

THE LABOR HERALD

Official Organ of The Trade Union Educational League

Anniversary
Number



FEBRUARY 1923

99

15 CENTS

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By Wm. Z. Foster

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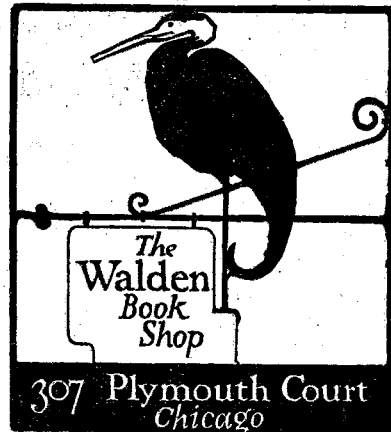
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No. 12

A Year of the League

By Charles Krumbein

ALTHOUGH the Trade Union Educational League was organized in November, 1920, it is really only a year old, because previous to the launching of THE LABOR HERALD in March, 1922, it consisted of little more than a few scattered groups throughout the country. But in the past year it has taken on a truly wonderful growth. Not for many years past, if ever, in this country has there been an organization operating upon the industrial field which has created such a stir in the labor movement and made so much genuine progress.

When the League began its operations a twelve-month ago, the situation was anything but promising. On the one hand there was the reactionary bureaucracy heading the trade unions, unprogressive and tyrannical, and having behind it a demoralized, discouraged, and defeated labor movement. And on the other hand there were the militants, confused and befogged by dual unionism, inexperienced in the trade union movement, and overwhelmed with contempt for the old mass unions.

Attacking the Problem

But despite this double difficulty of an unprecedentedly reactionary leadership to contend against, and a very inexperienced body of militants to draw upon for support, the Trade Union Educational League has nevertheless made most substantial progress in the twelve months of its activity. It has become a real force in the labor movement, and one which even the most powerfully situated reactionaries have to reckon with.

In its operations directly upon the mass organizations the League has real results to show. It has popularized various planks of its program among groups of workers hitherto untouched by radical propaganda. Its agitation for the formation of a Labor Party has struck home in many organizations and is bound to bear fruit in the near future. Likewise its advocacy of the Red International of Labor Unions. But the one glowing success of the League's work was in connection with its work for industrial unionism. It has gone to the masses of organized workers with its message of solidarity and got

an overwhelming response, a response which has not only shocked and frightened the reactionaries but heartened the rebels more than anything else that has happened in the United States for decades. How the innumerable local unions, central labor councils, state federations, and international organizations have been won to declare for industrial unionism through amalgamation, in spite of the bitter opposition of the reactionaries in their ranks, is an old story now to all who follow the course of the labor movement. It is not too much to say that in the short period it has been in the field the League has already got the majority of the organized masses to accept in principle, at least, the highly important proposition of industrial unionism. With this accomplished, the definite re-organization of the craft unions onto an industrial basis will inevitably and unflinching follow.

But far more important than the effective work done among the broad masses was the educational results secured among the militants themselves. The one thing that is needed to put the American labor movement on its feet and to make a real fighting body of it is a clear-seeing, self-confident, and well-organized body of militants. Substantial headway has been made by the League in creating such an organization. By their experience of the past twelve months the militants are learning that the workers making up the trade unions are eager and willing to accept a militant program, once it is put up to them in a way that they can understand. And the way they are recovering from the infantile sickness of dual unionism constitutes one of the most remarkable phenomena in the whole history of the labor movement. The change that has taken place in this respect, due to the League, is nothing short of an intellectual revolution.

The Opposition Defeated

As few organizations in the labor movement have achieved so much success in so short a time as the Trade Union Educational League, likewise few have had such heavy opposition to contend with. Hardly was the announcement of the organization of the League made than a general rallying of the reactionary forces took

place to withstand the onslaught of the threatening newcomer. Fulminations flared forth on all sides in an attempt to discredit the League in the eyes of the rank and file by painting it red and denouncing it as a Russian conspiracy against the labor movement. No less a person than Mr. Gompers himself took the lead in this virulent campaign of attack, and when he broke a few lances fruitlessly, he called upon his faithful lackeys, Matthew Woll, Chester Wright, etc.

But the opposition, reckless though it was, did not break up the advance of the League. This is primarily because of the soundness of the latter's policies. When its militants went to the masses with propaganda of industrial unionism through amalgamation, for example, they received such wide-spread support that the old guard were unable to fight back successfully. A case in point was the National Railroad Amalgamation Conference. Despite the fact that that historic gathering was condemned in bitterest terms by Stone, Johnston, and many other high officials of the railroad trade unions, it was a glowing success. For once the rank and file, acting in intelligent opposition, took the bit between their teeth and made a determined move for progress. Grable, in the Detroit convention of his organization, tried to step in front of the amalgamation movement and to bring it to a halt, but what happened to him is now a classic in labor history. The League has demonstrated beyond all doubt, that it is possible to organize progressive movements among the mass unions in spite of the most determined opposition of a reactionary bureaucracy. This in itself is an achievement of the first magnitude.

The Tasks Before Us

Although the League has already made its influence felt in the labor movement it is only an infant in size and experience. There is still a world to do to give it the necessary volume and power to achieve the great task before it. This work is of a manifold nature. First we must see to it that all militant workers throughout the length and breadth of the country, become members of the trade unions and plunge deeply into the activities of these organizations. We must organize local general groups in every city and town in the United States and Canada. These in turn must be subdivided into industrial sections, which shall work ceaselessly to educate the members of their respective organizations locally. Then there must be National Committees set up to co-ordinate the work of the local industrial groups throughout the entire labor movement. Especially is this latter task very essential, because without national organization

the work of the local groups is without result.

Besides building the structure of the League, we must also see to it that it has a powerful weapon wherewith to reach the minds of the masses. THE LABOR HERALD must be developed. Its present circulation must be quadrupled in the coming year. This can readily be accomplished if all the individuals and groups in the League will do just a little towards developing its circle of readers. When THE LABOR HERALD reaches a circulation of 50,000, and this should be in a year's time if the militants realize their opportunity, it will have power and influence that will astound both reactionaries and revolutionaries.

But in addition to a powerful LABOR HERALD the League must have several organizers in the field to cover the various trade union conventions. This requires considerable money, and the only way it can be raised successfully is through the Sustaining Fund. Every League member who is really in the fight will be a contributor to the Sustaining Fund. More than that, he will see to it that his local group makes the development of the Sustaining Fund one of the first orders of its business.

The Year to Come

The Trade Union Educational League looks forward with confidence to the oncoming year. The experience of the past twelve months shows it that its methods and policies are fundamentally correct and that the workers of America are ready for its message of solidarity and liberty. The old Gompers bureaucracy is bankrupt. It has absolutely nothing constructive to offer the workers. Industrial evolution proceeds with ever increasing speed, but the Gompers crowd, learning and forgetting nothing, cling desperately to their outworn and futile policies. The Trade Union Educational League, despite its youth, has a practical monopoly upon the advocacy of progressive policies in the mass organizations of the workers. It is the only organization, radical or otherwise, in the field today which has any message of real instruction and inspiration for the masses. Its policies of industrial unionism through amalgamation, organization of a Labor Party, affiliation of the trade unions to the Red International of Labor Unions, the Workers' Republic, etc., correspond to the needs and aspirations of the American working class. The Trade Union Educational League is the key to the industrial situation in this country and Canada. Every militant who understands the true course of events will become a member of this organization and do his utmost to push it on to victory.

Rebels Come Back in Canada

By Tim Buck

THE developments through which the Canadian trade union movement has passed since the Spring of 1919, have resulted in a situation which, for confusion of ideas, multiplicity of organizations, and psychological reaction, would be hard to parallel. This situation and the extreme apathy of the union membership seemed to make it inevitable that for some time the left-wing developments would be "spotty" and spasmodic. It seemed certain that in those places where the great movement of 1919 had been deep and intense, and where, consequently, the consolidation of reactionary elements in places of power and strategic importance had been most complete, would present quite a different development of the new left-wing movement than in other places. In any case only the optimist looked for a national movement soon.

Progress of Year Extraordinary

Reviewing the past year's experiences, however, one is struck by the astonishing progress made, not in isolated sections or in one or two industries, but all over the length and breadth of the country, running like a red thread with scarcely a break throughout the more important industries. The left wing is already a definite, and is rapidly becoming a decisive, factor in shaping the policies of the movement as a whole. It was powerful enough already in September to bring forth an attack from Tom Moore, representative of reaction in the Canadian movement, President of the Trades Congress, and worthy emulator of Gompers.

In the vilification and abuse hurled at us by the officialdom we see reflected, more clearly than anywhere else, the progress the left wing has made and the positive work accomplished. Less than a year ago our militants were largely outside the general labor movement, or wasting their time in blind and fruitless opposition. Now almost all of them, finding a common ground in our program are rallying in the struggle for unity, organizing their forces, and concentrating all the thousands of isolated trickles of radical thought and activity into a veritable stream of organized power.

Our problem in Canada, from the beginning, be it remembered, was not merely to convince the rank and file of the necessity of consolidation. It was first, to prove to the militants the logic and inevitability of amalgamation as the means to unity, and secondly, the possibility of accomplishing, by militant activity and rank and

file organization within the craft unions, that which secession, flaming propaganda, and bitter internecine warfare, had signally failed to do.

Clarity from Confusion

In the period when secessionism reigned among the militants, amalgamation propaganda had been prostituted to the cause of reaction. This had created an atmosphere of suspicion toward the amalgamation movement in a large section of the rank and file, and was, for a time, a disconcerting feature of the work of the Canadian League. Easily understandable as this was, yet, coming as it did from men who had proved themselves class fighters of unquestionable integrity, it was one of those obstacles which only experience could remove.

During the unfortunate secession movement of 1919, and the bitter struggles between the secessionists and the craft unions in 1920, International organizers and officials, to a man, preached amalgamation. They were all, apparently, in favor of it. Never did they tire of pointing out the logic and efficiency of such a development in contrast to the disruptive and demoralizing work of the O. B. U. This propaganda produced a peculiar reaction. Deeply suspicious of the individuals who preached it, persons who were usually those who had exposed themselves as mere cogs in the bureaucratic machine, the militants came to conceive of amalgamation propaganda as a creature of reaction for the purpose of side-tracking positive action on the part of the movement as a whole.

When the militant propaganda of the League was launched, particularly among the railroaders, the temporary confusion resulting can be imagined. All over the country the petty officialdom, grasping the fact that their red herring had been turned into a positive program marching with giant strides toward realization, turned a complete somersault. From being advocates of amalgamation they became, overnight, its bitterest foes. For three years it had been the fashion to pose as an amalgamationist; Grand Lodge officials had been lavish with advice upon the tremendous advantage of boring from within. When lo! amalgamation becomes dangerous propaganda, because amalgamation committees had been organized in every railroad center of importance, joint meetings of crafts were being called, literature was being circulated, and a National Conference had been called. All of which cleared the air tremendously.

The railroad workers, owing to the strategic importance of their industry, and the fact that, numbering 81,000 they comprise no less than 26% of all organized workers in the country, quite naturally have taken the lead in the amalgamation movement and the work of the League. The opposition of the officials has been most bitter. When the Amalgamation Conference was called, letters were circulated through the local unions denouncing it; many of them amounted to pleas for patience in the face of defeat. Such is the grip of reactionaries in office, that there is no doubt that this official propaganda restricted the number of delegates considerably.

Railroaders Get in Line

Naturally, however, while restraining many locals from sending delegates to the National Conference, this right-about-face of the officialdom has clarified the situation. East and West, there is now a thorough realization that amalgamation must be brought about in spite of the swivel-chair occupants. Local groups everywhere are now being permeated with a militant spirit. A case in point is Fort Williams, Ontario. At a joint meeting of railroaders on Dec. 4th, composed of active and progressive workers from 14 of the 16 standard railroad organizations, delegates reported the receipt of official letters full of veiled threats and innuendo. The effect was surprising. From a discussion of the necessity of amalgamation, the meeting resolved itself into a council of war against the anti-amalgamationists. The discussion centered around the Maintenance of Way Employees Convention, and how the results of that gathering were achieved; the meeting developed from a group of rank and file members, going along as they thought with the Grand Lodge officials, into a group rebelling against reaction and stagnation and, with or without the official family, determined to move.

There has been a great show-down on the amalgamation issue. Men who for years have posed as progressives and radicals, have exposed themselves as fakers of the lowest type. On the other hand, there have been many, all over the country, from whom nothing but opposition was expected, who have come clean. There has been more than one official who has grasped the wonderful possibilities of the present movement. We had the satisfaction of witnessing one Grand Lodge official support sending a delegate to the Chicago Conference in the face of denunciation from the Grand Lodge Executive. In another case a Grand Lodge officer actively opposed the reactionary local officials, and

denounced President Johnston's letter as puerile bunk. All of which has been highly educational. We have made our mistakes, of course; but the amalgamation committees and joint meetings of all crafts are rapidly producing the desire for amalgamation, and understanding of the task which assures success.

In the Other Industries

Building Trades' workers in Canada have long been divided; while building trade councils exist in a few cities, the industry as a whole is utterly disorganized. The initial task here for the League was to bring some semblance of unity among the various crafts. So divided were they in many places that unity of action of any sort was out of the question. In Regina, for example, three different organizations were fighting for the carpenters, while most of the craft were outside of all organization. Persistent work and careful organization have remedied this condition somewhat; the carpenters in particular have been reunited, and there is a definite coming together of building trades' workers all over the country. The one exception is the usually staid old town of Toronto. There, by a dispute between local members of the Carpenters' Union and the U. B. of C. & J. International Executive, coupled with the activities of a group of pseudo-progressives in the Plumbers and Steamfitters, who conceive progress as splitting from the rest of the workers, the local council is partially disrupted. This is, of course, a passing phase. With the coordination of the League work on an international scale such local conditions will disappear, and the work of unity will proceed apace.

The need for international coordination in each industry is felt in every phase of our work. As with the building workers, so with the needle trades. As early as September, organization in this industry had proceeded to the point where needle trades units had been formed in each city, with every union represented except the United Garment Workers. Yet, feeling that the logical place for a really great movement to start from was New York, and lacking a definite program of action, practically all that could be accomplished was purely local work. While the needle workers, from Montreal to Winnipeg, are among the most progressive workers on the continent, this feeling of impotence in the absence of a lead from the big centres prevents them from developing half of their potential power.

Building trades, needle trades, railroaders, and mineworkers, all feel keenly the necessity for international coordination. The coal miners,

particularly, numbering as they do but 24,000 out of the half-million membership of the United Mine Workers of America, realize that continent-wide movement is essential if results are to be attained.

The Vanguard

The miners of Nova Scotia, District No. 26 of the United Mine Workers, have through the past year carried on a campaign of educational work rarely equalled in this country. When at the Truro Convention of last June they voted to affiliate to the Red International of Labor Unions, it was imagined by many that the decision was obtained by a snap vote. Silby Barrett, International Board member, whose sole claim to greatness is that he has read Cushing's Manual and knows nothing about the labor movement, evidently believed this to be so, and demonstrated his confidence by offering his resignation. In the subsequent elections he was completely swamped, and Alex Stewart, a rebel, was elected in his stead.

The length to which the bureaucracy will go to retain power is well illustrated by the actions of this labor skate, and the support given him by Lewis and his gang. Repudiated by the rank and file in a referendum vote, Barrett rushed off to Indianapolis, to return with the astounding information that although he had voluntarily resigned and Alex Stewart had been elected in his place, the International Board would continue to recognize him as Board member. Refused admission to meetings of the District Board, he started a campaign, touring the district in an endeavor to disrupt it, discredit the progressive Executive, and organize artificial opposition to the affiliation to the Red International of Labor Unions. His accomplishments in this line, however, have been very slim indeed.

The great majority of coal miners of Nova Scotia realize full well that their only hope lies in a militant internationalism. They know that the 800,000 tons of English coal imported into Canada last year could, under present conditions of organization, be increased at will by the employers. They also realize that the forces of progress are on the march and will not be stopped. Seeing in the Red International the militant expression of their aspirations and the inevitable

development of the future, they are more determined than ever to remain in their present position, the vanguard of the Canadian workers.

The progress registered by militants during the past year, combined with the energetic propaganda of District No. 26 and other bodies, has started a regular wave of organization throughout Canada. Inspired by results obtained, the rebels are everywhere returning to their organizations and are already the most loyal and constructive workers the unions possess. The whole trade union movement is becoming permeated with the spirit of militant struggle.

Militants Coming Back

It is in District No. 18, United Mine Workers, that the come-back of the rebels has been most complete and successful. This is the one District wherein the O. B. U. gained a real foothold among the miners during the days of secessionism. Their experience was bitter in the extreme. Clubbed back into the U. M. W. of A. by the joint action of the Union and the Colliery Managers' Association, their most militant members blacklisted both in the mines and the Union, there grew up among them a deep and bitter hatred of the old organization. This precluded for a long time the possibility of any kind of activity. But drawing from their fail-

ure the inevitable lesson, they have finally returned to their union almost to a man. Today there are no more loyal workers in upbuilding the United Mine Workers than these same rebels so lately outlawed and so shamefully bludgeoned. The great change taking place is shown by the elections of last May and December, when the militants were returned to power in District No. 18.

Scattered over a vast territory extending from east to west of the Rocky Mountains and from the Crow's Nest Pass 700 miles north to the camps in the Coalspur and Yellowhead districts, the 12,000 miners in 350 odd mines comprising District No. 18, present a problem which, in its geographical aspects alone, is immense. Yet when Bill Sherman, one of the victims of the great struggle between the O. B. U. and the International, allowed his name to stand on the

Canada for Amalgamation

As we go to press word reaches us that the Alberta Federation of Labor, assembled in convention in Medicine Hat, January 8th, unanimously adopted a resolution endorsing amalgamation, and urging the Dominion Trades Congress "to promote in every way possible the amalgamation of existing unions into industrial unions, one union for each industry." A resolution endorsing the Red International of Labor Unions failed of passage by just a few votes.

ballot for District President last May, he was elected out of a field of eight, polling more votes than all his competitors combined. The story of how the boys of his local, Fernie, B. C., kept him there in spite of blacklists, by making him acting secretary of the local, while Tom Whitehouse, the secretary, went to work in the mines, would make a story itself. When the District elections were held December 12th, Sherman was re-elected by acclamation, Bob Peacock was made Secretary by a 5,000 majority, Tom Whitehouse, Slim Evans, of Drumheller, Angus Morrison, of Coleman, and Geo. Farnsworth, of Lethbridge, all active in the unfortunate struggle of 1919-1920, were elected Board Members from their respective Sub-Districts. The two from

the other Sub-Districts were, Dan McNeil, of Cailomin, a Nova Scotian, of the McLachlan school, and Matt Logan, a progressive of the first water.

The greatest surprise was the election of Rod MacDonald, of Blairmore, as International Board Member. With no election campaign, nominated at the last moment, his victory over Livett, relic of the International Commission which ruled the District in the O. B. U. fight, was won by his reputation as a clean and vigorous fighter in the interests of the rank and file. It is symptomatic of the spirit rapidly taking hold of the Canadian labor movement. It is a symbol of the greatest fact in the labor movement today—the rebels have come back.

Australian Labor Goes Left

By W. Francis Ahern

TWO factors stand out prominently in the life of the Australian workers at the present time: one is the definite move towards Big Unionism by amalgamating the craft unions; the other is the growing distrust for political action of the old type. The change in the outlook of the Australian workers during the past few years has been little short of marvelous. In the future it will be still more marked. There is a continuous urge toward the "left," and though attempts are being made by conservative elements to stop the landslide towards radicalism, these attempts are futile. The "left" school of thought cannot be held down—it is irresistible and, winning the masses, presses forward with a vigorous new life.

Disillusionment After the War

Before the world war the Australian workers were satisfied with arbitration and the half-hearted political legislation of a tame Labor Party. But such policies no longer suffice. With the altered outlook of today, accelerated by the world-wide economic crash, the Australian workers are not going to take their orders from the political leaders but are going full speed ahead to get what they want. In pre-war times Australian workers enjoyed conditions unknown in any other country. In those days also, they were militant, compared with the workers of other countries. But the war destroyed the illusions of well-being and social peace. Where before the worker was quite content with the "fair day's pay for a fair day's work" argument, today he has come to object to the capitalist being in the business at all. Nor is he eager to change from private capitalism to State capital-

ism. The Australian worker today demands complete socialization of industry. He wants to establish the rule that he who does not work, neither shall he eat.

In a word, Labor in Australia is heading for full industrial democratic control. Respectable Labor standpatters of the Gompers type will doubtless call this Sovietism—the Australian worker is not particular what name it is called if he can get what he is entitled to. In any case he has been called hard names by the Australian capitalists in plenty, so one more tag will not hurt a bit.

For a long time arbitration was the "philosopher's stone" in Australia. And in some respects it is true that arbitration served the working-class movement, in that it was largely responsible for bringing large masses into the trade union movement. It eliminated scabs, and reduced the percentage of non-unionists, so that today 58% of the male workers of Australia carry union cards, while 32% of the female workers are trade unionists. This is a fair showing, and arbitration was a factor in establishing the unions so widely. But this obsolete measure has had its day and no one knows this better than the Australian workers.

The Failure of Arbitration

In protecting the workers arbitration proved itself useless. It has not stopped strikes, but, on the contrary, has become an exasperating influence upon the workers. It has not raised wages to conform to rising prices; indeed, its slow locomotion has been used by the capitalists to tie up claims until they were out of date and useless. The entire Australian working class

has become disillusioned about arbitration, even the large and strong unions which have suffered least. The latter have been able, by threat of strikes, to force quick hearings on their claims. A strike of coal miners (100% unionized) would plunge the continent into chaos within a week, the seamen and railwaymen can starve two-thirds of the population in a fortnight, and the rural workers can stagnate the primary industries within a month, by simply refusing to work. The arbitration courts have therefore given them some attention, but their claims would have been as well received without any arbitration. One and all, the workers found their wages lagging behind rising prices, with arbitration hindering rather than helping to catch up; this is the major reason for the cooling off towards the arbitration courts.

The position of the worker at the end of the war was this: despite arbitration, despite the efforts of the political labor movement, despite the war-time promises of Government and employers, yet the Australian worker found less bread coming to his table, his family wearing shoddy clothing, and his children going more often bootless, than during previous years. So it is but natural that he is deciding that the old system must go overboard, lock, stock, and barrel. His industrial and political advisers not moving for him, he will get it by his own initiative, without waiting for them. Whether by revolution or otherwise, he is out for a system more fitted to his needs.

The Movement to the Left

These are in brief, the basic causes of the industrial movement now spreading through Australia at the present time. The movement to the "left" is well illustrated by comparing the objectives of the workers before and since the war. The previous goal of the movement was stated thus:

Emancipation of human labor from all forms of exploitation, and the obtaining for all workers the full reward of their industry by the collective ownership and democratic control of the collectively used agencies of production and exchange.

Today the workers' objective is set out rather more tersely. On the political field he demands:

The socialization of industry, production, distribution and exchange.

This is buttressed by the following statement of the One Big Union, now representing more than one-third of the organized workers in Australia:

1. We hold that there is a class struggle in society and that the struggle is caused by the capitalist class owning the means of production to which the working class must have access in order to live. The working class produces all

value. The greater the share which the capitalist appropriates the less remains for the working class; therefore, the interests of these two classes are in constant conflict. (There can be no peace so long as want and hunger are found among millions of working people, and the few who constitute the employing class have all the good things of life.)

2. Between these two classes the struggle must continue until capitalism is abolished. Capitalism can only be abolished by the workers uniting in one class-conscious economic organization to take and hold the means of production, distribution and exchange by revolutionary industrial and political action. "Revolutionary action" means action to secure complete change, namely the abolition of capitalistic ownership of the means of production—whether privately or through the State—and the establishment in its place of social ownership by the whole community.

3. Long experience has proved the hopeless futility of existing political and industrial methods, which aim at mending and rendering tolerable, and thereby perpetuating, capitalism, instead of ending it.

4. The rapid accumulation of wealth and concentration of the ownership of industries into fewer and fewer hands, make the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class, because craft unionism fosters conditions which allow the employer to pit one set of workers against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby defeating each in turn.

5. This condition can be changed and the interests of the working class advanced only by an organization so constituted that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, shall take concerted action when deemed necessary, thereby making an injury to one the concern of all.

6. We hold that as the working class creates and operates the socially operated machinery of production, it should direct production and determine working conditions.

Thus was the world war responsible for waking up the workers of Australia. It showed the workers where they were exploited. They saw their once-trusted leaders, political and industrial, going over to the camp of the capitalists. They learned the lesson—as usual, by bitter experience—with the result that they became more militant, and resolved that their future emancipation would be by their own brain and brawn.

So it is that today the workers of Australia are going towards the "left" at express speed. Nothing can prevent their ultimate objective being reached. It may be a peep into the long future, but I see the Australian workers organizing their Government along the lines of workers' councils, enunciating the needs of the workers, and compelling the parliamentary representatives to give constitutional effect to what the real producers of wealth consider to be best for themselves.

W.W.
By the workers themselves
pure and simple

After the Second Congress

By A. Losovsky

General Secretary of the Red International of Labor Unions.

THE Second Congress of the Red International closed an epoch of the International movement, showing today the difficulties which in the future the world's labor movement must surmount. This movement is formed of diverse elements with contrasting traditions and opinions which will only disappear during the struggle. The task of the Red International was to unify these elements in the International movement in order that this might become the weapon and the guide of all revolutionary workers. A task arduous, detailed, and large, and one to demand energy and wisdom.

The Second Congress enlarged the limits of our activity, calling the attention of the International proletariat to various practical problems, of which four especially absorbed its studies, the united front, trade union unity, the organizations, and the relations with the Syndicalists.

The united front had no opposition. But it had some months before; however, life and experience are severe masters and they have demonstrated that the tactic of the united front was not an invention of the Moscow Bolsheviks, but one absolutely necessary to the workers of America and Europe. If the Communist International and the Red International have worked it out it is only an additional merit for them. The Second Congress discussed only the practical application of the united front.

During the discussion it became evident to the Congress that the continuation of the scissions occurring in several countries would be a cause of serious weakness to the workers. The Red International has done all possible to avoid these splits, and several times has proposed to the Amsterdamers to put an end to the dividing of the labor movement. But the obstinate perseverance of the latter in their disruptive course defeated these efforts.

Congress Condemns Splitting

How can we regain unity? In all its activities the Red International has shown itself to be ready to make every concession to this end. But it is evident that unity cannot be realized if the revolutionary workers have not at least a minimum of protection. The reformists demand unity, but when the Unity General Confederation of Labor of France proposed to them to organize a unity convention on the basis of proportional representation they replied with arrogance that they

were the majority and that the revolutionaries had only to join their organizations. The same happened in Czecho-Slovakia.

We are ready to realize trade union unity on condition that the liberty of propaganda be guaranteed to the minority, reformist or revolutionary, on the basis of strict discipline during the actions against the capitalists.

In this respect the deliberations of the Second Congress could not be clearer. We worked persistently for the fusion of related organizations and the creation of a united front against the reaction.

The question of trade union unity involved the general question of the organizations, of which the Congress had to find a solution. The strengthening of the unions was considered by the Congress as the first duty of the workers. While realizing that this building up process might momentarily aid the reformists, the Congress declared that the strengthening of the unions is nevertheless the strengthening of the working class and of the social revolution. From this point of view it studied the situation in every country, indicating to all revolutionary workers their immediate tasks: united front, strengthening of the unions, struggle for communism on the basis of the daily demands of the working class.

International Industrial Federations

The Second Congress had to solve the question of the International Industrial Federations which, as is known, are in the hands of the Amsterdam reformers, and systematically exclude the revolutionary organizations on the pretext that they are affiliated to the Red International. The secretaries of these International Federations have not hesitated to ostracise a large number of European unions and to close the door to many from other parts of the world. Since its organization the Red International has condemned the immediate formation of new International Federations. But not being able to permit the breaking up of the Red organizations, it decided at its First Congress to constitute international propaganda committees, around which the revolutionary unionists should organize. The task of these committees was to bring about the unity of the International Federations. Although numerous delegates were favorable to the creation of revolutionary international federations, the Second Congress made manifest again its desire for unity in

this field and instructed the revolutionists to work for the realization of that unity. The red organizations shall continue in affiliation to the propaganda committees and persevere in their work along the old lines. From now on the unity of the International Industrial Federations depends upon the Amsterdam secretaries. The Red International has done all possible and is determined to realize unity in spite of the reformist splitters.

Communist-Syndicalist Relations

The Second Congress solved the question of the relations between the Third International and the Red International, or rather between the Communists and the Syndicalists.

Since the First Congress the Syndicalists had carried on a bitter and violent criticism regarding the organic connections with the Communist International. The French Syndicalists, among which several tendencies developed at the First Congress, put themselves at the head of the movement. The "pure" Syndicalists saw in the organic union between the Communist International and the Red International sufficient reason to create a new trade union international completely independent of the Communist International and completely autonomous. Several groups joined this tendency: German localists, and Italian, Swedish and Dutch Syndicalists. Autonomy, independence: these have been the constant slogans of the Syndicalists against the Red International. But there was also among the Syndicalists a very strong group which, placing itself completely upon the platform of the Communists and accepting the dictatorship of the proletariat, wished to co-operate with the latter, but believed that the work between the Communist International and the Red International should not have an organic character. Among these Syndicalists—whose point of view is that they and not the Communists are the advance-guard of the labor movement—the need of a united front with the Communists was felt. This aspiration was given expression in the resolutions of the St. Etienne Congress and in the propositions made by the French delegation to the Second Congress. For the Communists the question was clear. Our Syndicalist comrades were merely giving expression to old prejudices. But as they were revolutionary workers, animated by a real desire for action, coming from a large number of organizations and not merely a few personalities, the Communists conscientiously yielded, for the purpose of realizing the united front against reformism and capitalism and in the hope that the experience of the future would demonstrate the correctness of the Communist point of view. Approving this solution, the Congress settled the con-

flict between the Red International and the Syndicalist organizations.

To clear up the situation, the Congress directed a manifesto to the Syndicalist organizations of all countries and to the Conference of Berlin, inviting them to affiliate to the Red International, instead of splitting the international trade union movement, and to work with the Red Interna-



A. LOSOVSKY.

tional and the revolutionary workers of the world for the liberation of the working class.

The Future Looms Bright

The Second Congress also considered the trade union movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, from which consideration it was made clear that the Red International is really an international organization, while the Amsterdam International is only a European body. In Java, in China, and in India, the labor movement is growing impetuously. The Russian revolution has developed new forces. In those countries the workers' movement is still inflicted with nationalism, especially there where the struggle is against a foreign conqueror. Nevertheless, the spirit of class grows more and more clear in this formidable revolutionary torrent. The duty of the Red International and the Communist International is to give to this class movement a form always more precise and profoundly revolution-

ary, to permeate the mass with a communist spirit for the purpose of winning, in the struggle against foreign and national capital, the maximum of results.

The Second Congress was, above all, a practical gathering, being taken up principally by questions of organization and practical activity. It did not deceive itself, however, regarding the great difficulties confronting the revolutionary trade union movement. Tens of millions of workers still follow the reformists. Millions and millions of workers also follow the Catholics, the bourgeois democrats, the Protestants; while tens and tens of millions are still outside of every kind of organization. Confronted by a working class of which one organized fraction sustains capitalism, we must work out adequate tactics and programs.

The International Federation of Trade Unions of Amsterdam, incarnation of the conservative elements in the working class, boasts of its millions of adherents. We recognize the numerical superiority of its membership. But it is only a European organization, while we are a world

organization. It includes a general mixture of confused elements, reformistic and otherwise, while the Red International is composed only of workers animated by a real unity of program and tactics. The Amsterdam International has no sympathizers in our ranks, although we have great numbers in its organizations.

The Second Congress of the Red International has shown how great is the influence of revolutionary ideas in the world's trade union movement. The workers of Europe, America, Asia, Africa, and Australia, march towards the red flag of the Red International of Labor Unions, because they read thereon: "war to the finish against capitalism, in the name of all power to the working class."

When will they conquer? The Second Congress could not determine this. It is certain that the world's proletariat will yet suffer partial defeats, but, in the course of its struggles and defeats it is forging the great world associations—the Communist International and the Red International—which will guide it to final victory.

Shopmen on the Move

By H. M. Bartholomew

WHEN on January, 11th, the Canadian National Railway Federation met in Montreal, with delegates from 11 of the 16 lodges of that center, the first big step was taken to crystallize the amalgamation sentiment existing among the railroaders. For some time these workers have been restive. Many lodges all over the country have been adopting the amalgamation program. But the recent meeting in Montreal was a decided step toward getting the movement onto a nation-wide basis.

In the discussion it was evident that the sentiment for amalgamation was overwhelming. After the matter had been thoroughly talked over, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That this conference of the Montreal shop crafts workers favors the amalgamation of the sixteen standard unions into one organization covering the entire railroad industry as outlined in the plan for amalgamation by the Minnesota Railroad Shop Crafts Legislative Committee, and calls upon the general officers to take the necessary steps so that a joint convention of all these organizations (or as many of them as possible) can be assembled to put this amalgamation into effect.

The delegates realized that to be effective this matter must go before the rank and file. In addition, therefore, to adopting the resolution unanimously, it was decided that the report of the con-

ference be sent to all lodges of railroad workers in Canada, with a view to calling a convention of all Canadian railroaders to consider the issue. A committee was named, representing all the crafts, to "initiate and direct a country-wide campaign until such a time as a national convention can be called of all railroad workers and a committee representative of all sections be properly appointed."

Characteristic of the conference was the adoption of a resolution demanding the immediate release of the miners imprisoned in the Edmonton district and denouncing in strong terms the brutal treatment of the wives of the miners by the police.

It was announced that William Z. Foster was coming to Montreal at an early date and that several unions had decided to hold a mass meeting of railroaders to listen to him. The conference endorsed this proposal and instructed all delegates to bring the matter before their lodges immediately. In this, as in the entire conference, it was demonstrated that the shopmen in Canada are waking up, that they are on the move, and we can expect important developments during the next few months. The Canadian railroaders want amalgamation and, being practical men, they are organizing to bring it about.

The World Crisis and the United Front

Editor's Note:- On the agenda of the 1922 Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions, Monatte of France, Walcher of Germany, and Wm. Z. Foster, were scheduled to report on "The World Crisis and the United Front." The following is Foster's contribution regarding the general situation in the United States.

IN the prevailing world crisis no labor movement has suffered so heavily as that of the United States. It has been literally devastated by the employers and is now actually in danger of temporary extinction. The creation of a united front in America, one that will enable the workers to resist successfully, politically and industrially, the aggressive capitalist class, is of supreme international importance. This is because the United States Government, which is almost entirely free of labor influence, has made its notoriously reactionary influence felt all over the world, to the general detriment of the revolutionary movement. It can only be checked in its ultra-capitalistic program by the development through a united front of a vigorous and revolutionary labor movement.

During the war and the 18 months immediately following thereafter, American industry underwent a tremendous period of prosperity. Factories multiplied and expanded to an extent unheard of previously in the United States. Labor was in extraordinary demand and commanded higher wages than ever before in its history. Consequent upon this situation the trade unions grew rapidly, increasing in membership from about 2,500,000, in 1916, to 5,000,000 in 1920. The official figures of the American Federation of Labor, which do not include the independent unions, showed 2,072,000, in 1916, and 4,078,740, in 1920. The labor organizations enjoyed wonderful prestige and their leaders hob-nobbed with the great "statesmen" and capitalists of the country. The optimistic thought that the millennium of the Brotherhood of Capital and Labor had arrived.

The Great "Open Shop" Drive

But the employing class, alarmed at the growth in strength and prestige of the labor movement, suffered from no such Utopian illusions. They merely awaited a favorable opportunity to deal a fatal blow to the newly born labor unions. Already in the fall of 1919, while the period of prosperity was still on, they began attacking the unions successfully in various parts of the country. At this time they crushed every semblance of organization in the steel industry by defeating the great strike of 400,000 steel workers. The big "outlaw" strike of railroad men was also beaten. Likewise the coal miners, 500,000 strong,

were driven back to work by the application of stringent war-time laws. Some six months later, about September 1920, the industrial boom collapsed. Factories and industries began to close upon all sides, until finally, a year later, the army of unemployed reached the unprecedented figure of 6,000,000. In the meantime the employers, taking advantage of the depressed state of industry, greatly intensified their "open shop" drive and made war to the knife against those very trade unions which, two years before, they had hailed as magnificently patriotic organizations and the saviours of the country. Under the leadership of the United States Chamber of Commerce, and other aggressive employers' associations, the fight was spread to all localities and industries of America.

Wage cuts and lengthening of hours became the order of the day everywhere. For a time the labor movement, whose conservative leaders subscribed to the capitalistic doctrine of the necessity for retrenchment, accepted the wage reductions without resistance. But the capitalists were insatiable and determined not only to reduce wages, but to eliminate all traces of unionism as well. One of the first organizations to be attacked was the New York branch of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, an aggressive independent union. 60,000 of their members struck against wage reductions and the establishment of the "open shop." They compromised on the wage cuts but defeated the employers on the "open shop" demands. But the real open struggle began in the latter part of 1920. Since then there has been one great strike after another, nearly all of which were disastrous to Labor. The first organizations to fall were those in the meat-packing industry. In February, 1922, they called off their great three-months national general strike, during which their unions, numbering at one time 150,000 members, were completely smashed all over the country. In many centers the powerful building trades organizations, long looked upon as the very heart of the American trade union movement, were attacked and defeated. In San Francisco, a citadel of trade unionism, they were broken up in a big general strike in the Spring of 1921. Meanwhile the printing trades, including all crafts, have been fighting a defensive battle against

their employers. After a year the International Typographical Union, notwithstanding the payment of the huge sum of \$13,000,000 in strike benefits, still has 6,000 men on strike. The textile workers, beginning in January, 1922, 150,000 of them, fought for seven months against terrific reductions in wages, which they have been able to defeat to some extent. And finally there was the great national general strikes of the coal miners and the railroad shop mechanics, the former numbering 665,000, and the latter 400,000. The miners won a partial victory in checking the wage cuts and "open shop" conditions demanded by the coal operators, but the railroad shopmen have been heavily defeated, their organizations being destroyed on many great railroads.

The general result of the struggle to date is that Organized Labor has been badly shattered. In nearly every industry its organization has been greatly weakened, and in several industries entirely destroyed. The A. F. of L. unions, as well as the independents, have lost largely in membership. The financial report of the A. F. of L. Secretary to the Cincinnati Convention in June, 1922, showed a membership of only 3,195,635. This is a decrease of 883,105 from the high point of 1920. But the real loss, not brought to light because of the unreliable financial system, is much greater. It is doubtful if there are, including the independent unions, more than 3,000,000 trade unionists in the United States and Canada, or a loss of about 2,000,000 since the peak figure in 1920.

The Revival of Industry

The terrible industrial depression, which has wrought so much havoc to the trade union movement, now seems to be passing. About March, 1922, the first signs of a business revival began in a falling off of the number of firms going into bankruptcy. At that time these totalled 2,463 for the entire country, whereas in August the total had been reduced to 1,714. Practically all the industries are now on the upgrade. Building is particularly flourishing. In 27 Northwestern States the permits issued for the first eight months of 1922 totalled \$2,362,872,000, which is \$7,000,000 more than for the whole of 1921. The automobile industry is undergoing a tremendous boom. During August, 1922, it produced 272,640 passenger cars and trucks—the largest production on record, and an increase of more than 200% over January, 1922. The textile industry, despite a terrific strike, is approaching normal production. During July, 1922, the receipts of wool in Boston were 71,307,000 pounds, as against 27,157,000 pounds in June,

1921. The steel industry, which has been heavily hit by the coal and railroad strikes, is nevertheless operating at 55% of capacity. This is more than twice the production average of last year. As for the railroads, the Labor Bureau (a private statistical organization) says: "The railroads of the United States face what will be the greatest traffic demand in history." In the week ending September 30, 1922, they loaded 988,381 cars, which is 43,000 more than the same week in 1921, and only 3,000 less than the record week in 1920. Receipts of the United States Post Office are a reliable barometer of American business. In 50 of the largest cities they totalled \$19,543,143 in July. This is the largest July business in history, being 11½% greater than July, 1921. August bank clearings for the entire United States are 14% higher than the same period in 1921. Postal Savings deposits are 3% more than a year ago. The estimated value of the corn, hay, cotton, wheat, potatoes, apples, oats, and other crops, on September 1, 1922, was \$6,200,000,000 as against \$5,000,000,000 in September, 1921.

This general business revival is carrying with it the inevitable rise in prices and wages. The wave of increase in the cost of living, which started at the outbreak of the world war, reached its summit in the latter part of 1920, when it totalled about 90% above pre-war figures. A period of decrease then set in until, in June, 1922, prices had fallen to but 66½% above pre-war levels. Now prices are advancing again rapidly in all basic commodities. This is particularly noticeable in the wholesale branches, retail prices advancing somewhat slower. The demand for labor is also increasing and unemployment is on the wane. In metal mining, automobiles, building trades, shipping, textiles, and other industries, workers are in demand. Wages have also taken an upward tendency. The turning point was about in May or June. At that time United States statistics showed that in the majority of cases where wage scales were changed it was to decrease them. But in September, of 42 industries reporting, 31 showed increases over August wage scales and 11 decreases. The most striking increase in wages was in the steel industry, where the United States Steel Corporation, followed soon after by the independent companies, raised wages 20%, September 1, in all its plants.

Will the Labor Movement Recover?

With the stimulus given by the industrial revival, will the labor movement be able to recover the ground it has lost and to march forward again increasing its numbers and strength? In past years when a period of depression set in,

the first thing that happened was a slackening of industry, then prices fell, followed immediately afterward by wages, which in turn brought about a weakening of the unions. Then, when prosperity began to develop, the industries would first become active, prices would rise, then wages, and finally the trade unions would expand and flourish. Many labor men, with this typical experience in mind, are overjoyed at the present revival of industry, maintaining that it necessarily involves the recovery and re-establishment of the trade union movement. This is the position of practically all American trade union leaders. From Samuel Gompers downward they proclaim categorically that the "open shop" drive is stopped, and the anti-union plans of the employers defeated.

But these optimists overlook one most vital factor, a new element in the situation. The capitalist class of today is not the capitalist class of pre-war times, slipshod and willing to semi-tolerate trade unionism. Now it is incomparably richer and more powerfully organized. And, above all, it has acquired a new militancy and an unshakeable determination to destroy Organized Labor root and branch. It is a full-grown tiger that has tasted blood. One need not be a prophet to see that, industrial revival or not, the "open shop" campaign is going right on as bitterly as ever. The aggressive, highly-organized capitalists will carry the war to Labor without respite. And so strong have they become, both in morale and organization, that the trade union movement, if it clings to its old methods and notwithstanding the help of better industrial conditions, will not be able to successfully resist them. Unless it modernizes its thinking, tactics, and organization forms, the American labor movement is in imminent danger of being wiped out.

In this critical situation no real leadership may be looked for from the old trade union bureaucrats. Being entirely under the sway of the autocrat Gompers, who has not had a progressive thought for forty years, they are hopelessly reactionary. They cling desperately to the most antiquated forms of craft unionism, and refuse to recognize the necessity for even the most primitive type of working class political action. They even consider the yellow Amsterdam International as too "revolutionary" for the American labor movement to affiliate with. They have absolutely nothing constructive to offer. The more the capitalists press them down, the more timid and reactionary they become. If the movement is to be preserved, not to speak of developed, it must be the work of the rebel elements in the trade unions. They must join hands, all factions,

in a united front against the Gompers bureaucracy. Until its dead dictatorship is broken no movements in America, political, industrial, or co-operative, can amount to anything. Surging up from the bottom, the rank and file militants must make their leaders act aggressively and intelligently or sweep them out of office.

Such a united front of the revolutionary and progressive elements in the labor unions is now developing through the Trade Union Educational League. With branches in all the leading localities and labor unions of America, this organization is carrying on an aggressive campaign in favor of the program of the Red International of Labor Unions, including a policy of aggressive class struggle instead of class collaboration, the workers' republic, independent working class political action, affiliation with the Moscow International, the general strike, support of the Russian Revolution, industrial unionism through amalgamation, etc. Remarkable success is being had. The American working class, always militant in spite of a reactionary leadership, is responding in the most encouraging fashion. Particularly is this the case with regard to amalgamation, which is sweeping the labor movement under the direct leadership of the revolutionaries organized in the League. The Gompers bureaucracy, seeing the handwriting on the wall, are fighting desperately on the defensive. In America the future is bright for a united front on the industrial field, as advocated by the Red International of Labor Unions.

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Arise Ye Cheated Bureaucrats

By Earl R. Browder

THE labor movement is, in the estimation of many of our "labor leaders" and loyal Gompersites, a convenient means to furnish these estimable gentlemen with a rich and easy living. Of class ideals such men have few or none; all they seek is their individual welfare; they want money and power for themselves. To achieve this end they stick at nothing. Hence the shameful graft and fabulous salaries which have made scores of them into wealthy capitalists. Hence, also, the desperate resistance they offer to all progressive movements which tend to disturb the status quo, and thus to threaten their sinecures. The one thing that holds back the progress of the working class more than anything else is the unbridled egotism of our labor officials.

This is an old and familiar story. Everyone acquainted with the labor movement knows how disastrously such leadership works out for the masses of Labor. It is less realized, however, that the American labor bureaucracy is so extremely stupid, and so ruinously selfish, that it completely overreaches itself and defeats its own ends. Even from the standpoint of the egoistic officialdom itself, and without considering the interests of the rank and file of Labor, the current conservative labor policies are stupidly shortsighted.

"Safe and Sane" Leadership

Our conservative leaders pride themselves upon being "practical" men. They are sane and conservative. They are smugly sure that they are right. They play the game safe, and take no chances. No newfangled progressive notions for them. So as they go along these self-seeking officials take all they can get. Their mottoes are: "All the traffic will bear" and "After us, the deluge". Thus, with their ultra-practical policies and "sane" leadership, they bleed the movement white, kill all progress within, and throw it helpless before the militant capitalist class.

Now what these "practical" leaders fail to see is that in ruining Organized Labor they have ruined their own prospects for continued easy living as well. Fat salaries can continue only from a strong labor movement. But instead of working out an intelligent policy which would produce a great, powerful movement, capable of furnishing countless rich official plums, their stupid and shortsighted selfishness has produced but a scrawny, half-starved organization, which

can support a bureaucracy only a fraction as large and potent as it might be. Thus has our Labor officialdom defeated its own sweetest hopes. These bureaucrats are penny wise and pound foolish. Their greed has overwhelmed them. They are killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. They are cheated egoists.

Potential Political Plums Passed Up

If a young millionaire should squander his estate as recklessly as the labor leaders squander their potential assets, he would be adjudged a spendthrift, and a conservator appointed to care for his property. The conservative bureaucrats calmly sell out a billion-dollars worth of working-class political power for a few thousands, and think they are being eminently practical. Without bringing the interests of rank and file into the argument at all, the reactionaries have shown that they need a guardian, because they don't even know their own interests. Consider, for example, the aspect of things political. There the bureaucracy, in following out Mr. Gompers' policy, which is the quintessence of the selfish system that has ruined Labor, have made a pretty mess of it, and have lost out heavily.

The vast complexity of machinery that goes to make up the local, state, and national branches of our Government furnishes tens of thousands of well-paid political jobs. There are almost countless numbers of senators, congressmen, state representatives, councilmen, sheriffs, judges, and what not. And with these political offices goes immeasurable patronage and power. It is a prospect of plums and sinecures to make the mouths of ambitious bureaucrats water at the thought. In an industrial country like ours, at least half of these rich jobs could be at the disposal of Organized Labor—that is, provided it had the intelligence to organize in a separate party and go out to win them. There would then be fat jobs galore to pass around freely among the aspiring brothers.

But consider the pitiful reality. Because the trade union leadership has lacked the good sense to organize a labor party it has robbed itself of all these rich political plums. There is hardly a labor man in office anywhere. In the great city of Chicago, for example, there is not one labor man in the city council, nor has there been for years. With intelligent political action, three-fourths of the city Government, which means hundreds of good jobs, would be in the hands

of the labor leaders. What a terrible loss to our bureaucracy! And it has been brought about by this extreme greed and "practicality". The bureaucrats have turned a deaf ear when, in the past, the radicals proposed that a labor party be started. They were too "sensible". They would not "waste their votes" on the long task of building their own party. They would get quick results; they would hop into office by supporting their political friends and opposing their enemies; they would harvest without sowing. Today we see the result of their short-sighted greed. They have virtually cut their own throats. They are pitifully impotent in politics and thousands of political sinecures that would have been in their hands, had they gone into independent political action, now rest in the control of others. Ponder for a moment this situation, you Gompers' bureaucrats, and realize how worthless even to yourself is the much-vaunted "practical" political policy of your intellectual leader.

Wrecking the Source of Supplies

On the industrial field the situation is about the same—the self-seeking bureaucrats in their eagerness to exploit the unions to the limit through extravagant salaries, overloading them with incompetents, refusing to allow them to amalgamate, and all the other characteristics of reactionary leadership, have checked and stifled the organizations, and brought them to ruin. A case in point is the railroad shopmen. At the A. F. of L. Railway Employees' Department Convention their leaders, for fear some of them would lose their jobs, opposed the general railroad amalgamation which alone could have forestalled or won the threatening strike. Result;

the unions have been practically wiped out on many systems, and a hundred times as many officials lost their jobs as would have done so through amalgamation. The shopmen officials would not sacrifice a sprat to catch a whale. Consequently they not only missed the whale, but they lost their sprats as well.

Similar examples of reactionary leadership and shortsighted greed, piled by thousands upon one another in the course of the years, have restricted our labor movement to a struggling organization of only 3,000,000 members, instead of the 25,000,000 members that an intelligent policy would have given it. Of course, this has meant overwhelming disaster for the workers. but the bureaucracy has not escaped scot free either. Think of the thousands upon thousands of good trade union official jobs that would be at its disposal were the great industries organized. But Gompersism, with all the sterility and incompetence which that implies, has kept them disorganized. What a loss for potential office holders! Only a few have been able to get the gravy.

Gompersism is dragging the labor movement to ruin. The rank and file are waking up to this fact, as is witnessed by the great amalgamation movement. But the officialdom of the labor unions still blindly follows the old reactionary, oblivious of the fact that even their own selfish interests are jeopardized by the resultant wreckage. Some day, perhaps, a spark of intelligence and revolt may pierce the skull of a labor union bureaucrat, and he may lead a crusade against Gompersism in the interests of the job holders. Some day—but the revolution will occur long before such a miracle could happen.

A Letter from Tom Mann

Durban, Natal, So. Africa,
November 30, 1922.

My Dear Friend:—

I left England for South Africa in middle of September, just as we learned of your arrest, but I was not able to get a clear understanding as to whether you were detained or not. I hope you are at liberty and at work. I came here at the request of the miners who have been through a most trying time. Three hundred are still in prison awaiting trial. They have been in nine months already; special courts, no juries, are trying the cases; four hanged already; many others will probably be sentenced to death. A wickedly

brutal business. I do not know when I shall finish here, probably in March, and I am invited to visit Australia and may do so. Later this would be a good place for you to pay a visit to; you would be well received. I wonder how the R. I. L. U. Congress is going on; it should be in session now, I think. The week I left London for South Africa, John Burns was leaving for Russia. I met him casually and he had his passport. I write mainly to send New Year's greetings to all. My memoirs are in the printer's hands and will be out in a few months.

Fraternally yours,

TOM MANN.

A Letter to Frank Morrison

Chicago, January 20th, 1923.

Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary,
American Federation of Labor.

Dear Sir and Brother:—

I see that in your recent Portland and Seattle speeches you went out of your way to attack amalgamation. Well, I am not surprised. Few, indeed, are the paid officials who can rise to the heights of understanding, courage, and unselfishness demanded by that vital measure. You simply take the attitude of the ordinary trade union bureaucrat. And the worst part of your opposition is that it is masked and indirect. You do not come out openly, like the old lion, Gompers, and denounce the whole amalgamation movement as a Lenin-Trotsky plot to overthrow the Government and civilization. No, you pose as a friend of amalgamation and then stab it viciously in the back. Which makes your opposition all the more dangerous.

But let us see some of the points you try to make in your speeches. One thing you seem particularly anxious to establish is that amalgamation is a time-honored policy of the American Federation of Labor, having been endorsed in 1901, and followed consistently ever since. This is an absurd contention. You know, and every other labor man knows, that the A. F. of L. has never endorsed amalgamation as the present movement understands and uses the term. On the contrary, the Federation, which means Mr. Gompers, is the bitterest of all foes to amalgamation and has fought it tooth and nail for many years.

In demanding amalgamation, the great movement now surging through the ranks of Organized Labor is demanding industrial unionism. This it makes as clear as the English language can put it. It repudiates craft unionism completely and it categorically insists that there be only one union in each industry. That's what the eleven state federations, half-dozen internationals, scores of central bodies, and thousands of local unions said when they endorsed amalgamation. In the resolutions of all of them ran the significant demand, either in these exact words of their equivalent: "That all the existing craft unions in the respective industries be amalgamated, to the end that there shall be but one union in each industry."

When and where did the A. F. of L. endorse such an amalgamation program for industrial unionism? Never and at no place. Why, then,

dig up the meaningless, sidestepping, 1901 resolution from its grave and parade it around as an endorsement of amalgamation? Why try to delude the workers into thinking that the vicious and stupid craft union policy of the A. F. of L. has anything in common with the new movement for industrial unionism? The fact is Mr. Gompers and his official clique have consistently opposed for a generation everything vital for which amalgamationists stand. You know this, Mr. Morrison, as well as I do.

Then, having tortured the facts around to make amalgamation seem a "kosher" A. F. of L. policy, you tell us of the difficulties you and your fellow officials have had in the past to amalgamate kindred organizations, citing how some have even seceded rather than amalgamate. And small wonder that you have encountered such resistance in the few attempts you have made to bring unions together. To begin with, your amalgamation projects have been fakes. Never in the history of the A. F. of L. has the Executive Council worked out a practical plan of amalgamation for any industry. What has happened has been that some larger union wishing to devour a smaller neighbor, has launched an "amalgamation" campaign. Whereupon your executive Council, always a valiant champion of the strong organization against the weak ones, has rushed in to help the devouring process. Let the Wood Workers, the Amalgamated Carpenters, and others, testify. Your amalgamation is usually only a case of the big fish eating the little ones. It is not amalgamation, but assimilation. Your unfairness and ruthlessness accounts for most of the opposition you have met in such projects; the rest was due to officials (Patsy Richardson type) who were afraid that the amalgamation would cost them their jobs.

In your own union many progressives class you as an amalgamationist, for you made a speech at the last I. T. U. convention which was deemed favorable. But here we find you in Seattle retailing the one argument which is doing more than anything else to prevent amalgamation in the printing industry, and which is being worked overtime by such reactionaries as Berry and Woll. This is the story that the printing trades once had an industrial union, but as it failed to work properly they split themselves up into the present craft organizations. In a general way this is a fact. But the explanation that goes with it entirely changes the situation. And it is this vital fact that you leave

out. You fail to tell your hearers that the splitting up of the printing trades, like many other secession movements, was caused, not by the unworkability of the printing trades industrial union, but through a series of manoeuvres by employers eager to divide the workers, and of machinations by ambitious individuals looking for jobs as union officials. No friend of amalgamation in the printing trades will handle that episode as you do. You make of it anti-amalgamation propaganda pure and simple.

But perhaps the worst feature of your talk was your attempt to blame upon the rank and file the lack of a higher type of organization. You say, "If the policy of the American Federation of Labor is not satisfactory to members it is not the fault of the Federation, but the fault of the members themselves." And further along, "Again and again the membership of unions and not the officers of the organizations had blocked amalgamation plans."

Well now, that is what I call going the limit. Are you so desperate to beat out the fast-spreading fire of amalgamation sentiment that you must descend to tommyrot? All the world knows that your proposition is ridiculous. Look about you, consider any industry, and you will find the officialdom fighting against amalgamation and the rank and file fighting for it. Look at the railroads, for example. There thousands of local unions have endorsed amalgamation. The bulk of the membership is for it. But the higher officialdom—to learn their almost unanimous attitude all one has to do is to read the slanders and misrepresentation they are spreading regarding it. The officialdom do all in their power (and often with tricks that would shame Tammany Hall) to kill amalgamation sentiment, and then, as an excuse for there being no such

sentiment, they blame the rank and file. It is too much.

Now let me tell you, Mr. Morrison, although you probably know as well as I, that there is ever and always only one obstacle to amalgamation of related trades. This is the opposition of the officials who fear they will lose their jobs. Overcome this job-fear opposition and the thing is done. Often the only way this can be accomplished is by giving the officials of the old unions positions in the new organizations. When the great Amalgamated Engineering Union of Great Britain was formed a few years ago, the officials of some of the consolidated unions had to be guaranteed jobs for eight years before they would permit their organization to go into the amalgamation. The same thing has happened time and again in this country, even as in all others. It is the usual thing. All the labor world that is honest with itself knows full well that the point of resistance against amalgamation lies, not in the workshops but in the general offices of the unions.

So much for your anti-amalgamation speeches. Now to ask you the same question that we did not long ago of Mr. Gompers: What are you going to do about the hundreds of calls that have been made upon the Executive Council by Internationals, State Federations, local central bodies, local unions, etc., for a re-organization of the American labor movement? Are you going to hearken to these demands and progressively develop our labor unions? Or are you going to resist and fight the rising flood of amalgamation sentiment until it overwhelms you and sweeps you away, even as it did Mr. Grable?

Fraternally yours,

Wm. Z. Foster.

Dualists, Take Note!

Tom Bell, in *The Worker*, Toronto, Canada

Prior to 1920 the conservative leadership of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress would never call a convention in the west without great danger of losing control of the Congress, because of the flood of radical delegates which would result from the Congress being held within reasonable distance of the districts where the radicals dominated. In 1920 Tom Moore and his gang provided the radicals who had left the unions affiliated with the Congress with an object lesson by holding the convention in the city which was the stronghold of the O. B. U. The radicals

were powerless because they had quit the struggle for a peaceful life in a perfect union where everybody was a "comrade." Next year the convention will be held in Vancouver, where the radicals up to 1919 not only dominated many of the local unions but also had the Provincial Federation of Labor under their control. Today the trade unions at Vancouver are the possession of a reactionary clique and Tom Moore and his gang fear nothing from the radicals who gave up their control for a high-sounding preamble and a form of organization called "perfect."

The Shopmen Foot the Bill

By H. Brown

MANY people believe that the Shopmen's strike is a thing of the past, that it came to an end several months ago. But this is most decidedly not the case. Not over half of the Shopmen are employed on the roads that have signed up with the unions. On the rest of the roads the strike is being bitterly contested, with many thousands of men fighting doggedly along in the face of unprecedented discouragement and hardships.

This tenacious and exhausting battle, begun on the first of July, is the terrible price that the Shopmen have had to pay for the stupid tactics of their leadership. Before the strike began the rank and filers in the unions who had their eyes open to realities warned all and sundry that the organizations, in their divided state, ran the almost certain hazard of crushing defeat if they ventured into an open struggle with the rich, powerful, and aggressive companies. They demanded a solid front all along the line as the only combination fit to cope with the situation. But the officials scoffed at this. They denounced all such people as chronic kickers and crazy bolsheviks who wanted to overthrow the unions. They declared that their system of craft unionism represented the highest possible form of organization and the one able to make the best and most united fight. They are blinded by a false sense of security coming from the frail alliances they had with the other trades.

Craft Union Weakness

But the strike showed the hollowness of their craft union system, and particularly of the method of flimsy alliances between the unions. The seven shop crafts, it is true, stuck loyally together all the way down to date. But they were not heavy enough to do the job alone. They had to have help. It was necessary for them to have help from the other trades. And it was just in this crisis that the alliance idea exploded with a loud crash. Between the Shopmen, the Clerks, and the Maintenance of Way there was an understanding that all would make the fight together. Such solidarity was exactly what was needed. When the Shopmen were driven into the strike by the machinations of the Railroad Labor Board the one thing essential above all others was that the Clerks and Maintenance of Way should go into the fight, one branch after the other. This would have set the whole per-

sonnel on fire. A million horses could not have held the Brotherhood men at their posts. The strike would have become general. It would have been ended in a hurry with a victorious settlement.

But it was not to be so. Craft unionism does not work that way. Right in the crisis, at the strategic moment, both Fitzgerald of the Clerks and Grable of the Maintenance of Way flunked completely. Whether acting directly as agents of the companies trying to break the strike or as devotees of the fatal craft union doctrine that they could best further the interests of their own men by sacrificing the other trades, they came to an understanding with the companies and left the Shopmen to their fate. It was an historic betrayal. And thousands of Shopmen, now struggling all over the country with a desperate strike situation, are paying the bitter price.

New Methods of Struggle

It is a deplorable characteristic of the workers that they never learn newer methods of industrial struggle until the need for them has been hammered and pounded into them time and again. The slogan "Amalgamation or Annihilation" is profoundly true. The unions rarely take a real step forward until they are practically threatened with extinction. Then sluggishly they get under way and adopt the hard-earned lessons.

Let us hope that the great lesson of the Shopmen's strike will not be in vain. This is that the fighting front of the railroad workers must extend across the whole face of the railroad industry. The day of partial strikes, of sectional unionism has gone forever. Only under pain of absolute elimination can the organizations go ways independent of each other. We must hang together or we will hang separately. Industrial unionism is the indispensable demand of the railroad industry. We must have an organization taking in every branch of the service, skilled and unskilled. We must amalgamate all our organizations into one, and then give that a real fighting spirit. The officials who will not or cannot perceive this fundamental need should be ruthlessly swept out of office and replaced by men abreast of the times. Let industrial unionism on the railroads be the outcome of the heroic struggle of the Shopmen. Then that historic battle will have been worth all the suffering and hardship it has cost.

Free Speech in Denver

AT last the efforts to establish some semblance of free speech in Denver have been crowned with success. On December 31st, Wm. Z. Foster, deported from Colorado on August 6th, when he attempted to address a meeting of union men, spoke at an open mass meeting in Painters' Hall. The gathering was held under the auspices of the Denver T. U. E. L. and the Civil Liberties Union, and was organized chiefly by Brothers Anderson, Dietrich, and Israel. The big hall was packed to the doors, with hundreds turned away. Enthusiasm was rife and the sallies of the speaker were greeted with roars of applause. Representatives of the city and state police were present but made no interference with the meeting. It was a heartening victory wherewith to end the generally disastrous year of 1922.

The meeting took place in the midst of great uncertainty. None of our people knew whether it would be stopped or not. Although shatteringly defeated by Sweet in the recent election on the issues of the Foster kidnapping, the irresponsible and reckless Shoup-Hamrock crowd were still in office and sore enough to do anything to assuage their injured feelings. Everyone expected them to make some boneheaded play that would get them in worse than did their stupid deportation of Foster.

In the midst of this critical situation, Roger Baldwin, who, on behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union, had been active in the case from its inception, took a hand in the matter. He wired Governor Shoup to learn if the meeting would be permitted. Shoup wired back (and like the cheap skate he is, sent it collect) ducking the issue and practically putting the matter up to Governor-elect Sweet. Baldwin then wired Sweet as follows:

"May we ask you to issue statement commenting on Governor Shoup's telegram to us concerning the Foster meeting? We have replied to him that press reports connecting the meeting with the new state administration are in error and purpose of meeting is to establish right of free speech in Colorado."

To which Sweet made this reply:

"Replying to your wire. I am a private citizen of Colorado until January 9th. As such I cannot presume to take responsibility either of maintaining the law or protecting citizens in the exercise of their constitutional rights. The responsibility rests entirely with the Governor. If it is necessary for him to have the approval of a private citizen before extending constitutional rights then I am glad to assure the Governor of my approval. Am sending copy of this telegram to morning papers."

Realizing that the game was up because the new administration would not support them in their lawless course, the forces seeking to suppress free speech gave up. Although gnashing their teeth in rage, they considered discretion the better part of valor and allowed the meeting to proceed unmolested.

A most important result of the fight is the breaking up of the Rangers, or state police, who have been a curse to the workers of Colorado. Faced by disbandment at the hands of the new governor, they have resigned in bunches. So badly are their ranks depleted now that the labor-hating *Denver Post* declared that even if it had been decided to arrest Foster not enough of them could be found still in the service to do the job.

Pat Hamrock himself resigned two days before our meeting. It was a too bitter pill for him to stick in office while Foster spoke. Hamrock also failed to make good on his boast, made publicly some weeks ago, that he would have Foster arrested for slander, because Foster called him, the "hero" of the Ludlow massacre, a murderer. Now everybody is wondering whether Pat, by his failure to act, admits the charge. The lame-duck Governor Shoup has given Hamrock a new job as Commissioner of the Civil Service. Sweet, however, will ignore his appointment, according to a public announcement. As a parting shot Hamrock declared that Foster was only one of many notorious radicals who were coming to Colorado to attend Sweet's inauguration.

Another most important development is that the Colorado National Guard, as well as the Rangers, is breaking up. Hamrock was also the head of that malodorous outfit, and when he resigned his post a large number of the officers quit likewise. Already a couple of guard detachments have been disbanded for want of officers. Hamrock and the other reactionaries are spreading the story that the radical Sweet has no place for a National Guard in his Soviet scheme and that he intends to turn the armories into warehouses.

This is part of the general conspiracy to get Sweet. The employing interests are bitter at him for his stand in the Foster matter and will leave no stone unturned to discredit him and his administration. But Sweet is a scrapper and interesting developments may be looked for during his term of office.

Mumford Exonerates Dolla

By Moritz J. Loeb

THE Dolla case is fast developing aspects of rottenness which rank it alongside of the infamous Mooney case and other notorious miscarriages of justice. In the January number of THE LABOR HERALD I pointed out that the principal witness against Dolla was one William Mumford. He, especially, was responsible for the conviction of Dolla. The other witnesses against Dolla have long since confessed that their testimony was false, and now comes Mumford with a similar repudiation. His letter, which follows, pictures one of the foulest crimes ever committed by the Pennsylvania State Constabulary.

Mumford's Statement

Philadelphia, Pa., Dec. 30, 1922.

Dear Brother Foster:

Brother Golden and Attorney Thompson were here to see me and Brother Dolla. No doubt Brother Golden has written to you before this about it. I wish to state to you that I was working in the Lebanon Iron and Steel Company's plants until the United States entered the world war. Then I joined the U. S. Army to fight for world democracy, as it was said. While on the battle field in France I was wounded seven times, shot, gassed and severely shell-shocked.

After I was discharged from Base Hospital No. 9, Lakewood, New Jersey, I came home to Lebanon, Pa., and found my fellow workers in an industrial war with the steel kings. I at once joined the Iron and Steel Union to fight for industrial freedom in the land of my birth. During our struggle for industrial democracy, I made the acquaintance of John Aldrige, who was also a member of the union. This man Aldrige, on different occasions, agitated violence. Several times he came running to the union headquarters, saying how many scabs had just arrived from the south, and how something must be done to scare them out or we would surely lose the strike.

One day, late in the afternoon, he asked me to come along to Jake Dolla's home. He paid the street car fare for me. We found Dolla washing his automobile. Aldrige asked Dolla how soon he would be finished. Dolla said in a few minutes. "Why", said Aldrige, "I want you to take us out to a place where I have the dynamite concealed". Dolla asked what he meant. Aldrige said to bring the dynamite in town and get ready to scare the scabs away. Dolla said to Aldrige, "John, you are crazy. Don't you know that is just what the steel companies are looking for, violence, so as to get public sentiment against us? The only way to win this strike is in a peaceable manner, and by sticking together."

Aldrige then said to Dolla, "You are not a true union man. Here is a dollar, now will you

take us?" Dolla refused. Then Aldrige said, "Come on Bill, we can bring it in our bosom". I told Aldrige that I felt the same way about it as Dolla did, and furthermore, that I was not able to walk that far as my wounds would come open again and bother and pain me. That was the last time Aldrige spoke to me about violence.

After the crime, when I was arrested, they (the State Police) beat me up and wanted me to say that Dolla prepared the dynamiting. I told them about Aldrige and they said, "Never mind about him", you do as we say or you will never see daylight again". They forced me to say That Dolla and I stole the dynamite for the explosion. So help me God, I nor Dolla never stole the dynamite for the explosion. They beat me and tortured me continually until I said what they wanted me to say. I could not stand it any longer. They struck me on my wounds. I thought they would kill me as they said they would. As I was in a weak condition anyway from shell-shock, it was easy for them to overcome me and to bring me their way.

The fabricated story I was forced to say got me a sentence also, for crimes of which neither I nor Dolla was guilty. There was no truth in the story dictated to me, although they forced me to testify to it. They made me say that I and Brother Dolla stole the dynamite and furnished it for the crime, and they also forced me to say that Brother Dolla got me to place a bomb at Karl Witzman's house. To prove to you that the whole thing was false and manufactured by the State Police and the Steel company's lawyers, I will say that the whole neighborhood knows that there was no bomb explosion at Karl Witzman's house. Yet I got myself a sentence and also one for Brother Dolla for dynamiting Witzman's house and for stealing or furnishing the dynamite for the crime.

I was never in Brother Dolla's company with the intention of stealing of any kind. The State Police found eight sticks of dynamite at Dissinger's house, and Dissinger admitted at the hearing that he had stolen the dynamite three weeks before the crime. Yet Brother Dolla and myself received a sentence for the larceny of the dynamite. No dynamite was found on me or Brother Dolla, no other evidence was found on us linking us with the crime. They just forced me to be a witness against myself and Brother Dolla.

Ever since we have been in prison here (Mumford is still in the Eastern Penitentiary) Brother Dolla has had a bitter grudge against me for saying that which was not true. But what was I going to do? I was in a weakened condition and could not stand the torture any longer. I was even forced to say things against myself which were not true. Brother Dolla himself knows how they tortured him and the pressure they used upon him. But his constitution was stronger than mine. Therefore he was able to stand more than me and to go through

all the torture. The way they beat me I was willing to say anything, just so they would leave me alone. Even at the hearing, before it started, Sergeant Campbell of the State Police, whispered in my ear, telling me to remember what I could look for if I did not do as told when they called me to testify. Things were managed by the police so that there was no chair to sit down on. I had to stand to testify. This Sergeant Campbell was standing right alongside of me and pinched me in the back and arm at times when I hesitated to say those things in which there was absolutely no truth. This will cover for this time.

Hoping to hear from you soon, I am, with best wishes,

Respectfully yours,
(Signed) WILLIAM MUMFORD.

Labor Must Arouse Itself

Seldom has there been a more shameful conspiracy worked against toilers than that which sent Dolla and Mumford to jail, for Mumford is doing his part of the suffering as well. Here he was, a veteran of the world war, one who had ruined himself physically in the service of his country, yet when he dared to make a stand for the industrial democracy which he thought he had been fighting for in Europe, he is treated in the brutal manner above outlined. The very wounds he bore were used as weapons against him. His war-weakened condition was the means employed to break him down and to send him and his brother worker, Dolla, to the Penitentiary. Let all the 100 percenters pause a while in contemplation of the reward given to this soldier by a grateful country.

It is high time that Organized Labor all over the country raised its voice in protest against the outrageous frame-up in the Dolla case. Already a start is made in that direction. At its meeting on January 7th, the Chicago Federation of Labor unanimously adopted the following resolution:

RESOLUTION.

WHEREAS, Jacob Dolla, a member of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, an active and powerful rank and file leader, possessed of keen intelligence and speaking several languages, incurred the desperate enmity of the Steel interests in Lebanon, Pennsylvania, during the great Steel Strike of 1919, and

WHEREAS, to rid themselves of this able champion of Labor and to take revenge upon him, the steel interests had him arrested, charged him with a series of dynamitings, and by the use of third-degree methods by the State Police and other authorities, succeeded in securing some forced testimony against him and sent him off to the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania, where he is now serving a sentence of from 12 to 17 years, and

WHEREAS, all the witnesses against Dolla have since confessed that they were compelled to charge him with the crime on pain of being sent to jail themselves for long terms, the latest confession being from Mumford, principal witness against Dolla, who has stated that he, an overseas veteran of the World War, gassed, shell-shocked, and wounded seven times, was forced, by the use of the most barbarous third-degree methods, to swear against Dolla, thereby not only sending Dolla, an innocent man, to jail, but himself as well, and

WHEREAS, now since this dastardly frame-up is beginning to come to light, the steel interests, to cover up their past crimes and to deal one more blow against Dolla, have started deportation proceedings against him, the same being scheduled for January 10th, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that we, the Chicago Federation of Labor, protest most emphatically against these high-handed outrages, and condemn as a crime not only the unjust imprisonment of Dolla, but also the attempt to railroad him out of the country, and be it further

RESOLVED, that we call upon the Department of Labor to refuse to permit itself to be used against this innocent worker by the steel trust, and not to issue the deportation papers, and be it further

RESOLVED, that we call upon the Governor of Pennsylvania to correct the grave injury done Jacob Dolla, so far as he can, by granting him an immediate and complete pardon.

He Is Ordered to the Firing Line

Dear Comrade:—

I am still carrying my army insurance. In the event of my death, while it is still in effect I've left you \$6,000; if you pre-decease me, Earl Browder; if he does too, John Mihelic. Of course I expect you to use this money for good work—T. U. E. L. or what you will. I can't leave it direct to such, since I am quite sure no court would construe the organization as either educational or charitable—besides, bequest to group or corporation is always contestable, while bequest to individual is far less vulnerable.

I am healthy as a germ, so—unfortunately for the cause—there's no reasonable expectation of realizing on this.

Fraternally yours,

GEORGE MEYLER.

National Industrial Committees

ONE of the most important tasks now confronting the League is the organization of National Committees of the militants in the respective industries, for until we have highly organized national groupings in each great industrial division, we cannot hope to make substantial progress to the achievement of our ultimate goals of re-organizing the whole labor movement onto an industrial basis and bringing in the masses of unorganized workers.

A most difficult thing to make our militants thoroughly understand is that fully 90% of the problems we have to contend with are purely national in scope. Even those which seem on the face of them to be of a local character turn out, on close analysis to be altogether national. This is because both the unions and the industry are national and any attempt to change things at one point disturbs the equilibrium all along the line. But many workers are so overcome with the local psychology that they do not readily understand this. Consequently time after time they find themselves balked and their efforts running away to seed because they are not working upon a national scale. It may be laid down as a fundamental that the future success of the League depends to a very large extent upon the militants getting away from the localist idea and coming to a full realization that their problems are essentially national in character.

When a national committee is set up in an industry, immediately the demoralized condition of the militants therein begins to resolve itself into order and progress. Holding as it does before them the ideal of a militant industrial union, the National Committee links them together into a co-operating whole. Confronted with the larger work, the militants give up squabbling among themselves and wasting their time and energies on futile and insoluble local problems. The militants at scattered points, who otherwise are but ciphers in the fight, are drawn into the movement and encouraged to swing their organizations into line. Organizing the militants nationally in an industry does not mean simply to achieve a general total of their present scattered power. No, something more is added. Far greater strength is created. Militants moving nationally in an industry have ten or twenty times the power and influence that the same groups had when operating purely upon a local basis. National organization of the militants means system, order, program, and power.

Whereas local organization alone means, confusion, lack of program and impotency.

Already considerable progress has been made towards achieving this necessary national organization in the respective industries. A militant committee is at work in the railroad industry and getting splendid results. Likewise one has been established in the metal trades, and will soon be heard from in that sphere. In the needle trades, too, a National Committee is getting under way. And the same thing in the printing trades. Efforts are also being pushed to set up similar bodies in the Food, Textile, Boot & Shoe, Mining, and other industries where the unions are strong. But the movement must not confine itself simply to the organized industries. Those that are unorganized must have National Committees as well, so that with nuclei of our militants scattered all through the great plants and keeping in close touch with each other we may be able to, in the near future, launch great campaigns of organization which will sweep the unorganized masses into the unions. This latter is one of the most vital sides to the League's program, this militant organization among the unorganized industries, and we will have a very great deal to say and do about it once we get finished with our most urgent task of creating National Committees among the organized workers.

Every militant who understands the real purpose of the League and the thing it needs above all to make it prosper will take active steps at once to see that there is a National Committee established in his industry and set to work vigorously. Such National Committees must be all-inclusive and containing militants from all organized branches, independent and otherwise, who subscribe to the general program of the League. But one element that must be avoided are the dual unionists, those of a fanatical turn of mind who look upon their own petty organizations as being sort of God-given, and who seek to destroy all other organizations. Such elements are death not only to the League, but to the whole labor movement. Before the next National Conference of the League is held it is to be hoped there will be National Committees of militants established in every industry in the country, organized and unorganized. When this is accomplished then the League will be all set for its great task of re-organization.

Needle Trades Alliance vs Amalgamation

A Statement by the National Committee of the Needle Trades Section of the Trade Union Educational League.

On the communication and draft of the constitution for a proposed Needle Trades Alliance, sent out by the General Executive Board of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of N. A.

IN the following statement there is no question raised as to the sincerity or well meaning of the officers who propose this plan. But it is imperative that we make clear the issues involved in this vital matter. The issues are (Alliance)—Federation versus Amalgamation.

In the communication that accompanies the draft of the reasons why an Alliance of all the Organizations in the needle trades is desirable and necessary is quoted the action taken at the conventions of the I. L. G. W. U. and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America without mentioning the fundamental difference between the two actions. This is a grievous, tho probably unintentional, error.

The quotation from the Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. is as follows:

The convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, held in Cleveland, May 1-12, 1922, unanimously adopted the report of its Committee on Officers Report to the effect that:

"Even though the first attempt to materialize it did not bring forth the desired results, this convention should go on record as reaffirming its belief and faith in the desirability and the necessity of forming such an Alliance," of all the Organizations in the trades.

And it was further decided that "the incoming General Executive Board should be instructed to take steps in this direction and to endeavor to convert this plan into a reality. Your Committee has likewise read the letter addressed to this convention by the officers of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, in which you are urged to proceed at once with this work. We appreciate the spirit of the communication and the convention should do its utmost to make a success of that Alliance. But at the same time we recommend that the working out of the procedure shall be left to the incoming General Executive Board, which will be in a better position to take the necessary steps in that direction."

Then follows without comment the quotation from the A. C. W. of A., 1922 convention:

The convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, held in Chicago, May 8-13, 1922, overwhelmingly adopted the resolution introduced by its Committee on Reports of Officers, the mandatory part of which reads:

"Resolved, That the incoming General Executive Board be instructed to negotiate with the other Organizations in the needle trades for the calling of a joint convention for the purpose of uniting these unions into one organization, and the incoming General Executive Board is empowered to make all necessary arrangements for such a convention."

The only opposition to the resolution passed at the convention of the A. C. W. of A. came from those who favored an Alliance as against an amalgamation. Careful readers will notice the difference in the wording of the two resolutions.

We are told that the basic principle of the new plan proposed is as follows:

May we, in conclusion, emphasize that our draft of a constitution for the Alliance, which we submit herewith, is based on the following fundamental principle:

While refraining from interfering in the structure of the existing Organizations, or in the practices that may have become rooted in the life of their respective trades, and which they may feel essential for the success of their work, it aims to give the Alliance enough cohesion and strength to enable it to promote the organization of all the needle workers and to become a really helpful and effective factor for the branches of the needle trade industry in which the separate international unions now function.

This is the weak point in the whole proposition and if it is the "fundamental principle" very little can be expected from this plan.

The militants of the needle trades industry must boldly face this "principle," that allows each separate international union to do as it pleases, and demand that they be welded into one great organization with departments fully capable of taking care of the craft interests of the workers. This is the only principle that will bring real solidarity of the needle workers.

The draft of the constitution is a lengthy affair. The name proposed: Needle Trades Workers Alliance of America. Its objects roughly stated: To promote solidarity. To promote organization of the unorganized. To give affiliated international unions financial assistance. To develop a research bureau for the benefit of all the affiliations. To investigate pending legislation and present the views of the workers to the press, legislative bodies and public officials. To arrange for legal advice to all affiliations. To publish a bulletin to be reprinted in the International Journals.

3. **Composition.** The Needle Trades Workers' Alliance of America shall consist of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the International Furriers' Union, the Journeymen Tailors' Union and the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, and such other unions as may become affiliated with it.

Conventions are to be held annually.

Representation—

(a) The annual convention shall consist:

(1) Of delegates from every affiliated international union as follows: International unions with a membership of not over 5,000 shall be entitled to five delegates; over 5,000 but not over 25,000 to ten delegates; over 25,000 but not over 100,000 to fifteen delegates; over 100,000 to twenty delegates. The membership of every affiliated organization shall be computed on the basis of the average per capita tax paid by them during the year preceding the convention.

(2) Of one delegate from every Local Branch of the Alliance.

(b) The method by which the affiliated organizations should elect their delegates to the convention of the Alliance should be determined by every affiliated organization in accordance with its own constitution and by-laws.

The representation as it is proposed will be almost exclusively of the officialdom. Without a large representation of the rank and file of the various organizations, it is hard to believe that anything like real progress towards solidarity can come out of the gathering.

Executive Council—

(a) The Executive Council shall consist of fifteen members as follows: Every component international union (Section 3) to designate two members to the Executive Council and five additional delegates to be elected at the annual convention.

(b) It shall be the duty of the Executive Council:

(1) To carry on the object of the Alliance and all the decisions of its conventions.

(2) To organize an office and establish such special departments as it may find advisable to promote the work of the Alliance.

(3) To appoint a paid Executive Secretary who shall devote all his time to the business of the Alliance.

(4) To elect a permanent Treasurer, Recording Secretary and two Trustees of the Alliance.

It will be noticed that there is no president, no executive head of the council. How this body could function without a permanent head it is hard to understand. The reasons for trying to avoid the necessity for filling this important position, are obvious. And admit of the cardinal weakness, that this proposition has not gotten its roots in the rank and file to whom this question of selecting a competent head to the organization would be a comparatively simple matter.

A Permanent Defense Fund is proposed.

Local Branches (corresponding to local Building and Metal Trades Councils) are proposed.

It is fully expected that all the International Unions will participate in the convention; therefore it is highly important that the rank and file and especially the militants of the organization become familiar with this vital matter.

It is our duty as militants to keep clearly before the rank and file the fundamental difference between this Alliance and the Amalgamation advocated in the quoted resolution passed at the A. C. W. convention. The arguments in favor of this alliance will be many and varied. Some of which are: the industry being different from all others, as the workers of one craft are all under one roof and members of one union. And that, therefore, they are not as ready for amalgamation as, for instance, the railroad workers with their many craft unions in one shop. The facts are that everyone who knows the needle industry admits that at least a majority of the International Unions in it are already in favor of amalgamation. And that the only excuse for not going all the way on the road of amalgamation is because it is necessary to placate some of those officials who are opposed to any real solidarity of the needle workers unions.

The proposed Alliance does not make any proposals that will lessen the expense of the duplication of the many separate International Headquarters, Staffs, Journals, etc., etc. On the contrary, it lays down as a basic principle the autonomy that will preserve this duplication and expense.

Should one desire it, a good argument in favor of amalgamation was published in the issue of the New York Times of January 11, to the effect that at a meeting of the dress manufacturers they had elected David N. Mosessohn to become, in the words of the Times, the "dictator" of the industry. "The action last night was regarded by the members as the first big step made to 'clean up' the needle industry from the manufacturers' standpoint."

It was pointed out that one of the duties of the arbiter would be to decide disputes between members and the concerns to which they sell and between members of the concerns from which they buy. It was proposed as a matter of the gravest concern that steps be taken at once to inculcate into the personnel of the industry ideas that would make for better and more ethical business relations between the manufacturers and the firms with which they do business.

To all this there can be but one answer, that now as never before the militants must demand nothing short of one highly departmentalized Industrial Union in the needle industry.

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Who's Who in Prison

A Series of Sketches: II. Sacco and Vanzetti

By Karl Pretshold

Bartolomeo Vanzetti and Nicolo Sacco have become international figures in the labor movement. Strikes and demonstrations have been organized in many lands to protest against their execution in the barbarous frame-up against these militants in Massachusetts. In the following sketch a more intimate view is given of these brother unionists.

TO the workers of the world the names of Sacco and Vanzetti have become a symbol. So much so that there is danger that their identity as *men* will be lost in eagerness to help them for the ideas they represent.

After a first meeting with these men it seems strange that their lives should have been linked together in a frame-up. In every way they are opposites, Sacco is the typical Italian, quick, fiery, temperamental. Vanzetti is slow, quiet, almost Russian in his philosophic calm, the thinker and dreamer.

But the linking of their lives seems strange for only a short time. One soon realizes that each has the qualities the other needs. As labor agitators they combine all essentials. Their association increases the effectiveness of each a hundred fold.

Sacco is the younger of the two; thirty-one. He was born in the Puglia district of Italy. His father was an olive grower and after leaving school at fourteen he worked on his father's farm 'till he was seventeen and came to America. He arrived at Boston in 1908 before the country had recovered from the effects of the panic of 1907. His first months in America were a period of disillusionment. In Italy he had been a firm Republican, but he soon learned that it mattered little to an unemployed worker whether a country had a king or president. After several months he got a job as water boy to a construction gang. He worked on this job for several months and then shifted from job to job in various towns of Mass. After two years in the country he got a chance to learn a trade, edge trimming in a shoe factory. He worked at this trade 'till the time of his arrest.

But that is the story of how he earned his living rather than how he lived, his real life was devoted to labor and radical movement. During the famous Lawrence strike he was active in getting the Italians outside of Lawrence to help the strikers. Just after the Lawrence strike, he was one of the leaders on the Hopedale foundry strike in 1913. It was about this time he met Vanzetti.

Vanzetti, who is thirty-three, was born in Piedmont, Italy and went to school 'till he was thirteen. He was then apprenticed to a pastry cook and candy maker. He worked at his trade 'till he was 19, traveling over a great part of Italy.

He too came to America in 1908. In New York city he spent his first weeks broke and almost down and out. His first job was kitchen helper in a club. Then washing dishes in a restaurant. Of this period of his life, Vanzetti says: "Here I saw all the brutalities of life, all the injustice, the corruption in which man struggles tragically."

"But despite everything I succeeded in studying. I studied the works of Kropotkin, Gorki, Merlino, I read Marx's 'Capital.' Here I read the Socialist journals and studied the Bible. Here I studied the history of Ancient Greece and Rome, the history of the United States and of the French and Italian Revolutions. I studied Darwin, Spencer and Laplace. But you must remember the conditions under which I studied, I could not assimilate all this vast material. How many times I sat over some volume far into the morning hours. Barely had I laid my head on the pillow when the whistle blew and I must go to work again."

After leaving New York city he worked as a common laborer all over the state of New York and New England. He avoided factory and indoor work because it kept him from the free air. In 1913 he settled in Plymouth, Mass., and lived and worked there till his arrest.

But to return to what Vanzetti studied and thought, for "the deeper truer story of a man's life is the story of his inner growth, in mind and soul and universal consciousness."

"I grasped a concept of fraternity, of universal love. I sought my liberty in the liberty of all, my happiness in the happiness of all. I understood that the supreme goal of humanity is happiness. I understood that true wisdom lies in tolerance."

"At the age of thirty three I am scheduled for prison and for death. Yet were I to recommence the journey of my life I would retread the same road."

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A SYMPOSIUM OF BUNK.

THE *American Federationist* for January contains New Year's messages from 35 "leaders" of the trade union movement. Nothing that can be said by us can be half so damning to this bankrupt bureaucracy as their own words and their own attitude. In the face of defeat and demoralization, these happy spirits are calm and serene. The unions have lost over a million members in the past year—which moves Bert Jewell to exclaim that "Our Opponents Have Never Been So Weak." In West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Kansas, Colorado, Illinois and innumerable other places, the machinery of government has been thrown against the unions, while federal injunctions regularly issue against workers—which brings this blurb from Matthew Woll: "I rejoice that right is in the ascendancy. As a citizen of our great republic, I see the year in the same light and I see the same bright star of hope and progress climbing high in the heavens." In the messages of 35 leading officers of the trade union movement, nothing more inspiring than this is to be found.

Everything is lovely, say the bureaucrats. Not a word about amalgamation, not even a suggestion to review the old policies. Not a line about independent political action. Not a vital word about anything. Just bunk. Sometimes even whole paragraphs, like Mike Tighe's effusion, which is not even bunk, but a meaningless jumble of words. The most positive thing to be found in the entire display of spiritual and intellectual poverty, is Gompers' appeal, of the vintage of 1881, for "one big federation." Not a breath to show that a single lesson has been learned from the past year. Not the slightest hint of progress. Truly it may be said that the intellectual bankruptcy of the trade union bureaucracy is complete.

WAR MADNESS AGAIN.

THE imperialistic insanity of France has given another blow, in the invasion of the Ruhr, to the unstable European social order. With the support of her new ally, Mussolini, who is ready to bargain, as all such upstarts are, with anyone for quick returns, France has set out to choke the remaining life out of Germany. Poland and Czechoslovakia are looked to for pressure on the other side of Germany. Great Britain is standing aside in return for a free hand in the Near East, where her imperialistic booty is threatened. The United States, uttering admonitions of moderation, holds tight to the war debts, cancellation of which France

demands as her price for listening to the good advice. In all of this mad whirl of greed and chauvinism, Germany is being forced into the arms of Russia and into Bolshevism.

The European working class is present, however, as a conscious factor. And Russia looms in the background. These are the forces that give promise of the future. Alone among the nations, Russia's course is directed, not by imperialistic greed, but by consideration of the working class interests. Within the capitalistic nations is arising the voice of working class revolt. Cachin, communist member of the French parliament, is threatened with arrest; Monmousseau, leader of the Unity General Confederation of Labor, is thrown into prison with many of his comrades for opposing the imperialistic orgy. Communists of seven countries are meeting to plan a common fight against the new war. Even the timid Amsterdamers have passed resolutions of protest. The working class is slowly gathering its forces to meet the impending collapse.

Meanwhile the capitalist system drifts helplessly into chaos. It has no mechanism whatever to control the situation. The League of Nations is but paper. The shifting alliances and ententes increase, rather than allay, the disorder. With the French, Polish, Czech and Italian imperialists united in their mad grab for the remains of wrecked Middle European capitalism, the twilight of the old social order in Europe has definitely set in. Before this appears in print it may well be that European civilization is again enveloped in the flames of war.

THE NEEDLE TRADES ALLIANCE

THE mountain has labored and given birth to a mouse. After all that had been said about it, we were expecting that the proposition of the Cap Makers for closer co-operation between the different branches of the needle trades would really be an advanced project. But, now that it is before the industry as a whole, it turns out to be not even a first-class proposition of federation. It is about on a par with the Building Trades or Metal Trades Departments of the A. F. of L. But it is far inferior to the Railway Employees' Department. This is evident at once from a comparison of the latter body and the draft for the proposed Needle Trades Alliance.

The Railway Employees' Department takes the direct initiative in handling wage negotiations and strikes for its affiliated organizations. The proposed Needle Trades Alliance, however, would have no such power. The draft says that it will merely "give the affiliated International Unions assistance and advice whenever called upon during strikes, lock-outs, or negotiations for the renewal or conclusion of agreements." Among railroad men it is generally agreed that the Department, in spite of the above-mentioned power, is weak and impotent. What force, then, will the Needle Trades Alliance be with its merely advisory functions?

In the vital matter of raising funds by assessment, the power of the Railway Employees' Department is much greater than that of the proposed Needle Trades Alliance. The former can put on assessments, without further ado, at its national conventions; whereas, the latter must submit such propositions to the affiliated Internationals. Two-thirds of these, with a total of two-thirds of the total membership of the Alliance, are required to adopt such ordinary assessments. Strike assessments require a

three-fourths vote of the entire affiliated membership for adoption. These stringent regulations will effectively prevent the Alliance from raising any considerable strike or other funds.

A further indication that the Railway Employees' Department is a much higher type of federation than the proposed Needle Trades Alliance is the fact that it has the power to change its own constitution at its national convention. The convention of the Needle Trades Alliance, however, can only ratify constitutional amendments, which must then be concurred in by three-fourths of the affiliated Internationals and membership. This is a very vital difference. Likewise in the makeup of its convention the Railway Employees' Department is a much more democratic institution than the Needle Trades Alliance. The former, by its system of representation, yields a total of about 500 delegates from the six shop crafts. But the Alliance, representing approximately the same number of organized workers as the shopmen, provides for only 150 convention delegates at the very most. In the nature of things, the bulk of these would be high International officials. The rank and file would hardly have a chance to peek into the convention. Still another point in favor of the Railway Employees' Department as against the Alliance, is that the Department has the right to settle jurisdictional fights between its affiliated unions, subject only to appeal to the A. F. of L. Convention. On the other hand, no such powers are given to the flimsy Needle Trades Alliance.

The basic trouble with the proposed Needle Trades Alliance is, that it does not touch the real evil of the situation. It does not unify the ranks of the needle workers. It leaves craft autonomy intact, with the endless complications of separate headquarters, official staffs, individual conventions, etc., that are inevitable accompaniments of that system. It is safe to say that if the new Needle Trades Alliance goes into effect it will prove no more satisfactory to needle trades workers generally than that much more advanced type of federation, the Railway Employees' Department, has proved to railroad workers. The latter are now hot-foot for amalgamation, having learned through bitter experience that even their federation cannot create real solidarity. The militants in the clothing industry will not be blinded by the thin fallacies of the Needle Trades Alliance. They will insist upon the combination of all the organizations into one compact body. Industrial unionism, not loose federation, is what the situation in the needle trades demands.

STONE AGE UNIONISM.

AN interesting and typical example of trade unionism, fitted more for neolithic times than our days, is now being given by the Executive Board of the International Molders' Union. This reactionary body cannot yet see the necessity of extending its scope to include the unskilled workers employed in and about foundries. The incident arose over the adoption of a resolution by Local 409, Detroit, resolving that "the Executive Board be instructed to employ the legal machinery, as provided for in our constitution, to change any section of our constitution so as to permit the taking into our organization all men who work in the foundry for a living."

Notwithstanding all the bitter experiences of the

International Molders' Union for many years past, caused by their failure to include the unskilled, the Executive Board condemned this sensible resolution. Therefore, in accordance with the regulations, Local 409 secured the endorsement of a whole flock of other unions. Consequently the proposition is now going before the general membership on a referendum vote. The Executive Board, in submitting the proposition, condemns it roundly and urges that the membership defeat it.

It is difficult to properly characterize such a reactionary attitude. All over the world metal trades workers are amalgamating together, not merely the skilled and unskilled in the same branches, but whole trades and sections of the industry, building up enormous combinations of all men employed at metal working. But the Molders' Union, still living intellectually in the conditions of forty years ago, cannot even rise to the height of understanding to take in their own helpers. Active workers in the foundries will bend every effort, not only to carry the submitted referendum, but to go a thousand miles beyond it and insist upon a complete merger of all the unions in the metal trades. Mr. Valentine and the other reactionaries associated with him in fighting this modest amendment will be astounded before many months have passed at the tremendous sentiment for amalgamation that they will find developed in their own organization.

HARVESTING WITHOUT SOWING

IT is characteristic of our trade union officialdom, that being bankrupt of achievement themselves, they have to claim credit for much work done by radicals in spite of their opposition. Two recent incidents of this nature relate to the activities of Howat in Kansas, and Foster in Colorado.

Alexander Howat, more than any other influence, is responsible for the breakdown of the Industrial Court Law in Kansas and the mountain of discredit that has been heaped upon the general proposition of Industrial Courts throughout the country. He has punctured the Allen bubble. And when he made his fight the conservative trade union officialdom was conspicuous either by its absence or its hostility. Howat went out, defied the law, and gladly went to jail. His own chief, Lewis, stabbed him in the back right in the midst of the fight. Gompers deserted him in return for the support of Lewis. But now these very reactionaries are hastening to the fore to claim the credit for defeating the Industrial Court Law. They have had no compunction whatever in grabbing glory for a victory in which they had no part.

The situation in Colorado is different, but it illustrates the same tendency of the reactionaries. Everybody knows that the ousting of Pat Hamrock and the gang associated with him in Colorado was a direct result of the deporting of Foster last August. But now comes *Labor*, the national railroad weekly, with a big story about the affair, bragging about it as an important achievement of *Labor*, but not even mentioning the deportation incident. Not a word does it say about the activities of the Trade Union Educational League and the Civil Liberties Union. Foster's name does not appear in the account. What's the use of complaining against the capitalist press when our own papers are so lacking in intellectual honesty. Not even the paid press of the bosses would venture upon such a barefaced suppression of facts about the Colorado situation as *Labor* does in its story of the affair.

THE INTERNATIONAL

ENGLAND

THE history of the British labor movement is the record of a series of swings back and forth between political and industrial action. The tendency has been for the workers to concentrate their efforts upon either one of these two fields of action, neglecting the other, until they have come up against a stone wall of opposition, when, all of a sudden, they right about face, largely abandon the field they have been working in and turn their attention to the other. At present there is such a tendency manifesting itself. Beginning during the war period the British workers were very active on the industrial field and only moderately so politically. But during the past two years, starting with the defeat of the miners, they have suffered a number of heavy reverses. These setbacks on the industrial field have caused them, following the usual rule, to turn rather strongly to politics and the sweeping victory recently at the polls was the result. Now the danger is that the masses, carried away with the glamor of political success, will neglect their trade unions.

To prevent this calamity is the great task now being undertaken by the British Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions, the left-wing movement of British Trade Unionists. It is the one institution in the British labor movement that is keenly awake to the necessity of strengthening and modernizing the trade unions, and that is not blinded by the recent electoral successes. Its supporters are carrying on an active campaign in all the organizations, holding rank and file conferences all over the country. Those held in London, Glasgow, Newcastle, Birmingham, Sheffield, and Cardiff numbered 905 delegates who represented, through trades councils and otherwise, 1,018,645 members. Briefly stated the policy of the British Bureau militants is as follows:

The concentration of all the local forces into the Trades Councils.

The transformation of the existing unions into powerful industrial organizations.

The concentration of the fighting power of the whole trade union movement in the General Council of the Trades Union Congress.

The affiliation of the trades unions of this country to the Red International of Labor Unions.

Special stress is being put upon amalgamation as one of the greatest needs of the movement. And much success is being had. Practically the entire trade union organization has been made to realize, to some extent or other, the vital necessity of this measure. The great amalgamation of the National Union of General Workers, the Municipal Employeers' Association, and the National Amalgamated Union of Labor is proceeding apace. The N. U. G. W. voted 157,589 for amalgamation and 5,275 against it. The vote of the M. E. A. was 31,311 for and 4,145 against. The N. A. U. L. is also voting heavily in favor of amalgamation. The Transport and General Workers' Union is likewise consolidating the forces in its jurisdiction. The latest body voting to affiliate was the Scottish Union of Dock Laborers, which carried amalgamation by a vote of 2,642 against 416. The metal unions are going strong for amalgamation also. The Amalgamated Engineering Union has invited the affiliation of all unions in the

metal industry, and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress has called a general conference of 35 unions in the metal trades for the purpose of working out a combination among them. The Council is also arranging conferences with the unions in the printing, textile, clothing, and other trades to consider amalgamation.

One of those actively advocating industrial unionism is George Hicks, Secretary of the Amalgamated Trade Union of Building Trade Workers. Speaking of the tendency towards consolidation of the unions, he says, in the *Labor Magazine* for November: "The development of industrial or semi-industrial unions and federations has been an outstanding feature of recent trade unionism . . . It looks as if within a year or two the 3,000,000 trade unionists among the general workers, seamen and firemen, dock, wharf and riverside workers, those employed in wholesale and retail shops and warehouses, agricultural workers, etc., will be united in five or six gigantic societies, each having not fewer than several hundred thousand members."

In addition to putting life and spirit into the drive for amalgamation, the British militants are creating a great deal of sentiment among the rank and file for affiliation to the Red International of Labor Unions. This question of Amsterdam vs. Moscow is being raised at all the trade union conventions. Particularly strong response is being had among the miners, who got more than their fill of Amsterdamism during their great struggle of 1921. In *The Worker* of Dec. 9, official organ of the R. I. L. U. British Bureau, Harry Pollit declares that at their next conference the miners will vote to affiliate to the Red International.

POLAND THE amalgamation movement is spreading among the unions in this country. The Central Wood Workers' Organization will amalgamate with the Jewish Union of Wood Workers. The Jewish Food Trades unions are also to amalgamate with the Central Federation of Workers in the Food Industry. The several clothing workers' organizations decided at a meeting in Warsaw on Sept. 3rd to amalgamate all their forces into one industrial union.

GERMANY TWO more unions have voted to amalgamate with the big Federation of Building Trades Workers. These are the Glaziers and the Potters. In both cases the vote for amalgamation was unanimous. The Federation of Building Trades Workers is not a federation as we understand the term, but a modern departmentalized industrial union. It is out to consolidate all the unions in the building industry into one organization. In conformity with the action taken by the General Federation of German Trade Unions at its last convention to facilitate the merging of the craft unions into industrial organizations, representatives of the General Federation appeared before the Potters and urged that they amalgamate with the larger body. The stumbling block to complete amalgamation is the Carpenters' Union, which still stands aloof. But efforts are being made among the rank and file of this organization to win

it over in spite of its officialdom, who fear they will lose their jobs if the proposed consolidation takes place.

ACCORDING to a recent report by the Federation of Employers' Association, the total trade union membership in Germany is as follows:

"Free" or Social Democratic Unions....	8,702,413
Christian Unions	1,834,723
Hirsch-Dunker Unions	656,597
Other Unions	1,431,612
	12,625,435

MEXICO **A**T its second annual convention the General Federation of Workers went on record unanimously for amalgamation of all the existing trade and industrial unions into one solid organization. The Syndicalist and Anarchist tendencies dominated. The convention voted to affiliate to the Berlin Syndicalist international.

SOUTH AFRICA **T**HE South African railroad union, known as the "Nurahs", is undergoing reorganization. The process is two-sided. On the one hand the union, formerly a general body, is being unscrambled and sectionalized into departments, of which there are to be three, (1) Salaried and monthly paid workers, (2) Mechanical trades, (3) Running trades. On the other hand efforts are being made to bring into the combination all the various craft unions which dip into the industry. The aim of the movement, as stated by the Executive Board, is to form one big railway union.

AUSTRALIA **T**HE one big union is an accomplished fact in this country. Beginning February, 1922, the larger unions of the movement, including the Agricultural Workers, Building Trades, Coal Miners, Railwaymen, Dockers, etc., have been amalgamating their forces together. The total trade union membership in Australia is 700,000, or 70% of the entire working class. The departments of the one big union are as follows: Agriculture and Fisheries; Building Trades and General Construction; Transport; Manufactures; and Mining.

RUSSIA **A**N important event of December was the tenth congress of the All-Russian Soviet (the National Government). Over 90% of the delegates were Communists. Walter Duranty, of the *New York Times*, writes a rather glowing account of the congress. He says, "The Communist Party is more firmly entrenched than ever, and the red flag now waves over a unified country, from the Arctic to Odessa, and from Petrograd to Vladivostok. The army is loyal and effectively organized, * * * Above all there is a great and general feeling of hope throughout the country. Even the most determined adversaries of the Government are united in admitting that Russia has turned the corner and is on the upward road." In the main, production is picking up constantly in all branches. Reports show that the terrible slump of 1921, due to the famine, has been overcome, and with a better food supply on hand, the industries are

getting under way again. Duranty says, "It is unquestionable that the material condition of the great majority of the Russian people has shown a marked improvement in the past year." The consensus of opinion is that the fate of the revolution hangs upon the solving of the industrial crisis. Hence the feeling of optimism that is sweeping the country now that that terrible problem is being dissolved. One of the most important acts of the congress was to change the name of the country from the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic to the United Socialist Soviet Republics.

GERMANY **A**NOTHER crisis has developed between the "rights" and "lefts" in the great German trade unions. This has been brought to a head as a result of the National Congress of Factory Councils, held in Berlin, November 23-25, 1922. This congress was held by the "lefts" in spite of the opposition of the trade union bureaucracy. It adopted a whole series of radical measures designed to meet the desperate situation in which the German working class now finds itself. But the Factory Council congress only sharpened the existing opposition, which is deep-seated and profound. The reformist leaders of the trade unions, the "rights", have identified themselves with a policy of fulfillment of the terms of the Versailles Treaty, which inevitably involves greatly worsened living conditions, longer hours, etc., for the workers. Whereas, on the other hand, the "lefts" have declared for a militant revolutionary struggle to preserve the interests of the working class regardless of the jockeyings of capitalist exploiters. The "lefts" demanded that their union officials call the National Congress of Factory Councils, but when the latter refused to do so they called it themselves. It was a great success and aroused the bitterest antagonism of the officialdom, who see in it a revolutionary menace. Working hand in hand with the employers to break up the great rank and file movement developing out of the Congress, the trade union officials are expelling numbers of the delegates who attended the gathering. This is notably the case among the railroad men. The "lefts", on the contrary, are doing all possible to avoid a split. Despite bitter provocation, they are urging their followers not to be stampeded into a secession movement which would break the backbone of German trade unionism, but to stick with the old unions at all costs. The expelled individuals and groups are organizing to fight their way back into the unions. Although the situation is undoubtedly serious, a definite break will not occur unless the "rights" carry their policy of expulsion beyond all endurance.

ITALY **I**N a series of admirable articles published in *L'Humanite*, Paris, H. Terracini, prominent Italian Communist, has made clear the events leading up to and running through the extraordinary Fascist revolution. Describing the great discontentment and revolutionary crisis which came after the war, he says:

The general unrest seemed to prepare an inevitable overthrow. Bourgeois elements, more and more numerous, were caught by the movement. The ruling class, stricken with apathy, did not react. It was in this atmosphere, pre-
saging the end of the old social order, that the

revolutionary events of 1919-21 took place. Of these the chronology is as follows: (Affiliation of the Socialist Party to the 3rd International, movement against the high cost of living (the merchants agreeing to supervision by the trades councils), military mutiny in Ancona which caused immediate suspension of the campaign in Albania, national elections giving 158 seats to the Socialists (110 of the deputies were peasants), republican demonstration against the king by the Socialists at the opening of the Parliament, general strike in Piedmont which led to the legalization of the Factory Councils, seizure of the land by the peasants, occupation of the factories by the workers and first attempt at arming of the proletariat.

The crisis came to a head with the occupation of the factories by the metal workers in September 1920. When the Socialist leaders balked at declaring the revolution, which all the workers expected daily, the revolutionary bubble exploded and the workers' morale with it. The capitalists at once went over to the offensive, organizing the Fascisti, and smashing the labor unions and peasant leagues right and left. Of the Fascisti, Terracini says:

Without exaggeration one may say that in Italy the methods of capitalist offensive have reached perfection. The task was not confided to the State, blind and deaf, nor to the confused and scattering efforts of individuals. It was inaugurated and conducted methodically, scientifically, by the powerful employers' associations of agriculture and industry. The General Confederation of Industry, which includes practically all employers, furnished large sums of money; the Confederation of Agriculturists organized and subsidized the Fascist bands.

The effect of this offensive, by far the most militant and sweeping in labor history, has literally devastated the Italian labor movement. The General Confederation of Labor, which in 1920 had 2,500,000 members, now counts but 800,000. The Agricultural Workers, formerly 1,000,000 strong, has been reduced to less than 200,000. The whole industrial and political structure of the workers' movement has been demoralized and torn to flinders. It is a frightful penalty that the Italian proletariat is being compelled to pay because its leaders proved yellow in the critical days of the metal workers' strike in 1920.

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Otto H. Wangerin, Editor

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Industry

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411 Dakota Bldg.
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When Lenin, in speaking to the Russian workers, said: "You have not yet worked out a system of book-keeping for the factories and yet you want to continue as you are drifting," did these workers think that he was talking "utopian bunk?"

What do you think about it?

Engineering

a 64 page booklet, tells how to organize industrially, for the purpose of taking, holding, running and managing industry.

It shows in detail how the whole social organism will function from the operation of the machine in the factory to the whole compact industrial and social mechanism.

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This booklet is called *Utopian* by some of its critics.

What do you think?

Price 25c

Published by

Industrial University

1660 N. Leavitt Street,

Chicago, Ill.

February 26th

That is the date when the trials of the militants begin in St. Joseph, Michigan. On that day Foster, Ruthenberg, Dunn, and the seventeen other defendants must face the Berrien County District Court, charged with violating the anti-syndicalism law. If found guilty they will be subject to penalties of as much as ten years in the Penitentiary.

What are you going to do about it?

Throughout the country the reactionary interests are lending their active support to the prosecution. The labor-baiters are unanimous in wanting to see the defendants tucked away for long terms in Jackson Penitentiary, where their voices can no longer be raised in Labor's ranks.

The progressive elements, those believing in free speech, and the right of Labor to organize to defend itself, must become equally active. They must rally whole-heartedly to the support of the defendants and see to it that they get an adequate defense. Otherwise another terrible miscarriage of justice will surely ensue.

Money is Urgently Needed

Get busy at once raising funds. Bring the Michigan Case to the attention of all Labor men and other liberty-loving people in your vicinity. Make them realize the tremendous issues involved in this historic case. Send all financial contributions to

LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL

Moritz J. Loeb, Secretary
166 West Washington St.

Federation of Labor Building,
Chicago, Ill

Friends of Soviet Russia

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