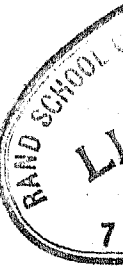
'communism' is sufficient ground for expulsion.

Not content with leading the fight upon the Red International, the I. W. W. blazed the trail later followed by Abe Cahan in the *Forward*, Jewish Socialist daily, by attacking the work of the Friends of Soviet Russia. Without the slightest evidence, they published statements that famine relief money was being diverted to other uses. But they went further than any other group has cared to follow; they physically interfered with famine relief collections, an act without parallel in this country, and only equalled in Europe by the most reactionary Governments. On Christmas evening, 1921, an entertainment was held by the Jugo-Slav members of I. U. 440, to assist the famine sufferers in Soviet Russia. This gathering was invaded by Bowerman, secretary of the I. W. W. Union, with a bodyguard, who demanded that the receipts of the entertainment be turned over to him. Not caring to make a fight, the Jugo-Slav members allowed him to get away with it. They saved some of the money for the famine stricken workers of Russia, however, by presenting bills for the services of the performers, which was later turned over to the famine fund. But the General Headquarters officials took away \$57.12 intended for Soviet Russia's sufferers.

The confiscation of the membership card of H. S. Calvert, but very recently, demonstrates that this spirit continues unabated. Calvert is an I. W. W. of some years standing, who went to Russia in 1921, and was one of those instrumental in launching the Kuzbas industrial colony project. For a year he has been working in America on that project, which has the approval of the Soviet Government of Russia. As a further demonstration of their disapproval of anything even remotely connected with the Red International, via Russia, the officials of the I. W. W. took advantage of Calvert's presence at a union meeting, where cards must be presented, to confiscate his. They did not take the trouble to prefer charges, or to hold any proceedings whatever.

"Democracy" Gone to Seed

It has seemed to many observers that the I. W. W. was definitely setting out on the road of the anarcho-syndicalist organizations of Europe. But their recent convention has shown that there is nothing so positive even as this left in the organization. What seemed like vigorous action in that direction was only fear of the new ideas brought into the movement by the Red Inter-



national. The I. W. W. is not going anywhere. It is just drifting and decaying.

For over twenty days, from Nov. 11 to Dec. 5, the 14th Convention sat in session to do the business of not more than 15000 members. And in all that time there was hardly one clear and definite action taken. Following up their doctrine of "democracy," one side of which is their constitutional provision that officers can serve but one term, the forty delegates each spoke on every question that came before them. The nature of this "important" business is illustrated by the debates of seven days upon the officers reports, of three days on the question of remitting debts of a few hundred dollars owed to the organization by the retiring officers, and others of the same calibre.

When the appeal of the expelled communists came before the convention, however, they were quickly disposed of. Mike Novak, one of those appealing, was present and requested the floor to defend himself. He was refused, and the convention even excluded him from the hall while they considered his case. He was then told that his appeal had been referred back to the Industrial union to which he had belonged. But the official organ of the I. W. W., *Industrial Solidarity*, later stated that the expulsion had been upheld. In no other labor organization in America would it be possible to witness expulsions being confirmed without even allowing the victim to be heard in his own defense.

Following Gompers Internationally

In the question of international affiliation, the I. W. W. followed the examples set by Mr. Harding and Mr. Gompers. That is, it adopted a policy of isolation, prefaced according to the Harding-Gompers manner with protestations of desire for international amity and accord. The only line which means anything definite in the international resolution adopted by the convention is that which reads: "Resolved, that we do not send any delegate to any international at the present time." The leading element in the organization is favorable to Rudolph Rocker's "international" but is afraid that affiliation would cause another loss of dues-paying membership.

Typical of the general drift of the I. W. W. (and the outstanding characteristic of the organization today is the complete lack of any kind of leadership—it has merely drifted into the currents of counter-revolution) is the case of John Sandgren, a notorious anti-Russian propagandist. Everyone thought that he had been thoroughly discredited, and so he had. His name is now carefully kept in the background, but actually he is the theoretician and "intellectual" of the I. W. W. today. Whenever it is necessary to

produce a document of a theoretical nature, John Sandgren is the man called upon. He it was who wrote the recent reply of the I. W. W. to Losovsky's appeal to the rank and file of that body. Sandgren has come back, but the fact is not generally known or acknowledged.

Dual Unionism the Issue

The explanation of this entire course of events, the expulsion of the Communists, the attacks on Russia, the refusal to affiliate with the Red International, etc., is a simple one. The I. W. W. has gotten into its present deplorable position by its reaction of fear of the new tactics of the world revolutionary movement, of the slogan of "back to the mass unions." Based from the beginning upon the conception of dual unionism, the tactic of splitting the old unions as the beginning of building new ones, it could not understand or assimilate the R. I. L. U. tactic of solidarity, of industrial unionism through amalgamation, and the unity of all the revolutionary forces of a given country upon a common plan of action. For too long I. W. W. militants had made their organization the all-in-all, refusing to recognize the existence of anything outside of it as worthy of a moments consideration. The year of 1921-22 found them incapable of changing to meet the new epoch now opening up. As a consequence they are now definitely outside the stream of Labor's revolutionary movement.

Many alleged theoretical differences are trotted out as the reasons for opposing the R. I. L. U., but the only effective reason is to be found in the issue of dual unionism. These chronic dualists cannot bring themselves to unite with the mass unions, which they would have to do in the Red International. To prevent such a thing they bring forth the most elaborate sophistries. But if the Red International would accept their dual unionism, the I. W. W., in all likelihood, would quickly dissipate all their other objections.

When one recalls the splendid revolutionary fervor formerly animating the I. W. W., typified by such men as Ralph Chaplin and Harrison George, which made that body of men objects of admiration even on the part of those who disagreed most strenuously with their dual unionism, the present nondescript organization which bears the name made famous by former heroes appears as a tragic example of degeneracy. The reactionary poison has gotten in its work. Many militants who have hoped against hope for the past few years, that the organization would redeem itself, are now turning their faces toward the future. The dead past must bury its dead, which includes the former revolutionary spirit of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Reactionary Leadership Must Go

By Jay Fox

A FRIEND of mine, connected with the University of Washington, has been trying to get a line on the American labor movement. After reading the labor journals, the constitutions, convention proceedings and Brother Gompers' speeches of the last forty years, he was still without light on the most vital phases of its progress. Reasoning that every movement of an intelligent character must have a goal that it is striving to attain, he was puzzled at his inability to ferret out that of organized labor. Meeting him recently, his first question was: "What are you labor men driving at, anyway, what is your aim?"

"My dear fellow," I said, "it is with much distress of mind and heart that I must answer you: 'We are not driving anywhere; we are standing perfectly still. And as for aim, we are not aiming at anything. We are just standing around with our eyes shut waiting for the next wage cut.'"

At the moment I thought I was putting it pretty strong; but after reflection I am inclined to think I didn't put it strong enough. Indeed, I feel that I lack the language with which to adequately characterize the American labor movement's blind do-nothingness.

The Fair Day's Pay Ideal

When the movement was young it had an aim of a sort; a very indefinite one, to be sure, but still an aim. Then the leaders used to say that the drive was for a fair day's pay for a fair day's work; without any definition of what would be fair in either case. However, as a beginner it wasn't so bad. Weak and timid unions could not be expected to make strong demands. But what amazes the student is the fact that the movement grew in strength and knowledge till it has reached the four million mark without amending its original meaningless demands. One can search in vain thru the history of organizations for a parallel case. Universally institutions and organizations demand and gain power in proportion to their numerical strength.

The growth of organized labor evidently means nothing to its leaders. They stand pat for the fair day's pay for a fair day's work. They mosey along from convention to convention, moving not an inch forward, holding fast to the old traditions in the face of an ever changing environment, and opposing with all the power at their command every attempt of the progressive minority to bring union tactics and ideals up to

date so the organizations may become real implements for the freedom of the workers instead of the sickly, dying dickerers that they are.

It is a misnomer to call such men leaders. "Trailers" would be a more fitting title. "Obstructionists" better still. They stand shoulder to shoulder in battle formation across the path of progress, ready to pounce upon and bludgeon any members of the rank and file who dare to pass that way. They see the unions defeated in every contest of importance with the well organized industrial barons; still they obstruct every effort to realign the army of labor now in disorderly retreat, on industrial lines so it may recover its lost ground and march on into the enemies country. They invite us to vote for politicians pledged to impeach Daugherty, knowing as they must that Daugherty is the political business agent of the industrial barons who would replace him with an equally subservient tool were he removed. They obstruct every effort on the part of the workers to build a political party of their own. Being themselves aligned with the old capitalist parties they wish to preserve their own standing and all that goes with it by keeping the workers in perpetual bondage to these corrupt, strikebreaking political machines.

Reactionary Labor Leadership

Space will not permit of my continuing the citation of the countless ways by which our labor official bureaucracy is impeding the progress of the labor movement. On the whole our labor officialdom is the most reactionary labor body on the globe. It will tolerate no movement having the slightest tinge of radicalism. It flies into a fury at any suggestion of change. It stands rigidly for things as they are. Even so mild and practical and necessary a change as the amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial units is taboo and bitterly opposed by our official oligarchy. That singly our unions are being slaughtered by the united powers of capitalism does not seem to faze these gentlemen in the least.

But, it will be asked, why should they worry about changes that might toss some of them out of the swivel chair? They are doing nicely as things are. They draw their well filled envelopes regularly. They have no layoffs, no "liquidation," no "back to normalcy." Everything is "jake" with them. Their motto is: "Sit tight, fellows, and pan the radicals; them guys 'll get us if we don't watch out."

Go to an A. F. of L. convention, where they are all together, and look 'em over. "Working men?" you will think. "I must have gotten into the wrong place. This must be a meeting of the National Manufacturers' Association," so sleek and plump and well groomed the bunch will be. Presently you will spy out a worker, a "rough-neck" delegate, of which there are a few, and approach him with your doubting. And he will most likely say: "You are in the right place alright, but these guys are national manufacturers, at that; national manufacturers of antediluvian bunk." And if you stick around a couple of days you will go away convinced that the roughneck was right.

Gompers, the Static Type of Leader

Brother Gompers is a typical example of the stand pat type of labor man. His mind has not been affected in the least by all the changes that have taken place in our economic structure during his official life of more than 40 years. Steadfastly he adheres to ideas and tactics that were 40 years behind 40 years ago. Forty years ago he might have been excused on tactical grounds. Then he might have said with some show of wisdom: "Let us go slow for a while till we get the unions well on the way; then we will push out our educational matter and lead the workers up to a knowledge of their actual status in so-

ciety." Forty years have elapsed and no educational matter has appeared. He has learned nothing himself and bitterly denounced as "unprincipled radicals" those who have. He hobbles about insisting that what is is not. Like all old men he lives in the past. The future to him is dark as night. The present he dimly sees.

Such men are a positive menace to the labor movement. It is a social crime to keep them in the leadership of a young and vigorous movement that requires the utmost of activity and forward vision. The labor movement must have young men, men who live in the present and know how to grapple with its perplexing problems, while keeping a steady eye on the future, the goal, without which any handling of the labor problem leads to chaos and confusion.

While men of the Gompers type remain in control the movement will remain static. But there are hopeful signs ahead. Due to the untiring work of the "unprincipled radicals," the workers are waking up and have begun to cast off the incubus of false leadership. They are taking the leadership into their own hands and once the rank and file gets under way the old guard will be quickly cast into the dump. Labor will then be on its way to come into its own. And its own is all. All that Labor produces shall belong to Labor. Any other formula is false.

The Clothing Workers Stir

By Joseph Manley

SOMETHING of a sensation was caused in union circles recently when the entire officialdom, including the business agents, of the New York Joint Board (District Council) of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America resigned in a body. This unprecedented action was a dramatic climax to a long dispute that has gone on between the "rights" and "lefts." The resigning officials were of the "rights," and they quit under pressure from the "lefts."

The New York Joint Board was headed by a leadership of the *Forward* type, and dominated by that paper. Conditions were most unsatisfactory. Standpatism was in the saddle, and the Joint Board was bankrupt, financially and otherwise. It owed \$200,000 to the General Office and \$300,000 to other sources. Demoralization set in among the rank and file, and they stopped paying dues. Instead of correcting the evils at the bottom of this discontent the old officialdom and the *Forward* which attempts to dictate the policies of all the needle trades unions, launched

into a bitter campaign against the "lefts," accusing them of carrying on propaganda for non-payment of dues. This added fuel to the flame.

Upon the eve of the Joint Board elections several weeks ago the crisis reached the breaking point. A circular appeared and was circulated among the membership. It recited a series of serious charges against the officialdom of the Joint Board, and it was signed somewhat obscurely as coming from the "United Campaign Committee for all the Locals." This was the signal for a bitter attack from the *Forward*, which branded the whole surging rank and file discontent as being caused by "union busters," "splitters," "lefts," "Communists," etc. All of which worsened an already bad situation.

The Election Tangle

Just at this critical juncture, the Amalgamated Shop Delegate League, which up to this had been trying to function as a forum for the expression of left wing ideas of the militants, and which was made up mostly from members of locals 3 and 5, took a hand in the affair. Their



first important act was to repudiate responsibility for the issuance of the above-mentioned semi-anonymous circular, and to set forth their own ideas in a circular gotten out under their own name. Then they affiliated their group to the Trade Union Educational League, agreeing to its principles and policies. This step was a turning point in the development of the left wing and it went a long way towards bringing about the necessary responsibility in the situation.

As the fight heated up the two Jewish labor dailies, the *Forward* and the *Freiheit*, found themselves in sharpest opposition. The *Forward* began the attack by issuing slanderous articles against everybody and everything connected with the movement of the rank and file against the local officialdom. Then the *Freiheit*, the "left" daily, got into the fight also, sharply exposing the *Forward* and all its works. Emotion and excitement ran high all around.

In the midst of this turmoil the elections for the Joint Board took place. The announced result showed the "right" candidates to have been elected by a sweeping vote. The *Forward* loudly hailed this as a great victory for its forces and the officials of the Joint Board; likewise as a repudiation of the charges made by the "lefts." But the jubilation was short lived. The rank and file, enraged at the manner in which the elections had been conducted by the local officialdom, raised their voice in angry protest.

Turning of the Tide

They called a monster mass meeting of members in Cooper Union to register their objections. Speakers charged that ballot boxes had been stuffed, voters intimidated, etc. The meeting demanded new elections. It also insisted that the many locals, which the officialdom had been juggling so long for its own benefit, should be amalgamated, and as the real remedy for the evil conditions complained of, that the shop delegate system be gradually installed. At this protest meeting a representative of the General Office of the A. C. W. of A. was present. He admitted that the Joint Board system in New York had broken down and he promised that the rank and file would get justice. The Italian workers are a big factor in the New York clothing industry, and they added power to the demands of the protest meeting by declaring that their big local, No. 63, would withdraw from the Joint Board if the elections were allowed to stand.

At the ensuing meeting of the Joint Board a solution, presumably coming from the General Office, was proposed by Manager Blomberg. In effect the proposal was that the elections should stand, but that the various locals should have new elections within sixty days, that they should

have proportional representation on the Joint Board, and that the large locals should elect their representatives to the Board of Directors, the custom previously having been for the joint Board to elect its own Board of Directors

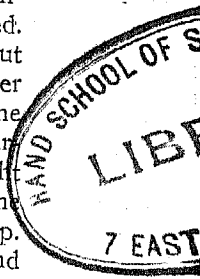
The feature of this Joint Board meeting was a speech made by General Secretary-Treasurer Schlossberg in support of the proposition put forth by Manager Blomberg (who is a member of the General Executive Board). Schlossberg's speech was filled with sincerity and emotion, and he made such an impression that in spite of the bitter attacks made upon Blomberg's proposition it carried. The right wing voted against and the left wing for it. The "lefts" went along with it, not because it coincided with their program entirely, but because it seemed the only feasible way to preserve the organization from disruption.

The Joint Board Resigns

It was at this point, shortly after the majority of the Joint Board had accepted the proposition and the General Office was in the midst of preparations to carry it out, that the entire officialdom resigned in a body. Their aim was, no doubt, to hamper the General Office in bringing order out of the chaos. But the effect of this wholesale quitting was the opposite of what was expected. It has shown to the rank and file the true colors of their former officials.

In the face of this new crisis, the General Office immediately appointed a set of temporary officers for the Joint Board. And as this article is being written, the locals are now engaged in electing a new set of business agents and representatives. Without doubt a very large percentage of these will have strong left wing sympathies. Sydney Hillman, who was absent in Russia during these stirring events, has now returned and is taking an efficient hand in straightening matters out.

In this fight the left wing did not handle themselves as carefully as might have been wished. This was because of lack of organization. But they are profiting by this experience. Moreover they have made a lasting impression on the general rank and file. It was their burning fervor, sincerity, and militant courage that brought about this denouement, resulting as it did in the wholesale resignation of the yellow leadership. This discredited leadership is now left high and dry, where the rank and file will insist that they remain. For a long time it has been said that "the *Forward* can make an organization and can also break it." But this boast was exploded in this affair. Now it has a hollow sound. After this cleansing of their organizations, the New York clothing workers, getting a new lease on life, are going to push on faster than ever.





Dis-Union in the Printing Trades

By Ann Morgan

ABOUT 17 years have passed since the printing trades went on strike for the 48-hour week. It was not achieved as easily as expected, for it took several years to become an established fact. Now we find ourselves in the same position regarding the 44-hour week. It is a year and a half since we went out to gain this last cut in working hours, and it is still far from established.

The method by which the fight has been carried on is the cause of the failure. Each separate union had its scale committee to meet the employers separately. The latter, being united in one solid organization, thus had the advantage. We planned our attack, and then gave them long notice that on May 1st, 1921, we would inaugurate the 44-hour week, peacefully or otherwise. The employers decided that the time was opportune to add a few more names to the list of victims of their union-smashing campaign. They had dealt long enough with the separated printing trades unions to know their weakest spots. They gave battle to the three trades most essential to ordinary printing, the Compositors, Pressmen, and Bookbinders. Those acquainted with the trades involved will agree that it has been a costly affair to the unions, especially in that it has lost them close to half their membership.

The Typographical Union has fared better than the others, because they had a large strike fund, and much larger membership. Even with this reserve strength, however, and their ability to support their striking members fairly well, they have not come to any satisfactory settlement, and still have several thousands on strike.

Surely there must be something wrong in our methods of organization if in the course of 17 years we cannot put across so simple a thing as a four-hour reduction in the work-week. The lack of success in this effort is being used by the employers in their "open shop" activities. Few shops having signed up for the 44-hour week, the unions are unable to furnish jobs to their members. Only union shops apply to the union headquarters for workers, and they are not busy now. The large employers are hiring their help through the Master Printers' Association. They are indeed masters of the jobs at the present time.

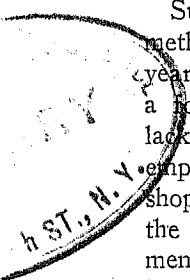
When a worker applies at the employers' agencies for work, one of the first questions

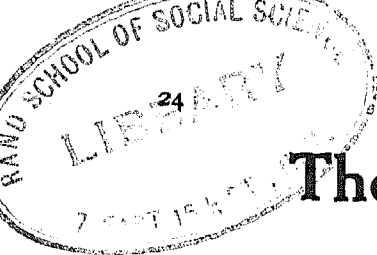
asked is, "Have you ever belonged to the union?" The answer is usually in the affirmative, if truthful, for at one time we were nearly 100% organized. The second question is, "What good did you get from the union? Do you know anyone who was ever benefitted by union membership?" If you are smart enough to answer in the negative the job is yours.

Here is indeed food for thought. The usefulness of our unions is questioned. What is wrong? Have we not always regarded our union much as a Christian does his church, as something sacred and beyond criticism? Perhaps that is the trouble. We have not improved and strengthened them as we should. Even within crafts we have failed miserably to meet the required solidarity. For example, the women workers in the printing trades, although they work just as hard at work requiring as much skill, receive but about half the wages of the men workers. Solidarity among the workers must replace this division.

Particularly is this so between the various crafts. Instead of six or seven printing unions, we must have one mighty organization embodying them all. Can there be any doubt of the result? The fact would be self-evident to every worker in the industry that he would benefit by belonging to it. There would be no limit to our achievements. And such a union is readily possible, if we will just set ourselves to the task of bringing about amalgamation of all organizations in the printing trades.

Organized Labor in the printing trades has long been meek. It has been said: "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth." But our blessings have been in the nature of long hours, low pay, strike injunctions, and Supreme Court rulings to knock out child labor laws, and the like. To date we have not, for some reason or other, inherited the earth. Perhaps our method has been wrong. Instead of keeping meekly by ourselves within the narrow bounds of craft unions, suppose we try the policy of militantly uniting all the workers in each industry, into a series of great industrial unions, one for each industry. Then with the modern industrial unions, firmly united together into one great labor movement, we would have the necessary power to go forth and conquer the earth and the fullness thereof, for the men and women of Labor.





The Cleveland "Con" Conference

By William F. Dunne

THE Cleveland Convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action in session the 11th and 12th of December can be best described by quoting Ed. Nockels of the Chicago Federation of Labor. After waiting patiently for two days for some sign of intelligence and militancy from the sponsors for the conference, Nockels said: "This is a dual movement for rewarding friends and punishing enemies. The Chicago Federation of Labor is opposed to dualism and if all this conference is going to do is copy the Gompers policy we might as well be with Sam and be regular."

The one thing the conference succeeded in doing was to prove to the satisfaction of all observers that most of its energies were mobilized to prevent the establishment of a labor party at this time and to head off any movement that showed signs of understanding the basic reasons underlying the open shop campaign, the use of the federal authority, judicial, military and legislative against the workers and their organization.

It was briefly because the Workers' Party showed a clear understanding of these matters and an earnest desire to unite the wage earners and working farmers in an organization where they could find political expression that its delegates were excluded from the conference. The weakness of the elements composing the right wing of the conference was clearly demonstrated by this incident. The creaking machinery set up by these political rivals of Gompers was strained to its utmost by the effort required to prevent the Workers' Party securing admission. The incident might not have caused so much trouble nor resulted in the complete unmasking of so-called liberals and progressives had it not been for the presence of two individuals of entirely different types—Edward Keating, Ex-congressman, who draws \$7500.00 per year as editor of *Labor* and Robley D. Cramer, editor of the *Minneapolis Labor Review*.

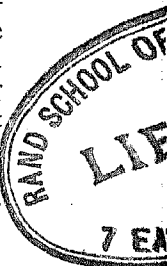
Keating, after the credential committee had reported that they had "lost" the credentials of Workers' Party delegates when questioned by C. E. Ruthenberg, launched the stereotyped flag waving attack upon the Workers' Party. He had expected, apparently, that this denunciation would evoke wild applause from the delegates in the gallery. Much to his surprise it brought forth cat calls, boos and hisses and resulted in the question of seating Workers' Party delegates being referred back to the committee after

Cramer took the floor and stated that he hoped the conference would not take the same attitude toward the Workers' Party as did Burns and Daugherty. He spoke of the constructive work that the Workers' Party was doing in uniting the labor forces and mentioned the fact that they were being persecuted by the same forces responsible for the injunctions against the striking miners and railway shopmen. When the credential committee reported again on the matter and recommended the Workers' Party be not seated because its principles did not conform to the declarations of the conference a motion by Cramer to seat their delegates was ruled out of order by William Johnson, Chairman.

The report of the committee on resolutions and program was another attempt to side track a clean cut workers' and farmers' party and platform. Its recommendations consisted of the following: Repeal of the Esch-Cummins Law, operation of the railroads for the benefit of the people, public control of water power, direct election of president and vice-president, the abolition by congress of the autocracy of the Supreme Court, increased inheritance taxes, maternity law and a plank lifted from the non-partisan league program providing for a soldiers bonus to be paid by tax on excess profits

For no apparent reason, unless it was the intention to inject a little humor, the committee recommended that the prices of farm commodities be raised for the benefit of the farmers while at the same time a reduction of prices to consumers was urged. This impossible proposal that could occur only to individuals destitute of even elementary knowledge of the way the system works aroused some slight enthusiasm. The reason for this will remain one of the unsolved mysteries of the conference. Keating, reporting for the program committee, had announced that it had agreed upon the platform that was the shortest on record. It can be seen quite plainly that the shortness of the platform is obtained by the strikingly simple method of leaving out everything of any importance. This is a procedure that is highly favored by politicians of the Keating type and as he said: "This program contains the sort of things that we can get our congressmen and senators to work for." This is probably true but framing demands that will meet the approval of middle class minds does not get the wage earners and farmers anywhere.

It was at this point that Robert M. Buck of the Farmer-Labor Party of Illinois, Editor of



the *New Majority* arose with the expression of one who had a painful duty to perform, and brought in a minority report. It was not the fact of there being a minority report but what it contained that caused the flurry which followed among the right wingers. Buck's minority report was in the form of a motion instructing the resolution and program committee to bring before the convention the thirteen resolutions that had been submitted to it and, announce its action on them. He also intimated that the convention might be interested in knowing why the committee had voted to withhold the resolutions. Bill Johnson had an attack of nervousness that incapacitated him for duty and only the timely arrival of Morris Hillquit with one of his sure-fire remedies for dissension prevented a wild outbreak. Norman Thomas had managed to make himself heard and had pointed out with embarrassing clarity that the committee had overlooked such important matters as the restoration of civil liberties, amnesty for political prisoners, child labor and had not said a word about the coal problem. Hillquit moved that the program and the matters mentioned by Thomas be referred to the incoming executive with instructions to incorporate them in the platform. He saved the right wing elements from making themselves ridiculous by going before the workers of this country with a program slightly less progressive than that of the Democratic party, and they owe him a debt of gratitude.

At the closing session of the conference a strenuous fight for a labor party was put up by the farmer labor delegates and their sympathizers. Fitzpatrick and Buck of Chicago and Cramer of Minneapolis made the reactionaries look ridiculous by their clear presentation of the need for political expression by the workers in a party formed to represent class interests entirely distinct from those of the other section of

our society. The labor party elements developed surprising strength and their resolution was defeated by the small majority of 12 votes—52 to 64.

The voting strength of the conference was vested in the representatives of the International Unions who are opposed to a labor party and for this reason there was little opportunity for the labor partyites' views to prevail. The conference was entirely dominated by labor officials and reformers whose views are devoid of any working class characteristics. As Senator-elect B. K. Wheeler of Montana said in addressing the conference: "We have bankers in Montana who are more progressive than some of the labor men here."

The Cleveland Conference left undone the task that many militant workers hoped it would accomplish—the establishing of a class party of the workers in industry and agriculture. It showed conclusively that although the time is rotten ripe for a labor party in the United States and that the organized labor movement needs a clear political viewpoint as never before, there must be considerably greater pressure from the rank and file before officialdom will take this necessary step in the development of a powerful labor movement in America.

More than ever is it clear that the Trade Union Educational League has a gigantic task ahead of it and that only the militants—courageous Trade Unionists, Farmer-Labor partyites and members of the Workers' Party are the only elements in the Labor movement who are really trying to make the working class realize its power and that a fighting political party of labor in the United States must include these groups.

Without these groups we have only such farcical and pitiable gatherings as the Cleveland Conference.

You will be interested in
THE LABOR HERALD FOR FEBRUARY
First Anniversary Number

"One Year of the Trade Union Educational League." Also the first reports of the Second Congress of The Red International of Labor Unions. Special articles on the liveliest subjects in the labor movement.

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(Continued from Page 5)

confronts us: either we will go ahead as we are and watch our unions annihilated, or we will consolidate them all into one powerful organization and thus march on in spite of the companies' opposition, to ever-greater conquests. As for this Conference, it chooses the latter course. We demand the formation of one general organization to include all the great army of railroad workers, of every trade and classification, in the United States and Canada.

2. The Minnesota Plan.

As the way to achieve this all-inclusive union of railroad workers this National Railroad Amalgamation Conference heartily endorses the plan, popularly known as "the Minnesota Plan," which has been widely circulated among all local unions in the railroad industry and concurred in by thousands of them. We endorse the Minnesota Plan, (a) because it presents the most practical form of railroad industrial union yet worked out, (b) because it outlines the only feasible way to bring about such an organization, and (c) because it solves the shop mechanic problem:

(a) *A Departmentalized Industrial Union.* Following the best practice of all unions which have arrived at the industrial form, the Minnesota Plan provides for a departmentalized organization. This means that the general union will be divided into several departments, each consisting of a number of closely related trades. Each department will have direct representation on the general executive committee of the whole union. Thus each trade and craft will have free expression in the working out and presentation of its demands, but all will make one solid front against the employers. Departmentalized industrial unions are the modern, up-to-date forms of labor organization.

(b) *Solidarity Through Consolidation.* The Minnesota Plan proposes to bring about the general railroad union by amalgamating all the existing organizations. This program is in harmony with natural labor union development. The tendency of workers in organizing is to come together first in craft groups and then gradually to merge these together until great industrial unions are built up. The Minnesota Plan, in advocating amalgamation, is scientific and correct. It flatly opposes secession and dual unionism as inimical to the workers' interests. Such movements divide the workers' ranks, bringing more unions into the field when there should be fewer, and encouraging endless jurisdictional disputes and general confusion.

(c) *Double Affiliation of Mechanics.* In building an industrial union one thing that must be avoided is cutting off the metal trades railroad shop mechanics from their organized brothers of outside industries. The Minnesota Plan does this by its system of double affiliation. That is, the metal trades shop mechanics would be members of both the metal trades and railroad union, paying part of their dues into each, upon the principle that is now in effect in many big unions, including, to a lesser degree, the Railway Employees' Department. The Conference, realizing that the metal trades shop mechanics have a direct interest in maintaining good conditions in the metal industry generally, is opposed to tearing them away

from the metal trades unions, and it endorses the principle of double affiliation.

3. Educational Organization.

Inasmuch as the leaders of the various railroad craft unions, failing to rise to the needs of the situation, are doing nothing to educate the rank and file to the necessity of amalgamation, it is up to the rank and file to take this work in hand itself. To facilitate this the National Railroad Amalgamation Conference adopts the following system of national and local educational organization to disseminate the principles of amalgamation among the membership at large, and to crystallize the sentiment for this necessary reform in our organizations:

(a) *National.* The general body shall be called the International Committee for Amalgamation in the Railroad Industry. It shall consist of 100 active amalgamationists, of all trades, in all localities. The Conference shall at once select 50 of these International Committee members. These shall meet together at the close of the Conference and select the remaining 50. The headquarters of the International Committee shall be located in some large and accessible railroad center. In the headquarters town there shall be an Executive Committee, consisting of one member from each of the local organizations. This Executive Committee shall be chosen by the International Committee at the close of this Conference. The function of the International Committee shall be to decide on major policies, by referendum, and that of the Executive Committee shall be to apply them. The Chairman, Vice Chairman and Secretary-Treasurer of the International Committee shall be elected at this Conference.

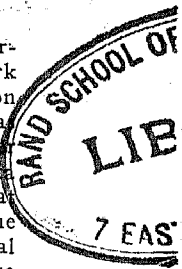
(b) *Local.* In order to carry the message of solidarity to the uttermost limits of all unions in the railroad industry, there shall be organized local amalgamation committees in all railroad centers, to consist of delegates from the local unions, or, where reactionary locals refuse to send delegates, of volunteers from those organizations. These local amalgamation committees shall carry on an intensive work of education. They shall not accept per capita tax or dues. For their revenue they shall depend upon voluntary donations from members and locals.

4. General Railroad Amalgamation Convention.

In order to bring about amalgamation at the earliest possible date, the Conference proposes to work for the calling of a general railroad amalgamation convention, at which all the unions, or as many as possible of them, shall be amalgamated together according to the general principles of the Minnesota Plan. A widespread campaign shall be initiated at once by the International Committee and all the local committees for the calling of such a general amalgamation convention. It shall be the definite goal of this movement and every effort shall be expended to accomplish it.

5. General Metal Trades Amalgamation Convention.

Realizing the close relationship between the metal trades and the railroad industry, the National Railroad Amalgamation Conference urges the amalgamationists in the metal trades generally to also set as their goal the assembling of a general amalgamation convention at which their many unions can be combined into one real organization. This combination of the metal trades unions proper will greatly facili-



tate the amalgamation of the railroad trades and will work for the prosperity and power of both industries. For the purpose of combining the metal trades, a National Metal Trades Amalgamation Committee, with its feeders of local amalgamation committees, should be organized and set to work educating the rank and file and crystalizing the large volume of amalgamation sentiment already existing.

6. Partial Amalgamation.

While aiming definitely at combining all railroad unions into one organization and never losing this goal from view, the International Amalgamation Committee shall, nevertheless, do its utmost to help bring about partial amalgamations. That is, where related trades have been won over to the amalgamation program, every assistance should be lent to combine them along the lines of the Minnesota Plan. But in doing this care should be observed not to destroy the proposed general amalgamation convention. A present danger is that, seeing the overwhelming wave of amalgamation sentiment now sweeping the ranks of railroad workers, certain officials, to at least partially thwart it, will pull their organizations into little side amalgamations with other unions, thus escaping the full force of the movement and tending to disintegrate the same. This must be avoided. The success of this great amalgamation movement will depend very much upon the whole movement being kept in one great stream. Therefore, every energy must be expended to crystallize all existing amalgamation sentiment in the proposed general amalgamation convention. That is the time and place where the partial amalgamations should occur, provided we cannot accomplish complete amalgamation at once. Organizations which are serious in their desire for amalgamation can just as easily as not arrange that their fusion with affiliated trades takes place during the general amalgamation convention. We should strive energetically to see that this is done. All forces tending to disintegrate the amalgamation movement or to divert sections of it into isolated by-paths should be combated.

7. General Amalgamation Referendum.

Immediately this National Railroad Amalgamation Conference adjourns representatives of the International Amalgamation Committee shall confer with the heads of all railroad unions, collectively or individually, and propose to them that they call the general amalgamation convention at the earliest

practicable date. In case of refusal by these officials, the International Amalgamation Committee shall request that they put out a uniform amalgamation referendum to their rank and file, designed to learn whether the latter are in favor of amalgamation and whether they will authorize the calling of a general amalgamation convention, at which all the railroad unions, or as many as possible of them, shall be combined together according to the broad principles of the Minnesota Plan. Should this request for a uniform referendum rank and file vote on amalgamation be denied, in any case, it shall be the duty of the International Committee to have the amalgamation referendum properly started among the rank and file of such organizations. At present the great majority of railroad workers are in favor of amalgamation along the lines of the Minnesota Plan. The important thing necessary to make this fact indisputably clear and to start the organizations rapidly on the way to consolidation is to give the rank and file a chance to vote (each union voting as a separate unit) in a general referendum on amalgamation. To get this vote properly, expressed in a demand for a general amalgamation convention, is the great task of the International Amalgamation Committee. All amalgamationists are urged to turn their best energies in this direction. A general amalgamation convention, authorized by a general vote of the whole membership, should be the slogan of our campaign for solidarity.

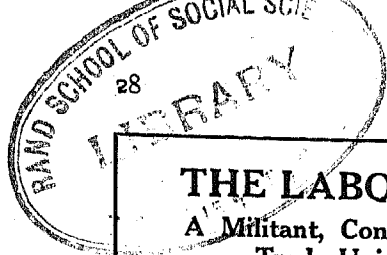
8. Amalgamation Advocate.

The amalgamation movement, affecting as it does all railroad trades, must have a journal of its own, so that the message of amalgamation can be carried to the whole rank and file. Therefore, the National Railroad Amalgamation Conference endorses the Amalgamation Advocate as its organ, and it urgently requests all amalgamationists to become subscribers to the same, and also that all sympathizing local lodges take substantial bundle orders of the paper.

9. Amalgamation Fund.

To furnish the finances necessary in educating the organizations to the necessity for and principles of amalgamation, this Conference herewith establishes the Amalgamation Fund. All locals in the railroad industry favoring amalgamation are requested to make voluntary contributions to the same of not less than \$2.00 apiece monthly, the larger locals being requested to contribute as much more as their means permit.

League Members:—The work of the T. U. E. L. is taking on ever wider scope. New duties and new opportunities are continually presenting themselves. They can only be met by increasing the revenue of the League. That is what the SUSTAINING FUND was established to take care of. We cannot over-emphasize its importance. For example, we must get organizers in the field to cover and organize the four Districts provided by the National Conference, Eastern, Central, Western, and Canada. Up until now we have only been able to get one on the job, Joseph Manley in the Eastern District. The necessary financial support to carry out this program can be easily realized if every one will do his share. Get busy with the SUSTAINING FUND. Whoever has not done his bit in this work is not yet participating in the most necessary activity of the Trade Union Educational League.



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ANOTHER JOB FOR THE LEAGUE

SELDOM has the labor movement seen such a contemptible exhibition of pussy-footing as that of the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action. Instead of taking a step forward, it tied itself up with the thrice-bankrupt Gompers policy of non-partisanship. It ignored the first judgment that common sense renders in the present situation, that there must be a Labor Party in America; everyone in the gathering knew this elementary need, but there was not sufficient guts to make it a reality.

The latest excuse for sabotaging the Labor Party is the so-called progressive victory in the two old parties. The illusory quality of this "victory" is plain to every thinking worker; it will be apparent to the great masses when the "friends" of Labor get into action. Consider a sample of these "progressives" elected according to the nonpartisan plan as "friends," Hiram Johnson of California. Just as this is being written, Johnson is taking the stand in the Daugherty impeachment trial, in defense of Daugherty and Burns. The latter, he boasts, got his job of chief labor-baiter on the recommendation of Johnson himself. This is an outstanding influential figure in the "progressive bloc." Under the non-partisan scheme, he represents "Labor." A more shameful situation is hard to picture.

Compare this "victory" which places a handful of nondescript capitalist politicians in Congress as Labor's representatives, with the large block of Labor members of Parliament in Britain. There Labor has 141 actual representatives, elected by a Labor Party, recognized as the second Party of the country. Or compare it with the political power of Labor in Germany, where even the despised Communists have more actual power than has the entire labor movement of America. The German labor movement has more Communists in the Government than America has "progressives," as is shown by the following list of the formers representatives:

Members of the Reichstag, 14 besides the 12 who left the Party with Levi; State representatives, 76; Provincial representatives, 69; Town Councillors, 12,015; City Councillors, 1,507; District Councillors, 281.

But American labor officials are content to go along in our condition of impotence, opposing the formation of a Labor Party in the same fashion as they

oppose amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial unions. This officialdom blocks progress in every direction. It is up to the League, as in the matter of amalgamation, to carry the message of the need of a Labor Party throughout the labor movement and, by stirring up the rank and file to action, bring it to pass.

HOOPER SPILLS THE BEANS

THE reactionary railroad union officials may try to deceive the rank and file into believing that amalgamation of their sixteen craft unions into one great industrial union would not increase the power of the railroad workers in their struggles. But certainly the capitalists are not fooled by such balderdash. They know, if the workers do not, that the consolidation of all the unions in the railroad industry sounds the death-knell of their present unbridled exploitation of labor. In a recent issue of the Saturday Evening Post, Ben Hooper, one of the chief lickspittles of the railroad capitalists, and chairman of the Railroad Labor Board, demonstrated this fact when he said:

"In case of a general strike comprising all classes of railway employees, what chance would there be to recruit a new force, competent in skill and adequate in numbers to keep traffic going? Absolutely none within any reasonable length of time. Enough competent men could be found to operate a few trains, but the traffic and travel that could be handled under such conditions would not be a drop in the bucket. Not only can the railway labor organizations close down the roads but they can keep them shut down with practical completeness for a long period of time. The public might as well pigeon-hole that fact now for convenient reference as go through the process of re-acquiring it at enormous cost later on."

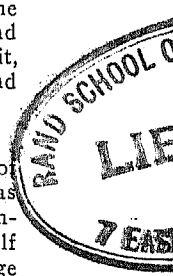
The power of a completely united organization of all railroad labor is here clearly stated by Hooper, the tool of the railroad companies. A word to the wise should be sufficient. When the companies and their agents fear amalgamation and are against it, then the workers should welcome amalgamation and work for it with all their power.

MAGON AND MOONEY

CAPITALISM has struck down another one of Labor's militants. Ricardo Flores Magon was killed by imprisonment in Leavenworth Penitentiary because he dared to raise his voice in behalf of the working class. After serving five of a savage sentence of twenty-five years, he finally escaped his capitalistic jailors through death. A noble spirit, full of revolt against the exploiters of the working class, he is mourned by thousands all over the world. His murder places another seal upon the doom of the capitalist system.

The capitalist class is trying to do to Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, what it has done to Magon. It wants to rob the working class for all time of their precious services. Already it has ruined more than six years of their lives, to the eternal shame of Labor that it has been allowed. Will the workers be stupid enough and cowardly enough to let the tools of the exploiters go through with their plan? Will Mooney also find escape only through death?

With all our energy we say, No! The labor movement of America must be stirred into action. The shame of the Mooney case must be brought home to every worker, until he starts into action. So long



as Mooney is in prison, our labor movement is enslaved. Throughout the length of the land all the militants of Labor must raise the slogan, "Mooney must be freed."

12 HOURS IN STEEL

AT present a unique and shameful exhibition is being given of Organized Labor's weakness in the steel industry. In the agitation now going on for the eight hour day for the enslaved steel workers, the trade unions are taking little or no part. The organized technical engineers are carrying on a regular propaganda for it, and likewise the liberal elements in the various churches. But the leaders of the steel unions have nothing to say, or if they have, no one pays any attention to them. They have been completely defeated and eliminated as a factor in the industry.

In practically every other country in the world but this, the eight hour day has been established in the steel industry. And in each case it was done by the strong right arm of Labor. In the United States we see the sad spectacle of the fight for this reform being carried on, not by the labor movement, but by efficiency experts and humanitarians. To such depths has Gompersism reduced the trade union movement in the steel industry.

The time was, in the great steel campaign of 1918-19, when the labor unions had the opportunity to win the eight hour day by their own efforts, as has been honorably done by the workers in all other countries. But that chance was deliberately thrown away by leadership of the Gompers stamp. No serious backing could be secured for the fighting steel workers from the presidents of the international unions in the metal industry. And now the situation is almost hopeless, with the decrepit and incapable Mike Tighe, President of the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers, sitting on the lid. He is a typical Gompers man, and it is safe to say that so long as he remains in power the steel workers will be unable to win anything by their own strength, but will have to humbly accept whatever crumbs may fall from the master's table.

GOMPERS OPPOSES WORLD CONFERENCE

WHEN the Amsterdam International invited the American Federation of Labor to participate in the anti-war conference at the Hague, December 10, it gave Mr. Gompers an opportunity to repeat his former jingoistic action, declaring the American labor movement sufficient unto itself. The difference between Mr. Gompers and the Amsterdam leaders is that the former is frankly and openly a jingo nationalist, while the latter are forced to conceal their real nature behind a mask of militant phrases. They refuse to take any action against their imperialistic Governments to prevent war, and Mr. Gompers is opposed to even talking about the matter.

The basis of Gompers' refusal to participate is so blackly reactionary that it should bring a protest from American Labor. While the Amsterdam International has proven itself to be a reactionary and anti-working class body, from which labor can expect no real struggle against the forces of capitalism, yet to refuse to sit into their meeting on the grounds that to mention a world-strike is taboo, is to deliver the labor movement over to the imperialists in advance. Gompers gives Labor away to imperial-

ism: the Amsterdammers want to hold out for a rising market. Gompers treason is immediate and clear, Amsterdam's wears a radical mask. Gompers wants international treason to be open.

The hope of effective international organization of labor lies in the Red International of Labor Unions. In this body is gathered the forces which carry on the continuous struggle against capitalism, and which recognize no national boundaries as separating the forces of the labor movement. The only effective war against war will be launched from the ranks of this organization, which is more and more gaining the leadership of world Labor. And when the labor movement of America repudiates Mr. Gompers, it will turn, not to his spiritual counterparts of the Amsterdam International, but to the Red International of Labor Unions.

A MILLION DIMES

THE orphans of Soviet Russia are being made the special wards of the Friends of Soviet Russia. This organization which made such an excellent record of famine relief work during the past year, is now engaged in a campaign for "one million dimes" with which to feed the orphans under their especial care. One dime will feed one child for a day. A few dollars will save another orphan from starvation until the next crop gives relief.

No more important task today faces the friends of the First Workers' Republic than that of helping to care for the helpless children, orphans of the heroes of the Revolution. It is one which should be done with enthusiasm and generosity. We urge all our readers to join in the present campaign by sending as many dimes as possible to the Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 West 13th St., New York City.

SUPPORT THE R. A. I. C.

THE LABOR HERALD urges all its readers to completely disregard the fulminations of Colonel Thompson against the Russian-American Industrial Corporation, and give that organization their heartiest support. Thompson, former attorney for the R. A. I. C., went to Russia and, being a capitalist, is alarmed by the situation he found there. Hillman was in Russia at the same time, and he brings back a message of encouragement. We trust the judgment of Hillman.

Both Hillman and Thompson saw the same situation, but they saw it with different eyes. The very things which discouraged Thompson, filled Hillman full of hope; these things were the signs of Labor establishing its power more firmly every day. Thompson, being a capitalist, hoped the R. A. I. C. would strengthen capitalism in Russia; Hillman, a worker, is delighted to see his corporation strengthening the workers. We are for the workers, hence we will do everything we can to help make the Russian-American Industrial Corporation the success it should and will be. We urge our readers to do the same.

A CALL TO PATRIOTS

THE Library of Congress at Washington, D. C., is pressing us for a copy of THE LABOR HERALD for March, issue No. 1. We are out of these and, at the request of the Librarian, call upon some good American to make the supreme sacrifice and send his March copy into this office.

THE INTERNATIONAL

GREAT BRITAIN FOLLOWING the disastrous experiences of the recent metal workers' strike, the amalgamation movement is gaining headway as the only solution for the division in the ranks of the workers. The National Committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union has been in session in London revamping the organization constitution to permit more readily of amalgamation. In the *Daily Herald* V. Brodsky says of this: "Good progress is being made, and after the committee has finished its work, which may take another fortnight, the path will be made clearer for one big union of all engineering and metal trades workers . . . Just now the slogan of all trade unionists is "Concentrate on Amalgamation." When this aspiration is achieved, it is believed that it will be but a short step to Workers' Control of Industry."

One of the principal planks in the program of the Labor Party during the recent election campaign was a levy on capital to wipe out the enormous war debt. The terms of this proposed levy are as follows:

Fortune	Per Cent Levy
\$5,000	Nil
\$5,000 to \$6,000	5%
\$6,000 to \$8,000	10%
\$8,000 to \$10,000	15%
\$10,000 to \$15,000	20%
\$15,000 to \$20,000	25%
\$20,000 to \$30,000	30%
\$30,000 to \$50,000	35%
\$50,000 to \$100,000	40%
\$100,000 to \$200,000	45%
\$200,000 to \$500,000	50%
\$500,000 to \$1,000,000	55%
Over \$1,000,000	60%

For those who believe that the old trade unions are the only intolerant organizations, and that dual organizations, by some mysterious force, are the only ones which can be depended upon to harbor rebels, the experience in England with the Amalgamated Marine Workers' Union, a split-off from the National Seamen's and Firemen's Union, may prove instructive. A writer in the *Worker's Dreadnaught* says:

"The new Seamen's organization (the A. M. W. U.) was only possible by an active fight that has been going on for years by an advanced section of the seamen against Havelock Wilson's personal domination in the N. S. & F. U. As a result, these advanced seamen were expelled when the ideas for rank and file control began to gain ground. The new union was formed, but now it refuses admission to the advanced section which made possible its existence. The local secretary openly states that the union has not only the right to refuse admission, but also the right to refuse to give any explanation why."

The writer declares he saw the following notice displayed in the Hull branch of the Amalgamated Marine Workers' Union:

"This union is fighting for justice and fair play for all seamen. It is also fighting the National Shipping Federation, Communism, a prejudiced ship-owners' press, and other opposing

influences. We are fighting your battle. Help yourself by signing the slavery ticket protest. A meeting at the Commercial Hotel at 7:30 tonight. All seamen invited. Communists, bums, and interlopers not admitted."

ITALY IN his march to power, Mussolini, the renegade Socialist, visited flames upon the heads of his former comrades. The following is a brief resume of events in the critical days, taken from *Compagna*, a Communist paper, published underground:

October 28.—The Premier, Facta, presented the resignation of his Cabinet to the King, who took it under consideration. At Cremona, Alexandria, Piacenza, Florence, Siena, Perugia, the Fascisti assault and occupy public buildings.

October 29.—At Milan Mussolini awaits the charge to form a new Cabinet. *L'Avanti* and *La Giustizia* are invited by the Fascisti to suspend publication.

October 30.—The King accepted the resignation of Facta, and invited Mussolini to form the new Cabinet.

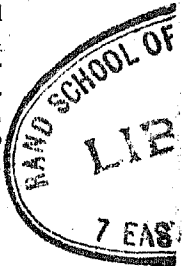
October 31.—The Fascisti occupied the Labor Temple in Turin, in Triest they prohibited the publication of *Lavoratore*, in Rome they suppressed the *Comunisti* in Milan they assaulted *L'Avanti*, in St. Remo the queen mother extended her hand to them congratulating them for their correct and upright conduct, in Turin they lacked the courage to attack the well-defended *L'Ordine Nuovo*, but this paper was later captured by the regular authorities. In every city there were conflicts between workers and Fascisti, resulting in scores of dead and wounded.

November 1.—Before turning the Turin Labor Temple over to the authorities the Fascisti sacked and burned it, causing 1,000,000 lira damages. Five branches of the Co-operative Alliance were also destroyed. The *Avanti* of Milan was burned by the Facisti, suffering 4,000,000 lira damages. Almost all the Communist, Socialist, and Labor headquarters are either occupied by the Facisti or destroyed.

In *L'Humanite*, Paris Humberto Terracini recites how Valenti the Communist was killed. It was an incident typical of the terrorism now prevailing in Italy. Valenti was a well-known militant of Fossombrone. The local Fascisti swore to kill him and started to his home, 100 strong, to do so. But, a valiant fighter, he drove them off and, taking advantage of the confusion, fled through the country. Thousands of Facisti were mobilized to capture him, torturing and killing the workers who refused to divulge his whereabouts. Finally they got him—and Terracini goes on to tell how they killed him:

And Valenti was killed. That conformed to the laws of war, he knew that. But the horrible thing was the manner in which they killed him. Strangled with ropes, Valenti was thrown into an automobile which sped towards Fossombrone. En route, after having beaten him and covered him with spit, his torturers cut off his nose and ears and riddled him with knife wounds.

In Fossombrone they tied their bleeding victim to the mud guard of the automobile and dragged him thus through the empty streets, for the people, terrorized, fled to their homes.



Valenti was vigorous and his agony was long. Workers who saw him dragged to the headquarters of the Fascisti, have described the terrible scene. Our comrade bled from many wounds. His battered face was a horrible smear. His clothes being torn from him he was almost nude. The sight of his suffering was so awful that it touched even the families of the Fascisti killed by Valenti when they assaulted his home. But in vain. Leaving the local Fascisti headquarters, the automobile, still drawing its terrible burden, charged through the streets, changing its pace to vary and prolong the pleasure. It was only when it reached the cemetery of Fossombrone that Valenti was killed. He was there riddled with bullets. When his comrades found his body later on it was nothing but a mud of flesh and absolutely unrecognizable. The authors of the outrage are all known, but the police will do nothing about it. So died the loyal Valenti.

GERMANY At the recent conference of revolutionary transport workers and seamen, held in Hamburg and attended by the All-Russian Transport Workers' Federation (1,500,000), the French Railway Workers' Union (68,000), the Dutch Transport Workers' Union (5,000), the German Seamen's Union (15,000), and several smaller bodies, the following theses were adopted to express the general stand of the International Propaganda Committee of Revolutionary Transport Workers, a branch of the Red International of Labor Unions:

The International Propaganda Committee of the Transport Workers and Seamen owes its origin to the same cause as the Red International of Labor Unions, namely, to the fact that the Amsterdam International is precisely the same in spirit as the Second International. When in the summer of 1921 the first congress of the R. I. L. U. was successfully held in Moscow, attention was also devoted to the international craft organizations. A number of delegates from the Transport Workers' movement of various countries who were at the R. I. L. U. congress in Moscow came together in several conferences with the result that the I. P. C. of the Transport Workers was founded.

The founding of the I. P. C. did not mean the organization of a new Transport Workers' International. On the contrary, its first and most important task is to strive after the unity of the international transport proletariat and the International Transport Workers' Federation. Notwithstanding this the I. T. F., which contains by far the greater part of the organized Transport Workers and which is affiliated to the Amsterdam International, continues, in this time of intense class antagonisms, its reformist policies. This makes it urgently necessary that the revolutionary elements existing in the I. T. F. should gather together in the I. P. C. for the purpose of combatting these reformist tactics and to transform the I. T. F. into a real international of the transport proletariat.

The leaders of the I. T. F. have shown that they do not want the effective fighting united front of the international transport proletariat. The Netherlands Transport Federation, for example, was expelled from the I. T. F. because its representative had taken part in the Transport Workers' Conference at Moscow. The All-

Russian Transport Workers' Federation, with its 1½ million members, as also the Transport Workers' Union of Bulgaria, were not accepted and were not admitted to the I. T. F. conferences. The German Seamen's Union, the largest seamen's organization in Germany, was denied admission to the transport Federation, because it would not allow itself to be forced away from the revolutionary class struggle by the German Transport Workers' Federation.

The International Seamen's Federation, headed by the social patriot Havelock Wilson, also stands in the way of the united front. This leader prevents the seamen in his federation from conducting the fight together with the remaining Transport Workers and seeks unity with the great capitalist employers.

Only then, if the leaders of the I. T. F. continue to refuse admittance to the Transport Workers' organizations standing outside of this international and thereby clearly show they desire not unity but division, can the excluded Transport Workers' and Seamen's organizations come to a situation in which they will be compelled to form separate from the I. T. F. a new International, on the basis of the revolutionary class struggle in which all organizations and minorities of organizations of Transport Workers on sea or land will be accepted who desire to carry on with us the uncompromising struggle against capitalism. Whether this step shall be taken depends entirely upon the leaders of the I. T. F.

The I. P. C. takes the standpoint that in these times of the most intense class antagonism the workers have nothing to expect in the struggle against the employers for direct improvement of conditions or against the lowering of established standards and also in the general struggle against capitalism, from the policy of co-operation with the employers. Only through direct action through the mass struggle of the workers themselves can the incessant attacks of the employers upon the standard of life be repelled and the power of capitalism be finally annihilated.

This struggle is forced upon the workers. They are compelled, on pain of disaster, to conduct it nationally and internationally. The transport Workers and Seamen in particular occupy an important position in the international struggle against capitalism, because transport by sea and land—at present at the command of capitalism—is one of the most important branches of economic life.

Max Holtz, internationally famous as a leader of the March, 1921 uprising in Germany, and who was sentenced to life imprisonment for his activities, is being tortured in Munster prison. Animated by bitter hatred for him, his jailers have been abusing him so terribly that his life is imperilled. He is sick almost to death. At last accounts he had been on a hunger strike for 11 days. The German labor movement is all wrought up over the matter and is demanding his transfer to another prison and his ultimate release. The law, recently adopted by the Reichstag, granting amnesty to political prisoners, was amended at the last moment so he could not come within its provisions.

AUDITING COMMITTEE'S REPORT

December 6th, 1922.

We the undersigned Auditing Committee have this day examined the books and accounts of the Trade Union Educational League, and of the LABOR HERALD, and find them correct and complete in all particulars. The following is a recapitulation of the accounts for the period of this audit, from September 1st, 1922, to November 30th, 1922.

Statement of Receipts and Expenditures:**RECEIPTS:**

Subscriptions	\$ 538.10
Bundle Orders	2,190.63
Advertisements	86.00
Books, etc.	533.90
General	250.84
Total	\$3,599.46
On hand September 1	1,022.96
	<hr/>
	\$4,622.42

DISBURSEMENTS:

Printing	\$1,877.95
Mailing	321.78
Miscellaneous	232.67
Office Expense	234.26
Wages	1,125.00
General	52.25
	<hr/>
	-3,843.91
Balance on hand Nov. 30	778.51
	<hr/>
	\$4,622.42

Respectfully submitted,
(Signed) Moritz J. Loeb,
S. T. Hammersmark,
Auditing Committee.

Statement of Assets and Liabilities:**ASSETS:**

Furniture	\$ 250.00
Books, etc.	200.00
Accounts Receivable	2,550.00
Cash	778.51
Total	\$3,778.51

LIABILITIES:

Loans	\$1,100.00
Accounts payable	300.00
	<hr/>
	\$1,400.00
Net worth	\$2,378.51

Earl R. Browder,
Managing Editor

BOOK NOTES

Imperial Washington, by R. F. Pettigrew; Chas. H. Kerr and Co., Chicago.

This book, described as a "story of American public life from 1870 to 1920," is written by an ex-senator of 12 years experience in the American Congress. Probably the most complete exposure of the corruption of politics, in the interest of capitalism, it is at the same time an absorbingly interesting story. Pettigrew writes out of his experience of fighting against the forces of imperialism; his book is most valuable to those who would understand how capitalism uses the Government for its own ends.

The Challenge of Waste, by Stuart Chase; League for Industrial Democracy, N. Y.

A pamphlet exposing the wastes of capitalism, by a successful American industrial engineer. The author is not concerned in this work with the workers' struggle against capitalism; he examines capitalism with the question, does it work? His conclusion that it does not is backed up by keen argument and observation. Production for profit is condemned from the point of view of the efficiency expert.

The Next Step, by Scott Nearing; Nellie Seeds Nearing, Ridgewood, N. J.

An examination of capitalism and its failure, with a world economic program designed to replace it. Organization of a producers society is advocated by the author, preserving local initiative, but centralizing the common interest in a world parliament based upon producing groups, with economic emancipation, as the objective. The class struggle is mentioned in passing.

DEATH OF MARY E. MARCY

IT is with deep regret that we record the death of Mary E. Marcy, news of which reaches us just as we go to press. For many years she has been known and deeply respected for her work in the labor movement, particularly among the left wing. Many of her books and pamphlets have had a lasting influence in the minds of thousands of workers. The news of her death will come as a blow to all who knew her.

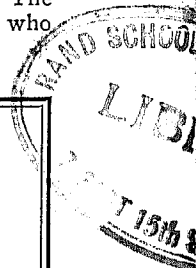
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The Organ of Militant Workingclass
Expression

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The Time is Ripe for Action

Act NOW for the liberation of the twenty militants on trial
under the Michigan Criminal Syndicalism Laws.

Act NOW in the struggle of labor against all repressive measures
limiting the rights of workers to organize freely.

Act NOW against labor-hating, labor-baiting, Burns-Daugherty,
strike-breaking, union-breaking, stool-pigeon combination.

A conviction in Michigan will mean a terrible blow at free speech,
at organized labor.

A conviction in Michigan will mean a nation-wide "criminal
syndicalism" campaign to put all labor militants in jail.

A conviction in Michigan will mean a successful climax to the
anti-labor policies of Burns and Daugherty.

The Michigan Cases Have Placed Free Speech on Trial in America

With the twenty militants in prison, free speech is dead.

An acquittal in Michigan will mean a stinging blow at criminal
syndicalism prosecutions everywhere.

An acquittal in Michigan will mean a tremendous defeat to the
anti-labor Department of Justice.

The Michigan Cases Have Placed Criminal Syndicalism Laws on Trial.

**With the twenty militants freed criminal syndicalism laws are
destroyed.**

HERE'S THE ISSUE!

For

Free Speech
Labor Progress
Twenty Militants Fighting
Labor's Struggles

Against

Criminal Syndicalism Laws
Burns-Daugherty Anti-labor
Agency
Twenty Militants In Michigan
Prisons

LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL

Federation of Labor Bldg.

166 W. Washington St.

Chicago, Ill.

The Railroaders' Next Step: AMALGAMATION

By Wm. Z. Foster

This pamphlet, which has become a classic of trade union literature, answers every question about amalgamation. It gives the history of the thieving railroad companies, and describes their consolidation. The growth and development of the railroad unions is then traced, with their inevitable evolution from the primitive single craft local, to the present stage of federation of great national unions. The failure of attempts to hasten progress by means of dual unions is dealt with graphically. Amalgamation of the sixteen standard railroad unions is shown as the next logical and inevitable step for the railroaders. A practical plan of amalgamation is proposed, and advantages and objections are examined and answered. This is a veritable primer of railroad unionism. It is a book which no railroad militant can do without.

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