

# THE LABOR HERALD

Official Organ of The Trade Union Educational League



JUNE 1923

99

391

15 CENTS

# THE LABOR HERALD

Official Organ of The Trade Union Educational League



JUNE 1923

99

15 CENTS



Though Justice Has Been Ravished—  
Though Her Sword Be Broken—

**WE ARE JUST BEGINNING TO FIGHT!**

For Labor's Sword Is Unbroken  
It is New and Bright—Hardly Used

If the spirit of Justice is dead, the spirit of Labor is undiminished.

If in a trial court Ruthenberg has been convicted, the battle has just begun. Through the Michigan Courts and up to the United States Supreme Court the legal battle will be waged. Throughout the United States, where the workers' heads are raised in courage and determination, the struggle of labor in its efforts to gain freedom for Foster, Ruthenberg and the thirty others who have yet to face trial goes forward for the things that Labor holds most dear.

Labor's army of freedom is mobilized and on the march.

**"DEFEND THE MICHIGAN GAG LAW VICTIMS"**  
is the slogan that runs like fire through its ranks

**FINANCE THE MARCH! SUPPORT THE STRUGGLE!**

Send all remittances and make out checks to  
**LABOR DEFENCE COUNCIL**  
307 FEDERATION BLDG. 166 W. WASHINGTON ST. Chicago, Ill.

**Line Up the Youth!**

READ

**The Young Worker**

O. Carlson,  
Editor



H. Gannes,  
Business  
Manager

**"A Magazine for the Militant Young  
Workers of America"**

Issued Monthly

Single copies      subscription price  
ten cents            \$1.00 per year

Send for Sample Copy  
**THE YOUNG WORKER**  
2517 Fullerton Ave.  
Chicago, Ill.

**A Militant Weekly  
THE WORKER  
It Fights Your Battles**

Editor: J. LOUIS ENGAHL Labor Editor: H. M. WICKS  
Cartoons by ROBERT MINOR and ART YOUNG

**EVERY** week "The Worker" carries a keen and complete review of all political and industrial developments here and abroad.

**ITS** spirited editorials are reprinted in the leading labor papers of this country.

**FULL** service of the Federated Press and the International Press Correspondence.

Attach a dollar bill to this Ad with your name and address and "The Worker" will come to you regularly every week for six months.

THE WORKER,  
799 Broadway, New York City  
I enclose \$1.00 for six months subscription.

Name .....  
Address .....

Second Edition Now Ready

**The Bankruptcy of the American  
Labor Movement**

By Wm. Z. Foster

The paradox of the most highly advanced capitalist system with the most backward labor movement of any industrial country, is one of the chief puzzles to students of American social life. In this new pamphlet Foster goes into the heart of the problem. Mercilessly flaying the intellectual blindness, political infancy, the backward structure and scope, and the reactionary leadership of our trade unions, he proceeds to analyze the causes for such a bankrupt condition.

This is a historic pamphlet and every militant worker will find it an essential hand-book of the labor movement. Each organized group of militants should immediately procure a quantity for distribution.

64 pages, stiff paper cover, Cartoon by Ellis  
Rates, Single copies, 25 cts. per copy  
10 to 100 copies, 15 cts. per copy  
Larger quantities, special prices on application

**The Trade Union Educational League**

Wm. Z. Foster, Sec'y-Treas.      106 N. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.

# THE LABOR HERALD

Published monthly at 106 N. La Salle St. Subscription price \$1.50 per year. The Trade Union Educational League, Publishers.  
"Entered as second class matter March 23, 1922, at the postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879."

Vol. II.

JUNE, 1923



No. 4

## The Needle, Shoe and Leather, Textile, and Eastern District Conferences

By Wm. Z. Foster

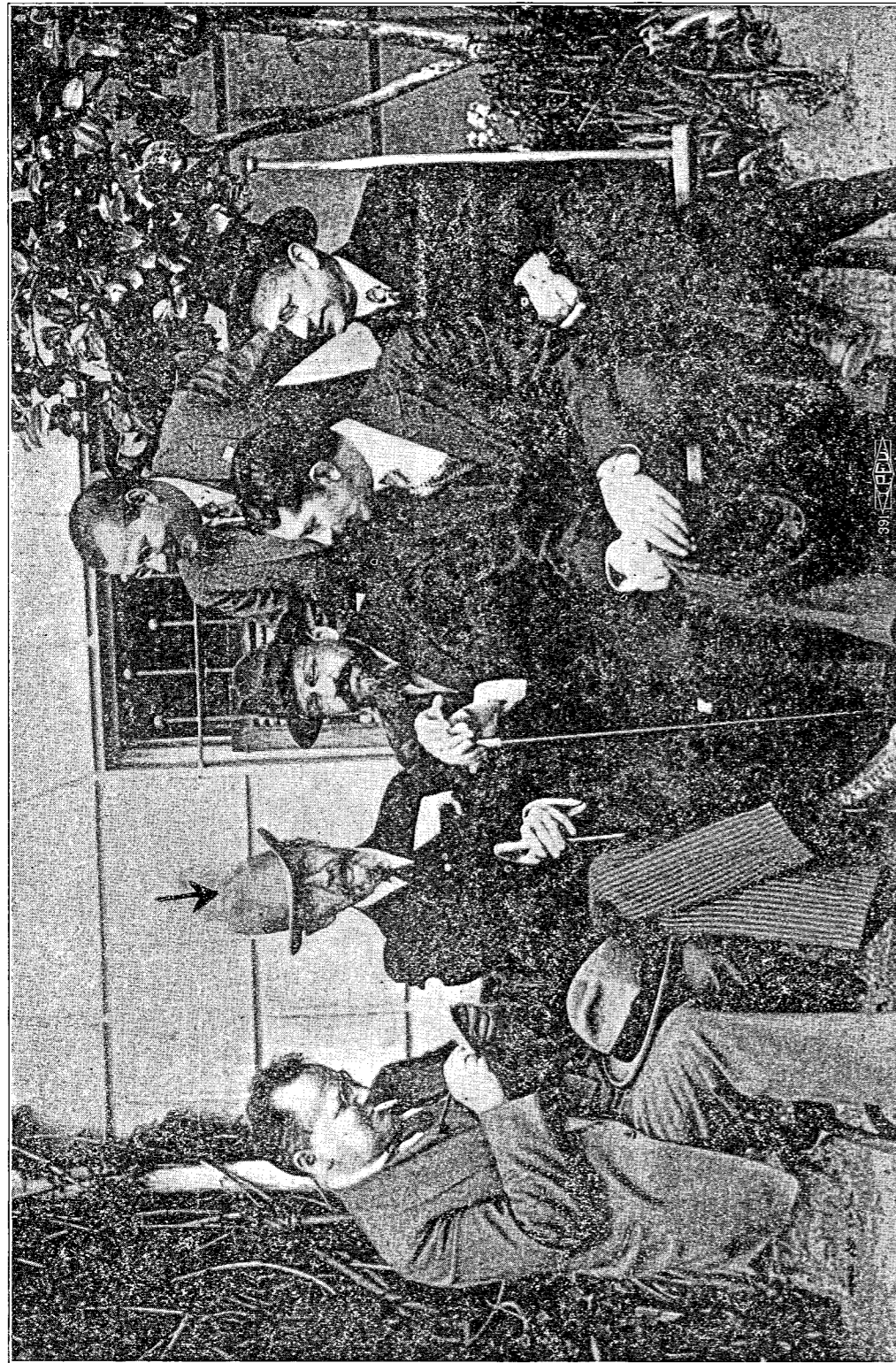
### THE NEEDLE TRADES CONFERENCE

WHEN the Needle Trades Section of the T. U. E. L. met in national conference in New York City, May 5-6, it was the first time in American labor history that the rank and file elements of all the trades in this industry came together to consider their problems upon an industrial basis. Every important needle trade center in the United States and Canada was represented; likewise every trade in the industry except the United Garment Workers. Some ninety delegates were in attendance, coming almost entirely from local leagues. Had the representation been based upon local unions a conference three or four times as large could have been had.

From beginning to end the conference was crowded with work. Little time was wasted in useless argument or bickering. Phil. Aronberg of Chicago was chairman. The conference opened by hearing a series of reports. Joseph Manley, Eastern District organizer of the League, reported on the formation of the National Needle Trades Section and the calling of the conference. Secretary Foster outlined the national situation generally, and urged that amalgamation be pushed through to victory in the near future. After him came Ida Rothstein who reported on her recent organizing trip for the National Needle Trades Committee. She told of conditions as she found them in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Louisville, Indianapolis, Chicago, Cleveland, Buffalo, Toronto, Rochester, Montreal, Boston, and New York. She stated that practically the entire industry outside of New York is strong for amalgamation and that everywhere the left wing is growing in power and organization. Then Joseph Zack, Secretary of the Needle Trades Section reported in detail on the condition of the unions, the state of the industry, and the growth of the left wing movement among the needle trades. He outlined a program of militant action to solve the growing problems of organizing the unorganized, the piece-work, contractor, and standard of production systems, the growth of "open shop" sentiment among the employers, etc.

Finally Rose Wortis, delegate of the T. U. E. L. to the 2nd Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions, reported on the action of that body. She laid particular stress upon the two great international problems of securing a united front on the industrial field, as against the disruptive tactics of the Amsterdammers, and the establishing of such relations with the Communist International as would bring all revolutionary elements into the Red International. She emphasized the need of a militant international of clothing workers throughout the world.

The conference transacted a vast mass of business covering a wide range of subjects. An elaborate organization thesis was adopted providing detailed plans to organize the local needle trades leagues, care being exercised to follow the natural groupings and tendencies of the unions themselves. The *Freiheit*, New York daily labor paper, was endorsed and its stand in the recent slugging cases in the Furriers' Union was commended. A rousing endorsement was given the Russian revolution. Support was given to efforts of the Russian unions to secure admission to the various international federations of the respective industries. The conference voted to affiliate to the International Clothing Workers Propaganda Committee of the R. I. L. U., and to send a greeting to the revolutionary needle trades workers of the world. All needle trades local unions were urged to become affiliated with their local central labor councils and to become active in them. The famous "Chicago resolution" on amalgamation of all the craft unions into industrial organizations was adopted unanimously. Independent working class political action was endorsed and all militants urged to have their locals and internationals represented at the July 3rd conference called by the Farmer-Labor Party. The Friends of Soviet Russia, the Labor Defense Council, and the Russian-American Industrial Corporation were all supported. The general needle trades program adopted at the first national conference of the T. U. E. L. was re-



Underwood Photo

VASLOV VOROVSKY, ASSASSINATED SOVIET AMBASSADOR

The arrow indicates Vorovsky, who was killed by a Swiss Fascist in Lausanne on May 13th, as the result of the provocations of Great Britain.



VASLOV VOROVSKY, ASSASSINATED SOVIET AMBASSADOR

Underwood Photo

The arrow indicates Vorovsky, who was killed by a Swiss Fascist in Lausanne on May 13th, as the result of the provocations of Great Britain.

affirmed after making slight changes. Plans were laid to put on a big campaign to get readers for the LABOR HERALD and to build up the Sustaining Fund of the League. Efforts will also be made to raise at least \$10,000, through entertainments, donations, etc., to carry on the work of the Needle Trades Section. As soon as possible a bulletin will be published in several languages. During the coming year plans will be prosecuted to complete a system of shop delegate organization and to popularize same among the rank and file of all unions. A program of action was adopted offering practical advice for working among the masses. It follows in part:

We must attract to the League workers who accept our program in whole or in part and regardless of their political views. We must guard however, against mere anti-administration men and aimless kickers. Such elements are a discredit to the League. The character of our members must be irreproachable as judged by our conceptions of loyal unionists.

Our campaigns in the unions must be based upon real concrete issues which effect the interests of the workers in their daily struggle. The criticism of union officials and policies must always be of a constructive nature. We should stress issues rather than personalities.

We should not criticize and foster mistrust against paid officials just because they are officials. Such practice discourages and makes it repugnant for some of our best union members to accept positions as paid officials, thus permitting the job-hunters to manage and control the affairs of the unions.

We must always strike to bring our views before the members through the official union channels. Extra union means should only be made use of as a last resort.

Our principles alone are not sufficient to win the confidence and following of the workers. We must prove to them that we are ready to participate in the daily routine of the unions, and that we feel a greater responsibility to the membership than do the old reactionaries.

We must not make our campaigns on issues, policies, or promises that we know will be impossible of fulfillment if we are elected.

Antagonizing our adversaries on petty matters does not serve the best interests of our movement.

Differences of political opinion must not hamper our co-operation with other groups in union activities.

Although the conference was fruitful in other important matters, amalgamation was by far the biggest issue. No matter what subject was under debate it would almost surely crop up. This was because, whether the question was one of organizing the unorganized, making new demands on the employers, or whatnot, the conference would eventually get around to the basic conclusions that for the problem to be effectively dealt with the combination of all needle workers into one union is absolutely necessary.

The conference officially endorsed the plan of amalgamation drawn up by the National Committee, and proposed to widely circulate and popularize it. Already the plan has been printed in several languages. As the out of town delegations

reported that their localities were in many cases unanimous in all trades for amalgamation the effect was to stir the New Yorkers to action. They declared they would make the consolidation of the unions a burning issue from now on. After the conference was over they held a mass meeting of several hundred militants of all crafts to start the drive. Hope was expressed that amalgamation would be carried overwhelmingly at the 1924 convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and International Ladies Garment Workers, and that the needle workers would be the first to actually accomplish industrial unionism through the League's big campaign.

The conference took a definite stand against the Cap Makers' plan for a Needle Trades Alliance, soon to be acted upon by the various organizations. It was denounced as a cheap substitute for amalgamation and about on a par with the brand of federation advocated by Gompers as far back as 1910. It could in no way serve the purposes of needle workers. The inconsistency was pointed out of needle union leaders, who pose as revolutionists, voting for years in A. F. of L. conventions in support of S. P. resolutions for industrial unionism, and now when the issue is definitely raised in their own industry they prove bitter opponents of amalgamation and come forth with a third rate proposition of federation. The conference, while laying it down as a fundamental that all true unionists will try to make the best of whatever form of organization they find themselves in, whether it be craft unionism, federation, or industrial unionism, decided to make a determined and unceasing fight for amalgamation whether the Cap Makers' plan goes into effect or not. Its attitude towards the general conference of the unions to pass upon that plan was expressed in the following resolution which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, that needle trades amalgamationists should adopt the following course regarding the coming conference of the international unions to consider the Cap Makers' plan of a Needle Trades Alliance:

1. A definite plan of amalgamation should be presented to the conference, providing for one union for the whole needle industry, subdivided into departments for the basic divisions of the industry, and the organization to have only one executive board, one general convention, and one united front generally.
2. Should the conference fail to adopt this plan then the amalgamationists should demand that their plan, together with the plan of alliance or federation, be submitted to a general referendum vote of all needle trades unions, and if this is refused, to urge the calling of a general convention of all local unions to pass upon the proposition.
3. Should these demands all be denied by the conference, the amalgamationists should insist that any plan of alliance, before being considered adopted, should be referred back to the conventions of the several unions for final decision.

In conclusion the conference protested against the attacks made on our movement by Gompers at the Cap Makers' convention and sent a demand that the writer be given the floor to reply to the arch-reactionary—a demand that was refused. A new National Committee was selected to head the Needle Trades Section for the coming year, consisting of 20 members, 11 from New York and 9 from outside points. Joseph Zack was

elected Secretary later by this committee. Thus came to an end the first national conference of the needle trades revolutionaries. Even the pessimists and knockers had to admit that the gathering was a great success. It laid the foundation for a movement which will soon result in producing a militant union of all needle workers, manned by real fighters, and affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions.

### THE SHOE AND LEATHER CONFERENCE

The first national conference of the militants in the shoe and leather industry was held in Boston, May 13th. Thirty delegates, and many visitors were present from all the leading shoe and leather centers of the East. Practically all the important unions in the industry were represented. The meeting was called by J. Kassner, Secretary of the International Amalgamation Committee, assisted by Joseph Manley.

The conference showed itself alive to the issues of the day. By a unanimous vote it adopted the Labor Party resolution and pledged itself to do all possible to make the July 3rd convention of the Farmer-Labor Party a success. Support was promised to the various class war prisoners in Michigan, California, Massachusetts, etc. The LABOR HERALD was heartily endorsed, and the League's new campaign of "organize the unorganized" was supported as vitally necessary.

But the big issue of this conference, like that of all the others, was amalgamation. The reports of delegates showed that no industry needs amalgamation more than the shoe and leather workers. They are split into at least twenty separate organizations, all warring against each other. Brother Michael Berry, Secretary of the Amalgamated Shoe Workers, outlined the efforts that have been made recently to consolidate all the independent unions. This movement started out most promisingly, joint conventions of many organizations having been held and plans of amalgamation drawn up. But the weakness of the movement was that it was largely one of officials; the rank and file being little posted. The result was that when the amalgamation movement did not go to suit some of these officials, who were eager to guard their own personal interests, they pulled their organizations out of it. Consequently quarrels, court litigation, and even union scabbery ensued, making a bad situation even worse. Del. Berry had a pocketful of court papers of one kind or another aiming to block his efforts at bringing about amalgamation. The conference condemned the officials of the United Shoe Workers for their un-unionlike conduct in sending their men into the factories in Lynn, Mass., while the Amalgamated Shoe Workers were on strike. The con-

ference also condemned the action of President Bryan of the United Leather Workers' International Union, who is sending excited letters all over the country traducing the work of the amalgamationists.

Various delegates explained the difference between the methods of the Committee to bring about amalgamation and those used in the late ill-fated effort. One vital difference is that the International Committee deems amalgamation not as a policy of officials but of the rank and file. Its aim is to thoroughly acquaint the membership with the principles involved and then to solidly organize them to make their will prevail. With this foundation laid, they can force their officials to come together in spite of all selfish quarrels over jobs in the organization. Another important point is that the International Committee proposes to amalgamate not only the independent unions but the A. F. of L. organizations as well. It holds that no amalgamation can be effective unless it includes all the unions in the industry and establishes a real united front. It dismisses as trivial the objection that the A. F. of L. unions, which were heavily represented at the conference, cannot be won over to amalgamation.

With this conception the conference laid plans for a strong amalgamation campaign throughout the entire shoe and leather industry. An International Committee was selected to have charge of the work, consisting of five members in Boston and one each in the important centers of Brockton, Lynn, Haverhill, Peabody, St. Louis, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Paul, Cincinnati, and Rochester. The existing plan of amalgamation, drawn up recently by the International Committee, was endorsed and a departmentalization committee was appointed to revise and complete it, when it will be spread broadcast throughout the industry. Arrangements were made to form local amalgamation committees in all shoe and leather centers, to consist of representatives of all unions, A. F. of L. and independent. The conference adjourned with all hands enthusiastic for the big drive about to begin for the consolidation of the unions, and the organization of the unorganized.

### THE TEXTILE CONFERENCE

Inasmuch as the amalgamationists are just beginning work in the textile industry, the first national conference of the textile militants, held in New York, May 5th, was considerably smaller than the other conferences. But what it lacked in size it made up in quality. Many well known unionists were present from practically all the important unions in the industry, including the United Textile Workers, Amalgamated Textile Workers, American Federation of Textile Operatives, Amalgamated Knit Goods Workers, Associated Silk Workers, One Big Union of Lawrence and various local textile councils. Nearly all the big textile centers were represented.

Aside from the endorsement of the Labor Party convention in Chicago in July and various other progressive measures, the conference occupied itself principally with the question of amalgamation. It adopted a resolution calling for amalgamation of the craft unions generally throughout

### THE EASTERN DISTRICT CONFERENCE

The conference of the Eastern District of the Trade Union Educational League, held in New York, May 6th, demonstrated beyond question that militant organization is proceeding rapidly throughout the big industrial centers of the East. There were present 160 delegates from 17 cities, ranging from Montreal to Washington and from New York to Pittsburgh. Nearly all important unions, industries, and districts were represented. Representation was based upon local leagues. Enthusiasm was rife among the delegates.

Tim Buck, of Toronto, made a splendid report on the progress of revolutionary activities in Canada, showing how whole sections of the movement in that country are declaring for the most important planks in the League's platform. Joseph Manley, Eastern District organizer, explained the strides being made in the District. He related, among other important matters, how the militants had just prevented a disastrous split among the hard coal miners over the question of re-organizing the language and town locals into colliery locals. Wm. Z. Foster reported on the general growth of the League, the building up of national committees in nearly all important industries, and stressed the necessity of pushing the fight for union progress in the big centers of the East.

The Conference was clear-cut and revolutionary. It adopted many resolutions supporting the various aspects of the League's work, such as: affiliation to the R. I. L. U., amalgamation, the labor party, defense of the Michigan and other class war prisoners—Mooney, Dolla, Sacco, Vanzetti, etc., Russian-American Industrial Corporation, Friends of Soviet Russia, recruitment of

the whole labor movement, and also the specific plan of consolidation for the textile unions as presented by the International Amalgamation Committee in that industry. The situation in the textile industry is just about as complicated as in the shoe and leather industry, with all sorts of unions operating in conflict with each other and the great mass of workers entirely unorganized. The conference discussed the chaotic situation in detail, devising practical methods of amalgamation and feasible means to bring it about. A campaign was outlined and an International Committee, headed by Albert Fleischer of New York, chosen to push it through. Local committees will be set up in all textile centers, consisting of militants of all unions and all trades. Before long the Textile Amalgamation Committee will be a power in straightening out the affairs of textile workers and in organizing this tremendous industry employing over 1,000,000 wage slaves.

Negro workers into the trade unions, etc. The newly-formed Marine Workers' Amalgamation Committee introduced a resolution, which was unanimously adopted, sharply condemning Andrew Fureseth, President of the Seamen's Union, for his co-operation with the Department of Justice in its "red" hunt. The National Committees in the Food, Metal, Building, and Marine industries sent letters requesting the assistance of the delegates in setting up Eastern branches of their committees and in generally furthering their programs.

The high light of the conference was the launching of a great drive to organize the unorganized. In a ringing resolution that drastically scored the general officers of the A. F. of L. for their indifference and incompetence, the conference decided to take advantage of the present favorable industrial situation by stirring up the unions everywhere to put on big organization campaigns. This resolution was referred to the National Conference of the League so that this issue can be developed nationally on a large scale. The conference pledged its support to the LABOR HERALD and called upon all local Leagues to push the Sustaining Fund by taking up individual subscriptions, organizing entertainments, etc. At the conclusion a District Executive Committee was elected, with Joseph Manley as secretary, consisting of five members from New York and one each from 21 other important industrial centers in the District. Pronouncing the first conference of the Eastern District a huge success, the delegates departed to their respective localities to push the League's program more vigorously than ever.

## The Second Round at St. Joseph

By C. E. Ruthenberg

THE first round of the thirty-two round battle to be fought at St. Joseph resulted in a draw. The jury disagreed on the question of convicting Wm. Z. Foster on the charge of "assembling with" the Communist Party. In the second round the defense got a hard wallop in the verdict of guilty of the same charge returned against me.

The prosecutors had learned to plant their blows more effectively through the experiences of the first round. They had learned through the same experience that the tactics of the defense in making plain, direct, bold statements of Communist principles to the jury was the most dangerous kind of fighting and they planned an interference to prevent the jury from learning what Communists really are fighting for. These methods, and the fact that Foster was not a member of the Communist Party while I admittedly was a member of the Central Executive Committee of that party, explains the difference in the results of the second trial as compared to the first.

The jury was of the same general type as the first. With two important exceptions. There were nine farmers on the Foster jury and eight in the second trial. In the second trial, however, the treasurer of the Benton Harbor Chamber of Commerce was a juror and one of the three remaining was a member of the American Legion; and one of the trump cards of the prosecution was a resolution of the Communist International referring to the strike-breaking activities of the members of the American Legion and calling them "the flotsam and jetsam of the war." A new point developed about the Michigan jury system, was that in order to qualify as a juror it is necessary to be a real estate owner. This was brought out through the disqualification of a juror whose name did not appear on the assessment lists of the county, although he claimed he owned his own home. It explained the emphasis put upon the question asked the jurors, whether they believed that property rights should be protected against the bad Communists, who it was insinuated, intended to take away their farms from the poor, mortgaged farmers.

Assistant Attorney-General O. L. Smith bore the brunt of the work of getting a conviction. It is rumored that he is looking forward to political preferment as a reward for his work in prosecuting the Communists. That may well be, for the capitalists are generous to the lackeys who serve them well. Smith does that. Whatever outward appearance of playing the game fairly

and squarely he maintained during the Foster trial had been rubbed away by his defeat in that case. He played his part in the second trial as the ideal and typical capitalist prosecutor. Petty, tricky, nasty, he tried to make up through these qualities what he lacked as a legal tactician. County Prosecutor Gore is of an entirely different type. He does his duty decently. Fussy Max Berger, the Department of Justice expert loaned to the prosecution, goose-stepped back and forth, occasionally even becoming vocal when his two superiors displeased him by their failure to grasp the proper method of attack from the Department of Justice standpoint.

The witnesses came upon the stage to do their turn in regular order. Sheriff Bridgman was the curtain raiser. He told again how he had gone to Bridgman with his crew of Department of Justice agents, state constabulary members and deputy sheriffs, armed with revolvers and black-jacks, and had found seventeen men lying about on the green lawn enjoying the morning sunshine or asleep in the cottages at the Wolfskeel resort. He couldn't give any reason for making the raid except that Spolansky of the D. of J. had asked him to. He said he didn't have any warrants nor did he know when he set out that any law of the State of Michigan was being violated. Under cross examination he tried to explain why he had lined up his seventeen prisoners under shotguns to have their pictures taken and why he had chained them together and paraded them through the streets of St. Joseph to the city hall, but he made rather a mess of it.

Following the sheriff came Esther Mielke, a waitress at the Wolfskeel resort, who seemed entirely unnecessary as a witness and was probably put on to break the monotony.

The Department of Justice then took its turn in the spotlight. Shanahan told about how he had served his country in France; Spolansky repeated his tale of coming to these United States as a poor Russian emigrant and the various vicissitudes of his life up to the time he landed in the sheltering arms of Uncle Sam as a labor spy; Wolf expatiated on his long detective career. As to their part in the Communist raid, everything was in apple pie order. They had been through a dress rehearsal during the Foster trial and knew how to avoid the pitfalls. Their separate stories fitted together like a puzzle picture in which, after the way of putting it together has been found, all the devious curves and angles dovetail exactly.

One new witness for the Department of Justice appeared. This was Louis Loebel. Loebel was one of the four defenders of justice who participated in the raid. For some reason he had not been put on in the Foster trial. Now he came forward to make a mess of all the smoothness and niceness which Shanahan, Spolansky and Wolf had presented to the jury.

Loebel volunteered the information that long ago, before the beginning of his activities in the interest of justice, he had almost voted for me for mayor of Cleveland. He told of his work as a waiter, and how, after a number of years in this country he had gone back to Hungary for several years. Then he got in trouble. He informed the jury that he had returned to the United States and applied for first citizens papers on the day he had landed, evidently hoping to impress the jury with his eagerness to become a citizen of this fair land! Unfortunately the law was against him. He found this out over Sunday, and when he resumed the stand on Monday morning he tried to explain away his error by stating that he had consulted his wife by telephone and found he was in error. His only contribution to the case of the prosecution was to contradict his fellow agents of justice on a few little points.

Morrow, the government agent who attended the Communist convention, was rather a failure as a witness. In the Foster trial he had a real part to play. He had to prove that Foster did things which Foster hadn't done. He saw Foster filling out a questionnaire which Foster didn't fill out. He heard Foster read a speech from a manuscript which Foster didn't have. And similar things. But I admittedly had filled out the questionnaire which was presented to me in the Foster trial. I admittedly was a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party and attended the convention, so what was there for Morrow to add? Of course, if he had had a little imagination he might have had me telling every delegate at the convention to get their guns and start out with me to overthrow the government of the sovereign State of Michigan by "crime, sabotage, violence and unlawful methods of terrorism" then and there, but that evidently did not occur to him.

After all the evidence was in, what had the People of the State of Michigan proved? Just this: The Communist Party held a convention at Bridgman, Michigan. I attended that convention, not as a delegate, but as a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party. Certain Communist literature was brought to Bridgman by various delegates, which was found on the grounds.

That was all. Not a single scrap of evidence that anything was said or written at Bridgman, Michigan, in violation of the criminal syndicalist law. Not a scrap of evidence that I had said anything or done anything at Bridgman, Michigan. I was there. Because I was there I violated the criminal syndicalist law. That is the crime which the People of the State of Michigan are trying to establish and punish, with up to ten years in prison!

Oh yes, there was one other point in the evidence! Prosecutor Smith read at length from a pamphlet written by N. Bukharin, dealing with the struggle between church and state in Russia to show that the Communists were against religion. He stopped short at a point where Bukharin said: "Freedom of thought must be maintained; therefore the axiom that religion is a private matter." That was an important piece of evidence against me. It was conclusive proof that the Communist Party advocated "crime, sabotage, violence and unlawful methods of terrorism as a mean of achieving industrial and political reforms."

When I took the witness stand the task of the prosecution was to prevent me from telling the jury what Communism really meant and what Communists really advocated as the means of establishing a Soviet Government and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. While under direct examination by Attorney Frank P. Walsh, I was interrupted every two minutes by Prosecutor Smith and cautioned by Judge White to "be brief" and not to use any examples to illustrate the principles which I was endeavoring to explain to the jury. In spite of this I managed to squeeze in the statement that the Communist position in regard to violence in the class struggle was, that history showed that no privileged class had ever surrendered its power without a resort to force to protect its privileged position and the Communists forecast that the struggle between workers and capitalists would eventually take the same course.

When it came to the turn of the prosecution to cross examine me, in place of spending three days on the cross examination, as in the Foster trial, they dropped me after a few perfunctory questions, evidently fearing that the jury would get during the cross examination the explanation of Communist principles which they had prevented me from stating fully during the direct examination.

Jay Lovestone, Charles Krumbein and Caleb Harrison took the witness stand for the defense to testify about the struggle within the Communist Party over the question of the party coming into

(Continued on page 32)

## Pennsylvania for Amalgamation and Labor Party

By Joseph Manley

**P**ENNSYLVANIA, the work-shop of the world, has gone on record for Amalgamation, a Labor Party, and Organization of the Unorganized. With but one dissenting vote the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor voted in favor of "a united front by the workers through the amalgamation of the various trade unions so that there will remain only one union for each industry."

Two resolutions dealt with the formation of a Labor Party, and provided that such a Party should comprise all working class political organizations, as well as unions. After a lengthy discussion, the keynote of which was a demand for action and not the mere adoption of the resolution, the motion was passed to concur in one of the resolutions. In addition the delegate to the A. F. of L. Convention was instructed to take up the matter there.

Rumors flew about the convention hall that Gompers was going to revoke the charter of any Central Body or State Federa-

tion that endorsed trading with, or recognition of, Soviet Russia. In the face of this threat the Convention, without even discussing the matter, reaffirmed its previous stand "for trade relations with and recognition of Soviet Russia."

A resolution calling for the organization of the unorganized steel workers was unanimously adopted. The discussion brought forth severe condemnation of the lack of initiative shown by the A. F. of L. in this vital matter, and the demand was made for

the immediate launching of a campaign to organize the steel workers.

The explanation of this progressive convention is quite simple. Pennsylvania, the home of the giant Steel Trust, with its enormous steel, coal, glass, electrical, and textile industries is profoundly affected by the program of the Trade Union Educational League. The Gompers machine in Pennsylvania is hopelessly smashed. Most of the

reactionaries in the convention were followers of John L. Lewis, especially those from Pittsburgh. The outstanding progressiveness, like Clinton S. Golden of the Machinists and L. G. Hines the "fighting metal polisher," both of Philadelphia, with their militant support of everything progressive, indicate the new calibre of leadership developing in this greatest industrial State in the Union. The reactionaries were dumfounded and were completely unable to stem the great wave of progressive sentiment which swept

Pennsylvania is the 14th State Federation of Labor to line up for Amalgamation, and completes the solid phalanx of States from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The other States are Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, So. Dakota, Nebraska, Colorado, Utah, Montana, Oregon, Washington, and Alberta, Canada.

The Montana Federation, in the West, led off the 1923 drive; the Pennsylvania Federation, in the East, has responded with the support of the greatest industrial State of the country. The movement sweeps onward wherever the rank and file has a chance to express its will.

Pennsylvania into the front ranks of the American labor movement.

The case of Jacob Dolla, still confined in prison on a steel-strike frame-up, was one of the other big questions to come before the Convention. This is now a case of world interest since the exposure of the conspiracy against Dolla in THE LABOR HERALD a few months ago. The Convention unanimously demanded Dolla's release, and in discussion condemned the union officials who had deserted him.



## A Talk With Alex Howat

By James P. Cannon

THERE are several pictures of Alex Howat in my mind. I remember him in the midst of the great general strike of 1919, a rock in the storm. I saw him stand up in the courtroom at Pittsburg, Kansas, and tell the Judge flatly that he would not obey the Industrial Court Law. "Not if I have to rot in jail the rest of my life," were his words. I saw him in the filthy jail at Columbus, Kansas, expelled from the miners' union, grim faced and unconquered, regretting only that he couldn't get out for a few days "to rally the men."

I saw him again the other day at Pittsburgh, Penna. He had just returned from a meeting of miners in a nearby camp. It's the same "Aleck" Howat. The same honest leader of the militant miners. The same undaunted fighter.

"How goes it, Aleck?" I asked him. His face expanded in a smile. "The rank and file is with me. Isn't that so, Tom?" turning for confirmation to Myerscough, Secretary of the Progressive Miners Committee.

The machine in the U. M. W. of A. has got the bear by the tail. They expected Howat to quit when they expelled him from the Miners Union, while he lay in jail for fighting the Kansas Industrial Court Law. Or they thought they could drive him to start another union of miners and wear himself out in a fruitless struggle. They didn't know their man. Alex Howat never learned how to quit, and he is too wise a head to trap himself in the blind alley of secessionism.

He is fighting it out *inside* the U. M. W. of A. His tactics are invincible, and he is bound to win in the end. He is taking his case direct to the rank and file. He is telling them the story of his fight against the Industrial Court; as daring a battle as man ever made. It will be one of the brightest pages of the history that coming generations will ponder over—the history of American Labor's Renaissance. Along with that story goes the account of his shameful expulsion from the union without trial or hearing. The miners hear him gladly, for he speaks "with authority." He carries the uncontested credentials of one who has given a life-time of unselfish devotion to their cause. A rough and ready orator of great power, he carries the crowd with him wherever he speaks.

When I saw him he was just finishing a month's work in Pennsylvania and was on his way to Nova Scotia for a month. He told me of his plans. His course is clearly marked out. He will travel over the entire jurisdiction of the U. M.

W. of A. speaking to the miners in the camps. The rank and file miners will hear the truth and act on it. They will take up his case and compel his reinstatement. It is all very simple to him. He has unbounded confidence in the rank and file.

He doesn't concern himself only with his own case. Howat is a thorough-going radical. He is "class conscious." He believes the workers have the right to rule and that the day is coming when they will.

Alex Howat stands squarely on the clear-cut program of the National Progressive Miners' Committee. A part of every speech he makes is devoted to advocacy of a Labor Party. He wants a labor party based on the trade unions and embracing all working class political parties.

"What do you think of the Trade Union Educational League?" I asked him.

"I am for it," he answered promptly. "Foster is doing a great work. The Trade Union Educational League has got hold of a big idea. The best fighters in the trade unions are naturally radical and progressive. When they learn to organize and act as one body in the unions, a new day will dawn for American labor."

He shook his head sadly over the railroad shopmen's strike. "It's a damned shame," he said, "to see so many thousands of good union men defeated and blacklisted, scattered over the country, their families suffering."

"And it's all the fault of craft unionism. If all the railroad unions had been amalgamated into one organization, the shopmen could have gained their demands without a strike. It is a bitter and costly lesson, but I hope the railroad men will profit by it and amalgamate their unions into one body."

He takes a strong stand for the Amalgamation program of the Trade Union Educational League. "It is the biggest issue in the labor movement today, and the most simple and logical," he declared.

Since the first day the Russian Workers Republic was established Alex Howat has been its staunch friend. He sees the labor struggle developed there on a vast scale and brought to its logical conclusion. With all their audacity, the Russian workers never appeared to him to be too radical. "The workers can't go too far until they have gained complete mastery of their own lives. Every strike is a step toward that goal. Whenever the workers, anywhere in the world, strike a blow for freedom, I am for them no matter who is against them."

## Call for Second General Conference of the Trade Union Educational League

**MILITANT UNIONISTS!** Once more the aggressive and revolutionary elements in the trade union movement will meet to map out new programs and policies. On September 1st and 2nd the Trade Union Educational League will hold its Second General Conference in Chicago. Militant organized workers in every locality and industry throughout the United States and Canada are herewith cordially invited and earnestly urged to attend.

In the year that has elapsed since the League held its First General Conference Organized Labor has passed through one of the stormiest periods in its history. The employers, aggressive, well-organized, and holding our weak labor movement in contempt, have roared ahead victoriously against the working class. In industry they have driven the unions before them, scattering and breaking up organizations of many years' building. They have dangerously weakened the Miners' Union and overwhelmingly smashed the Railroad Shopmen. In politics they have swept from the statute books and rendered inoperative much vital legislation, including the Federal Child Labor Law, the Women's Minimum Wage Acts, and the Clayton Amendment. Never has the labor movement been so sorely pressed and never has it suffered so many defeats as in the past year.

Confronted by this calamitous situation, the reactionary labor bureaucracy are intellectually paralyzed. They know not what to do to stop the rout. Blindly and desperately they cling to industrial and political policies of the vintage of 1880, fighting viciously against everyone who seeks, in however small degree, to modernize the movement. In this crisis the Trade Union Educational League is the one hopeful element. It alone has a program to cope with the situation. Its three basic policies of amalgamation of the craft unions, independent working class political action, and the propagation of a revolutionary goal, are the three measures indispensable to fit the workers industrially, politically, and intellectually for their increasingly difficult struggle against the employing class.

As a result of the correctness of its policies and the aggressiveness with which they have been applied, the Trade Union Educational League has already become a powerful factor for progress in the labor movement. Reactionaries of all stripes hate and dread it. Its amalgamation policy has caught the imagination of the masses and is sweeping through the whole trade union organization like a prairie fire arousing the workers as never before to the futility of craft unionism and the need of industrial organization. Its Labor Party campaign is likewise taking the masses by storm. The past year has been one of genuine achievement for the League. But the future holds promise of still greater accomplishments. The one thing needed is for all revolutionists and progressives to rally more closely than ever round the standard of the League.

The Second General Conference must be made a great success. Every section, industrially and geographically, must be represented. Take up at once the question of sending delegates. Representation shall be based on the Local General Groups of the T. U. E. L., each of which shall be entitled to not more than eight delegates. If there is no such group in your town organize one immediately so that you may be represented. Trade unions and central labor councils can send fraternal delegates. The several International Committees are urged to send special calls to their groups so that they may be able to hold national conferences of their respective industries during the General Conference. Each participating organization shall provide for the expenses of its delegates.

Militants! The time is ripe for the creation of a powerful labor movement in the United States and Canada. The key to the situation is in the hands of the Trade Union Educational League. Let us therefore open the way for progress. Be represented at all costs in the Second General Conference of the League. Make of it an epoch-marking gathering. Let a new era begin September 1-2, 1923.

National Committee, T. U. E. L.

# The League's Labor Party Referendum

By Earl R. Browder

**L**ABOR wants a political party of its own. The truth of this statement has been decidedly shown in the past few months, especially since the referendum went forth from the Trade Union Educational League. The response has been overwhelmingly "Yes" to the resolution: "That we endorse the formation of a Labor Party by the whole trade union movement, to be based upon direct representation from the local unions, and to include as affiliated organizations all existing working-class political parties."

Last month we reported the scope of the referendum ballots were taking. Since that time every mail adds volume to the overwhelming decision. The unions now on record in the League vote extend over 40 States and 47 International Unions. In the thousands of locals in which the issue has been raised, we have been informed of less than a dozen which failed to approve of a Labor Party.

The opposition comes generally from officials. It has been effective in but one way—that of suppressing the issue and withholding the ballot. The following letter is typical of many which we have received:

In regard to the referendum you sent this Local, will say that the secretary did not read it, and as you had sent me one at the same time I took it up at the next meeting. We had quite a time, but after all the discussion not a soul voted against it. Before it was put to a vote, the secretary said; 'I have orders from . . . that no resolution should be read if it does not bear the endorsement of the A. F. of L.' One of the members replied; 'If we wait for Gompers we will wait from now on.' Let me know if you received the ballot, for we want to check up on our officers.

If every local union had a few militants to "check up on" the officials, like this one had, there is little doubt that a few thousand more organizations would be lined up for a Labor Party.

Accompanying hundreds of the ballots have been letters, many of great interest. They voice the rank and file. Brief, and sometimes illegible, they express Organized Labor better than all the official journals. Here, for example, is one from Oklahoma:

I herewith enclose the resolution adopted by Local . . . Maintenance of Way, at our regular meeting today. We long for the time when Organized Labor will control our country.

From a central body in West Virginia, near the scene of the bitter struggle of the miners, comes this:

I have been instructed to convey to you that the trade union men in this valley are practically unanimous in favor of a Labor Party; the few opposed only question as to whether we are ready. God knows that the time

is here and passed, and the sooner something is done the better. More power to your movement.

Of all the unions voting, only one wished to change the resolution proposed. That one was the Bakery Wagon Drivers of San Francisco, who were in favor of a Labor Party but did not wish to provide in the resolution for the inclusion of "all existing working-class parties."

After discussion, the next step is action. As a sample of the manner in which the League Referendum stimulated this process, we quote a letter from Local No. 81 of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, of Chicago:

. . . It has been unanimously adopted and was forwarded as a recommendation to the Joint Board. We have received information that it has been adopted by the Joint Board and is now in the hands of the locals for approval. Also it was decided to send a communication to the General Executive Board of the International urging them to participate in the July 3rd Conference called by the Farmer-Labor Party and act along the lines of our recommendation.

In cities where the Farmer-Labor Party is established, the interest in the referendum was not so strong because the unions already feel that a beginning has been made. Many resolutions, however, were received from such centers, emphasizing the need for bringing all other political parties of the workers into an inclusive Labor Party.

Many unions, after discussing the resolution in one meeting, postponed action until the following meeting in order to send out a special call for all members to be present. Most of these also ordered from 100 to 500 copies of the League leaflet, "A Political Party for Labor," to place in the members' hands before voting. The attitude of these unions is well stated by the letter from the Machinists of San Francisco, who write:

Kindly send by return mail 200 copies of the leaflet, as the Lodge has deferred action on the Referendum until they can be put in the hands of the membership so they will better understand what they are voting for.

Accompanying a unanimous "Yes" from Ohio, is a note which says:

An A. F. of L. organizer was present and objected to the vote. He said he was for a Labor Party, but wanted the A. F. of L. to take the vote, and not a 'bunch of wildcats.' He was told that Gompers has waited too long, and is too busy worrying about beer.

As interesting as the voices from the rank and file, is the fact that many officials in the labor movement, long trusted lieutenants of Gompers, are feeling the new current stirring the air of the trade unions. Thus J. P. Holland, President of the New York State Federation of Labor, for years a cog in the Gompers Machine, speaking

on April 16th before the Convention of the Hatters' Union, came out squarely for a Labor Party.

Several central labor bodies have taken up the issue and called upon their local unions affiliated to vote upon the question of a Labor Party. This is being done in Salt Lake City and Ogden, while in West Virginia a central labor union is circularizing the entire State. Wherever the central bodies have taken hold, action has been forthcoming. The educational aspect is not neglected, as is shown by the Ogden Trades and Labor Assembly

## SYMMETRICAL DEVELOPMENT



ordering copies of the League leaflet sufficient to send one to each local union. But positive action to begin organizational work is also being started.

One of the most energetic beginnings was that made in Toledo. On April 5th, 150 delegates from 39 unions and political groups gathered to form the Workers' Political Congress. On April 17th this had grown to 245 delegates representing 49 organizations. The Labor Party of Los Angeles, formed by 161 delegates from 47 organizations, got away to a flying start. On March 25th, a few days after its formation, the plan was endorsed by the Convention of the State Building Trades Council of California, which sent out a resolution to every affiliated union in the State. On April 4th the Central Labor Council of Contra Costa County, California, endorsed the League referendum and immediately a convention to launch a local Labor Party was called. In a large number of other cities, local conferences have been called, upon which reports are just beginning to come in. New activity is to be seen also in the ranks of the previously-organized sections of the Farmer-Labor Party. The great Pennsylvania Federation adopted the Labor Party resolution in May, almost unanimously; it was

followed a few days later by the Buffalo N. Y. central labor body.

But the center of interest in the movement for a Labor Party has shifted away from the League Referendum. All supporters of a political party for Labor now have their attention fixed on July 3rd, when a Convention has been called in Chicago by the Farmer-Labor Party, to which has been invited the Workers' Party, the Socialist Party, the Proletarian Party, the Socialist-Labor Party, all International Unions, State Federations, city central bodies, local unions and farm organizations. This call for a Convention, which was mailed to the local unions on May 15th, marks the passage of the movement for a united front of Labor against the capitalist parties, from the stage of propaganda to the stage of action.

Every true supporter of independent political action by the working-class will go to work with energy to swing his organization to participation in this convention. Militant delegates to Chicago for July 3rd, will exert every effort toward knitting together the present divided groups into some form of a class Party of Labor, with a program and form of organization that will bring about the vitally necessary solidarity and lead the workers forward to new achievements.

## ON THE INDEPENDENT UNIONS

In THE LABOR HERALD for March there appeared an article on the Second Congress of the R. I. L. U., written by Arne Swabeck, T. U. E. L. delegate to that Congress, and dealing in part with the attitude to be assumed regarding independent unions in this country. This was his report as an individual, not the official statement of the League regarding the matter.

In his article Brother Swabeck made a statement contrary to the policy of the R. I. L. U. and the League, as follows: "The American independent unions which adhere to the Red International were told to make an organized campaign for re-entry into the A. F. of L. as organized groups." This inaccuracy he corrected in the May LABOR HERALD.

The policy of the T. U. E. L. towards the independents was fully stated in the April LABOR HERALD, which is, briefly: (1) That where the independent unions are weak in numbers and consist simply of groups of isolated militants, they shall be urged to rejoin the mass organizations, either as groups or individuals, and (2) where the independents are mass organizations everything should be done to build them up, to bring about temporary agreements between them and other unions in their jurisdictions, and to eventually amalgamate all of them into industrial organizations.—National Committee, T. U. E. L.

## The Norwegian Labor Movement

*This article is condensed from a long statement sent us by Christian Hilt dealing in detailed form with the industrial and political situation in Norway. The results of the recent trade union congress were added by the Editor.*

IN Sweden and Denmark the great labor movement is still under the sway of the Social Democracy. In Norway alone of the Scandinavian countries have the Communists defeated the Right Socialists, captured the broad masses, and taken charge of the party and trade union machinery. The party, called the Labor Party, was captured completely in 1918. In 1921 the Right Socialists founded a new party, the Social Democratic Party. But they have small influence. During the last general election, in 1921, they received only 93,000 votes, as against 192,000 for the Communists. In 1922 the latter elected 2400 representatives in the local elections, and the Right Socialists only 740.

The trade unions have been almost completely won over by the "lefts." The relations between the Party and the unions have always been close. Since the formation of the Norwegian Federation of Labor (N. F. L.) in 1899, the two branches of the movement, political and industrial, have had representatives on each other's Executive Committees. In reality the Party has been the real leader of the general movement. Until 1918 the reformists completely dominated the N. F. L. In 1910-12 the so-called "Trade Union Opposition" was formed within the organizations. Its program was largely syndicalist, calling for the class war and abolition of capitalism, the general strike, sabotage, obstructionism, decentralization and a local form of organization. Its chief leaders were Tranmael, Volan, Olsen, Madsen, and Gulveg, all active left wing members of the Labor Party.

### The Lefts Make Progress

By 1916 the Trade Union Opposition (T. U. O.) had developed considerable strength. At the general convention of that year they had a committee appointed to consider new tactics and organization forms for the movement, but this committee brought back a standpat report. In 1917, however, the proposition of local organization, as against centralized national unions, was nominally endorsed. In the meantime the movement spread rapidly in the various organizations. Olsen, Volan, Guldveg and others won high official positions in their respective trade unions, and Tranmael became General Secretary of the Labor Party. In 1918 the "lefts" captured the Party completely, an event which was followed in 1920 by the capture of the Federation of Labor. The

latter event, which attracted wide attention internationally, was a striking justification of the value of working within the old labor organizations.

In the 1920 N. F. L. congress the revolutionaries, now become Communists, carried their re-organization program by a vote of 243 against 76. Their aim was to reshape the labor movement upon the basis of local organizations with industrial sub-sections. The congress appointed a committee of nine to work out a practical application of this general plan and to submit the same to the 1923 congress. The 1920 congress also endorsed the soviet system, mass action, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Greetings were sent to the Third International, to which, in the meantime, the Labor Party had become affiliated. With the exception of the President, Ole O. Lian, who adhered to the right wing, the Communists captured all the important offices of the N. F. L. Both the industrial and political movements grew rapidly in this period of enthusiasm, the N. F. L. numbering 140,000 and the Labor Party 100,000 members.

### Beset by Difficulties

In 1921, however, the situation, which had been singularly favorable to the revolutionary elements, took a sharp turn for the worse. The worldwide industrial crisis hit Norway heavily, throwing many thousands out of work. The unions were sadly weakened, and the employers, even as in other countries, took advantage of the situation and developed a great offensive. Strike after strike took place, the most important of which were the railroad strike and the big general strike in favor of the seamen. In these strikes the workers and their unions suffered heavily. To add to the difficulty, bitter dissensions broke out in the Party over various questions relating to the attitude to be assumed towards the capitalist Government, the question of prolonging the arbitration law, the matter of the united front, etc. As a result of the generally unfavorable situation the membership of the Labor Party, by the end of 1922, had dropped from 100,000 to 75,000, and that of the Federation of Labor from 140,000 to 100,000.

On March 4-12, 1923, the Norwegian Federation of Labor held its congress in Christiania. The three most important matters handled were the serious labor troubles prevailing, the question of international affiliations, and the re-organiza-

tion plan. As for the first of these, a general tightening up of Labor's lines was urged and ordered to withstand the offensive of the employers. The international affiliations issue provoked a long discussion. The Syndicalists favored joining the new Berlin International and the Social Democrats were for affiliation to the Amsterdam International. But both these were heavily voted down, the Syndicalists receiving but 37 votes out of 230, and the Social Democrats only 32. Finally the majority report, favoring the Moscow International, was adopted by a vote of 151. It provided for a close study of the effects that would be produced upon the movement as a whole, and upon the separate unions, by affiliation with the Moscow body.

Two plans had been proposed for the re-organization of the general labor movement. The minority of the committee having the matter in charge proposed that the existing national unions, also their local unions, be dissolved and new local trades councils, enjoying full power, should be

built out of the shop organizations. The majority of the committee proposed that the local trades councils should be formed out of the existing local unions and shop organizations and should be divided along industrial lines. A general referendum favored reorganization on the basis of the local councils, but the majority therefor was very small, 15 unions with 46,749 members voting in favor and 17 unions with 41,237 members voting against. Consequently the Executive Committee went no further than to recommend that the present national industrial federations be amalgamated into national industrial unions, that the trades councils be given somewhat greater power, and the principle of one shop one union made to prevail. The plan to give all power to the local trades councils was something of a hang-over from the old syndicalist days of the Trade Union Opposition. The plan proposed by the Executive Committee is in line with the policy of the Red International of Labor Unions. It passed with but one vote negative, and it will go into operation on June 30th, 1924.

## Conference of the Dutch Labor Secretariat

By S. H. Delhaas

ON Easter Sunday and Monday the National Conference of the Dutch Labor Secretariat, meeting at Amsterdam, closed one period in the Dutch labor movement and opened another. The gathering came at the close of two years of black reaction, industrial depression, unemployment, wage cuts, and falling membership in the unions. It brought to a climax the struggle within the unions that has been going on during this same period between the Socialists, the Syndicalists, the Anarchists, and the Communists, as to the correct program and international orientation.

The difficult position in which Dutch Labor finds itself is shown in the nation-wide unemployment, wage cuts of from 10% to 30%, working hours increased from 48 to 55 or 57 hours, and a falling-off in dues paying membership in the unions of more than 43%. Under these conditions everyone understood that this Conference was to be, not a triumphal review of the Dutch revolutionary proletariat, but a battle between the various groups as to which road the movement is to travel to find the way out—the road of revolutionary class struggle or the road of vacillation, hesitation and reformism.

The first session of the Conference definitely showed its internationalist leaning, when the 332 delegates unanimously adopted two resolutions presented by the Amsterdam union of clerks. The first called for a telegram of sympathy to the

Westphalian labor councils, and a protest against the brutal shooting of 11 workers in the Ruhr by the troops of General Delgoutte. The other motion was to cable a protest against the imprisonment of Jacob Dolla in Pennsylvania, demanding of the Governor his immediate release.

The Conference adopted as the first order of business, the question of affiliation to the Syndicalist International of Berlin or the Red International of Moscow. The anti-Communist groups took the aggressive, and presented three different motions, the effect of which would be to exclude the Communists or prevent them from following the program of the Red International. After long and heated debates they were all defeated by decisive majorities. The Communists gained strength in this first fight, as is shown by the vote which, on the first proposition was 118 for them and 57 against, while on the last proposition the vote was 184 in their favor and 57 against.

The second day was the big one. The debate grew furious, and at times disorder reigned. Bouwman, president of the Transport Workers Union, led the fight for the Red International. He pointed out the changing grounds taken by Lansink, as typical of the other opponents. The Berlin advocates fought against the Red International on the grounds that they were against the Soviet Government of Russia. Before the vote was taken, "Genosse" Souchy of the Berlin body

appeared, and wanted to say a few words. The slander and lies which comprised his "few words" won him no love from the delegates. When the vote was taken the transport workers, building trades, municipal workers, clerks, and furniture workers, voted for the Red International; the tobacco workers, the majorities of the textile and metal workers, and a small group of miners, voted for Berlin. The majority for Moscow was a large one. The issue is now going before the membership on a referendum. When the Red International is finally chosen as the center for

the Dutch Labor Secretariat, there may be a few "leaders" pull away, and drag their handful of followers with them to Berlin. The Lansinks, Sr. and Jr., Wolff of the tobacco workers, Rousseau of the metal trades, may leave and wander off to the International of big words but no action. The short-sighted dualists will have committed another crime against the unity of the workers. But the Dutch labor movement will have cleared the way for a new period of organization, of forward movement, and of revolutionary class struggle in Holland.

## The Seattle Central Labor Council

*A Statement by the National Committee of the Trade Union Educational League*

**I**N his ultimatum to the Seattle Central Labor Council, Samuel Gompers gives one more illustration of his autocratic methods and reactionary policies. For a long time this central body has been an eyesore to Gompers. Time and again, exercising its rights within the A. F. of L. constitution, it has dared to break with the 19th Century policies of Gompers and to think and act in accordance with our modern needs. It has endorsed amalgamation of the craft unions, recognition of Soviet Russia, the Red International of Labor Unions, independent working-class political action, and a host of other progressive policies.

Because of this, the Seattle central body has been marked for the slaughter. Gompers died intellectually 40 years ago, and his constant effort, all too successful, has been to cramp the labor movement into the narrow cell of his own restricted outlook. Throwing aside the A. F. of L. constitution and trampling underfoot the elementary principles of free speech, he proposes to force Seattle to abandon its progressive attitude. He demands that it turn back the hands of time, by giving up its advanced policies and by re-adopting his antiquated viewpoint, which it threw overboard 15 years ago. And if it refuses its charter shall be revoked and the local movement demoralized and broken up.

This organized work of reaction has gone on for many years. But a short while ago Gompers illegally and violently reorganized the New York Central Labor Union because of its progressive tendencies, and more recently still he attacked the Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly for similar reasons. But his assault upon the Seattle Central Labor Council is the most outrageous of all. The whole campaign is as ineffective as it is stupid and tyrannical. The progressive forces are not intimidated by it. In New York Gompers did not diminish but increased Labor Party

sentiment; in Minneapolis he has strengthened the radicals and given them a better understanding of the task before them. And just as he brandishes his pop-gun of charter revocation at Seattle, the convention of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor shows how little it is terrified by adopting almost unanimously exactly the three measures for which Gompers condemns Seattle;—amalgamation, recognition of Soviet Russia, and the Labor Party. Gompers is a modern Mrs. Partington, vainly trying to sweep back the irresistible rising tide of progress.

It is high time that Gompers' illegal and unconstitutional campaign of reaction in the unions be stopped. The rights of the progressives and revolutionaries have been violated all too long. It is sincerely to be hoped that the Seattle Central Labor Council, responding to its best traditions of militancy, will stand its ground and refuse to be terrorized by the arch-reactionary, Gompers. It should stoutly defend its incontestable constitutional right as an affiliate of the A. F. of L. to pass its opinion on all issues confronting the labor movement. The demands of Gompers should be flatly rejected, and if he dares to revoke the charter, the fight should be carried not only to the A. F. of L. Convention, but also to the thousands of local unions and central bodies throughout the whole labor movement. Seattle, you have an urgent duty and a great opportunity confronting you. On the one hand, on pain of treason to progress, you must not weaken before the reactionaries; and on the other, if you will but take up the gauntlet for free speech in the unions you will surely win a great victory. In such a fight against bureaucratic reaction and autocracy, the powerful and rapidly organizing forces of progress will be behind you to a man. Let the autocrat Gompers be taught that he is the servant, not the master, of the labor movement.

## The Supreme Court and the Workers

By Jay Lovestone

**O**NCE more the Supreme Court has spoken. And once more it has spoken against the workers. By a vote of 5-3 the Holy Synod of Capitalist Bishops has nullified the Minimum-Wage Law for women and minor girls in the District of Columbia.

Through this decision starvation wages will be forced upon thousands of women in the nation's Capitol. The minimum wage laws of California, Kansas, New York, Oregon, Wisconsin, and Washington are now in danger. Over 1,500,000 women worker are confronted with a wholesale wage slash. But, great a loss as this might mean to the workers, there is a still greater danger lurking in this decision. Associate Justice Sutherland, the notorious corporation lawyer recently appointed by Harding to the Supreme Court, ruled that the only proper basis for wage payments is "a fair equivalent for the services rendered" and not "the necessities of employees."

### What this Decision Means

Stripped of its legal sophistry and translated into the every day language of the workers this command of the Supreme Robed Oligarchs means only this: that the full judicial power of the Government will be put at the disposal of any employer bent upon forcing his workers to accept a wage less than what is necessary for even a minimum subsistence! This decision legalizes the starvation wage not only for women workers and minor girls but for all workers. It is indicative of the frankness and brazen effrontery with which the employing-class reaction is proceeding to crush the workers.

As usual the Majority of the Court dabbled in the vaguest abstractions. The "ethical right" of a worker to a living wage is conceded. But here Sutherland stopped to draw his breath for fear of getting into dangerous realms. The principle of a living wage might be all right but the practice of it is awful! Said the Associate Justice: "The fallacy of the proposed method of obtaining it is that it assumes that every employer is bound to furnish it." The Majority go on to say: "In principle there can be no difference between the case of selling labor and the case of selling goods." Thus is the last spadeful of earth thrown on the still-born Magna Charta of Gompers—the Clayton Act.

Not only does the Supreme Court reaffirm the truth daily suffered by the workers in the shops, mills, and mines—that under capitalism human labor power is a commodity sold and bartered—but it goes much further than that. The Court

rips off its last shred of impartiality, the last thread of its veil of hypocrisy. The country is warned against ignoring "the necessities of the employer by compelling him to pay not less than a certain sum, not only whether the employee is capable to earn it but irrespective of the ability of his business to sustain the burden." Here we have the pith of the problem in every strike, in every labor struggle. Industry is run today on a capitalist basis. This simply means that the workers must produce sufficient dividends to cover every period, deflation and inflation, employment and unemployment, prosperity and depression. Regardless of the name given by the Capitalist experts to the conditions of exploitation forced upon the workers, the workingmen must be content with receiving little enough to guarantee a continuous flow of dividends. When they are employed they must turn out enough to pay all-year-round dividends to the bosses and get barely enough to maintain themselves near the minimum level of subsistence. When they are unemployed they must starve.

It is this condition that the Government maintains for the employing class by placing at its disposal the army, the navy, the financial resources, and the judiciary powers. And it is this condition of capitalist slavery that the Supreme Court aims to perpetuate by its decision against the working women and minor working girls of the District of Columbia.

### Supreme Court Leads the Attack

This decision is merely the logical development of a series of anti-labor decisions handed down by the Supreme Court in recent years. The history of the Supreme Court is a history replete with crimes committed against the workingmen and unflinching service to the employing class. The Supreme Court is the fountain-head of American reaction.

In January 1921, in the case of the Duplex Printing Press Company vs Deering et al the Supreme Court dealt a mortal blow to the workers. The Court ruled that the International Association of Machinists was acting against the law when it struck back at the company through the power of its organization in the country. The workers were told that "to instigate a sympathetic strike in aid of a secondary boycott cannot be deemed peaceful and lawful persuasion." The solidarity of the workers was here defined as a conspiracy. Walter Gordon Merritt, the notorious "Open Shop" advocate, thus summed up the effect of this law on the workers: "Class war is not a

lawful occupation. Class solidarity is not an economic relationship which justifies concerted action by all members of that class to assist one of their fellows in fighting a member of another class." To the working class of America this decision meant: "Workers of America, divide! Workers, don't stick together!"

In the case of the American Steel Foundries vs. the Tri-City Central Trades Council the Supreme Court held that "The name 'picket' indicates a militant purpose, inconsistent with peaceable persuasion." The Court went on to say: "We think that the strikers and their sympathizers engaged in the economic struggle should be limited to one representative for each point of ingress or egress in the plant or place of business and that all others be enjoined from congregating or loitering at the plant or in the neighboring streets by which access is had to the plant. . . ." This decision took the heart out of picketing and brought into bold relief the role of the Supreme Court as a strikebreaking agency in the hands of the employers. There is not a single court decision limiting the number of strikebreakers or gunmen a boss may hire. There is not a single court ruling prohibiting strikebreakers and gunmen from insulting, intimidating, and shooting down strikers. Yet, the workers fighting against starvation wages are prevented from even "accosting" armed strikebreakers robbing them of their livelihood. The Second Commandment of the Supreme Court was: "Workers, don't fight together!"

This decision was quickly followed on December 19, 1921, by a 5-4 ruling of the Supreme Court in the case of Truax vs. Corrigan declaring unconstitutional the Arizona State law limiting the use of injunctions. Striking restaurant workers carried posters reading: "All ye who enter here leave all hope behind" and warning patrons to beware of "graveyard stews" served inside. Our highest court saw in this effective fight against the employer a menace to his property. The workers were therefore committing a crime. Obviously, violence or no violence, effective resistance to capitalist exploitation is a crime in the eyes of the Supreme Court. Here we had the highest capitalist tribunal cry out to the 48 State Legislatures: "Thou shalt not deny protection to business!" The Third Commandment of the Supreme Court was: "Workers, don't fight well!"

**Attacking the Women and Children**

And in the Coronado Decision, the Supreme Court held on June 5, 1922, that a union can be sued though it is unincorporated. It ruled that a union can be held fully responsible for injury to the property of an employer arising from a

strike. Coupled with the Hinchman Decision that a union cannot wage a campaign of organization amongst workers who have been forced to sign an individual contract this is a death blow to unionism.

On May 15, 1922, the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional, for a second time, a Child Labor Law enacted by Congress. The Court ruled that it was a violation of State rights for Congress to enact legislation interfering with such inalienable rights as the ruthless exploitation of child labor. Here we have the hollow mockery of capitalist justice exposed at its ugliest. How mysteriously their holy, inalineable State rights vanish when troops are rushed into the various States to break strikes! The rights of the States are supreme when the law of profits demands it! The rights of the States disappear when the interests of the workers are in question!

It is on these infamous precedents that the recent Minimum Wage Decision is founded. Each one of these cases is a link in the chain forged by the Supreme Court to bind the workers to the chariot of capitalist exploitation.

The Supreme Court, as the heart of the employing class machinery of oppression — the Government—is the symbol of the capitalist lust for profits at its worst. Men, women, children—all must be sacrificed on the altar of dividends to the God Mammon—the God of the employing class.

The last ukase of the Supreme Court formally legalizing starvation wages, marks the culmination of a series of strikebreaking decisions. It marks the height of capitalist brutality against the workers. Here we have the capitalist dictatorship riding rough shod over the last vestige of the most elementary rights of the workers.

**The Workers Must Answer**

Will the workers accept this challenge flung at them by their oppressors? They must if they do not want to be driven headlong into abysmal degradation. The workers must answer their employers in the only language their employers understand. The workers must speak to their exploiters in the language of class power—industrial and political. To drive back this furious attack of the capitalists, the workers must turn their impotent, crippled craft unions into fighting industrial unions. The workers must organize to use their political power against the bosses, and to supplant the present Government of the employers with a Government of the workers and working farmers. Thus only can the workers marshal their forces for a successful fight against their oppressors and put an end to their intolerable conditions of life and work.

# Fighting the Blacklist In Canada

By J. M. Clarke

THE lumber camps of British Columbia, employing approximately 20,000 men, have been for four years the scene of a great social struggle. Up until 1918-19, unionism had been almost unknown to the Canadian loggers, with the natural result that the greed of the Lumber Barons forced the workers down to unbearable living conditions. Bitter experience of years had taught that the masters would make no improvements until they were compelled to do so. The idea of the "Union" as the only means of bettering conditions was the inevitable result. The conditions of the industry were favorable; labor was scarce and the industry was booming.

It was under these favorable conditions that the Lumber Workers Industrial Union of Canada was formed. For two years progress was the result; strikes were the order of the day whenever the employers refused to comply with the demands of the union. When it was conclusively demonstrated that it was cheaper to comply with the union demands than to fight, great improvements were conceded in the camps. For the first time in Canada, a logging camp was made habitable in some respects. The improvement of living conditions in the lumber camps of Canada in these two years, exceeded that of fifty years previous. The union idea had come to stay.

But the Lumber Kings were not giving up without a struggle. Unable at the time to defeat the union in open combat, they prepared to strangle it in the dark. They combined to establish an "employment office," called the Loggers' Agency, Ltd., the function of which was to blacklist every militant union man and drive him out of the lumber camps of British Columbia. This was done by reports on every worker made out on blanks like that reproduced here, and sent to the central office by camp foremen.

Then came the period of industrial depression, with the resultant slackening of the lumber industry. Immediately the noose prepared for the Union was pulled tight. Of the 7,000 men in the logging camps along the coast, fully 1,700 were blacklisted and driven from the industry by finding every avenue of employment closed to them. Simultaneously was inaugurated a drive against the union by means of spies, stool-pigeons, and agents provocateur; all the rotten material that could be secured for this work was busily engaged in sowing distrust and dissention within the union. Ex-service men, just back from the "war for democracy," who engaged in the struggle for the

Union, were treated as the erstwhile "slackers" had been. Soon, with all but the most grimly-determined fighters driven out of the country, the organization was drained of its life blood.

This blacklist is what the lumber workers of Canada are now up against. They must smash it, or be crushed and degraded even below the conditions of former years. They must destroy this instrument of slavery, or resign all hopes of freedom.

Can the blacklist be smashed? It is up to the masses of the workers to make answer. Ninety years ago the capitalists of Great Britain were using the "document," a pledge the workers were

Mr.-----  
has left the Company's service for the following reason:

(It is important that reasons be fully given)

- |          |                          |              |                          |                     |                          |
|----------|--------------------------|--------------|--------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| (1) Quit | <input type="checkbox"/> | (2) Laid off | <input type="checkbox"/> | (3) Discharged      | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ABILITY  |                          | SPEED        |                          | CONDUCT             |                          |
| (4) Good | <input type="checkbox"/> | (9) Rapid    | <input type="checkbox"/> | (14) Reliable       | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (5) Fair | <input type="checkbox"/> | (10) Medium  | <input type="checkbox"/> | (15) Unreliable     | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (6) Poor | <input type="checkbox"/> | (11) Slow    | <input type="checkbox"/> | (16) Agitator       | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| STEADY   |                          | TEMPERATE    |                          | WOULD YOU RE-EMPLOY |                          |
| (7) Yes  | <input type="checkbox"/> | (12) Yes     | <input type="checkbox"/> | (17) Yes            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (8) No   | <input type="checkbox"/> | (13) No      | <input type="checkbox"/> | (18) No             | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Date----- 192--

Signed-----  
Foreman.

Note.—This form must be made out and sent to time department when an employee is laid off, discharged or quits. Any other information may be written on reverse side.

obliged to sign, swearing that they would not join a union. The "document" was finally smashed, after years of sacrifice and struggle. The noxious blacklist is even worse than the "document," and will require even greater efforts to wipe out. But it must be done. A handful of men are fighting, under terrible odds, against this modern Beast of the Apocalypse. They must be joined, not only by all the lumber workers of Canada, but by the entire labor movement of Canada and the United States. This blacklist is part and parcel of the social octopus that is strangling and crushing the entire American labor movement. It demands the United Front of all Labor to crush it.

## Gompers Refuses to Recognize The U. S. Government

By John Pepper

SAMUEL GOMPERS and William J. Burns, the two most important pillars of our capitalist society, are both preaching the very same doctrine as regards the movements for Amalgamation and a Labor Party. Both say that these are artificial issues, invented by discontented agitators and destructive reds. On the other hand, there are even many honest workers who view these movements with great skepticism. They argue that the radical workers have over and over again launched movements which have never been successful, and that in the end everything remained as of old. We wish to demonstrate that neither the dishonest accusation of Burns and Gompers, nor the naive skepticism of many honest workers, is justified. We wish to demonstrate:

- 1.-That it is not red agitators who create the Amalgamation and Labor Party movements, but that it is the profound changes in the political, industrial, and social conditions in this country,
- 2.-That the naive skeptics are mistaken, and that the movements for Amalgamation and a Labor Party must win because they are not like previous radical movements, which were premature, but their aim is simply to provide an organizational expression to already existing facts and conditions.

The amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial unions is no fantastic plan. It is no utopia which some well-meaning radicals have hit upon. Not the Trade Union Educational League, but capitalism itself has created all the material conditions for amalgamation. The craft unions were proper forms of organization for the workers at an earlier period. The consolidation of the unions into federations was satisfactory for over a generation. But today the American labor movement has come to a deadlock. It stands before the dilemma — "open shop" or amalgamation.

### The Trusts Make for Amalgamation

The isolated unions were timely, as long as industry itself consisted of small shops and the capitalists faced the workers as individual employers. The isolated craft unions had to be consolidated into federations, as capitalism developed and as shops grew into great factories. Gompers and the officialdom of the American Federation of Labor have persisted in their idea of federation, whereas capitalism has advanced on the road of further development. Capitalism replaced manual labor by the machine. It enlarged the shops to immense factories. It expanded the factories to industrial towns. Capitalism has created the finest division of labor, which

has practically wiped out all differences in crafts, and has reduced the worker to a cog in the wheel of the gigantic, living machinery of industry. The unit is no longer the shop nor the factory, but the trust which rules entire industries with an iron hand. But capitalism has not halted even with the trusts. Capital, concentrated in banks, is in command of the greatest trusts. The "Money Trust" has become the trust of trusts. Wall Street rules the waves of the entire industrial ocean.

Capitalism itself has amalgamated the workers. Those belonging to a dozen trades work side by side in the same factory. The same trust has power of life and death over miners, railroad workers, carpenters, steel and iron workers. It is not Foster, but Gary, Rockefeller, and Ford, who have created the material conditions for amalgamation. It is not the Trade Union Educational League, but Wall Street which forces the workers to recognize the fact of amalgamation created by capitalism, and to organize accordingly. Samuel Gompers and William J. Burns may feel bad about it, but it is nevertheless true that capitalism is the greatest revolutionary factor in this country.

### We Acquire a Centralized Government

During forty long years Gompers and the American Federation of Labor have represented two ideas: 1.—The Government is not important and legislation should concern itself as little as possible with industry and labor; and 2.—The workers should create no independent political class-party, but through non-partisan activities they should punish their enemies and reward their friends within the two old capitalist parties.

That has been for four decades the sum total of the political wisdom of Gompers and the A. F. of L. Of course, the few class-conscious elements of the American labor movement knew even forty years ago that these policies meant the selling of the birth-right of the working class for a pot of lentils. But it would be naive to believe that Gompers and the American Federation of Labor could have dictated this policy for so long, if important material conditions had not made that possible. What were these material conditions? Gompers could preach the doctrine that the workers should keep away from politics, and that the Government should not interfere in the affairs of Capital and Labor, so long as the United States did not have a real central government. In Europe, great labor parties developed because the centralized state power marshalled all its

forces against the trade unions and interfered extensively in the daily life of the workers. The war enhanced the power of the Federal Government in the United States as well. The world war has produced now a centralized government to a degree hitherto unknown. The president attained almost unlimited power. All the overthrown Czars and Kaisers could well envy him. The entire industrial life—coal mining, ship-building, manufacture of munitions, production of all kinds of raw materials, were placed under the control of the Government. The railroads, telephone and telegraph were placed under the direct administration of the national government. In the war industries compulsory labor was created under direct government power. The espionage law strangled all adverse criticism directed against the god — the Federal Government. All rights of the individual States were subjected to the rule of the national government. Through conscription, an army of millions was created.

There is an old saying concerning the British Parliament: "It is so mighty that it can do everything except make a boy out of a girl." The Federal Government of the United States became even more powerful than the English House of Commons. The land of the free and the home of the brave became a land of compulsory labor and conscripted soldiers. The country of individualism was turned into a country with an immense bureaucracy. The number of government employes in the civil service in 1884 was 13,780; and in 1918 it was no less than 917,760.

The world war did not start this immense centralization of state power, but simply perfected it. This centralization is a child of the development of capitalism, and the world war served as the midwife. The development of the centralization of governmental power has been steadily advancing since the close of the world war because capitalism is steadily advancing.

True, the Government has returned the railroads to private interests, but it still controls them through the Railroad Labor Board. The famous old American rights exist today just as little as during the war. The Government is the dictator in the question of coal. In every great battle between Capital and Labor, the Federal Government assumes the role of arbitrary judge. The Government mobilized troops in 15 States against the last coal and railroad strikes. The Daugherty injunction placed the whole might of the Government in the service of Capital. The number of Government employes in 1921 was 597,482. The United States has today a standing army of 280,000 men and 17,000 officers, and a national guard of 435,000 men. Wherever the workers turn, they face the might of the Govern-

ment and the courts. Against strikes, troops! Against agitation, jails! Against social legislation, courts! For raising the cost of living, tariff legislation! The daily life of every worker is most profoundly affected in every respect by administration, congress and courts.

The political wisdom of Gompers and the American Federation of Labor even forty years ago was no wisdom, and through historical development it has become pure nonsense. Due to the advance of Capitalism, and the increase of centralized government, Gompers has been made reactionary through the facts themselves. Capitalism, the great revolutionist, has turned Gompers' policy of "hands off government and legislation," into worthless colored beads. The trade unions must be active politically if they wish to defend themselves against the new mammoth—the Government.

### Nonpartisan Policy Between the Millstones

The second political idea of Gompers, the non-partisan policy has also met its ruin through the hard facts themselves.

The non-partisan policy has always been a shameful betrayal of the historical interests of the working class. But even the most shameless betrayal cannot be continued for years if the material conditions do not make it possible. The two old parties—the Republican and the Democratic parties—developed in a period when the class conflicts were not as yet acute. Even the class-differences were not as great as at the present time. This situation explains why capitalists, farmers, and workers could find room in one and the same party. The gigantic accumulation and concentration of capital, the ever-growing might of big industry, banks, and railroads, has ruined the lower middle class, has driven the farmers into bankruptcy, and has welded the workers more and more distinctly into a separate class.

The class conflicts are today so sharp that the various classes can no longer defend their interests within one party. Never before has the class struggle been waged more bitterly and on a larger scale, on the one hand between the capitalists and farmers, and on the other hand between workers and bosses. The lower middle class and the well-to-do farmers want their own "progressive" party against capitalists, and the workers must have their own political party against the bosses and the government—the Labor Party.

Capitalism—that dangerous and thorough revolutionist—has beaten the senile policy of Gompers all along the line. Capitalism has created the greatest division of labor, has amalgamated the workers regardless of crafts, nationality, and

skill, and thereby created the amalgamation movement. Capitalism has created a centralized state power, as the mightiest weapon of Capital, and thereby has forced Organized Labor to political thinking. Finally, capitalism has accentuated the class differences to an unheard-of degree, thereby putting an end to the policy of "punishing

the enemies and rewarding the friends" within the old capitalist parties. The idea of a Labor Party was born. Amalgamation and the Labor Party movement have been created by history itself. In spite of all skepticism, all opposition by the mighty officialdom of the American Federation of Labor will break on the hard steel of facts.

## Building Trades Militants Organize

By Arne Swabeck

**W**ITH the launching of the International Committee for Amalgamation of the Building Trades an important step has been taken for unification of the militant forces within the industry. This Committee has just issued a Plan of Amalgamation, in the shape of a large, well printed four page leaflet. This contains an analysis of our present weakness, and its causes. It shows the way to change that condition to one of strength through amalgamation of the existing divided unions into one solidly organized industrial union. The process by which this can be brought about is described in detail, and pictured in a comprehensive diagram. The issuance of this Plan has been the signal for a coming together of all the progressives within the industry, to get effectively into action.

And surely today the building tradesmen are learning the necessity for amalgamation through

hard experience. Heretofore the building workers, because of the nature of the industry which requires skill in a high percentage of those employed, have been able to maintain a semi-privileged position by means of the craft unions. Not only was the factor of skill a decisive one in this respect; equally important were the facts that construction work had been largely under the direction of a multitude of contractors, with but a limited degree of organization between them to combat Labor, and the important economic condition of an unexampled period of building and construction activity throughout the country. The two last conditions are being eliminated or promise soon to come to an end, and the factor of skill is by no means so potent now as a few years ago.

The fighting power of the building capitalists against the workers has been enormously increased within a short time. The introduction of



"AMALGAMATION IS INOPPORTUNE NOW"—Gompers

new materials, labor-saving devices, and new methods, all requiring greater accumulations of capital, together with the constantly enlarging size of construction jobs in the shape of greater skyscrapers, more gigantic factories and power plants, and immense public utilities—all of these factors and others have combined to produce the centralization of power into a few hands.

Unfortunately for the workers, the united bankers who have drawn this consolidated power into their hands, are shrewd and unscrupulous men. And they are out to smash the unions. They know how to fight. They have become expert at that in fighting among themselves. They know that the only way to fight effectively is with organization, wide and sweeping, and with militant leadership. That is the way they got their great power; that is the way they expect to extend that power by crushing the resistance of the building trades unions. They feel blocked by the ability of the workers to somewhat control their own wages and hours of labor; they want to wipe out the unions which make that possible; and they therefore organize "citizens' committees" and similar "open shop" bodies to impose upon Labor the famous "American plan."

"But what about the great building boom now going on?" some one asks. True, that boom has temporarily checked the reduction of wages and increase of hours. In spite of the disunity among the building workers of Chicago for example, the workers are getting a better wage than last year.

But this is not because the workers are strong, it is not a gain won by Labor's power. And it will go as quickly as the present condition of more jobs than men disappears. That time is not so far off.

Listen to the warning given to the capitalists by the great statistician, Roger W. Babson, who is paid a fortune by the rich for his good advice to them. If millionaires can gain by the foresight of Babson, perhaps the workers can heed his words with profit when he is telling the capitalist class what is going to happen in the near future. Babson says:

"The present boom cannot be long lived. It is not based on a firm foundation. Many of these men now getting an increase in their wages will be out of work before 1924 is ended."

When the artificial protection of the present building boom is taken away from the building trades workers, what will they have to protect them against the crushing attacks of the amalgamated profit-seekers? In their present dis-united condition the building workers will have their unions annihilated. The only protection then will be power, and the only road to power for the building workers is through amalgamation of all existing unions into one union to cover the entire industry. If you want to help bring this about, write to the International Committee for Amalgamation of the Building Trades, Ed. Johnson, Secretary, 106 No. La Salle St. Room 41, Chicago, Ill. Every militant will get busy at once.

## The Ford Industries

By Stanley Boone

**S**HIPMENT southward of iron ore will soon begin, ore taken from a small mine at Michigamme, in the Northern Peninsula of Michigan. This used to belong to the Cleveland-Cliffs Company, but had not been operated for years. Its reopening marks a new advance of one of the most significant industrial experiments ever carried on in the capitalist system. The mine at Michigamme belongs to Henry Ford.

The significance of the Ford industries, for the purpose of this study, is that this capitalist is building, against the combined opposition of some of the most powerful financial and industrial interests in the United States, the frame-work of an industrial community the aim of which is to be completely self-supporting. He is co-ordinating land, coal, iron and the manufacture of machinery, with the accessories of an industrial

colony, on a scale of the first magnitude. The Ford industries are peculiarly significant in connection with the movement toward trade union amalgamation, in which more and more thousands of workers are enrolling.

Ford's Northern Peninsula holdings total, it is reported, 400,000 acres and contain rich iron deposits. The ore from the Michigamme mine will be shipped by rail to Escanaba, and from there by boat, a three days' trip through upper Lake Michigan, the Straits of Mackinac, Lake Huron, the St. Clair River, Lake St. Clair, and the Detroit River, to the blast furnaces in Springwells, a suburb of Detroit. There the ore is converted into steel by a Ford process. The steel is used for the manufacture of tractors at Dearborn, a second suburb of Detroit, and of automobiles at Highland Park, a third suburb.



Ford's railroad, the Detroit, Toledo, and Iron-ton, thus far runs only southward from Detroit. It connects his blast furnaces and shops with his own coal deposits in Kentucky. There is still a short link missing in this chain, where another line has to be used for a few miles. But Ford will no doubt not rest content until his own railroads connect all of his plants and sources of supply.

Ford began business not many years ago as an automobile manufacturer on a very small scale. Today he has the Ford Motor Co., at Highland Park; the Ford blast furnaces at Springwells; the Fordson tractor plant at Dearborn; the Ford farm at the same place, with the Ford grain elevator; the Dearborn Independent, a weekly newspaper; the Ford Hospital at Detroit, the largest for hundreds of miles around; the iron ore beds in the North; the coal fields in the South; the timber; the D. T. & I. Railroad; and the possible nitrate and hydro-electric power at Muscle Shoals which he seeks by concession from the Government.

If Henry Ford extends his railroad, as is expected, his own rails plus his boats will connect the blast furnaces with iron and coal. These furnaces, situated midway between the two basic minerals, are virtually on the site of the automobile and tractor plants. His tractor plant is in the center of his productive land, where the tractors cultivate grain and fruit, and haul it to market and elevator. Timber and dairy products are the next development here. There is the possibility that his railroad will connect the Michigan land with Muscle Shoals fertilizer, with the added feature of railroad electrification and barge communication with the Gulf.

All of this is but the broad outline of a picture which is already being filled in with a thousand and one details. Ford's industries manufacture coke, gas, tar oil, and other by-products, and benzol for fuel in tractors and automobiles. Ammonia nitrate is produced from his coal also, which is used as fertilizer. He builds houses for his workmen, and conducts paternalistic general stores. Water works, hydro-electric power, and other utilities are provided for "his communities." Centralization of the entire system will be obtained through one huge office building which is to be erected at Dearborn this summer.

Much has been said about the speed-up system used upon the workers in the Ford Industries. A great deal of this is no doubt true. With the high degree of standardization of the industry, and the gearing of the whole process to a machine-like precision, the Ford system gets a maxi-

imum of production from each worker. In this matter the Ford industries are like all others in forcing the workers to produce to the point of fatigue. Its greater production is largely, however, the result of the system.

Where the Ford factories do differ from others is in the conditions under which the men work. They are cleaner and lighter than almost any others. The hazards are fewer. There are better facilities for medical and surgical aid. At the little mine in Michigamme, it is reported, the workers have shower baths, steel lockers, and a clean place to eat. Ford has found that it is profitable to make the workers a bit more comfortable.

The establishment of such conditions by Ford, on the basis of successfully continuing his great profits, is a demonstration that there is no excuse whatever for the intolerable conditions found elsewhere throughout the American industries. The capitalists of the country have not even the excuse that they are protecting their profits by continuing the terrible conditions that exist in the coal mines of America and in the mills of the Steel Trust.

All that has been said is merely an introduction to another study still to be made. The development of the Ford industries places many grave problems before the labor movement. The trade unions have been almost completely excluded from Ford's plants. The automobile industry as a whole is almost entirely non-union. Along with the Steel Trust, it is one of the strongholds of the "open shop" forces of America. Like the steel industry, it will be organized only by new and modern methods. The labor movement must seriously face and understand the tremendous forces against them.

The further additional problem presented by the Ford industries is the overlapping and consolidation under one management of various industrial fields. This indicates that in order to handle the automobile industry, not only it is necessary for Labor to be organized industrially, but it will even be necessary to have a complete co-ordination of the forces of Labor over the several industries which, in the case of Henry Ford, have been completely brought under the domination and control on the side of Capital into one of the most gigantic Trusts that has ever been seen. And it is also a promise to the workers, of the wonders that technical advancement in industry can be made to perform in relieving the conditions of labor when finally the workers have taken over the ownership and control of the instruments of production.

## Who's Who in Prison

A Series of Sketches: III. Ralph H. Chaplin

By Harrison George

**H**IS face and tumbled locks, intaglio like, stand out in memory, as some firm yet sheltering crag limned against wind-blown clouds. But the boyish lift of head, the almost petulant curl of lip, the blue eyes that race with laughter—these reveal the inward spirit of youth in pleasing contrast to the heavily silvered chestnut hair.

Ralph H. Chaplin was born in Kansas thirty-five years ago. Five years ago he was sent back to Kansas by the open shop mad mullah, Judge Landis, to serve a sentence of twenty years behind the walls of Leavenworth Prison for daring to uphold the interests of the workers in the face of profiteers and persecution. As editor of the leading I. W. W. paper during 1917, this artist, poet and workingman held high the torch of proletarian protest against a venal and despotic government which abetted capitalism in lynching, murdering and deporting—in terrorizing the whole mass of workers with gunmen, soldiery, a horde of cheap finks—and the applause of Sam Gompers. So Chaplin was given twenty years under the infamous Espionage Act, along with one hundred other I. W. W. men. Today fifty of these men, who prize their manhood too highly to beg the marionette at the White House for clemency, keep Chaplin company. And the least of these is a better man than he outside who fears to speak for them.

While working days, Chaplin studied art in night school. A born rebel, he arrived idealistically at his views of social problems, soap-boxing for the socialists when only sixteen years of age. With maturity and direct experience in the West Virginia mine fields, his ideals were fortified and personal sacrifice for them became a part of his nature. A wage worker, although as an artist receiving "aristocratic" pay—what time he did not deliberately choose privation and danger of work in the radical movement—he worked some time in Old Mexico. Returning, he worked for the Chicago Portrait Company until its artists went on strike. Chaplin became an organizer and a charter member of the Commercial Portrait Artists' Union, No. 14286, A. F. of L., of which he is still a member.

The artists lost that strike, however, and Chaplin went to West Virginia. Always an active member of the old Socialist party, he worked on the Charleston "Socialist and Labor Star," which

became the voice of the U. M. W. of A. in the coal miners' strike at Paint Creek and Cabin Creek. He there became acquainted, metallurgically, with gunmen of Baldwin-Feltz. He came out of West Virginia with an undying hatred of industrial tyranny, and a book of poems called "When the Leaves Come Out," which fairly flames with the heat of the struggle.

Since he has been imprisoned at Leavenworth, Chaplin has written some of the most brilliant and significant prison poetry ever published in the English language. Since the first edition of Chaplin's book—"Bars and Shadows," the imbecile warden has forbidden him to write poetry, and continually harasses this genius whose shoes he is not fit to be kicked with. But a new edition with added poems is now prepared, and another issue has been printed in England, while noted composers have given song to his inspiring verse.

Another work is Chaplin's book "The Centralia Conspiracy," the fruit of months of sacrifice and danger he devoted to the victims of that indescribable barbarity.

Let us not forget that as long as Chaplin and his fellow workers remain in prison we, outside, have a duty to perform. Let us break the fangs of the White Terror and set our brothers free!

A winning personality, Upton Sinclair uses Ralph as the character "John, the favorite disciple" in Sinclair's book "They Call Me Carpenter." Yet religion which countenances exploitation always meets Chaplin's vitriolic condemnation. In West Virginia when union miners pleaded with members of the "Holy Roller" sect who built the murderous "Bull Moose Special," to desist, these godly men replied that they had prayed and "asked Jesus, and that Jesus had said to 'go ahead!'"

A soul sensitive to pain, yet which suffers without surrendering—that is true manhood; and something of this spirit is found in a stanza of Chaplin's poem "Salaam"—wherein he lashes the smug and the respectable:

"I go my way rejoicingly,  
I, outcast, spurned and low,  
But undreamed worlds may come to birth  
From seeds that I may sow.  
And if there's pain within my heart  
Those fools shall never know!"



RALPH H. CHAPLIN

# Let's Have A Labor Party

By Jay Fox

THE utter stupidity of every craft toddling about carrying the cross of its individual union on its shoulders, is equalled only by the ludicrous spectacle of every little political labor sect creeping along shouldering the burden of its separate party, each jealously guarding its own virgin purity by an obstinate refusal to enter into alliance with the others. To be sure, there has developed of late a desire for a united front in the rank and file of the parties—a most hopeful sign that these groups are getting some horse sense.

Of all men the American is the least inclined to attach himself to small movements. We are too used to big things, especially to the big talk of big-mouthed politicians, to pay much attention to the pleadings of little political labor groups in back-street back rooms. Whenever we want anything, we want it in a hurry. We are a new people gliding over a new world, just touching the high spots, and we don't see the small projections in between. Some day we will get down to detail and, like the people of the old world, pay attention to the small things of life. But that time is not yet, and the party that would get our ear is the one that will come out on the front page in glaring black, and roar at us from the housetops.

## Gompers' 18th Century Policy

Then there is another phase of our labor political life that is more than stupid—it is damnable. I refer to the Gompers game of holding the workers in line for the capitalist old-line parties. Everyone with more than an ounce of brains knows that both the Democrat and Republican parties are as much the property of the bosses as are the various commercial clubs of the country. Yet Gompers insists that we continue to adhere to these labor-baiting parties and taboo the idea of having a party of our own. If we were getting anywhere by the pursuit of that policy there might be some little reason for continuing it. But the Gompers machine will not change its tactics. It is static, it is ossified; there is no use appealing to it. To get a change of policy we shall have to go to the rank and file.

How many labor men have we got in Congress? Not one that we have heard from. And if there are a few men in Congress who carry union cards, they are in no way responsible to Labor. They are responsible to the old party machines under whose auspices they were elected. That is Gompers' way of blending Labor

and Capital. We elect labor men to do the bidding of capital. That is good old 18th century tactics, and Bro. Gompers is to be commended for his so near approach to modernity. Still there are those amongst us who would dare to be a bit closer, and to these we are going to speak, allowing Gompers to listen in if he likes. Men who live in the present have observed that as the time is now rotten ripe for a union of unions that will represent the workers industrially, so is the time at hand for a party of parties, a great Labor Party, that will rally the workers under its banner and conjointly with the industrial unions make the supreme effort in a united front for the freedom of labor from the thralldom of capitalism.

## English Labor Party

The English workers have taken the lead in the matter of organizing a Labor Party, and as a result have 143 labor members in Parliament; making the labor party second in point of numbers and thereby the official opposition to the Tory Government. That's some showing, what? And they have had the labor party only a few years, at that.

However, it must not be forgotten that our political psychology is somewhat different from that of the English; which explains, in a manner, our backwardness in the matter of labor politics. We are cursed with the "good man" in politics, the well meaning progressive who by his opposition to the plutocracy in our legislative halls leads very many of our people to the belief that good may yet come from the old parties if we will but elect more men of his type to office. This illusion is strengthened by forty years of boosting on the part of Mr. Gompers, who during that stretch of time has frustrated every attempt made to organize a Labor Party.

The other labor officials go along with the idea, swimmingly. It fits nicely into their bourgeois psychology. They all have middle class minds, and middle class politics suits them to a tee. There is not the slightest danger that they will ever initiate any lowbrow labor politics. Why should they? They are business men directing the affairs of their organizations in the same manner that the heads of corporations conduct theirs. They fit perfectly into the system as it stands, and to expect them to give their consent and approval to any movement aimed at bringing about a change of the system is the sheerest nonsense.

To the so-called "progressive," filled to the brim with sound and fury signifying nothing to the producers, this labor-official political asininity appeals most strongly; and these two elements combined form a powerful "bloc" against the formation of a Labor Party. The "progressive" may mean well but his means are futile. He has no organization behind him. Ex-Senator Pettigrew admits, frankly, that during his long and splendid career of opposition in the Senate he never prevented a single piece of corruption from being put over—not even the corruption of the Dakota farmers, his own constituents, whom he so ably and honestly represented. The "progressive" merely makes it a bit harder for the corruptionists to serve the plutocracy. The "progressive" and the labor officials are political brothers. They don't want a Labor Party. It would expose their bourgeois ambitions.

The English workers had no such obstacles to overcome. True, many of the leaders are of the Gompers type and have sat in Parliament as candidates of the capitalist parties. But the old parties never played up to the labor leaders to the extent that ours have. However, a close study of the situation shows that the formation of the British Labor Party was due more to the temper of the rank and file than to all other influences combined.

In England class lines are more definitely and truly fixed than with us. No English worker is misled by the illusion of ever becoming an employer. He knows his status. As he was born, so will he die. A lot of our own fellow workers are not quite so sure about their future. They still continue to flirt with the hope of some day becoming "cockroach" bosses and taking their place in the ranks of the employing class, as the traditional reward of "thrift and industry." Stern realities, however, are fast dissolving this romantic notion and the time is near at hand when every American worker will accept his status as a worker and settle down to think and act accordingly.

## The Body Guard of Industry

It is time, then, to prepare for the coming of the American proletariat. An industrial organization and a Labor Party are the two prime needs of labor today. We have the industrial idea to the fore and going strong. But as every army must have an advance guard and sentries to guard against sudden attack and warn the main body of approaching danger, so the army of Labor that is now camping on the trail of capitalism must have its guards to protect its different flanks; thus the necessity for a Labor Party.

We live by industry and not by law. Industry means food, clothing, shelter, education and amusement. Industry is all-powerful. It commands us all and we obey—willingly when its commands are just; unwillingly when they are unjust. Today they are unjust, and we are in revolt against them and want to scrap the entire management and introduce a new system that will give everybody a square deal. That is the aim of our industrial union effort; and while we are on the way to achieve that most desirable end we must have our own pack of watchdogs, a Labor Party, to harass the hounds of capitalism that are now harrying us.

The Cleveland conference failed to create a Labor Party because it was dominated by the Gompers middle class leaders of labor, for whom everything political is nice and lovely as it is. While there is no Labor Party in the field they can continue to dicker with the old party leaders for our votes. It is therefore up to the workers themselves, in their local unions to say whether or not we are going to continue letting those leaders barter away our political rights. As things are now, half of us vote the Democrat and the other half the Republican ticket. And in both parties we vote for lawyers and business men whose economic interests are absolutely opposed to ours, and we foolishly expect them to legislate in our behalf. Such foolishness would be unbelievable, were it not before our eyes. Let us rally to the call for a Labor Party. Let men and women from the factory and the farm, the real workers, speak out in words that cannot be misunderstood. Tell us now whether you want to continue to be a political pawn of Gompers' labor political machine or whether you are ready to strike the first blow for your political independence by organizing a Labor Party.

READ the story of the Progressive Miners' Conference in Pittsburgh, June 2-3, told by John Dorsey in THE LABOR HERALD for July. There will be also the latest news of the Amalgamation and Labor Party movements, and usual features.

## Chicago Picnic

The first one in the season, arranged by the  
Trade Union Educational League  
For the Benefit of "LABOR HERALD"

### At CHERNAUSKAS GROVE

Take Lyons-Berwyn car at Cicero Ave. and 22nd St. to grove at Desplaines River.  
Games, sports, speaking, dancing, etc. Further information in Voice of Labor and advertising leaflets.  
Make note of the date.

Decoration Day, May 30th, 1923

## THE LABOR HERALD

A Militant, Constructive Monthly  
Trade Union Magazine

Official Organ of the  
Trade Union Educational League  
WM. Z. FOSTER, EDITOR

Subscription price, \$1.50 per year

Published at  
106 No. La Salle Street  
CHICAGO, ILL.

Member of The Federated Press

Make checks payable to  
The Trade Union Educational League

### THE REACTIONARIES AT BAY

**T**HE bold challenge of the Progressive Miners Committee to the Lewis machine, issued in the Program and call for the Conference in Pittsburgh, June 2nd and 3rd, has thrown the reactionary camp into a panic. The enemies of progress have rapidly passed from violence and intimidation against the militant miners, to co-operation with the powers of government in both the United States and Canada, in a desperate attempt to sweep back the wave of rank and file sentiment rising against them.

The arrest of Fred Merrick and 22 other workers in Pittsburgh, on April 27th, the raid on the office of the Progressive Miners and confiscation of the files and literature, was the first violent attack through government officials. Merrick, because his militant championship of the betrayed miners of Fayette County has won him the love and respect of all honest workers in the Pittsburgh district, was held under the outrageous and unheard-of sum of \$50,000. bail.

A few days later Alex Howat, on his way to visit the miners of Nova Scotia, was arrested by the Canadian authorities. It is significant that the notorious Van Bitner, henchman of Lewis, was on the same train with Howat. It is typical of the present line-up that again the Lewis machine found itself at one with the coal-operators and their governmental hirelings.

The reactionaries are at bay, and are fighting with their backs to the wall. They have outraged the sense of fairness and decency of every honest member of the U. M. W. A. They are fighting the mildest progressivism, such as the nationalization project of Brophy and Golden, with the same bitterness with which they fight the Red International. They have forced every miner who sincerely wants an honest and clean union administration, open at least to a discussion of progressive measures, to join hands with the Progressive Miners International Committee to clean out the gang of bosses' agents, reactionaries, thugs, and election-stealers, who now dominate the United Mine Workers under the leadership of the Lewis-VanBitner-Murray machine. The Pittsburgh Conference will be the beginning of a general house-cleaning in the miners' union

### A FOOLS' PARADISE

**P**ROSPERITY is the slogan of the day. The hewers of wood and the drawers of water have jobs—all but the 'normal' quota of 500,000 unemployed. The hewers of dividends and the drawers of interest search for new ways to squander the flood of unearned wealth pouring in upon them. The capitalist press congratu-

lates its patrons that the "agitators" are baffled by the unexampled employment and 'high' wages. The official leaders of Labor point with pride to wage increases of 11%, granted by the bosses on account of scarcity of labor, in spite of the weak and divided state of the unions. Prosperity is solving all our social problems, so they say, and all is well with the world.

It is a fools' paradise. No one is taken in by all this propaganda except the gullible public and the stupid trade union bureaucracy. Certainly the capitalists are not swallowing the fairy tales. They know, if the workers do not, that a tremendous crash is on the way and will be here soon. Roger Babson, economist and statistician to His Majesty the American Business Man, says: "Many of the men now getting an increase in wages will be out of work before 1924 is ended."

The capitalists are preparing for that day of reckoning. They are consolidating their position by amalgamations on the economic field, and by tightening their political control. They are going to make the next election an "open shop" drive. The workers must also look beyond this temporary boom, this evanescent fever of capitalist prosperity, and prepare for dark days ahead. Only a labor movement amalgamated into a series of strong industrial unions, and united in firm solidarity in a Labor Party, will be able to weather the storms that are coming. Amalgamation and a Labor Party are the first needs of the labor movement today.

### THE "HUMBLE SERVANT" OF CAPITALISM

**T**HE "reds," complained Samuel Gompers to the annual meeting of the Civic Federation, at which he held his formal pow-wow with his capitalist-fellow-conspirators against the welfare of Labor, "want to depose your humble servant."

"Humble servant" is the correct description of the relation that Gompers bears to the capitalists who pay for the munificent dinners of the Civic Federation. It is a pleasure to be able to agree wholeheartedly with a statement, however inadvertently made, from the old reactionary. One can only marvel at the cynicism which enables the official head of the labor movement to publicly proclaim the truth, that he is the "humble servant" of the sworn enemies of Labor.

That all honest union men, all who wish to see Labor assume a little more of its rightful power, would be delighted to see the old-man-of-the-sea shaken from the shoulders of the labor movement, is also a truth. To be a "red" is becoming quite the regular thing since Gompers and his crowd have launched their holy crusade against all things progressive. The Red International owes the old man a vote of thanks, for he has made of it a power in the American labor movement. His blindly reactionary striking at all who do not bow to his 19th Century policies has done more than 50 years of propaganda could have accomplished, to show the American labor movement its rightful place with the revolutionary trade unions of the world. The labor movement is getting tired of being strangled by a "humble servant" of the Gary-Easley-Morgan-Civic-Federation gang of capitalist cut-throats.

### ANOTHER TRAITOR REWARDED

**T**HE selection of E. F. Grable, deposed head of the Maintenance of Way Employees, as a member of the Railroad Labor Board, is another glaring example of the Judas-leadership of the labor movement collecting its thirty pieces. While he was Grand President of the union, Grable faithfully served the interests of the capitalists and systematically betrayed those of the workers. Now that the workers have repudiated him, and he is no longer able to serve capitalism under the cloak of "labor leader," he comes out openly in his true

role, a member of the Railroad Labor Board, tool of the capitalist Government, instrument of the profit-hunting corporations. Another traitor is rewarded.

It would be well for the labor movement if means could be found to disclose as clearly the true nature of many another "leader" who boasts of his "loyalty" to 100% Americanism, and sells out to the American Plan "open shop" forces. When Bill Lee becomes president of a big corporation, or when Grable gets a fat job, no one can miss the lesson. How many more "labor leaders" will get similar plums when the workers refuse longer to pay salaries to them?

The answer to that question can be found by examining Grable's record. How did he earn his traitor's pay? He split off the Maintenance men from the other railroaders, prevented them from striking, and helped thus to defeat the workers of the whole industry—and he opposed amalgamation of the railroad unions. Look for those who help to keep the railroad workers divided, who are fighting against amalgamation, and you will find the next likely candidates for the Railroad Labor Board or some other institution for coercing Labor when Labor can no longer be misled.

### SUBSIDIZING THE SUPREME COURT

**T**HE case of Chief Justice Taft of the Supreme Court, and the \$10,000. a year subsidy that he draws from the Carnegie Foundation, is receiving more than the usual amount of public notice. It is an instance of direct capitalist purchase of the good-will of those who wield the powers of government, which because of its dramatic and open character, has challenged the protest of millions of otherwise acquiescent people. It is truly a challenge to those who delude themselves into believing that we have a "government by and for the people." It is a scroll written in fire, proclaiming that the highest institution in the land is the possession of those who grind the faces of the poor, who oppress and exploit Labor.

Will the resignation of Taft, or the renunciation of the \$10,000. subsidy by him, change this condition? Not at all. One and all, whether they receive bribes, pensions, dividends, interest, rent, or just plain "salary" of \$10,000. to \$25,000. per year, the administrators of America are the servants of Wall Street. One and all they are pledged, and have been tested by their acts, to uphold and protect the interests of the financial plutocracy against the encroachments of the labor movement. One and all they are the enemies of Labor. The case of Taft is but another instance of the stupidity which allows this fact to become so clear and plain that even the poorest boob can see and protest.

### THE ASSASSINATION OF VOROVSKY

**V**ASLOV VOROVSKY, ambassador of the Russian working-class Government to Lausanne, is dead. He was shot down in cold blood while dining in his hotel. The murderer was a Swiss Fascist, an agent of the capitalist International.

What has the capitalist daily press to say about this foul murder committed against the workers' representative? Do they howl for the blood of the assassin? Do they call for the mobilization of armies to wipe out this stain upon the "honor" of the world as in the case of Butchkavich?

No, they take the murder of Vorovsky very calmly. There is a serene acceptance of this black deed, as though it were the will of God—like the poverty of the workers, or the death of miners caught in a mine explosion. Denunciation of force and violence is for the moment discreet and subdued.

Meanwhile the lying slanders against Soviet Russia continue. Today the busiest peddlers of this capitalist dope are the so-called labor papers controlled by the reactionary officialdom. Leading the procession, setting the pace, is the *American Federationist* with Samuel Gompers at the helm. In the May issue of that publication, the first nine pages are devoted to a scurrilous and childish concoction of lies about Russia.

In spite of the steady stream of misrepresentation which has deluged the workers of America about Soviet Russia, in spite of the thunders of Gompers, the workers know that Soviet Russia is a workingman's country. They demonstrate their knowledge by sending more than \$1,000,000 relief through the Friends of Soviet Russia. They showed their solidarity with the revolution when they sent the Tractor Unit to plough Russian soil. They are now showing it again in the new Tractor Drive carried on by the F. S. R. While the capitalists assassinate Vorovsky, the workers are sending tractors to their Russian brothers.

From assassination of Vorovsky, by use of a gun, to attempted assassination of Russia's standing with the workers, by use of Gompers' *American Federationist*, the campaign against Soviet Russia is all unified and directed by capitalism. The dying capitalist class is in a panic, and uses every means that comes to hand. But the dead Vorovsky will rise up to haunt his murderers for in the hearts of the working class he has been made immortal. And above the slanders of the Gompers' crowd, the love of the workers for their Soviet Russia, rises like a mountain above the mists.

### GARY AND ANOTHER FRAME-UP

**G**ARY, Indiana, belongs to the Steel Trust. The Steel Trust is quite interested in the conviction of the defendants in the Michigan Case. That case is being financed by the Labor Defense Council, of which Moritz J. Loeb is secretary. Loeb spoke in Gary on May Day.

Here is a chain of circumstances which makes the result inevitable. It is just like a column of figures, which can be added up to reach a total which is inevitable. No one will feel the least surprise, whether he has read of the case or not, in hearing that Loeb, together with P. Omelian, another speaker in the meeting, has been arrested, charged with violation of the Indiana Criminal Syndicalism law.

### RAILROAD AMALGAMATION CONFERENCE

**U**NDER the auspices of the International Committee for Amalgamation in the Railroad Industry, a conference has been called for the Northwest District, comprising Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Montana, to be held in Tacoma, July 7th and 8th. Every militant railroader in this section should see that representatives of his union and locality attend this important gathering.

### SECOND CONGRESS OF THE R. I. L. U.

**T**HE Resolutions and Decisions of the Second Congress of the Red International, held in December in Moscow, were delayed in reaching us by unexpected difficulties. The official text has finally come to our hands, just as this issue goes to press, and is immediately being printed in the form of a 48-page pamphlet, which will be ready for distribution in a week or two.

**A**S we go to press, word comes that the Longshoremen's Convention, meeting in Boston, has adopted the resolution calling for amalgamation of all unions in the marine transportation industry, by a unanimous vote.

# THE INTERNATIONAL

**GERMANY** IN the last days of March the remnants of the once great Independent Social Democratic Party held its congress in Berlin. Only 60 delegates were in attendance. Two tendencies manifested themselves: one, led by Ledebour, wanted to wage a struggle at once against French imperialism and the Cuno Government; the other, led by Theodore Liebknecht, would ignore French imperialism and fight the present German Government. The latter won out on the final vote. The Independents now have only a handful of members since the overwhelming part of their membership went along with the merger project and joined forces with the old reformist Social Democratic Party. Nor are they now affiliated internationally. The 2½ International, to which they once belonged, has decided to amalgamate with the 2nd International, which leaves the Independents out in the cold. The congress was marked with pessimism and intellectual confusion. Most of the militant elements, as well as the masses, have gone into either the Communist Party or the Social Democratic Party. The Independent Social Democratic Party is a wreck.

IN Berlin the Italians have set up a few "secret" Fascist groups. The Government winked at these, which are under the direct stimulation of the Italian Ambassador. Then the Communists took a hand, seeing that the Government refused to act against the Mussolini murderers. Organizing themselves, they broke up the Fascisti meetings. The *Rote Fahne* praised this action saying: "This example should be followed in the future. The Berlin workers should make impossible any action by the assassins of our Italian brothers. All their meetings should be dispersed. From Minister Severing we demand immediate measures against the secret Fascist organizations, who are bands of plotters against the German Republic."

ON April 4th, at Schoenberg in the Black Forest, Leon Martov, well known Russian revolutionary died of tuberculosis. Along with Lenin and Plekhanov, Martov was one of the greatest figures of the Russian labor movement. Although for many years he was a militant opponent of opportunism and fought desperately against it, side by side with Lenin, the two found themselves in opposite camps when the great revolution finally came. By an anomalous twist of fate Martov became the big leader of the most opportunistic Mensheviks. He developed such a bitter hatred of the Bolsheviks that he proceeded to the greatest extremes against them. This former ultra-revolutionary did not hesitate to join hands with the most reactionary capitalist and monarchistic elements to further his plan to overthrow the Soviet Government.

**FRANCE** IN France both national trade union centers, the reformist C. G. T. and the revolutionary C. G. T. U., are bidding actively for the support of the great masses. The C. G. T. U., in October, 1922, proposed to all trade unions to begin a campaign for the double purpose of raising wages and shortening hours in all industries. Then the C. G. T. issued a somewhat similar call. Now the C. G. T. U. proposes that the two central organizations set up a united front and make the fight together. The official communication to the C. G. T. reads:

The C. G. T. U. proposes, therefore, the immediate constitution of a mixed commission to work out a common program of propaganda and action. It

also suggests that the principle of the general strike on May 1st, while conserving its traditional character of affirming international solidarity, will serve at the same time to demonstrate the workers' power to the end of a general increase in wages..

The probabilities are small of the C. G. T. accepting this plan of a joint strike. Its aim is to curry favor with the employers by constantly fighting against the militant revolutionaries.

Dissent still pursues its course in the French unions. Another attempt is afoot to split the C. G. T. U., which in itself was a break off from the C. G. T. This time the splitters are a combination of the so-called Committee of Syndicalist Defense and the newly formed Unity Communist Party. The first is an organization of Anarchists and "pure" Syndicalists, inside the C. G. T. U., who violently object to having any relations with the Red Trade Union International and Moscow in general. The Unity Communist Party is a mixture of dissidents who followed Frossard out of the Communist Party in the recent dispute in which he came to grief. The first serious sign of the attempted split were three articles in Frossard's paper covertly preparing the way for a scission. The militants in the Communist Party as well as the C. G. T. U. are rallying to the defense of unity. Chambelland, a well-known militant says: "Frossard and his friends have betrayed the III International and the Russian Revolution. Now they are attacking the C. G. T. U. and the Red International of Labor Unions." The Political Bureau of the Communist Party says that "Strong through the great membership it has built up, the victories that it has won, and the confidence it has gained among the ranks of the working class, the C. G. T. U. need not trouble itself over the efforts of men who are acting solely through spite for having been chased out of the Communist Party."

**ENGLAND** THE congress of the Independent Labor Party was held in London from April 1st to 3rd. One question occupying much time was the fusion of the 2nd and 2½ Internationals. This was finally endorsed. Another was the withdrawal of the troops from the Ruhr. Crispian of Germany advised that the demand be made for the withdrawal of all troops, as they did not simply want the British troops to quit and leave the French alone in Germany. The motion was thus carried to include all troops. A proposition, submitted by the Manchester section and calling for a general strike in case of war, was adopted. An amendment to invite the Communist Parties to join forces with other labor organizations in such a crisis was lost. A resolution was adopted forbidding I. L. P. Members of Parliament to accept invitations to dine with political adversaries but only after it had been understood that the King was not included among such adversaries. Clifford Allen was elected President of the Party.

At the instance of the National Union of Railwaymen, the General Council of the Trade Union Congress has been invited to make an effort to bring about the amalgamation of the three railwaymen's organizations. Recently an attempt was made to affiliate them to the Transport Workers Federation. Although the executives of the three organizations favored this step, the rank and file of two of them voted against it, being influenced by the thought that it would be preferable to unite all the railroad unions into one body. This

possibility is now to be tried out. Many other plans for amalgamation and closer affiliation are being worked out in the various trades. These include printing, textiles, metal, building, etc. One of the most important is the proposed combination of all unions engaged in the manufacture, installation, maintenance, and working of electrical power devices and machinery. This includes the Electrical Trade Union, the National Union of Enginemen, the Stationary Firemen, etc.

In *All Power*, British organ of the R. I. L. U., Nat Watkins outlines projected immediate demands for the miners. They include, termination of the present agreement, the six-hour day, abolition of piece-work, reorganization of pit committees, and reorganization of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

**ITALY** "WHEN Mussolini seized the power" says Umberto Terracini in *Humanite*, "he declared that in two months the Italian lire would have attained half of its pre-war value. More than five months have now passed and the lire has fallen faster than under any other Government." Terracini calls attention to the fact that although Mussolini owes his rise to power to the middle class he has done practically nothing to relieve their condition, but on the contrary has hit them hard with many of his decrees. The fact of the situation is that great capital has set itself up as a dictatorship and has used the middle class as a tool to smash back the workers. Chief among the financial measures adopted by the Mussolini Government are, dissolution of the commission to investigate war profits, heavy reduction in taxes upon luxuries, reductions in taxes on automobiles, abolition of subsidies to co-operatives, abolition of State grants to communal schools, dissolution of the Superior Council of Labor, abolition of the Emigration Commission, establishment of a salary tax, increase of taxes on small farmers, increase in salaries of army officers, reduction in pensions of war wounded, discharge of 50,000 railroad workers in campaign to cut the working forces. Mussolini now proposes to wipe out the inheritance tax and to turn over the railroads, now State-owned, to private ownership.

**DENMARK** TO celebrate its 25th anniversary, the Danish Confederation of Labor has recently issued a report on its history and general activities. The report claims that the Danish workers are the most strongly organized in the world, in 1919 the percentage of organized industrial workers running as high as 90%. In agriculture 30% of the workers are organized. In industry and agriculture the general average of trade union members is 55%. The Confederation was organized in 1898. It now has 240,000 members organized in 52 national unions. There are 74,000 organized workers not affiliated to the Confederation.

**HOLLAND** THE total membership of the Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions, on January 1st, 1923, was 196,720, of which 187,304 are men and 9,416 women. This is a decline of 3,670 since October 1st, 1922. The Diamond Workers and Railroad men were the heaviest losers. The Textile Workers increased their membership.

**RUSSIA** THE 12th Convention of the Russian Communist Party opened on April 15th and closed on the 26th. The capitalist world watched it closely for but one thing—signs of weakening, of new concessions to capitalism. It was disappointed. The Congress approved again the

New Economic Policy, under which the country is returning to healthy economic conditions. It adopted Zinoviev's resolution on the tasks of the Party, Trotsky's project for the heavy industries, and the proposal for a Control Commission of 50, to fight against the tendency to bureaucracy. The retreat of Soviet Russia is over; it is now definitely rebuilding the country and consolidating the workers' control.

A great wave of propaganda against Russia has been launched in the capitalist press, regarding the execution of the church official, Butchkavich. This person was proved to be a spy and traitor, giving active assistance both to foreign enemies and the white-guards of Russia during the civil war. The attempt to distort the affair into an attack upon religious freedom has been thoroughly exposed as dishonest. Freedom of religious belief is guaranteed in Russia.

The Church Congress held in Moscow, in April, resulted in the complete unseating from power of the reactionary church officials, and the installation of a new regime which endorses the Soviet Government and accepts the Communist regime.

ON March 18-19 the Socialist Revolutionaries held their convention in Moscow. There were 50 delegates, not to count a considerable number from Moscow. Many were veterans in the struggle. Among them they counted, as political penalties under the Czars, 83 years of fortress imprisonment, 65 years of exile to Siberia, 19 years of emigration, and 250 years of prison. Condemning their old time chiefs, who have mostly rallied to the counter-revolution, these delegates dissolved the Socialist Revolutionary Party and decided to join the Communist Party.

## The Government— Strikebreaker!

By JAY LOVESTONE

Every Worker Must Read This Book in  
Order to Join Intelligently in the Organ-  
ized Struggle Against the Bosses

### This Book Shows:

How the Government Power in the Hands of the "Open Shop" Movement is being Used to Destroy the Labor Unions and to Fasten Upon the Workers of the United States a Regime of Blood and Iron such as has Never been Known in History.  
How the Railroad Strike Was broken.  
How the Coal Miners Were Swindled.  
How the Workers are Tricked with the Fraud of "Government Impartiality"—with the Government Entirely in the Hands of Wall Street.  
How the Labor Unions are Hemmed in by Government Power and Slowly Strangled to Death.  
How the Army is Now Openly Considered as a Weapon of Wall Street to be Used Against "The Enemy within"—the Working Class Struggling for Life, Liberty and Happiness.  
How the Workers are Betrayed by the Courts.  
How Injunctions can now be Used by ANY Employer to Destroy ANY Union.  
How the Right to Organize is Rapidly Being Lost.  
How the Right to Vote is Practically Forfeited by the Working Class.

### Read These Startling Facts

Cloth bound, 368 pages, \$1.50  
Wholesale Price on Application

Remit by Check or Money Order to

**WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA**  
799 Broadway—Room 405, New York City

**THE SECOND ROUND AT ST. JOSEPH***(Continued from page 8)*

the open and the program of the party at the time of the Bridgman convention.

The argument to the jury made by Frank P. Walsh was a challenge. Walsh accepted the Communist analysis of the history of previous class struggle. "Who will dare say" he demanded "that what the Communists state about the struggles of the past is not the truth?" He showed the power of the capitalists in industry and politics today. While stating as his personal view that a way could be found to curb the predatory interests who are robbing the workers and farmers under the existing political system, he asked "If these conditions are not changed, is not what the Communists say will come likely to happen and this struggle between those who are preying on the people and those who are robbed result in a struggle in which there will be a resort to force?"

Judge White in charging the jury gave the prosecution something to help them secure a conviction. In the Foster trial Judge White had stated unequivocally that the Communists had the right to advocate the establishment of a Soviet Government in the United States. In my case he added that the prosecution claimed that the advocacy of Soviets in itself included the advocacy of violence as the Soviets could not be established without a resort to force and told the jury if it found this was true they must convict.

Reports had it that the jury was divided nine to three on the first two ballots, but it seems the Chamber of Commerce and American Legion won the day, overcoming the opposition of the three who were not convinced by appeals to religious, patriotic and class prejudices on which the prosecution rested its case.

**A Suggestive Idea of  
REAL UNIONISM**

the sort which will eventually emancipate the workers of the world—is what you will find expounded in  
**"The Reconstruction of Society"**  
24 pages; concise; clear; unbiased. Refutation invited.  
10 cents a copy. 500% to Agents.  
Address D. Horn, P. O. Box 1290, Detroit, Mich.

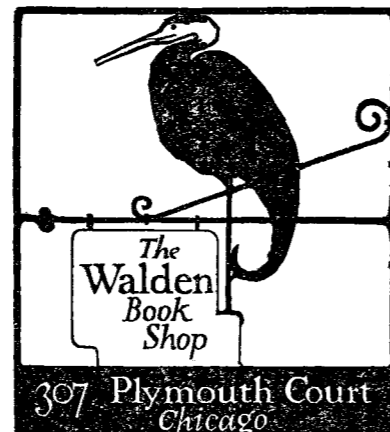
**NEGRO SLAVERY  
or Crime of the Clergy**

By Pasquale Russo.

This book is the fruit of considerable research, study and reflection. It brings to light two fundamental ideas; first, the direct responsibility of the clergy for chattel—and wage—slavery; and second, the need for organization and solidarity among the workers. This last, says the author, is the only way in which the capitalist octopus can be checked. If it is not checked it will, in due course, succeed in throttling the little remaining hopes, dreams, ambitions, ideals, and aspirations of the human race.

25 cents, postpaid

**MODERN SCHOOL OF PEDAGOGY**  
833 Sedgwick St., Chicago, Ill.



**ALL LABOR BOOKS, PAMPHLETS AND  
PERIODICALS ALWAYS IN STOCK**

Subscriptions Taken for  
English and American Labor Papers

**The Walden  
Book Shop**

307 Plymouth Court Chicago, Ill.

**The Railroad  
Amalgamation Advocate**

Otto H. Wangerin, Editor

**Official Organ of the  
International Committee for Amal-  
gamation in the Railroad  
Industry**

Subscription, 60c. per year

411 Dakota Bldg.

St. Paul, Minn.

Telephones { Business, Superior 0642  
Office, Superior 0642  
Private, Superior 5274

**NORTH SIDE TURNER HALL**

C. Appel, Manager

820 NORTH CLARK STREET

Large and Well Located

Halls to Rent

For All Occasions

REFRESHING BEVERAGES

Always

The Best Place in the City  
To Get Something Good to Eat

## At Last! The Book for Which You Have Been Waiting

While the great movement for amalgamation is sweeping over the country, during which 13 State Federations of Labor, 7 International Unions, scores of city central bodies, and thousands of local unions have endorsed the program of industrial unionism through the amalgamation of the existing craft unions, we all felt the need of a handy booklet, containing all the information upon the subject.

Our business is to fill such needs. So we looked around for the man best qualified to write it. We decided that the man was Jay Fox. Fox gained fame in the labor movement years ago, as one of the best writers the trade unions of America have produced. His famous "Letters to Jack Lumber" years ago were directly the cause of his election as Vice-President of the International Union of Timberworkers. He consented to write the pamphlet

## AMALGAMATION

By Jay Fox

which is now on the press. It covers the field in a thoroughgoing fashion. Facts, figures, and argument, arrayed in unanswerable combination, are at the same time handled with Fox's well-known humorous touch which makes his writing so easy and pleasant to read. A fundamental pamphlet, which every militant trade unionist must have. This work will become one of the widest-read in the labor movement. You should organize wide distribution of it through the union ranks. Send in your order now for a bundle.

48 pages, paper cover.

Rates, single copies, 15c per copy

10 to 100 copies, 10c per copy

Larger quantities, special prices on application.

**The Trade Union Educational League**

W. Z. Foster, Sec'y-Treas.

106 No. La Salle St., Chicago

# HAVE YOU READ THE NEWS?

## WORLD WAR

?

## RECONSTRUCTION

England is ready to break trade relations with Russia and has sent ships to support her threat.

At Lausanne a member of the Fascisti murdered Vorovsky, the Soviet representative.

The Swiss government expels Ahrens, attache to the Soviet delegation.

In America some reactionary forces pass resolutions condemning Russia and others forbid the urging of trade relations with and recognition of Soviet Russia.

**HOW WILL THE AMERICAN FARMERS AND WORKERS ANSWER THIS CRY FOR WAR?**

The Friends of Soviet Russia justly asks in face of these developments—Which shall we send to Russia

### **CANNONS OR TRACTORS?**

We propose to send twenty tractors as our immediate answer. With these tractors we want to send a **living message**. That is why we are offering a

### **Free Trip to Russia**

in connection with this drive. We want this **living message** to go from the farmers and workers of America as a symbol of faith in the ideals for which the Russian people are being persecuted by the International organized capitalist bloc.

### **Give! Give One Dollar**

and as many times One Dollar as you possibly can. Help the Russians NOW so that they may be prepared for possible emergencies.

It is not enough to give. Enter the contest. Get your organization to nominate a candidate and work for his election.

**Sign One of the Blanks Below. Do it Now! Don't Wait!**

#### **THE ONE DOLLAR ARMY**

Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 W. 13th St., New York

I want to help buy tractors to help the agricultural reconstruction of Russia and serve as a symbol of faith in the ideals for which the Russian people have given their all. Enclosed find \$-----

Name -----

Address -----

#### **THE ONE DOLLAR ARMY**

Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 W. 13th St., New York

I want to enter the contest for a free trip to Russia, to help buy the tractors and serve as a living message to the workers and farmers of Russia. Send

me----- collection blanks.

Name -----

Address -----

Reference -----