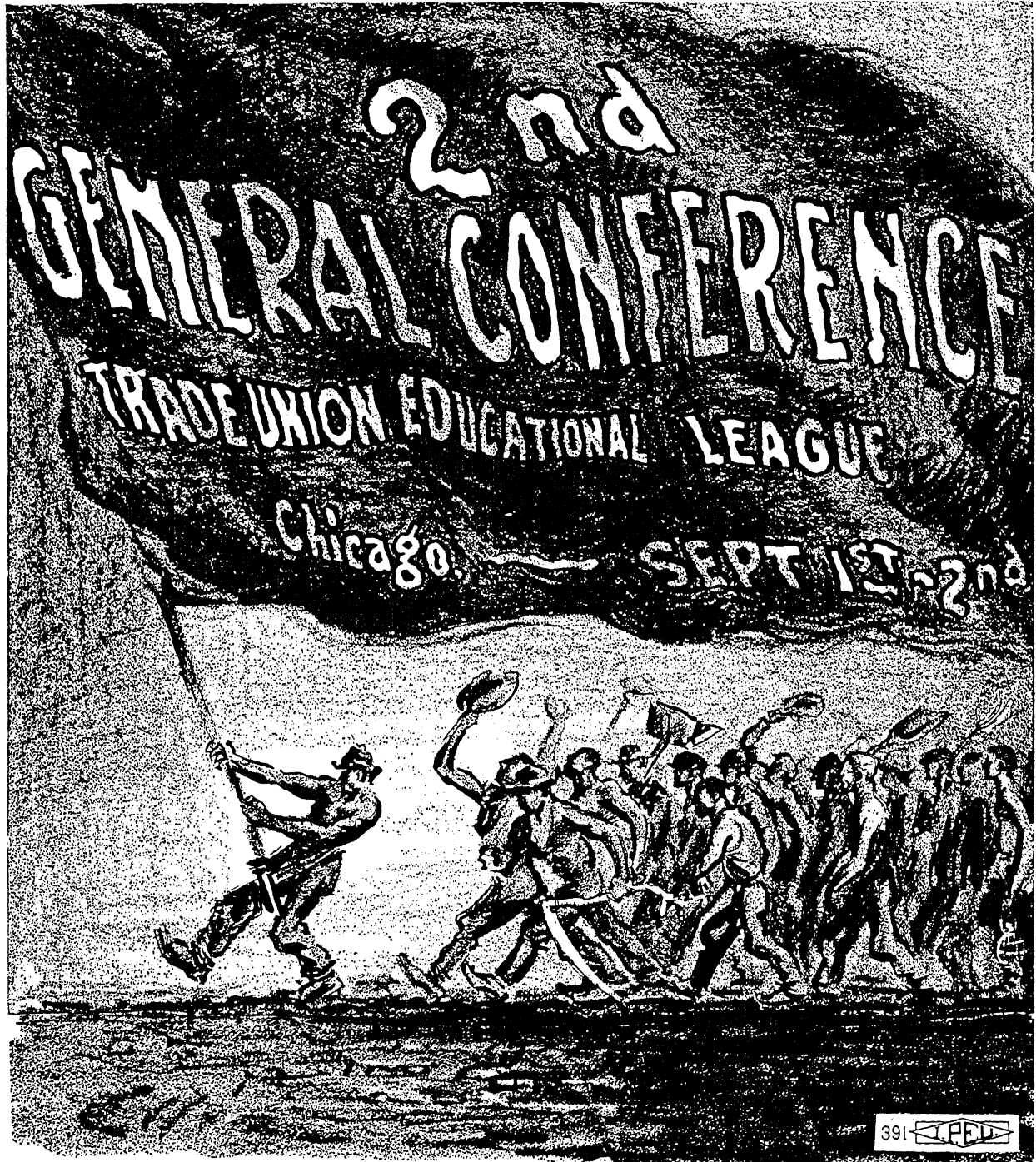


THE LABOR HERALD

Official Organ of The Trade Union Educational League



OCTOBER 1923

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15 CENTS

The Militants' Next Step

in the campaign for Amalgamation and a Labor Party
must be the publication of

A National Workers Daily

A Nationwide Campaign opened to raise a \$100,000 Fund

The time for this step is not only opportune. It is a time which makes a great daily newspaper an absolute necessity. Great historical changes are occurring in the United States. Struggles unequalled in this country lie in the immediate future. Dangers never before faced by the American workers are coming upon the Labor movement. **The time has arrived when capitalism no longer tolerates even a semblance of a free Labor movement but advances to destroy it.** It is inconceivable that militant workers of this country should enter this period without having at their command at least **one great newspaper** to act as their informant, guide and leader.

The birth of a Federated Farmer-Labor Party presages a new struggle for the Labor Party idea on a greater scale than heretofore. The militants must reach the rank and file of labor with a spirited propaganda carried on every day in the week in a manner which only a Daily newspaper makes possible.

The Amalgamation movement has reached a stage where a more intense agitation and education is necessary to make further progress. The yellow officialdom are uniting to drive the militants out of the unions. The militants must answer with their heaviest artillery—by forming a Daily which will expose the treachery of these reactionaries and bring the message of revolutionary trade unionism to the broad masses of workers.

The English daily will be published in Chicago on November 7, 1923

By the Workers' Party of America

The sum of \$100,000 must be raised to make this possible. The Workers' Publishing Company has been organized as the controlling body. Membership in this Company is open to all workers through purchase of preferred stock selling at \$5 per share. All militant workers should subscribe to this fund.

Buy a Share Yourself Now

Sell a Share to a Fellow Worker

Daily Worker Publishing Company, Inc.

1009 No. State St., Chicago, Ill.

Daily Worker Stock Application

**Daily Worker Publishing Co., Inc.,
1009 No. State St., Chicago, Ill.**

Comrades:

I hereby make application for shares of preferred stock of the Worker Publishing Co. at \$5 per share. Herewith find \$..... in payment. Stock certificate to be mailed to me at address below:

Name

Address..... City.....

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.

OCTOBER, 1923



No. 8

Second General Conference of the Trade Union Educational League

Chicago, September 1 - 2

First Day's Proceedings. Morning Session

THE Conference was opened in the Labor Lyceum, at 10:00 A. M., September 1st, by Sec'y-Treas. Foster. Del. Caleb Harrison was unanimously elected Chairman.

The Credentials Committee, appointed by the National Committee, reported that they had received credentials for 143 delegates from 90 cities, including 3 from Canada and 1 from Mexico. The Committee reported 103 delegates in actual attendance.

Telegrams of greeting were read from various branches of the League, including the International Committee of the Needle Trades Section, the Cloakmakers' Shop Delegate League of New York, the Fancy Leather Workers' League of New York, the Furrier's League of New York, the Y. W. L. of Chicago, and the Freiheit. There were also the two following telegrams received, the one from Losovsky arriving just after the Conference closed:-

Moscow, Aug. 31, 1923.

Trade Union Educational League,
Chicago, Ill.

League is entering trying times. Now more than ever activity and fighting endurance should prevail. Wish your Conference great success. Communist greetings.

A. Losovsky.

Terre Haute, Ind., Aug. 31, 1923

Wm. Z. Foster,
106 No. La Salle St.,
Chicago, Ill.

It is with regret that I have to decline the invitation to your Conference on account of other engagements. Please accept my thanks and with greetings to yourself and delegates assembled and hoping your deliberations may be fruitful of all good results to the workers, I am yours fraternally.

Eugene V. Debs.

The Rules Committee submitted a report providing an order of business and arranging for reports of officers, reports of delegates, reports of Committees, reports of Industrial Groups, and election of officers. On motion, this was adopted.

Report of the National Committee

THE past year has produced many proofs, positive and negative, that the Trade Union Educational League is a vitally necessary and highly effective movement. The negative proofs come from the bankrupt state of the trade union bureaucracy, which it totally unable to meet the present critical situation of the labor movement; while the positive proofs are furnished by the very successful work of the League.

In the report of the League's National Secretary-Treasurer to the Second Congress of the R. I. L. U., it was pointed out that despite the return of industrial prosperity the badly-shattered labor movement could not regain the lost ground without far-reaching changes in tactics, structure, outlook, and leadership. The reasons urged being that the capitalists have so enormously strengthened their organization and taken on such a high degree of militancy in their "open shop" drive that the old-time methods of craft unionism are almost entirely useless. The experience of the past year has entirely borne out this forecast. Those who expected the trade unions to grow and become vigorous again

with the return of good times, as has always been the case after previous periods of industrial depression, have been entirely disappointed. The whole movement is stagnant and paralysed. Save among a few skilled trades, it is not recovering appreciably. In fact, as a whole, it is probably going backward numerically, notwithstanding the "good times." The masses are disillusioned with the old slogans and practices and will have none of them. The victorious employers reign supreme. With another industrial breakdown impending, the weakened, demoralized trade union movement faces the greatest crisis in its career.

In this desperately critical state of affairs, the old trade union leadership is totally bankrupt. It can neither think nor act in terms of the present situation. Amazed and demoralized, it sees the movement torn to pieces and knows not what to do to stop it. The one group in the labor movement that has anything constructive to offer is the body of left-wing militants organized in the Trade Union Educational League. The League's program of amalgamation, labor party, a great

organizing campaign, affiliation with the R. I. L. U., etc., alone furnishes the key to the situation. Its application is the one way through which the labor movement can rehabilitate itself and march forward to power and success.

The Amalgamation Movement

In carrying on its fight for progress, the League has been very active. Success has attended its efforts in almost every case. The launching and furtherance of the amalgamation movement is doubtless the greatest achievement. All the world now knows of the 14 State Federations, 8 International Unions, and countless city central and local unions that have been won for the cause. The latest accomplishment was when the Lithographers' International Union, a highly skilled craft union, endorsed amalgamation almost unanimsously, basing its demand for one union in the printing trades upon the plan issued by the Amalgamation Committee of the Printing Trades. At least 2,000,000 trade unionists have declared for amalgamation since the League's campaign began. It is the greatest industrial union drive in the history of the American labor movement. Amalgamation sentiment is everywhere. Beyond a doubt if a general referendum could be had on the subject, which the reactionaries will be careful to prevent, the organized workers would declare by an overwhelming majority for combining the craft unions into industrial organizations.

The rank and file of American Organized Labor has been won to the broad concept of industrial unionism. Now comes the harder task of giving organizational expression to this widespread demand for amalgamation. In this phase, we have to confront the most desperate resistance of the reactionary officialdom. They will leave absolutely no stone unturned to prevent the consolidation of the unions. This means that we must redouble our efforts. We must carry the fight to all the conventions of the international unions, and so shape our demands that the organizations are actually brought to consolidate. This latter phase of actually amalgamating the unions is much more difficult than the winning over of the rank and file to the principle of industrial unionism. We must devote the utmost energy to its accomplishment. The real effect of our work will be measured by the results we get on this score.

The Labor Party

The League has also achieved remarkable success in carrying on the campaign for a labor party, as promulgated by the First Conference of the T. U. E. L. We have raised this issue in unions all over the country. Great masses of the workers have been won over to a realization of the indispensibility of political action. Happily, objective conditions in the political situation have rendered the workers especially receptive of the League's program for a labor party. The greatest single effort the League made in this movement was to send out a referendum, together with an extended trade union statement of the need for a labor party, to 35,000 local unions of the broad trade union movement. This brought a tremendous response and was one of the principal factors in the organization of the July 3-4-5 Convention of the Farmer-Labor Party, which resulted in the foundation of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. Since the latter's formation, the League has given it whole-hearted support, and we urge that this be continued and intensified. The fate of all our industrial work depends upon the intelligence and vigor with which the campaign for a labor party is prosecuted.

Other Campaigns

Since the conference of the Eastern District, T. U. E. L., where the issue was raised, the League has been

carrying on a militant movement to have the unions, local, state, and national, to start big organization campaigns to enroll the masses of the unorganized. We are warning Organized Labor of the fatal mistake it will make if it allows the present favorable industrial situation to pass by without strengthening its ranks for the bitter "open shop" battle that will inevitably develop as soon as industry begins to slacken up again. This is one of the most vital features of our work and it must be carried on with the utmost diligence. The heart of our industrial program is represented by the slogan, Amalgamation and a Great Organizing Campaign.

In the movement to win the trade unions in favor of the United States Government recognizing Russia, the League has taken an active part. In every convention, its militants will be found working for this measure. Labor unions too numerous to mention have been won over. This movement is most promising and will in all likelihood be adopted by Organized Labor in spite of Gompers' opposition. We must lend it every support. Its victory will deal a crushing blow to the old trade union bureaucracy.

Although the League has kept a steady pounding along that line, its campaign in favor of affiliation to the R. I. L. U. has been only moderately successful. This is largely because of the general isolation of the country as a whole and the labor movement in particular from European affairs. The best that could be done was to acquaint large numbers of workers with the broad principles of the R. I. L. U. But an exception must be made in the case of Canada; there the question of affiliation to the R. I. L. U. has been developed into an issue of first magnitude in the labor movement. Of this fact, the action of the Nova Scotia miners in voting to affiliate directly to the R. I. L. U., is but one proof of many that might be cited.

Organization of Districts

Following out the instructions of the First General Conference of the League, the National Committee has organized the four districts authorized: viz., Eastern, Central, Western, and Canadian. Unfortunately, however, because of lack of finances, the National Office has not been able to give the Districts the proper assistance. The Western District has been left entirely upon its own resources. Only moderate help has been given the others. Notwithstanding this, substantial achievements have been made, particularly in the Eastern and Canadian Districts. All things considered, the latter is the banner District. It is a real power in the Canadian labor movement. A prime aim of the League must be to maintain at least one paid organizer in each District. This is absolutely essential to the proper organization of our movement.

National Industrial Committees

Important progress has also been made in the organization of left-block committees in the basic industries. At present such committees exist in the following industries: railroad, coal mining, metal, building, food, printing, marine transport, tobacco, clothing, leather, and textile. All of them have printed programs and all are carrying on a systematic educational activity as best they can with their limited resources. They are the backbone of our movement and must be strengthened by every means possible. To this end, the National Committee makes the following recommendations, to be considered and acted upon by the Conferences of the various National Industrial Committees during the Second General Conference of the League:-

1. Paid Secretaries: In order for the National Industrial Committees to be properly effective, their secretaries should be able to devote their full time to the

work. This means they must be paid salaries, which can only be done by the militants in their respective industries. This matter should be given earnest attention.

2. Craft Sub-committees: In each important international union, there should be set up, as soon as practicable, a sub-committee. These craft sub-committees should work under the control and direction of the secretaries of the National Committees in their respective industries.

3. Local Industrial Groups: It is important that every National Industrial Committee have connections in all centers. Every stage of the League should see to it that the necessary local industrial groups are formed.

4. Programs and Bulletins: Every National Industrial Committee should have a printed program, not only relating to amalgamation, but to the whole program of the R. I. L. U. Each National Industrial Committee should also issue a bulletin regularly, no matter how small or modest this may be.

5. Finance: In order to get the necessary funds, the National Industrial Committees should push the sale of the Sustaining Fund Certificates. Under no circumstances should they collect any dues, per capita, or anything resembling the same.

Local General Groups

In many important industrial centers there are as yet no real functioning local general groups of the League, despite the fact that there are many revolutionaries in these centers. This is a deplorable and disgraceful state of affairs. It must be ended at once. Self styled militants must be gotten to function actively in the League or given to understand that they are non-militants. We have a great task of education and rejuvenation before us. This will require the closest co-operation of all progressive elements. To unify our forces so that we can exert the maximum influence on the labor movement is one of the very greatest problems confronting us. As one step towards solving it, we must have a living, functioning T. U. E. L. group in every industrial center.

Publications

The success of our efforts depends very largely upon the amount of printed matter that we are able to place in the hands of the workers. We must concentrate our efforts upon extending the circulation of THE LABOR HERALD. As yet, it is badly neglected and poorly organized in many centers. This should be attended to at once and the distribution of THE LABOR HERALD established upon an organized basis. Every local general group should take a large bundle monthly, which should be apportioned out to the various local industrial groups. All friendly unions should become individual subscribers. All accessible trade unions should be covered monthly by the local literature agent to secure subscriptions and individual sales. We must build up THE LABOR HERALD.

A particularly dynamic part of our literature system is the industrial programs. Dealing specifically with amalgamation and other burning issues, they are especially effective and no pains should be spared to give them the widest possible circulation. The same is true of the bulletins in the respective industries. They are the one effective means we have of acquainting the workers with the solution of their real problems.

During the past year, the League has published the following pamphlets: "Amalgamation," by Jay Fox; "The Bankruptcy of the American Labor Movement," by Wm. Z. Foster; "The Resolutions and Decisions of the Second World Congress of the R. I. L. U."; and

"The Russian Trade Unions in 1923," by A. Tomsy. Wide circulation should be given these, as well as the other pamphlets of the League. We should aim at having at least one good pamphlet for each industry dealing with the problems of that industry, and also a pamphlet on each of the broad issues confronting Labor.

A most important event for us is the launching of a daily paper by the Workers' Party. This paper will actively support all the work of the League for amalgamation, labor party, recognition of Russia, revolutionary education, etc. Therefore, we must give it our heartiest co-operation. The League should make it a special order of business everywhere to see to it that the proposed revolutionary workers daily is a success.

Conferences of militants

Since the First General Conference, many important conferences of militants have taken place. The most significant of these was that of the railroad workers in Chicago in December, 1922. Over 425 delegates, from all over the country, were in attendance. This definitely placed the amalgamation movement on foot in the railroad industry. Another vital conference was that of the Progressive Miners' International Committee in Pittsburgh, June 2-3. Delegates, numbering 200, came from a dozen districts of the U. M. W. A., and launched the great left-wing movement now developing among the miners. Still another very important national industrial conference was that of the Needle Trades Section of the T. U. E. L. in New York, May 5-6, where these militants mapped out a whole revolutionary program for their industry. At the same time and place, conferences were also held of the textile workers and the Eastern District of the T. U. E. L. On May 13th, a week later, the shoe and leather workers had a very successful national industrial conference, drawing up plans of amalgamation and a general program of activity for the militants in that industry. On Aug. 4-5, the Eastern Section of the Canadian District held a conference. Some 40 delegates, from as many different centers, were present. In September, the Western Section of the Canadian District will hold its conference. Such conferences of industrial sections and districts are very valuable and should be held whenever circumstances permit.

Red International Committee

In order that full co-operation may be established among the revolutionary elements wherever they may find themselves, in independent unions or A. F. of L. organizations, the Red International Committee has been organized. This has been formed in harmony with the decisions of the Second Congress of the R. I. L. U. A full statement of the Principles and Rules of the R. I. C. will be found in the August, 1923 number of THE LABOR HERALD, and is appended herewith. This should be considered by the Conference. We recommend the adoption of the Rules and accompanying statements.

The question of the relationship to the independent unions is one of prime importance to the League. It is absolutely necessary that the militants within the independent organizations work in full harmony with those inside the A. F. of L., so that all groups may co-operate together towards the creation of a real united front of Labor. Many people seem to have the notion that the League waves aside as superfluous the various independent unions. This is altogether erroneous. The League supports genuine mass organization wherever it finds it, always seeking to combine by amalgamation the various labor fragments in a given industry. In the April, 1923, number of THE LABOR HERALD there is contained a statement of the National Committee on this

general subject. It is attached hereto. This also should be considered by the Conference and either approved, rejected, or modified. We recommend its adoption.

Defense Work

In the past year the League has done its fair share of defending class-war prisoners, particularly those arrested in Michigan. Much still remains to be done, however. Mooney and Billings, innocent victims of a dastardly frame-up, are wasting their lives in California jails; Sacco and Vanzetti are still imprisoned in Massachusetts and Jacob Dolla in Pennsylvania; J. B. McNamara and Mat. Schmidt are still in San Quentin, jailed for their activities in the historic struggle of the Structural Iron Workers; while hundreds of I. W. W.'s, too numerous to mention by name, are jailed all over the country. In the battle to free these militants, the League must take an ever-more active part. We must allow no partisan or factional considerations to stand in our way. Wherever a militant is arrested for class activities, we must give him, regardless of his ideas or affiliations, our heartiest assistance. Any policy less broad than this would be a discredit to our organization and a betrayal of Labor's cause.

Finance

As usual with revolutionary organizations, one of the supreme problems of the League is to finance its activities adequately. As yet, our income is altogether insufficient to meet the demands being made upon us. The national and local Leagues must give this fact their earnest consideration. One means recommended to relieve this urgency is to give a widespread sale to the Sustaining Fund Certificates. Every participant and sympathizer of the League should be secured as a contributor to this very necessary Fund. Another helpful financial measure will be for each local general group to hold at least one picnic in the summer and one entertainment or dance in the winter on behalf of the National League. If these two plans are carried out vigorously, the League will have sufficient funds to prosecute its task in the manner necessary if we are to accomplish our real mission. Below is the financial statement for the year:

In conclusion, we bid the militants to go with good heart and determination to the coming year's work. Although the situation may seem dark and gloomy, with our whole trade union leadership in a state of bankruptcy and the working masses totally demoralized, still gleams of light may be discovered streaming through

the overhanging pall of gloom. These hopeful signs are the movements now being pushed by the Trade Union Educational League; the drives for amalgamation, a labor party, recognition of Soviet Russia, and the rest. Let us, therefore, plunge into the work ahead of us with renewed enthusiasm, confident in our ability as militants and with undying faith in the power of the working class finally to free itself from the myriad chains now holding it in slavery,

Fraternally submitted,

National Committee.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Financial Statement

for the period

September 1st, 1922, to August 30th, 1923

RECEIPTS:

Subscriptions	\$2,565.05
Bundle orders	8,123.94
Advertisements	640.00
Books and Pamphlets	1,906.51
Sustaining Fund	4,194.04
Referendum Fund	1,500.00
Check exchange	15.00
	<hr/>
Receipts for year	\$18,944.54
Balance to begin	1,022.96
	<hr/>
Total	\$19,967.50

DISBURSEMENTS:

Printing	\$7,090.90
Mailing	1,058.12
Cuts, cartoons, etc.	706.24
Office Expense	1,084.21
Wages and Traveling	6,324.11
Supplies	529.36
Books and Pamphlets	1,107.52
Sustaining Fund Rebate	135.76
Miscellaneous	44.73
Referendum expense	1,171.41
Check exchange	15.00
	<hr/>
Disbursements for year	\$19,267.36
Balance on hand	700.14
	<hr/>
Total	\$19,967.50

The League Not a Dual Union

The National Committee submitted further recommendations on various phases of the League's principles and problems, as follows:-

IN various unions throughout the labor movement the reactionary officials are denouncing the Trade Union Educational League as a dual union and, with this flimsy excuse, are expelling militants from the organizations. Now the plain fact of the matter is that these workers are being victimized simply because the reactionaries are unable to face in fair debate the propositions of amalgamation, independent working class political action, shop delegate system, revolutionary idealism, and other planks of the League's platform. Therefore, they proceed to the violent method of expulsion, with the pretext, which they themselves know to be perfectly empty, that the League is a dual union. It is vitally essential to our work that we explode this absurd charge. To do this we must meet it in detail, by pointing out definitely and concisely the functions and meth-

ods of a trade union and showing how totally different are those of the League. We must nail the labor fakery hard and fast on this charge of dual unionism. Let us, therefore, analyse the work of a trade union and compare it with that of the League.

The fundamental purpose for which a trade union comes into existence is to deal with the employers on the question of hours, wages, and working conditions, and to force them, through the use of its economic power, to grant the demands of the workers. This is the very essence of trade unionism. No organization can be a labor union unless it carries on this work. Does the Trade Union Educational League exercise this function? Of course not. It makes no demands directly upon the employers; it carries on no negotiations with them; it signs no agreements with them. Everybody knows this. Hence, by no stretch of the imagination can it be called a trade union at all, much less a dual union. Its work is of an entirely different kind. It is strictly educational in character. In an organized man-

ner, it teaches the workers certain progressive and revolutionary principles. It develops them into militants and encourages them to take an ever-more active part and leadership in every phase of the life of the union. In view of the fundamentally different functions of the League from those of a trade union, to condemn the former as a dual union is on the face of it a lie and a subterfuge.

As the League differs completely in its purpose from a trade union, so it does in its method. The great distinctive weapon of a trade union is the strike. Now, whoever heard of the Trade Union Educational League calling a strike? Such a proposition is entirely outside of its scope. Its part in strikes is simply to help the unions that are conducting them by simulating, organizing, and educating the membership as to the real issues involved. The method of the League is organized, militant education.

Another thing that goes to the heart of trade unionism is that a trade union must of necessity claim jurisdiction over the class of workers upon whose behalf it undertakes to speak. Any other body which disputes this claim and tries to absorb these workers is to that extent a dual union. Now it will be seen immediately that the Trade Union Educational League makes no such jurisdictional claims. It in no way sets itself up in rivalry to any union. It does not try to steal the members of any union, such as a dual union would be bound to do. On the contrary, its aim is to bring the great unorganized masses into the existing unions. Trade unions are mass organizations; the League is not. It is merely a loose grouping of militants. The League is not a rival to the trade unions, but an auxiliary of them.

Still another feature of trade unionism, and this also is vital, is that all unions have definitely established memberships. The members operate under an elaborate constitution. They pay compulsory dues and carry union cards. They have chartered local unions which are affiliated together nationally. Now there is absolutely nothing of this character in the Trade Union Educational League. It has no membership cards or dues, depending for its revenue entirely upon voluntary donations. It issues no charters; it collects no per capita tax; it accepts no affiliations, direct or indirect, from any labor organization, nor is it itself affiliated to any union whatsoever. How, then, in the name of common sense, can the League, with this loose and indefinite educational structure, be called a trade union at all, much less a dual union? The charge is nonsense.

Finally, as fighting organizations, trade unions must exercise strong control over their members in those matters proper to and essential for the successful carrying on of the industrial struggle. They must have discipline. When the majority speaks the minority must obey, even though they may not agree with the course outlined. Otherwise an effective fight would be impossible. Any organization, be it industrial, political, educational, religious, patriotic, or whatnot, which challenges the authority of a union by instructing its members therein to disobey the union's democratically arrived at decisions in legitimate trade union matters, is to that extent a dual organization. The Trade Union Educational League not only subscribes to this principle of discipline 100 per cent, but also spends great effort to bring home its truth and importance to the broad rank and file. As a matter of profound principle, the participants in the League loyally support union decisions properly arrived at. If the union says they shall strike, they strike without further ado. If it says they shall pay certain dues or assessments, they pay

them. If it says they shall work under such and such a contract, they do it. For the League on its own responsibility to call off a strike, to instruct its members to pay only so much dues or assessments, or to submit an agreement of their own to the employers, is absolutely unheard of. The League supporters always subscribe to the discipline of the union. Never do they disregard its mandates. They are the first to demand the punishment of anyone so doing. No union members have a higher sense of discipline than they.

But if trade unions develop discipline in carrying on their economic struggle, they can do it only by rigidly respecting certain fundamental principles. A few of these are: (1) they must confine their struggle to legitimate labor union purposes, (2) they must preserve inviolate the principles of democracy and majority rule in the organization, (3) they must not discriminate in favor of or against any section of their membership because of political, racial, religious, or other extraneous reasons, (4) they must guard the right of dissenting minorities within the organization to express and propagate their ideas. Where unions depart from any or all of these principles, then discord and disruption are bound to come into the organization. Where the League militants are being expelled, the last three of these vital principles are being flagrantly violated. The revolutionary minority is being discriminated against on account of its opinions, it is being denied the right of all minorities to propagate their ideals, and it is being driven from the organizations by roughshod, tyrannical methods. The effect is to turn the unions from their true purpose of broad toleration to one of narrow sectarianism and thereby to condemn them to internal strife. Against this persecution and this perversion of the unions the militants have the right to protest, and protest we will with all our vigor. We demand the right to freely advocate our program, and we maintain that trade union discipline and solidarity is impossible where minorities are denied this right. With all legitimate means we will fight to the best of our ability for freedom of speech in the labor movement.

To condemn the Trade Union Educational League is not only a subterfuge, but ridiculous as well. The fact is that the League has done more to kill the dual union idea than any other organization that ever existed in this country. Everybody with a grain of sense knows this. When it came upon the scene the prevailing idea among the workers, conservative as well as radical, was that if a certain group among them developed a new union theory or a serious grievance against their union officials they should immediately split from their old union and start a new organization. This splitting and dualism hit the independent unions as well as those in the A. F. of L. The consequence of this unwise tactic was that in many industries there existed from three to eight different unions, all warring against each other. Naturally solidarity of the workers in such cases was entirely out of the question. The League carried on a tremendous campaign against this splitting tendency idea and has just about killed it in the United States and Canada. It has driven home to the militants and through them to the organized workers at large that despite their different opinions and quarrels they must stand together in one body, gradually improving their union in social conception, structure, and leadership as the level of the rank and file is raised, and the organization of the progressive elements achieved. The League has been the means of preventing several disastrous splits, notably among the miners and railroad workers. Yet, after all this yeoman work against dualism, the reactionary officials attempt

to brand it as a dual union. They have a real job on their hands this time.

We repudiate the charge that the Trade Union Educational League is a dual union. In the foregoing paragraphs we have disproved it by pointing out the totally different purpose, methods, and structure of trade unions from those of the League. The positive proof that the League is an educational body is the splendid work it has done on behalf of amalgamation. Beyond question it has done more to wake the workers up to the necessity for industrial unionism and energetic, honest

leadership, than all the previous propaganda combined. We militants in the League insist upon the right to go ahead with our organized educational work. We will not allow the reactionaries to deprive us of that right. We will make laughing stocks of them if they seek to defeat amalgamation, the labor party, and our general revolutionary program by trying to prove that the Trade Union Educational League is a dual union.

On motion, this report was adopted and ordered printed in leaflet form.

Sluggings, Disfranchisements, Expulsions, Splits

The National Committee continued its recommendations:-

WHEN the Trade Union Educational League began its active work some 18 months ago, the reactionary trade union bureaucracy paid little attention to it. They tried to negate its efforts by a conspiracy of silence. Soon, however, they had to abandon this attitude. The rapid spread of the League's influence, and especially the development of the amalgamation movement, forced them to take a new tack. This was to cover the League with a deluge of wild and unmeasured vilification. In a thousand keys they denounced it as a "red" conspiracy, engineered by the arch Bolsheviki of Russia, to destroy the American labor movement. But this course was no more effective than the silent treatment, the League going right ahead and winning great numbers of supporters for its various campaigns. Therefore, seeing the futility of their previous efforts, the reactionaries are now developing a campaign of violence against the League militants in a final hope of putting an end to their work of rousing the organized masses to the burning needs of the labor movement.

This violence is taking on several forms, in all of which the reactionaries are throwing aside the principles of their organizations. In some cases it reaches the point of physical assault, as in the New York Furriers' Union, for instance, where many militants have been set upon and beaten by professional thugs in the pay of the reactionaries; and in the Miners' Union, where President John L. Lewis himself personally supervised the mobbing of Joseph Manley, Alfred Wagenknecht, Jack McCarthy, and Ida Glatt McCarthy at the Scranton convention. In other cases the violence takes the form of disfranchising left-wing militants from holding office in the unions, the reactionaries in control either simply wiping their names from the ballot or refusing to seat them if elected. This outrageous tyranny is being practiced especially in the needle trades unions, where the reformistic Socialist leaders are applying as best they can the notorious splitting tactics of their brothers of the Amsterdam International. Often, also, the violence results in the expulsion of militants. This is notably the case in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. In Chicago many militants, some of whom were members of this organization for as long as 15 years, were brutally expelled. Quite evidently the reactionary national administration of this union is determined to take similar action everywhere. In the United Leather Workers' International Union like proceedings are being carried out against several leading militants, including Jacob Kassner, Secretary of the International Committee for Amalgamation in the Shoe and Leather Industry. The same thing is happening in the Miners' Union, where the reactionary official gang in District No. 5 has expelled Thomas Myerscough and other officials of the Progressive Interna-

tional Committee of the United Mine Workers of America. And finally, the reactionary officialdom are splitting organizations that come into the hands of revolutionaries. The most striking illustration of this was the revocation of the charter of District No. 26, U. M. W. A., by John L. Lewis, and his reorganization of the District under discredited reactionary officials, with the militants excluded from the re-formed organization.

These developments will not surprise anyone familiar with the type of our officialdom. They are in full harmony with what reactionary labor leaders, especially those in the Amsterdam International, are doing all over the world where the pressure of the left wing is strong. Such tactics are ample proof of the fact that the League is a power to be reckoned with. They were fully to be looked for, and we may expect to see them amplified and extended in the future. The reactionary leaders at the head of the labor movement are, with rare exceptions, primarily self-seekers. The great purpose they see in the labor movement is that it provide them with good jobs. This goal they never lose for a moment from their mind's eye. Their long record of betrayal of the workers' battles for improved conditions, and their present bitter resistance to amalgamation and other progressive measures, which they know would eliminate some of their sinecures, demonstrate that fact conclusively. Rather than yield their rich prerogatives they will destroy the labor movement, if necessary. To defeat this rule or ruin policy, to hold the labor movement together in spite of the reactionaries, and to develop it into a real fighting organization, are the greatest tasks of the trade union revolutionaries.

In order to be able to defeat the violent, disruptive methods of the reactionary bureaucracy, intelligence and determination are necessary for the militants. The main goal of the reactionaries is to drive the live spirits out of the unions, either by working hardships upon them inside or by expelling them directly. They realize full well that once the militants are detached from the organized masses their power is enormously weakened. Consequently, the policy of the militants must be to prevent this isolation which the reactionaries are trying to force upon them. They must not allow the reactionaries, by terroristic methods and the denial of their rights as members, to drive them into secession movements. To do so would be merely to walk into the enemy's trap. Likewise, where the militants are expelled as individuals or their unions are split, they must not launch into dual unionism. They must refuse absolutely to accept such expulsions and splits. The ousted individuals and organizations must keep in close touch with the organized revolutionary minorities in their industries and with them carry on a widespread and vigorous campaign for re-instatement in their old organizations. Under no circumstances shall they allow themselves to become isolated from the organized masses. This policy of militants and revolutionary unions fighting to maintain membership in the basic organizations

and then, if expelled, fighting to get back in again, is not only in full accord with the policies of the R. I. L. U. but it represents the most effective method for the revolutionaries to maintain real contact with the organized masses. It is bound to be successful if properly applied.

In the struggle for the right to propagate revolutionary principles and tactics in the unions, the great weapons of the militants are organization and publicity. Always the reactionaries try to localize such fights, to pick out some few individuals or locals here and there and then bring their full national organization to bear to crush them. The militants must not allow them to succeed with this tactic. They must always bring their own whole organization to the aid of any point attacked. The reactionaries like to do their work in the dark. They dread publicity. Their aim always is to confine the struggle to the official machinery, which they control, and to keep the rank and file uninformed of what is going on. They try to get rebels, whom they have victimized in some way or another, simply to appeal their cases quietly to the higher committees and boards in the unions, where the reactionaries can knife them at their pleasure. But the militants must not fall into this trap. While it is essential to utilize every official channel of appeal skillfully and with determination (rebels too often ignore important technicalities and get themselves sadly criss-cross vital constitutional provisions) still the militants must never forget for a moment that their real appeal is to the rank and file. They must go to the masses with their story, and this must be done upon as wide a scale and as vigorously as possible. When the reactionaries commit any of the outrages here complained of the militants must expose them mercilessly to the membership through mass protest meetings, distribution of circulars, use of the official union journals, and every other legitimate means of publicity. This appeal to the rank and file is the one thing the reactionaries dread, and the one thing the militants must mostly rely on. If they fail to make use of it, if they adopt the tactics the reactionaries want them to and simply carry their cases along quietly through the dead official channels, they are bound to lose. The motto of the militants must always be, "Tell it to the rank and file."

Another vital consideration for the militants in their campaign to block the disruptive tactics of the reactionaries is to force the latter always to meet the main issue. In fighting the left wing, the reactionaries always throw out a smoke screen. If they expel an individual or a local they always base their action upon some alleged violation or other of the constitution and

try to develop the whole controversy around this point, leaving completely aside the big issues involved. This is a very old and a very effective trick. The militants must not allow themselves to be duped and defeated by it. While they must meet every technicality raised by the reactionaries, and ruthlessly expose the latter's constant violation of the constitution and democratic procedure of the union, they must by no means rest content with such defensive fighting. Above all they must get on the offensive and show clearly to the rank and file that the real thing the reactionaries are aiming at is to defeat the basic policies advocated by the League. Thus where militants are expelled on the pretext that the League is a dual union they must not let the controversy whirl around this issue. Although meeting the charge squarely and proving definitely that the League is not a dual union, they must throw the weight of their efforts to show that they are being expelled because of the principles they stand for. They must make the rank and file understand that a vote for expulsion is not in reality a vote that the League is a dual union, but a vote against amalgamation, the labor party, militant leadership, and the rest of the revolutionary program. To grasp this principle clearly and to always shift the fight from the trap of technicalities set by the reactionaries to the safe ground of broad principles and programs is absolutely essential to the successful prosecution of the left wing demand for expression in the trade unions.

The Trade Union Educational League views without alarm the campaign of sluggings, disfranchisements, expulsions, and splits now being directed against the militants by the reactionaries. We properly interpret these outrages as desperate expedients of a bankrupt bureaucracy at bay before a militant movement which it cannot meet successfully with argument and counter programs. We have no fear of the outcome. By the application of the principles enunciated above; by refusing to allow themselves to be driven into secession movements; by forcing their reinstatement where they have been expelled; by exposing the machinations of the bureaucracy to the rank and file; and by always compelling the reactionaries to meet the main issue of progress versus stagnation,—the militants will be well able to take care of themselves in the unions and further their cause successfully. The labor movement is in the most pressing need of progress and the bankrupt officialdom have nothing constructive to offer. The program of the League is the only solution to the labor situation, and all the violence of all the reactionaries will not prevent its advance.

Adopted.

The Injunction

The National Committee called attention to the injunction evil and reported on it as follows:-

BECAUSE of the extreme political and industrial weakness of the American labor movement, there is no limit to which the rapacious capitalist class are now going in their eagerness to exploit the workers. Ruthlessly they are sweeping aside the most fundamental and traditional rights of the working class. In this campaign of enslavement one of their most effective instruments is the injunction. Through their lackeys on the bench, who are constantly encroaching upon and usurping the functions of the legislative branches of Government, they are rapidly depriving the workers of free speech, free assembly, free press, jury trial, and the right to organize. The main drive is to rob the workers of the right to organize and function through union-

ism. At first these lickspittle judges, who today are legion, were content, in their attacks upon the workers' industrial organizations, merely to restrict the right to picket struck plants. Then, by judicial ukase, they abolished that right altogether in many places. Encouraged by Labor's lack of resistance, they then moved on into a new offensive, by forbidding workers to strike (Hitchman case). And now, in the Mitchell Bros. Co. case in Chicago, Judge Carpenter has gone to the extreme limit of forbidding the union organizers even to ask workers to join the union, although there is no strike in progress. No doubt, so rapid is the injunction evil developing, before many weeks or months some other judge will issue an injunction so much more drastic than Carpenter's that the latter piece of tyranny will seem quite liberal. The injunction is a cancer eating at the heart of the labor movement. Un-

less a remedy is applied for it before long it will kill what little we have of trade unionism.

Up till now the efforts of the trade union bureaucracy to check this menace have been entirely unavailing. Their political policy of supporting old party candidates pledged against the injunction has been as barren of results as their pitiful system of lobbying in legislatures manned and controlled entirely by the capitalists. Similarly ineffective have been their appeals to public opinion. Like a pest the injunction evil is spreading, taking on ever-greater speed as it acquires more breadth and volume. Nor will the injunction tyranny be ended until the workers develop the intelligence to build for themselves a great labor party which, backed by a powerful and united trade union movement, will wrest the Government away from the social parasites and place it in the hands of the agricultural and industrial workers.

But this is the long-run remedy. Admittedly it will take many years to build up such a powerful political and industrial movement. In the meantime, however, the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes must be curbed or the labor movement will be wiped out. Fortunately a sure remedy for it is at hand. All that is needed is the courage to apply it. This remedy is for the workers to disobey all injunctions which deny them free speech, free press, free assembly, and the right to organize and strike. They must disregard them en masse. When the masters see that the workers refuse to be entirely enslaved by raw judicial pronouncements then they will abandon the effort, or at least slacken in it until the advancing political and industrial power of the workers puts an end to the injunction altogether.

Time and again in American history the efficacy of mass disobedience in the face of official tyranny and usurpation has been demonstrated. In dozens, if not hundreds of cases, when city authorities have arbitrarily abolished the right of free speech the masses have held public demonstrations in defiance of them. And in practically every case public sentiment has been overwhelmingly on the side of the rebels and has forced the authorities to recede from their autocratic position. One of the latest and most effective illustrations of mass disobedience to official tyranny was in the case of the Kansas Industrial Court Law. By that infamous measure Governor Allen thought that he could completely disfranchise the workers industrially by prohibiting their striking, thus accomplishing at one blow what the injunction judges have been driving at for years. The great capitalists hailed Allen's plan with jubilation. It was the panacea they had long been looking for. Under its operation they visualized a working class helpless against exploitation. So they prepared to introduce the Industrial Court into many states, and they began to groom their savior, Allen, for the Presidency. But they reckoned without their hosts, the Kansas coal miners. These brave workers, under the leadership of that sterling fighter, Alexander Howat, absolutely refused to permit Allen to fasten the Industrial Court yoke upon their necks. They would not give up their hard-won liberties so lightly. They broke into an open fight to

defend their rights. In spite of the Law's drastic anti-strike provisions, they struck and struck again. In fact, they struck so often and so persistently that it was utterly impossible to enforce the outrageous law. Consequently the whole enslaving mechanism collapsed in Kansas, the Industrial Court movement was killed all over the country, and the promising Presidential candidate, Allen, was nipped in the bud. When the workers adopt a similar attitude generally towards invasions of their traditional and indispensable rights then court injunctions will cease to be the devastating plague that they are now.

Strangely enough, although the American Federation of Labor is noted the world over for its ultra-conservatism, it takes a radical position, at least theoretically, on the injunction question. In several of its conventions it has openly advised the workers to disobey injunctions which curtail the right to organize and strike. This is because, driven into a corner by the pressure of capitalism at many points, it must make some sort of a militant stand against the injunction practice, which, if allowed to proceed unchallenged, would sentence it to speedy death. As early as 1908 the A. F. of L. convention adopted the following typical declaration:

Whenever the courts issue an injunction which undertakes to regulate our personal relations, either with our employers or those from whom we may or may not purchase commodities, such courts are trespassing upon relations which are personal relations with which equity has no concern; that these injunctions are destructive of our rights as citizens as well as of popular government, and we, therefore declare we will exercise all the rights and privileges guaranteed us by the Constitution and laws of our country, and insist it is our duty to defend ourselves at all hazards, and we recommend that such be our action, taking whatever results may come. We further declare that when cited to show cause why such injunctions should not be issued we should make no defense that would entail any considerable cost; and when cited for contempt the proper policy is as above.

This sounds quite revolutionary, but the difficulty is that the trade union leaders never put it into practice. They let it rest a dead letter and confine themselves to the sterile A. F. of L. political policy. They allow the workers to be robbed of one right after the other and do nothing to put into effect the above-quoted policy, which would bring up the injunctionists with a round turn. This throws a responsibility upon the shoulders of the Trade Union Educational League militants. We must see to it that this policy is made a living thing. We must take the A. F. of L. at its word. We must start a militant, nation-wide fight against the injunction, based upon the principles enunciated in the resolution of the 1908 convention. If we will do this, we will not only further the left-wing cause enormously, but the whole labor movement. To kill the injunction is a task well worthy of our steel. We must take it in hand. The masses will be with us in the fight.

Adopted.

The United Front

The National Committee made the following statement regarding the League's position to bring about the solidarity of Labor :-

AS things now stand in the United States and Canada a comparatively small clique of capitalists are the supreme rulers. Practically the entire social mechanism is merely a means to provide them with wealth and

power. These social parasites possess as their own personal property the great industries upon which the life of the whole people absolutely depends; they control the state altogether and use it as their chief instrument to hold in subjugation by force the very producing class that is the author of their prosperity; they manipulate the press, the church, the schools and every other institution capable of swaying people's ideas, as

a means to miseducate the workers and to poison their minds into believing that the present system of organized exploitation is a natural, legitimate, and God-given order of society.

For the workers to free themselves from this thrall-dom it is indispensable that they develop their utmost political and industrial power, for the social rulers will yield to nothing but superior strength. But it is evident that, as yet, they have hardly begun to muster this strength. Politically they are split a dozen ways and amount to nothing in the local, state, and national legislative halls. Industrially they are just as bad off, the present detached and scattered craft unions being practically helpless in the face of the powerful organizations of employèrs, backed by the state, the press, etc. The building of a solid political and industrial united front of Labor is the supreme need of the labor movement.

In Labor's great united front it is absolutely essential that the political and industrial sections of the labor movement go along together in closest co-operation. In many European countries the workers organize into independent political parties and then set up connections of various sorts with the trade unions. In Anglo-Saxon countries, however, the tendency is, beside setting up the usual parties around certain principles, also to form labor parties based upon and actually growing out of the industrial organizations. One great advantage of such labor parties is that they kill the old notion of neutrality for the trade unions by bringing them directly into the political struggle. The workers of the United States and Canada are well disposed to the building of such a labor party, and we urge it as the best way to achieve co-operation between the political and industrial wings of the labor movement under our prevailing conditions.

To build effectively the great party of labor, the working farmers must be admitted as well as the industrial workers. It must be a wide organization of all useful producers, of hand and brain. The party must be broad enough also to include all working class political organizations, regardless of how radical they may be. This general coming together of the many political tendencies can be accomplished upon the basis of federation. The labor party must be a great forum for the free interplay of all working class schools of thought. Various elements are at present working against such a united front political party. Among these are the old Gompers group, who want no organized working class political action at all; then there are the Johnston faction, who favor concerted action but only upon a non-partisan basis; next there are the elements who favor a labor party but who, for respectability's sake, would exclude from it the revolutionary elements; then there are the revolutionary sects who fear they would lose their purity if they became part of such a wide sweeping combination; and finally there are the Anarcho-Syndicalists, who oppose all forms of

political action. We condemn all these currents as destructive of working class solidarity. We demand a great federated party, to include all elements of the industrial and agricultural working class, and formed in such a way that the affiliated organizations will have sufficient autonomy to enable them to protect and develop their particular points of view, and also sufficient cohesion so that they can act unitedly and effectively in support of the broad measures upon which all are agreed.

In constructing the industrial wing of Labor's great army the utmost solidarity is not only supremely necessary but also eminently practical of achievement. Ample experience proves beyond question that workers of all crafts and all political and religious opinions can and do readily unite into broad industrial unions. It also proves that such wide, all-inclusive organizations are much more powerful than the narrow types that always precede them. Therefore, we declare emphatically for industrial unionism, and we advocate as the means to achieve it, the natural amalgamation of the existing primitive unions into ever larger and more inclusive organizations. We condemn as dividers of the working class those antiquated trade unionists who separate the workers upon craft lines; those fake progressives who advocate craft federation instead of amalgamation; and those sectarians, who because of their political, industrial, or religious opinions, carry on a policy of dual unionism. We believe in the solidarity of the working class. We look forward confidently to the time when the workers will not only be organized into industrial unions, but these unions will all be locked together in a great class industrial organization moving in one unbreakable phalanx.

The Trade Union Educational League, in driving ahead for a great united front of Labor, advocates federation on the political field and amalgamation on the industrial field. We call upon the workers of field and factory, of office and shop, to form, on the one hand, a great, all-inclusive federated labor party, and on the other hand, close-knit amalgamated industrial unions; and then, to unite both of these branches together by basing the labor party directly upon the industrial unions. With this great weapon in their hands, a united, co-related political and industrial movement animated by a revolutionary spirit, it will not be long until the workers have put an end to the capitalist system and embarked upon a new social order organized to protect the interests of useful producers. Such a united front politically and industrially is the *sine qua non* of working class emancipation. All efforts must be directed towards its accomplishment.

On motion, this recommendation was adopted and ordered published in leaflet form.

At this time the Conference adjourned for an hour.

First Day's Proceedings. Afternoon Session

Upon the state of industry and the labor movement in general, the National Committee reported as follows:-

The Economic Situation

THE first great post-war industrial depression had just given way to a general revival of American economic life at the time the T. U. E. L. began its work on a wide scale. The first signs of this revival showed in March 1922, and from that date until April or May,

1923, business grew apace, employment was more steady, wages showed a slight tendency upward, and all the symptoms were present of what is generally called "prosperity." This development is described in some detail in the report made by the T. U. E. L. to the Second Congress of the R. I. L. U., published in THE LABOR HERALD.

The seeming prosperity, however, was of an unsound nature. The workers who expected it to last were, as an editorial in THE LABOR HERALD for June, 1923,

pointed out, living in a fool's paradise. The main points in explanation of this instability, (in addition to the inevitable operations of the capitalist system which bring periodical crises), can be summarised as follows:

1. The business revival was not based upon an extension of the markets for American products, but upon an unusual absorption of these products in the domestic market in replacements and extensions of equipment in industry and transportation. Contrary to expectations, the European market has been almost closed to American industry by the breakdown of European capitalism and the consequent absence of buying-power. The domestic absorption of products is exemplified in the tremendous building boom (building in 1922 running into billions of dollars), in the automobile industry, which reached a new high peak of production, and in the replacements and extensions of the railroads which have absorbed much of the steel production.

2. While this stimulated boom has produced large profits for the highly trustified industries, it has also been accompanied by unprecedented further combinations. The Copper, Textile, Oil, Auto, Meat Packing, Steel, Railroad, and Financial combinations have been enormously extended and strengthened. But the benefits of the prosperity have not extended to any large classes outside the large capitalists. The workers have had their unions smashed and, while weekly wage earnings have slightly increased, the wage rate per hour has been lowered and working conditions worsened. There has been no increase in the capacity of the workers to consume the products of industry.

3. The farmers have been systematically forced into bankruptcy during this very period of so-called prosperity. This bankruptcy is not figurative, but actual. Thousands of them in the Northwest, men who traditionally pay their bills even if they have to starve, are resorting to the bankruptcy courts in an organized manner to be relieved of their debts and to be free to start all over again as tenants or wage workers without the mill-stone of debt which capitalism had placed about

their necks. This bankruptcy of the farming system, occurring during the fake prosperity period, is the cause of the radical political upheaval in the agrarian States.

The abnormal conditions which made it possible for the capitalist industries to keep production going on a large scale are now fast disappearing. The peak of this "prosperity" has been passed. Unemployment is beginning gradually to be felt, and is increasing more and more rapidly. All signs point to a rapid decline and an extended period of depression. The domestic market has about reached the saturation point under the limitations of the capitalist mode of distribution. There are no signs of a revival of European buying power. There is no possibility for the working class to increase its consumption of commodities. The farmers are not able to keep going on their old scale, not to speak of extending their operations or purchasing any large amounts of new machinery and industrial products. The Asiatic markets are in a chaotic state, and, without regard to what part they will play in the future, they hold out no immediate prospect of opening up new vistas for American profit-grabbers.

To all these industrial factors must be added the financial chaos in which the capitalist world finds itself. This chaos affects American industrial life vitally in spite of the pious desires of the 100% Americans to keep the U. S. playing in its own financial backyard. The political mad-house which results from the European economic breakdown is also a major influence upon the psychological conditions of American life, from which influence there is no escape.

Abrupt developments in world politics, such as a new world war, may possibly enter at any moment to upset all calculations based upon the present economic status. But barring the determining influence of some such new factor, we may confidently say that the American industrial system will shortly be in the throes of a severe crisis, with the usual accompaniment of wide-spread unemployment, union-smashing, misery, and starvation of the working class.

Adopted.

Report of Eastern District

By Jos. Manley, Secretary

THE Eastern District from Pittsburgh to New York and from Boston to Baltimore, comprises the richest and most densely populated industrial area in the world. It has for years been the cradle of reaction in the trade union movement, yet it has been the scene of most of the great strikes.

In taking up the work of Eastern Organizer for the T. U. E. L., I realized the many difficulties that I would have to contend with. However, it was only after I had actually gotten into the work, that I gained a real conception of the lack of understanding on the part of many of the militants as to the program, policy and tactics of the League. Things were unorganized, THE LABOR HERALD, especially in New York City, with a population of over 7,000,000, had little circulation. In addition, the morale was low due in part to the after effect of the Bridgeman raid. The hectic atmosphere of New York had to be tackled with vigor.

New York is the largest needle trades center in the world. The principal four of the seven international unions in the needle industry, have their headquarters in New York. These two factors have a limiting effect upon the mental outlook of many of the needle trades

militants. Many of them believe, partly thru having fought out their national issues locally, that every thing else outside New York is in "the country." This situation in the needle trades gives rise to a pessimism and superficially-wise skepticism that is a real obstacle to progress, especially when, as I found, it affects young militants in their twenties. I realize that only the dynamic program of the T. U. E. L. could clear up this confused and muddled situation. Only the well-thought-out national and international viewpoint of the League superseding the haphazard local viewpoint of the average trade unionist could lead to a permanent solution of the many problems arising in the industry.

The first task I undertook in the District was the organizing, in the latter part of November, of five preliminary conferences of militants in the Needle, Printing, Textile, Food, and Leather Industries. The first four were held in New York and the last in Boston. These conferences were the means of the militants in each industry submitting their many complex problems, to a provisional committee which mapped out a practical program of industrial unionism thru amalgamation to fit the exact condition in each industry. Here again

the League strength was taxed. Some of the militants who for years had argued about the necessity for industrial unionism could not agree upon a common definition until many meetings had been held. Eventually the League cleared up the confusion. Programs for each of the industries were issued and a call for a national conference was sent out by the provisional committee in three of these industries; namely, Needle, Textile and Leather.

All of this agitation caused somewhat of a stir amongst the officialdom, especially in the Needle Trades, and as a result, right in the teeth of the beginning of our campaign for amalgamation, the 'officials' of the Capmakers' Union issued a call for a conference to discuss the question of a proposed alliance or federation of the various Needle Trades International unions. Faced by this situation, the League urged the militants to take a strong and aggressive position, which they did. The Needle Trades' Committee issued a statement on the question of the proposed alliance which resulted in stirring up the rank and file so much that the officials did not hold the proposed conference on the scheduled date and it has not been held yet. This is one great instance where the Needle Trades militants took a bold and uncompromising stand that showed the rank and file what the real issues were, that killed the idea of a fake federation and put new life into the sentiment for amalgamation.

I got my first lesson in a very peculiar brand of rebel trade union ethics, in the strike of the New York Waist and Dress Makers', to the effect that: "no propaganda must be carried on during strike." In this particular strike this policy had the effect of leaving the militants in a condition of confusion. Instead of pointing out the shortcomings of the partial strike, they were divided into two camps, those who supported the strike on the flimsy issue of "week work" and those who went along with it, but at the same time reserved their criticism for the politician who had precipitated it. Not once did they point out the similar situation existing in the same branch of the industry of Boston, Philadelphia, etc., and the need for concerted action, nor did they make use of this opportunity to advocate the need for amalgamation.

In response to an urgent demand from the progressive miners of District No. 9, U. M. W. of A., I attended a convention at Mahanoy City, Pa. This convention was called unofficially by 36 "town" locals that the District officials had ordered to disband and transfer into the "colliery" locals. I spoke before this convention and with other militants visited many local unions, in an effort to prevent a split that was being threatened by the high-handed manner in which the officials were handling this matter. Our efforts in this direction, coupled with telegrams from Wm. Z. Foster, Alex Howat and the program of the Progressive Miners International Committee, certainly headed off a split that would have affected many thousands of the miners' union.

On May 6th, in New York, the first Eastern District Conference of the T. U. E. L., was held with 160 delegates present from 17 of the great cities of the East. This conference indicated the tremendous strides that the program of the League is making with the Eastern militants. The Eastern section of the country has always been associated with reaction and demoralization among the rebels. At this Eastern District Conference the number of delegates from the various trades and their revolutionary fervor, combined with a practical

grasp of the problems of the movement, proved conclusively that the East has recovered and now is honeycombed with T. U. E. L. organization.

The Needle Trades Section of the T. U. E. L. met in National Conference at New York City, May 5th and 6th. This conference had a marked effect upon the militant movement in the Needle Trades. It demonstrated the tremendous sentiment for amalgamation among these workers. Many of the New York City needle trades militants were shocked and surprised to see and learn that, measured by enthusiastic sentiment and rank and file vision, many of the cities in the "country" surpassed the great metropolis.

A conference of Textile militants was held at New York City May 5th, that clearly showed the demoralized condition of the workers in the great textile industry. Strikes in this industry have been usually of a mass character and have been bitterly fought, but little permanent organization has survived. Fifteen or sixteen separate unions exist in the industry, each one with a different brand of philosophy, many of them claiming to be industrial in character, some conservative and others so-called revolutionary. In this welter of confusion it is no wonder that the task of rallying the relatively few organized textile militants on a definite plan of amalgamation is a tremendous one.

At Boston a conference of Shoe and Leather Workers was held that marked a new era in that industry. The shoe industry in particular, has always had a large proportion of the old New England stock in it. Many of them have been industrial unionists of the old school, few however, have gone as far as embracing the entire leather industry in their view of one union in the industry. The League in this instance cleared up all differences of opinion on this vital point and entered into the shoe and leather industry as a force for unity of the many organizations.

New York City is the home of many independent unions, and much misunderstanding existed on the part of some of them, as to the policy of the League towards organizations not affiliated with the A. F. of L. On many occasions, because of this impression expressed by a few, my patience was sorely tried. However, after many meetings and conferences the foundation for a genuine understanding was laid in the formation of the R. I. C.

During my term representing the T. U. E. L., I had a good chance to observe the inner workings; the strength and the weakness of all the unions in all the industries of this section of the country, in cities like Pittsburgh, Boston, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Rochester, Baltimore, etc. The problems presented were many and varied. Yet the League, in all of the cities, develops a program to fit them. It may be argued that the League has little hard and fast organization. This may be true from the ordinary mechanical point of view, but measured from the point of view of the militant member of a union, the League, because of this very looseness and flexibility, is an ideal organization for its purpose. It is this flexibility that so alarms the labor fakers. It is with good cause that they have come to dread its work for progress. The militants have within a remarkably short time joined the League's ranks, thousands of trade unionists who have only heard its name and know of its larger policies, respect it highly, and hundreds of thousands of trade unionists are being daily influenced by its program.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Report of the Canadian District

By Tim Buck, Secretary

THE Trade Union Educational League has become an established factor in the Canadian Labor Movement during the past year, and has won the respect of every honest progressive taking an active part in labor union affairs. In popularizing amalgamation and by their advocacy of the building up of an all inclusive Dominion-wide Federated Labor Party, adherents of the T. U. E. L. have done much to place Canadian Unionism in the forefront of the American movement.

Our energetic campaign to arouse the workers to the need for organization of the unorganized, and the active participation of our members in routine work of the unions has brought, in many sections of the country, marked improvement in trade union affairs, resulting in several districts, such as for instance, Alberta, Northern Ontario, Saskatoon, and Nova Scotia, etc., highly successful organization work, offsetting to some extent the frightful losses registered during the past two years.

The industrial boom experienced in the United States has scarcely affected Canada, and but for the fact that thousands of workers crossed the line to share the "good times," Canadian cities would in all probability have had almost as much unemployment as before the boom set in. With such conditions obtaining thruout the Dominion and thousands of the most active members taking transfers from their organizations, it can be easily imagined that left-wing activity has to be carried on under extreme difficulties, in addition to which the geographical difficulties and sectarian tendencies which from the first rendered our task particularly difficult, have not abated as much as could be desired.

This question of geographical difficulties is so important as to justify an illustration. Imagine the enormous stretch of territory from the coast of Maine to the coast of Washington and Oregon and over 400 miles south from the Canadian border. Scatter a few thousand trade unionists (less even than there are in the one city of Chicago) over its length and breadth, the majority of them in groups so small that a person accustomed to big cities and organizations would scarcely consider them; divide these already small numbers between a multitude of organizations; including 92 international unions, national Catholic Syndicates, the I. W. W., the O. B. U., a split off of the Locomotive Engineers, an Independent Shopmen's Union, the group in the Canadian Federation of Labor, no less than 23 other independents, mostly petty organizations, and you have a fair picture of what the Canadian Section of the T. U. E. L. has to face.

All thru 1921 and 1922 Canadian unionism went steadily down the toboggan. From a membership of over 378,000 in 1919, and early 1920, we have come down thru two years of division and defeat, to a total membership of only 276,400, over 400 local lodges having gone completely out of existence. Only in the past few months has this terrible debacle been stemmed, and results secured are solely due to the strenuous efforts of the militants to organize the unorganized and to inspire the rank and file with a new hope in trade unionism as a weapon of working class power. Today there are signs of renewed interest in trade union affairs, and prospects of highly successful organization work in the very near future.

Canadian Workers for Amalgamation

Amalgamation resolutions have been endorsed during the past year by almost every kind of union in every

part of Canada. The Alberta Federation of Labor at the second largest convention in the history of the Federation endorsed a strong amalgamation resolution unanimously, while a resolution endorsing the Red International of Labor Unions failed of passage by a mere handful of votes.

District No. 2, of the I. A. of M. embracing all railroad machinists in Canada, also endorsed amalgamation at the convention in Winnipeg last March, while seven of the largest central trades councils, including Vancouver, Edmonton, Montreal and Halifax, and embracing approximately 50% of the total affiliated membership of the Trade Congress of Canada, have done likewise in company with hundreds of local lodges and federations.

The railroad amalgamation committee of Montreal has, during the past year, carried on a strenuous campaign; circularizing every railroad local, and receiving hundreds of favorable replies. Led by this group of stalwarts, the militants in the recent joint convention of the Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk Federations registered another victory by getting an amalgamation resolution enthusiastically endorsed.

Militant Needle Trades

In the whole of Canada there are only 58 locals of needle trades workers, with a total membership of only about 14,000, and outside of Toronto and Montreal they are mostly in small locals practically isolated from the main body of their industry. Yet we have active left-wing groups in every union except the United Garment workers, with a committee embracing members of the A. C. W., the I. L. G. W., the Journeymen Tailors, Capmakers, and Furriers, co-ordinating their work on a national scale.

League members are among the most influential of the needle trades workers, and hold numerous positions of responsibility and trust. In Toronto the I. L. G. W. which after an unsuccessful strike in 1919 went down from a membership of 1800 to only 75, is now being brought back to its old position and power by the strenuous organization work of the militants among its membership. Since the initiation of the organization drive, despite a bad season and several bitterly fought strikes, the membership has crept up to 700, and the I. L. G. W. is rapidly coming back.

Three Canadian delegates attended the Needle Trades conference in New York last May, and the results of that gathering have reacted thruout the Dominion. The A. C. W., the I. L. G. W., Capmakers, Furrier and Journeymen Tailors are all in line with the League program and amalgamation propaganda is the order of the day.

Chaos in the Metal and Building Trades

Since 1919 and early 1920, the metal trades unions in Canada have been practically on the rocks. Apart from railroad locals, those metal trades locals which have been active owe their activity and in many cases their very existence to the renewed life which the militants have instilled into the general movement. It is a striking commentary on the failure of existing organizations, that despite the fact that no less than 90,000 workers are employed in the metal industry in this country, a mere 25,000 are organized, leaving the great automobile, electrical, steel and agricultural implement plants practically untouched, the one exception being Sydney, Nova Scotia

where, led by the rebels, the steel workers have organized 3,000 strong.

Building trades organizations carrying on desperate warfare with each other over jurisdictional questions while the construction corporations reap huge profits, is one of the most depressing sights thruout the Dominion. Our trade union movement as a whole, has developed under peculiar conditions, and building tradesmen suffer continuously from the struggles always going on between old country tradition and the ambitions of International officers. Today there is war to the knife between two carpenters organizations which some measure of national autonomy for Canadian unions, regardless of international membership, would have prevented.

The Miners and the League

The coal miners have long been in the forefront of the rebel movement in Canada, and it is quite natural that they should take a lead in the League work. Delegates from each of the Canadian Districts of the U. M. W. of A. attended the progressive conference at Pittsburgh, one of them traveling over three thousand miles to the gathering.

Since the conference organization of the rebels has gone ahead. In District No. 18 ten strong groups were organized almost immediately after it, principally in the southern portion of the district. At the time of writing, Hugh Bartholemew, better known thruout the Dominion as Bart, member of the organization committee of Saskatchewan Central Council and one of the most effective exponents of the League program, is touring the northern camps setting up committees there. It is worthy of mention that since the renewed participation of the militants in union affairs in District 18, despite the bitter opposition from operators in unorganized fields, the membership of that district has gone up from 6,500 to 10,000.

In Northern Ontario, often described as the treasure vault of America, are some of the richest and the biggest of all gold mines in the world. The metal miners of this territory, for a long time a veritable football among organizers and organizations, are at last organizing themselves with a realization of their task. From a stronghold of the Western Federation, this district went down under the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers to a mere shadow. Interest revived with the birth of the O. B. U., and 1600 members flocked to the new organization, only to melt away again almost immediately. For two years there has been no organization in the Porcupine camps. Led by a small group of militants rallied around the program of the League, these miners are now reorganizing their forces in the most thoroughgoing way. Results accomplished by this small group

of determined workers almost challenge belief. Starting with nothing but their boundless enthusiasm and an understanding of the needs of the workers in this district, they have already built a powerful organization, compelled recognition from the government, started a virile weekly paper, and for the first time in the history of the north, the union is a part of the workers daily lives.

Nova Scotia has been so much in the spotlight during the past few months, that it seems scarcely necessary to mention the fact that it is still as it has been for the past year, a veritable stronghold of militant unionism, with the rank and file even more bitterly determined than ever. This district, the first in the U. M. W. of A. to openly and consciously fight a cruel corporation by striking on the job, the first to rouse the workers of Canada to the menace of the continued use of troops and armed irregulars in industrial disputes, is also the first to checkmate the Indianapolis bully, Lewis, in his pet game of disruption. To Lewis and his type making their last desperate stand before the onward sweep of the progressive movement, it must be galling to find that even with control of the check-off, the ferocious blacklist practically in the hands of his tools, and McLachlan and Livingstone in jail, in two short days, no less than 2000 men demonstrate their faith and confidence in "Fighting Jim;" and repudiate Lewis with all his reptile crew, even to the extent of sworn affidavits in the face of threatened cancellation of charters, and wholesale expulsions from the union and the mines.

Eastern Sub-District Conference

From Sydney, Nova Scotia to Windsor, Ontario is a far cry, and it is a convincing demonstration of the standing already attained by the league in Canada Trade Union affairs, that at the first eastern conference held in Toronto early in August, there were present delegates from almost every city of importance between and including these two points. Had we based our representation on local unions there is no doubt whatever that we would have had two hundred delegates or more. As it was, while the sheer cost prevented the Port Arthur group from sending a delegate, the 36 in attendance were truly representative of the vast majority of the rank and file.

On Sept. 22nd, will be convened the first conference of the Western sub-district, which will undoubtedly surpass the one held in Toronto. Much remains to be done in Canada, and the most serious part of our task is still ahead. But results of the past year's work, the strength demonstrated in every crisis so far faced, prove that of one thing there can be no question in Canada today, the League is a power.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Report of the Central States District

By J. W. Johnstone, Secretary

ON taking over the duties of district organizer, it was with a great deal of misgiving as to my being able to cover such a huge territory, embracing twenty states. With five months of experience, I unhesitatingly recommend that the district be cut down materially.

Beginning April 1st, I made a partial tour of the District, spending from two to four days in each of the following places: Milwaukee, Superior, Duluth, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Sioux City, Omaha, Kansas City, St. Louis, Davenport, Moline and Springfield. In the majority of these places, although the Leagues were active, they did not have a well-organized plan of activities. In the Twin and Tri Cities there was no co-operation with each

other. I presented to the leagues a proposed plan of activities, which is herewith attached. This plan is now being worked out by most of the leagues.

In Minneapolis and St. Paul, and in Duluth and Superior, Twin City League committees have been set up, so that they can act jointly in their propaganda work. In a great many of the Cities the suggestions of having picnics and other entertainments have been carried out. By this means we were able to reach a number of workers that otherwise could not be reached, while at the same time getting finances to carry on the work of the league.

The work of distributing our industrial pamphlets, programs and the increasing of THE LABOR HERALD'S circulation, although improving, is not doing so in proportion to the ever-increasing influence of the League and the general acceptance by the progressives of the League's principles and program. This work is most important. THE LABOR HERALD, the industrial pamphlets and programs, are the only means we have to reach the great mass of workers. At all picnics, mass meetings, and union meetings etc. our literature should be on sale. It is the duty of every member of the League to increase the circulation of THE LABOR HERALD. The more readers, the greater the influence and the greater the results.

With the exception of a few places, the local general group is the only form of organization, and although these leagues are active, this mixed type is in itself a sign of weakness as it is only the first stage of organization. Every group should strive to form league groups by industry. This strengthens and increases the influence of the League by a hundred fold.

In Illinois, from Springfield south, special effort was made to co-ordinate the work of the militants in that section of the district. I made three trips down state, which resulted in cementing the militant forces in that sector. There is no doubt but that it was the activities of these groups that were responsible for the amalgamation resolution sent out by a local of the U. M. W. of A. to all affiliated locals of the Illinois State Federation of Labor; for the stripping of Farrington of his progressive mask, and for the good representation of delegates to the historic political conference called by the Farmer Labor Party. Quite a number of successful picnics have been run in this part of the district. Here again, however, we show our weakness in the distribution of literature. This should be much greater than it is. We can, to a certain extent, judge the strength and influence of any league group by the circulation of THE LABOR HERALD in that city. If the circulation is small our influence is weak, which means that the League members are not on the job.

At least three general letters per month have been sent to all League groups in the district, dealing with the various problems that confront the workers, and with the added purpose in view of establishing a permanent connection between the local leagues and the district office.

This has not brought as good results as it should. Sometimes letters are not answered. This is a deplorable situation and must be remedied. All League groups should report at least once per month to the district organizer, so that he in turn can submit a report to all the Leagues in the district, letting them know what activities are being carried on in the district.

The sentiment for amalgamation and an independent working class political party is steadily growing. The endorsement of amalgamation is becoming a habit. For instance the Lithographers, a union whose members are the highest skilled mechanics in the printing industry, in their convention held in Cleveland, Ohio, July 9, almost unanimously went on record for amalgamation. It is safe to say that there is not a single international union in the country but what scores, yes hundreds of their local unions have endorsed amalgamation and an independent working class political party.

The Lithographers makes the eighth international union that has gone on record since the T. U. E. L. started its campaign for amalgamation. But there has been no amalgamation taken place. We watch with a great deal of interest just what will come out of this

latest endorsement. The Lithographers were more specific in their endorsement than any other international with the exception of the Maintenance of Way. They practically endorsed the proposed plan of amalgamation presented to the printing trades by the Chicago Committee for the Amalgamation of the Printing Trades, and instructed their incoming officers to take the matter up with the officials of the other unions in the Printing Industry. There is nothing standing in the way of the amalgamation of the Lithographers, Typos, and Bookbinders. We wait with a great deal of interest for the calling of such a conference. The endorsing of amalgamation is now quite respectable. The act of amalgamation is still in bad repute.

The example of the Chicago Local General Group could well be followed by the other Leagues in the district. These group meetings which take place once per month, are gradually becoming mass meetings. The slogan is "An Average Attendance of 1,000." The aim is to increase the local circulation of THE LABOR HERALD to 5,000. Although this number has not been reached yet, it will go over the top before the end of the year. Every meeting is bigger and better than the previous one and the circulation of THE LABOR HERALD is steadily increasing.

In Chicago they have organized seven industrial groups, which meet twice per month and discuss the important problems that confront them in their particular industries. Each of these groups takes a definite number of LABOR HERALDS, pamphlets, etc. and are responsible for the sale of them. Within these industrial groups, there are trade groups which in turn take a definite number of LABOR HERALDS. Each member of these groups takes so many LABOR HERALDS each month, the minimum being five. In this way each member of the League becomes a literature agent.

The same applies to the Sustaining Fund. Each group guarantees to sell a certain sum. The Needle Trades took \$500.00, the Building Trades \$300.00, etc. This is the minimum set for the quarter. Each individual takes so much, which makes each member of the League responsible for the financing of the League.

An amalgamation picnic was run for the benefit of THE LABOR HERALD, which netted about \$500.00. A second amalgamation picnic is being run on Labor Day, for the benefit of the Local General Group and the District office. The Needle Trades Group is staging a grand ball for the benefit of their National Committee.

A joint entertainment committee has been organized to plan out the winter entertainments. The experiences of the summer have shown a great deal of wasted energy, with conflicting entertainments. The winter entertainments, sports, educational meetings, etc. will be run on a more efficient basis. Already the Chicago Local General Group has engaged the huge Ashland Auditorium for New Years Eve. This will be the first annual LABOR HERALD Fancy Dress Ball. The League intends to make this the biggest and most successful ball of the season.

In conclusion I want to say that there has been a steady growth of the League, since the last National Conference. The growth in membership is not a remarkable one, but the growth to maturity has been rapid. The program of the League is well-defined and well understood by the militants in this district. For the first time they are beginning to give the reactionary politicians a lesson in tactics, and to seriously challenge their leadership.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Report of the Pacific Coast District

By Al. Schneider, Secretary

ON the inauguration of the Trade Union Educational League, as a national movement, enthusiasm ran high in this district, attributable largely to two causes; 1st, general dissatisfaction with the policy and tactics of the A. F. of L., and the resultant accomplishments (if one is permitted to call them such) of its nearly 40 years of activities, 2nd, large numbers of unemployed at the very time, altho the percentage in relation to the population wasn't as large as in the eastern and middle western states.

The first cause is still with us and affords the League opportunities to function, but personal ambition and jealousy combined with lack of revolutionary understanding of the situation confronting the organized labor movement in this country, on the part of those who are dissatisfied with the accomplishments of the A. F. of L., prevents the League from functioning to its fullest capacity.

The second cause has almost disappeared as far as it is possible under the present industrial system. Workers here as elsewhere in the United States are easily satisfied by arguments of comparison instead of what necessity demands. This being the case, the local chamber of commerce in co-operation with the local labor fakers, can easily prove beyond the question of a doubt that the industrial worker of the Pacific Coast is comparatively better off than his fellow-worker in the East and Middle West. I hope the delegates to the Second General Conference of the T. U. E. L. will keep this constantly in mind when dealing with matters pertaining to the Pacific Coast District of the League. When we consider what the workers of Russia have gone through before the most militant among them could muster enough followers to actually revolt, and when we still further consider what the German workers are going thru at present, in spite of the fact that they are the most advanced and best organized groups of workers in the world, taught from childhood on more or less of the constant struggle of the two dominant classes in society, without being able as a class to throw off their backs those responsible for their misery. When we consider all this, then we will be able to appreciate the state of mind in which the uneducated in the class struggle comparatively well fed American worker finds himself in. He is contented, but not satisfied. In other words the workers of the Pacific slope as well as thru-out the states is like the married man whose wife kept up a flirtation with another man, and when asked about it, he replied: "I am contented, but I am not satisfied."

Our communication is poor with the local branches of Vancouver, B. C., Seattle and Spokane, Wash. The branch in Tacoma, Wash., is doing very effective work among the railroad workers and held recently a very well attended District convention for the purpose of working out unified, definite, and practical plans for the consummation of putting into operation the program adopted by the conference held in December of last year in the city of Chicago, by the National Committee for amalgamation of the 16 standard railroad unions.

Portland, Ore., was very active from the beginning, and information was received from that point regularly up to and a few weeks after the meeting of the Oregon State Federation of Labor convention which adopted the T. U. E. L. resolution on Amalgamation of all unions in an industry into one union of that industry. I am informed that during the recent industrial depression the organized labor movement in that town, which was never very strong even under the most favorable cir-

cumstances, suffered immensely, but to a limited extent in the building and metal industry some recognition has been gained in the present temporary prosperity.

San Francisco Bay District had large attended meetings in the beginning, but due to the fact that most of our sincere rebels did not understand thoroly the program and tactics of the League, and those in charge of the League's work were unable to educate and make them understand that the League's program was entirely different from all other attempts on the part of the militants in the various International Unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., in the past, many of the good, sincere, and militant workers quit from the local League.

While others again joined the League for personal, mercenary purposes and had to be eliminated. Others again refused to participate in the League's work under one pretext or another, which was reported from time to time by the undersigned to the National Sec'y. Bro. Wm. Z. Foster, who can elaborate on this matter if he thinks the occasion requires it. Nevertheless there is a healthy nucleus which is fully capable of taking full advantage of any situation or opportunity that might arise at any time to advance the influence and power of the League.

Los Angeles is doing good work on the political field, but seems not to do so well with the amalgamation program of the League, but Los Angeles was never a good union man's town. Unionism is looked upon as a sort of necessary evil, which must be tolerated, even by some supposedly revolutionary and radical workers. The radical and liberal population of Los Angeles has in its midst many intellectuals of various degrees and kinds. They are all great readers of all and any thing so as to enable them to talk on any subject in their estimation. Therefore, printed propaganda on any subject finds ready buyers in Los Angeles. I am informed that over 200 copies of THE LABOR HERALD are sold every month there at present by the members of the League in the various local unions. This is commendable and I recommend it to the members of the San Francisco Bay district to imitate their brothers of the south.

The T. U. E. L. members who have been selected by their respective unions as delegates to the coming convention of the California State Federation of Labor, to be held this year in Stockton, between Sept. 17th and 22nd, inclusive, expect to crack, if not break entirely the ice that has encrusted that body for the last twenty years. They are quite confident that they will be able to make a record breaking report after it is over on the matter.

The expense of sending a delegate to last year's convention as well as expenses incurred by motion of irresponsible members of the League from the floor of the League's meetings, in regards to ordering literature, cards for advertising purposes, are still hanging in the form of indebtedness over our heads, therefore we are able to have but one delegate represent us at the conference, which we all exceedingly regret.

In conclusion a few words in regards to the size and the population of the Pacific Coast District and just one recommendation to the conference for its serious consideration if it wants this district to function effectively in behalf of our program as laid down by the national movement. The Pacific Coast District comprises, according to the decision of last year's conference: Vancouver, B. C., Washington, Montana, Idaho, Utah, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, Oregon and California.

This territory extends over 1,298,008 square miles, with a population of but 6,273,944.

Now compare the territory and population of this district with the states of New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Pennsylvania. These states are not included in one district either, but they are small in comparison to territory, but thickly populated. Within a couple of hours' ride you are in an industrial center. Where you find large industrial plants as well as large numbers of industrial workers eager for the message you have to deliver. These five states, with but 228,389 square miles of territory, have a population of 29,884,812.

My recommendation is as follows, that the conference

by all means find ways and means to finance one or two members of the League with a national reputation as speakers as well as trade unionists so that they can remain in this district for a period of six months. There are no large industries out here at present and as these industries are not here we will not amount to much in an industrial struggle. But politically, ah, that's where we come in.

During the life of the Western Federation of Miners the West was considered the radical stronghold. Not so any more; it is now the stronghold of reaction, and don't forget that in your deliberations at the conference.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Report on Mexico

By A. M.

GENERALLY speaking, agricultural capital in Mexico is native and industrial capital is foreign.

Agricultural capital as represented in land is owned chiefly by Mexicans and Spaniards with a sprinkling of American, British, and German holdings. The typical rural property is the hacienda, or large estate, running from a thousand to hundreds of thousands of acres. The majority of the fifteen million inhabitants of the country are tillers of the soil and labor on the large estates living sometimes in villages situated on or near them and sometimes in little colonies clustered around the landlord's mansion. Prior to the recent Mexican revolution the agricultural worker was generally in a state of peonage or enforced debt, which bound him as firmly to the soil as were the medieval serfs. The result of the revolutionary period has been to cancel all debts of this sort and to return large tracts of land to the villages. But as yet the majority of rural workers labor for the hacendado, for shares or for wages. These wages, altho in general higher than before, are still pitifully inadequate, and in some sections of the country remain practically as before. Strong unions of protest are being formed both among the village and hacienda peasants.

Industrial capital in Mexico is divided roughly as follows: American capital predominates in the ownership of mines and oil wells with the British a close second. The latter dominate light, power, and electric traction. The French control the field of textile elaboration and are powerful in the printing industry and in banking. The Germans have been active in the hardware and other lines of business. The Spaniards run food and grocery stores. Americans are increasingly important in retail business and in maintaining sales offices. This is by no means an exhaustive analysis, but merely illustrative of the fact that the large majority of industrial capital in the extractive industries as well as in banking, manufacturing, light, power, transportation and even general business is in the hands of foreigners. The two activities which remain practical monopolies for the Mexicans are government and labor.

The Catholic Church

The priest once ruled Mexico spiritually, intellectually, and economically. The church was the chief landowner. Today, though shorn of much power, the church is still strong. It instinctively sides with the landowner against the peasant, with the foreign capitalist against the worker. It has exercised its power of superstition to prevent the consummation of the agrarian program, threatening peasants with eternal hell if they accepted expropriated land, etc. Latterly the church has been organizing labor unions under church control and has lent aid in the formation of fascist groups. Some labor

leaders have alienated workers from the union idea by directly attacking the church and its beliefs. Much sounder is the propaganda of the communists in this respect, which shows the peasant that early Christianity was on the side of the workers and that it is the priests, not the government or the labor unions, which are "un-Christian." The church, native landlordism, and foreign capitalism form an unholy trinity working against the liberal government and the workers and peasants.

Politics and Government

With capital chiefly foreign and labor entirely native, it is evident that government must reach some equilibrium between national and foreign interests if it is to exist at all. During the period of Diaz this was solved by the ruthless military suppression of working class rights and needs. But the disruptive force of ten years of civil war has brought it about that the government that finally emerged and pacified the country, found itself largely dependent upon an aroused proletariat. Carranza had come into power in the same way and had fallen when he broke faith with the people. Obregon also found himself pledged to support the masses. But the foreign capitalists commenced a boycott of Mexico which has continued to the present date and which has gradually been forcing the government more and more to the right. Social principles and labor laws, the product of the revolution, have been applied only partially and extensive interpretations in favor of the capitalist interests have been made.

But with the revolution the masses entered the arena of political consideration, leaders swept into power and obtained followers who would fight their battles upon the strength of promises of agrarian and labor reform. The leaders in turn spread socialistic and revolutionary ideas among their followers and assisted them in the formation of agricultural and workers unions. In approximately eight years Mexican labor organization was created. But the price of this mushroom growth was a certain pauperization in the unions. The workers had little above the amount necessary to eat and often not that. In return for their military and political support of a leader they received financial aid from public monies when he got into power. The leader became the financial supporter of the union and so in the long run its dominator. The worker could discard one leader and take up with another but the result remained more or less the same; it was similar to the American worker and the Democratic and Republican Parties, except that in Mexico the leader did actually pass laws and often apply them favorably to the workers. But the very political importance and strength of the workers has made them now subservient to the politicians and if labor is to make further revolutionary advances toward

a better state of society it has to adopt a rigid discipline for the support of its own organization and a technique for the control of such of its leaders whom it wishes to keep in governmental activities. The problem of Mexican labor politically (and economically because "safe and sane" leaders are now often acting as economic policemen for the capitalist and bidding covertly for his support) is to find a technique for the control of political action.

Labor Organization and Tactics

There are certain fundamentals which are common to practically all labor organizations in Mexico but which differ from ideas and practices current in the United States.

1. Being born of revolution, Mexican unionism retains revolution as a slogan, even when the revolutionary ardor has died. While there may be necessity for education as to what constitutes revolutionary action at Mexico's present state of economic development there is little need to sow abstractly the idea of revolution.

2. Mexican labor organization takes the shop and not the craft as a unit, and is adopting the plan of industrial and regional federations, and national confederations. Mexico is not greatly in need of industrial union vs. craft union propaganda, in general the tendency being toward national organization of industrially organized units and a parallel geographical federation. The temperament of the people is such that probably federation will have the same practical results as what is known as amalgamation in this country, the Mexican workers being easily moved to sympathetic strike action.

3. The federal constitution grants the right to strike and picket, and a large number of strikes are called in order to enforce by economic action certain other of the labor rights granted in the constitution but not enforced by the government, such as the eight hour day, the right of three months pay upon unwarranted discharge, sick and accident benefits, etc. It is provided by law that a labor dispute may be referred to an arbitration commission composed of employer and employee representatives meeting with a representative of the government. Should no agreement be reached, then the strike is in order. Should a protracted strike endanger the community or the living conditions of the strikers, the government is empowered to take over and run the establishments until a settlement is effected between the owners and the men.

Existing organizations

1. The largest labor organization in Mexico is the Mexican Federation of Labor. It claims a membership of over 600 organizations and 800,000 members which is probably an exaggeration. The leaders of the Mexican Federation of Labor are all employed in government jobs, some of them holding positions of almost cabinet rank. It swings a large political patronage and gets results for the workers thru governmental channels bringing political pressure to bear to gain its ends. Occasionally it employs strikes and economic pressure, but as the leaders have become more and more a part of the governmental machine, the tendency has been to soft pedal strikes. The Mexican Federation of Labor is run by an inner clique known as the *Grupo Accion* of which the chief members are Luis Morones, Celestino Gasco, Ezequiel Salcedo, Jose Guttierrez, Eduardo Moneda, Juan Rico, Salvador Alvarez and others. The Mexican Federation of Labor maintains close relations

with the American Federation of Labor and has used the latter to assist it in the campaign of the Mexican government for American diplomatic recognition. The Mexican Federation of Labor has been strongly partisan to General P. E. Calles as a candidate for the presidency of Mexico.

2. The General Confederation of Workers was organized in 1921 at the instance of the Communists but later fell into the control of the Anarchists, under whose leadership it voted affiliation with the Berlin Syndicalist International at its last annual convention. The General Confederation has a membership of from 50,000 to 75,000 with its chief strength lying in the capital. In the last year it has been the subject of attack not only from intransigent groups of British and French capitalists, but also from the Mexican Federation of Labor and from the Communists. The General Confederation is strong in the port of Vera Cruz and has been gaining strength in the textile districts of Puebla and Orizaba, due partly to the activity of the anarchist leader Enrique F. Magon. The General Confederation at its last convention adopted a program of industrial unionism and set out to organize the country on a basis somewhat similar to that of the I. W. W. in the United States. Altho scorning political action and ordering its members to abstain from voting, the General Confederation has been the subject of political intrigue no less than the Mexican Federation of Labor. Its leaders have covertly worked its influence for Adolfo de la Huerta and latterly its support is being bid for by the Co-operatista Party, which is the dominant political party in the present Mexican Congress, and which appears to be backing General Calles.

3. The Federation of Mexican Railroad Unions comprises about 45,000 workers, or perhaps 90% of all the men employed on the railroads of Mexico. It is a Federation of 15 different craft unions which includes all departments from section hands to train dispatchers and locomotive engineers. It is the only national organization of labor which is somewhat free from the taint of political control, because its officers are full time men whose salaries are paid by the union. It does not therefore have to depend upon the political patronage and handouts of politicians. Like railroad workers in many countries it is chiefly concerned with railroad organization altho many of its leaders have a revolutionary point of view. It has no official relations with either of the foregoing organizations altho many of its leaders sympathize with the General Federation, while most of them are enemies of the Mexican Federation of Labor because the latter backed out on its promised support of the national railroad strike of 1921.

4. In addition to these three major organizations there are a number of regional groups of importance. There is a portworkers federation which has endeavored to enlist all port units but has only partially succeeded. In Vera Cruz the portworkers' organization dominates a number of the other labor groups in the city and had formed the League of the Maritime Zone, which works in harmony with the Mexican Federation of Labor. In the north, the state federations of Chihuahua and Sonora are independent, and in Monterey, the railroad workers control an independent local federation which is attempting the formation of a Federation of Labor of the North. The workers of the peninsular states of Yucatan and Campeche have a separate organization which, however, works more or less in conjunction with the Mexican Federation of Labor.

5. The Labor Party is the political reflection of the Mexican Federation of Labor. It places locals where there are local unions of the Federation and it is the political machinery used by the *Grupo Accion* to keep and extend its political power. It is backing General Calles for President of Mexico.

6. The Communist Party of Mexico has not as yet entered the active political field. It is small numerically and confines itself to educational propaganda. It believes in the importance of the agricultural workers as compared with the city laborer, and is bending its efforts to the job of fostering the communal idea among villages who have received government land. The Communists were the controlling factors in the extensive tenants' movements which swept the larger cities of Mexico during 1922, and which has now largely died out with the exception of its point of initiation and greatest virulence, the city of Vera Cruz. Latterly the accretion of certain intellectual elements to the Mexico City communists has given their activities added strength.

The United Front

This question has been one of the most acrimonious topics of debate at every convention of Mexican labor during the past year. Insurgents who introduced the matter in the last convention of the Mexican Federation of Labor were met with the argument "We are the united front. If all organizations would join the Federation, which openly invites everybody, the United Front would be a fact." So it would, of course, but it would mean coming under the domination of the ruling clique of the Mexican Federation against whom great animosity is felt. The General Confederation meantime has been engaged in trying to split off certain sections of the textile workers from the Mexican Federation and invites all workers to join it in its industrial union program. The fusion of these two bodies would mean that many 'leaders' would lose their power, and power is sweet. Meanwhile the Communists have been urging a united front of the workers and attacking the leaders of both the above mentioned groups. A manifesto to Mexican workers from the headquarters of the Red Trade Union International at Moscow was given great publicity by the Communist Party. At present the General Confederation is leading a movement for a "united front," encouraged by the Co-operatista Party, which wants to gain influence among the voters for the coming presidential elections.

Suggestions for Trade Union Education

The foregoing considerations indicate that an independent and united front of the Mexican proletariat, peasant and workers, presupposes:

1. The eradication of pauperism in the unions. This includes instruction in the necessity and technique of a proper collection and management of union finances. It means rank and file discipline.

2. Conservation and harnessing of leaders. It will not suffice to condemn present leaders. All men of ability that can be marshalled are needed by Mexico today. There must be education as to the correct sphere and function of leaders and the development of a technique for their effective control. This point is intimately connected with the previous one.

3. Practical instruction as to how the capitalist system works in Mexico at the present time. This means a first-hand study of what foreign capital is doing in Mexico, what relations it has with domestic capital and the government, what the real relations are between city workers and peasants and how practical co-operation can be developed between them.

4. Skillful emancipation of the peasant and worker intellect from the drugging influence of the church.

5. Persistent effort toward a practical co-operation and the actual achievement of united action between the various workers' and peasants' groups; first in small areas and then in larger, until the advantages become apparent. Each union needs its group of keen-sighted workers who will support every sound movement for co-operation, federation, and amalgamation. In this connection an important field is that of the implantation of peasant co-operative and communal groups in lieu of a system of small proprietorship in land.

6. Diffusion of general and technical education.

In Mexico there is stirring a great wave of feeling toward a new system of production and distribution. But some have felt that Mexico must first be industrialized, like America or Europe, before a revolution can come; others, on the contrary, have thought that Mexico could achieve an Anarchist-Communist revolution next week or next year. Both of these points of view are faulty. Mexico will be industrialized to a certain extent, but it is to the advantage of the people to retard rather than hasten that end: industrialization should come only at such a speed that the reviving people can control it and make it serve social ends. On the other hand, Mexico is already so tied up with the international capitalist system that no complete overturn is possible until that system is more weakened than it is today. "Mexico for the Mexicans" if properly understood, is the course of safety today for the Mexican people. This requires an alert and independent workers' and peasants' movement which shall continually force the government into line and prevent the recurrence of another period of Diazism under control of United States capitalists.

Trade Union Educational League

In June a Mexican Trade Union Educational League was formed. The secretary general is Rafael Mallen and other officers are Diego Rivera, Jose Allen, Jorge J. Crespo, and Manuel Ramirez. These men are all known as active communists. There are sincere men in the other labor organizations who wish honestly for a united front. It is unfortunate that some of them were not secured at the outset to form a part of the directive body of the new organization, because a united front must come thru a fusion of elements and cannot now be achieved under communist leadership alone. There should be a left block. This difficulty may have been remedied since the writer left Mexico. At the time of his departure the league had just been organized and the writer can give no report of what has occurred since. The above is simply his analysis of the present situation in Mexico and has value only as a personal observation.

Adopted.

Verbal reports were also made by various delegates from the several districts.

Report of the Committee to Investigate Shooting in the Carmen's Auditorium

Delegate Buck reported on having investigated the shooting affair in the Carmen's Auditorium, together with a Committee appointed by the National Committee. He stated he would later submit a written report which is herewith included:-

WE, your Committee, especially appointed to investigate the shooting that took place in Carmen's Auditorium, Chicago, August 27th, at a meeting called by expelled members to protest against the tyrannical methods now being used by the officials of the I. L. G. W. U. against the left-wing in that organization, beg leave to submit the following report:

In company with a representative of the Federated Press, we visited the Carmen's Auditorium. We located the janitor of the building and with him went into the main hall, where we saw the bullet holes in the ceiling. The janitor, upon questioning, stated that he had noted the disturbance being made in the hall by the gangsters and had told them that they "could gain nothing this way." He asked them to leave, but they refused, saying that they were members of the I. L. G. W. U.

We met with and questioned many workers who had been present at the meeting. All were unanimous in stating that a crowd of gangsters had endeavored from the very opening of the meeting to break it up by creating disturbance. Several times they had the meeting in a turmoil. Great care was needed to prevent a regular commotion. Some of these witnesses declared that the gangsters were "all more or less drunk."

According to the testimony, the climax came shortly after Foster began his speech. Suddenly one of the gangsters flung open a door at the head of a stairs to the right of the platform and, covering his face with his left arm, fired three shots in rapid succession in the general direction of Foster, who was on the platform, about 65 ft. away. Immediately the audience, already excited to the last degree over the disruption that had been created earlier, rose as one man to its feet. A general move was started for the exits. That pandemonium did not break loose is due to the magnificent efforts of those comrades on the stage and in the body of the hall, who, realizing the inevitably fatal results that would follow a panic or a wild rush for the street, urged the audience to remain quiet and succeeded in finally getting them to do so.

One of the worst phases of this matter is the brazen attempt being made not only to wipe clear of blame the real criminals, but also to fasten it upon the left-wingers. In this attempt there is a united front of the capitalist press, the officials of the I. L. G. W. U., and certain other labor officials. These people may well get busy to free themselves from responsibility in this matter. They were fortunate indeed that one of the bullets now imbedded in the ceiling of the Ashland Auditorium, while missing Foster, did not crash into the big drop light. Apparently the bullet missed this light by only three or four inches. Had it struck the light the great shade would have been shattered, probably putting the lighting system out of commission, and causing a terrible panic that might have caused the loss of many lives.

Your Committee feels that this outrage, far from being allowed to pass unheeded, should be considered a challenge to the rapidly growing left-wing in the needle trades. It renders the task of the militants increasingly clear. We must stop the officials controlling the or-

ganizations by strong arm methods, and an end must be made to the ousting of opponents by hired gunmen. By intensifying our activities in every sphere, we will develop the rank and file movement until our unions are governed by the membership, the people who should rightfully control them.

Fraternally submitted,

Tim Buck, T. R. Sullivan

J. Lipschitz, S. Zimmerman.

In the discussion on this report, Secretary Foster stated that he had visited Ed Nockels, Secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and, calling his attention to the statement that had appeared in the press quoting him to the effect that the shots were blanks and that the whole thing was a publicity stunt, offered to go with Nockels or Anton Johannsen, who was also present and had made a similar statement, to the Carmen's Auditorium and in ten minutes time show them the bullet holes. They both refused point blank, preferring to let their misstatements stand. Mr. Nockels let the cat out of the bag by saying that "We told you that when you started the Federated Farmer-Labor Party you would make a lot of enemies," showing clearly that his statement was simply a matter of spite. Secretary Foster then called upon representatives of the Federated Press, who were present at the Conference to make statements of the affair. The following is taken from the stenographic record of the Conference:-

Mr. Denny. "We have this report from Sargeant Crowley of the Warren Ave. Station. He told us he was in sole charge. He gave me this statement. I am quoting him literally. 'From our investigation we have no reason to believe that the shooting was a fake, as stated by the Chicago Tribune. Although we have not yet caught the assailant, we are still continuing the investigation. There were three shots, three bullet holes on the ceiling at Carmen's Hall, about 40 feet from the entrance where the shots were fired. That is about half way between the speakers platform and the entrance.' And he added that that was the only authorized statement that was given by the police. That is in the Federated Press Service of today."

Mr. Haessler. "I went over for the Federated Press with the Committee. Denny, who has just spoken for the Federated Press, handled the police end. I think there are two more points to be brought out. It looks kind of funny to have a practised gunman hitting the ceiling when there is a target on the platform. I think that can be explained if you consider the circumstances. Suppose that is the doorway where they entered, and Foster was standing over at the other end of the hall. The distance was a little more than that. (exactly 65 feet.) He came in like that (covering his face with one arm) as I imagine, and he brings the gun down. You don't bring it up unless you are a hip shot. You come down like that (illustrated). He was so nervous that before his gun came down he started pulling the trigger. The first shot hit up there, (pointing about 30 feet from

the door). The next hit a little further down, sort of to the right. The next shot was ten or twelve feet closer to Foster. If he had exploded the other barrels—it must have been a six shooter—the sixth one might have hit. He was so scared that he ran away when he

missed all his shots. That explains the queer point of this, how he happened to hit the ceiling."

On motion, the report of the Committee was adopted.

Report on the Second Congress of the R. I. L. U.

By J. W. Johnstone, T. U. E. L. Delegate

IN the Moscow Labor Temple, November, 1922, the second congress of the R. I. L. U. was held. There were 213 delegates present representing 51 organizations and 42 countries with a membership approximately of 12 millions.

Of these, 200 were manual laborers, as the following table shows: Metal Workers 46, Railroad Workers 29, Building Trades 29, Miners 20, Printers 15, Leather Workers 15, Clothing Trades 15, Seamen 10, Agrarian Workers 8, Municipal Employees 8 and the Wood Workers 5. The great majority of these delegates came direct from the job to the convention.

The question that was expected to bring out a great deal of antagonism was the relationship between the Communist International and the R. I. L. U. This did not materialize, and the relationship of these two guiding spirits of the proletarian revolution remain in general the same, although to facilitate the work of the French workers and to bring about a better relationship between the French Syndicalist and the R. I. L. U. the method of relationship was changed from an organic representation of three on both executives with voice and vote, to the creation of a council of action of three from both executive bureaus.

The report of the executive committee showed that, in spite of the many handicaps that confronted them, there was not a single question that was of importance to the labor movement, either nationally or internationally, upon which the R. I. L. U. did not take definite action. The executive committee has had to work under difficult conditions; only a few members could remain to carry on the work. Surrounded by hostile governments, hampered in their work by the vicious attacks of the Amsterdam International, having to meet the bitter opposition of the Anarcho-Syndicalists, and the villification of the Gompersites, while living in an atmosphere of civil war, famine, and plague, it is a remarkable achievement that they were able to do the splendid work that they did.

The R. I. L. U. has been able to unite, for the first time in the history of the labor movement, almost the entire left wing, including heretofore antagonistic groups. In 42 countries there are adherents to the R. I. L. U. Some of them represent the entire movement of the country, others, like America, minority groups and small organizations.

The congress held 14 sessions dealing with the following eight major questions; the Executive Committee's report, problems of organization, the capitalist offensive and the united front of labor, the relations between the Third International and the R. I. L. U., unemployment and the high cost of living, the struggle against imperialism and militarism, the Trade unions and the co-operative movement, and the trade union movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. All of these problems are of far-reaching importance to the world's workers.

The most important problem that came before the congress was the capitalist offensive and the united front of labor. Simultaneous with the capitalist offensive against the workers, the trade union bureaucrats lined up with the capitalists and launched their offensive

against the revolutionary workers; in this they were aided by the Anarcho-Syndicalists. The need for a united front of the working class is obvious to all militants, but to explain to the great mass of workers how that front should be organized and the fight prepared, we must be able to explain why the employing class upon a world's scale has taken the offensive against the workers. If we accept the capitalist theory that the present world crisis is similar to, and only differs in magnitude from, other crises that have shaken the capitalist system from time to time, would be to base the united front upon a false theory and could only result in the adoption of wrong tactics, with consequent failure.

The capitalist system has passed the peak of its development, and is on the downward path. This is the essential difference from previous crises. It is true that in this country it has recovered and is seemingly stronger than ever, but one needs only to look at Europe to see the truth in this statement. Just as in the development of capitalism there were a series of crises so in its downward path there will be crises. It is the difference between them that we must understand and organize our forces accordingly.

The capitalist system has entered a period when it finds it impossible to develop new markets, to the extent necessary to maintain and increase capitalist enterprise. Instead, it is now an obstacle to further industrial expansion. The extension of trade so necessary to the life of capitalism has reached the limit fixed by its own operations. This, with the fact that the war so reduced the buying power of the world, forces capital, in order to prevent a final breakdown to further intensify the exploitation of the workers. But this method of retrieving lost profits does not solve the problem for the capitalist, it only aggravates it, and alienates completely the most important factor in production, the working class.

As a result of the capitalist offensive, Labor has lost ground in every country. The loss in wages, hours and working conditions has been enormous. The rapid decrease in union membership, taking place in all countries except Germany and Austria, can be judged by the following figures. In France there were 2,000,000 members in 1920, in September 1922 there were only 600,000. In Italy in 1920 there were 2,300,000, now they can only muster some 700,000. In Hungary during the Soviet rule there were 1,450,000, now there is scarcely 200,000! So it is in every country. England lost 1,200,000 members, while here in America we have dropped from a membership of nearly 5,000,000 to about 2,500,000.

This loss in membership is not entirely the result of the capitalist offensive. To a large extent it is due to the disappointment of the workers in the unions. The unions, under reactionary and reformist leaders, were helpless. They attempted to meet the capitalist offensive by carrying on isolated struggles. The bigger the conflict the more clearly was demonstrated the weakness of the unions. This was seen in the metal workers' and miners' strikes in England and the steel workers', miners' and railroad workers' strikes in this country. Everywhere the organized attack of capital met with weak resistance from the trade unions, who sent one group

of workers after another to the slaughter. The disillusioned workers deserted in large numbers.

The organizational problems that confront the adherents of the R. I. L. U. are many, the solution of which is indeed important, for it is obvious that unless we all agree to the general broad policy and tactics a united front would be impossible.

During the offensive the unions that suffered the least were the most militant and class conscious, while the weak reactionary unions that recognized an identity of interest between the workers and the employers suffered the most.

The capitalist offensive in lowering the morale and reducing the numerical strength of the trade unions, not only makes the class lines more clear, but it forces the most active members from their old moorings and a regrouping of forces takes place. This regrouping endangers the position of the reactionary leaders, and forces them to take issue with the growing left-wing element. Hence, the more acute the struggle between Capital and Labor becomes, the more confused becomes the attitude of the reactionary leaders, and the clearer becomes the aims of the left wing. As the practical tasks that confront the workers become clear, and just to the extent that they are understood, will the unions change from organizations of defense, to organizations of attack upon the capitalist system with its overthrow as the final goal.

The R. I. L. U. realizes that the strengthening of the trade union movement, can only be done on the basis of a practical program. Mere abstract principles will not attract the masses. The strengthening of the unions can only be achieved by hard work and a systematic struggle for the daily demands and needs of the workers. Practical issues such as resisting wage cuts, or demanding wage increases, maintenance of the unemployed, amalgamation, independent working class political action, are slogans that will rally the workers. The old spasmodic haphazard method of meeting important issues, must be replaced by a carefully thought-out program of action for each industry. This is the most important organizational problem that confronts the left wing of each industry and the task that the T. U. E. L. has set out to accomplish.

The shop steward or factory committees are a future development for the American labor movement, but the experiences of the European workers proves the necessity of creating as soon as possible this invaluable and important part of the revolutionary labor movement, and we must familiarize ourselves with, and understand the importance of, the shop steward movement, and seriously struggle for its promotion.

Secessionism and dualism were given a thorough discussion, and categorically condemned by the congress. America, however, is the only country that has been seriously affected with this insidious propaganda, which received no sympathy at the congress. However, a united front of labor is not complete as long as any part of labor is excluded, the theory of dualism negates the idea of the united front. The R. I. L. U. recognizes that just as we have to force the reactionary leaders into a united front of labor, by bringing pressure to bear upon them through the rank and file, so must pressure be brought to bear upon the leaders of the dualists to cease their splitting tactics and force them to join labor's united front.

The R. I. L. U. advises the T. U. E. L. to form a council of action, to include the minority group within the I. W. W. and the independent unions that have or will accept the policies of the R. I. L. U. The purposes of this council of action are to reach the rank and file with the message of unity, to strive through a process of amalgamation and absorption for the unification of Labor's forces in America to the end that there shall be one general labor movement.

The ten months that have passed since the last congress have proven the correctness of the policies and tactics adopted, as is shown in the splendid report on the Enlarged Executive, by comrade Johnson. To take up each problem that was discussed at the congress would need more space than I am allowed here. However, the resolutions and decisions are now printed in pamphlet form, and can be had from THE LABOR HERALD Library, and they should be carefully studied by all members of the League.

Adopted.

Second Day's Proceedings. Morning Session

Report on Executive Bureau R. I. L. U., June 25-July 3, 1923

By Charles E. Johnson, T. U. E. L. Delegate

THE working class, which has been suffering heavily from the attacks of capitalism, and which has been defeated frequently through reformist tactics, is now beginning to realize that the common cause of Labor can only be advanced by the united proletarian front. It is coming to understand that the united front slogan issued by the Moscow Internationals represents the only way out of the present political situation.

The first real manifestation of Labor to this effect was the conference in Essen, where the Communists and militant trade unionists of many countries met and jointly protested against the occupation of the Ruhr. The second important sign was the Frankfurt conference, where a faction of the Social Democrats declared their preference for a united front with the Communists instead of with the bourgeoisie. The third demonstration of this tendency was the recent Berlin conference of transport workers, where the largest section of the Amsterdam International entered into a block with the revolutionary transport workers' unions affiliated to the

R. I. L. U. Although many Amsterdam officials are sabotaging the decisions of the Berlin conference, still they cannot force shut again the gates opened at that time. It is essential to note that Edo Fimmen, one of the secretaries of the Amsterdam International, is for the united front with the Communists, whereas Oudegeest, another secretary of the same camp, is against it. Amsterdam, divided against itself, is on the decline.

The formation of the united front is going on with rapid strides in Germany. The majority Socialists in many localities are declaring for joint action with the Communists and even for the immediate organization of the proletarian *Hundertchaften* (self-defense units). Of course, the objective conditions are forcing the workers to adopt the united front tactics, but, at the same time, the subjective forces—the initiative and leadership of the Comintern and the R. I. L. U.—are playing very important roles in this. Therefore the Central Bureau of the R. I. L. U. endorsed all the steps taken by the Executive Bureau to continue working in

close contact and co-operation with the Communist International in all defensive and offensive struggles against the bourgeoisie.

The Central Bureau issued a protest against the attempted sabotage of the International Transport Workers' Conference held in Berlin. The sabotage was started by the Executive Committee of the German Railway and Transport Workers, who were followed by Bidegaray, the leader of the reformist French Railway Union. The Central Bureau also resolutely declared that it will continue to struggle against nationalism in the labor movement, against class collaboration, and against the turning of the labor unions into mere tools of the imperialist governments.

In proposing the united front to the reformists, the Central Bureau declared that the revolutionary unions propose a practical platform and co-operation on a definite and concrete basis. It does not demand that the reformists discontinue their struggle against Communism, and it will not yield to a similar demand from the opposite side. The mutual struggle will cease in the joint activities against the bourgeoisie, according to the degree of development of these joint activities. It will not end before. The R. I. L. U. will continue to do everything in its power to get the Amsterdam International to join in common action against the world reaction. As the best means to develop the struggle against the capitalist offensive, the R. I. L. U. proposes an International Labor Congress, in which both the R. I. L. U. and the Amsterdam International shall participate.

During the deliberations of the Central Bureau, it was repeatedly pointed out that the amalgamation of craft unions into industrial organizations is as yet far from being an accomplished fact. That not only in America, but even in England and Germany this is true. Amalgamation is the need of the hour. In this connection the propaganda methods of the T. U. E. L. were highly commended. The resolution adopted read as follows:

"The third session of the Central Council of the Red International of Labor Unions acknowledges with satisfaction the success attained in the United States and Canada by the Trade Union Educational League. The Council greets with warm commendation the creation of a widespread sentiment among the organized workers in favor of amalgamation and of the realization of all the slogans of the T. U. E. L. The Council is convinced that this tendency will now be crystallized into a more concrete organizational form, and believes this to be the main immediate task of the T. U. E. L., so as to preserve this favorable sentiment from being scattered. The Council also fully approves of the work of the T. U. E. L. in aiming at establishing its special committees in various fields of industry, and it recommends that each of these committees establish connections with the corresponding international propaganda committees of the R. I. L. U. The Council also approves of the adoption of a special program for the militant unionists in each field of industry, as for instance, the campaign among the miners for the nationalization of the mines and workers control.

The International Propaganda Committee of the R. I. L. U. are not centers of dual unionism but just propaganda bodies for the amalgamation of industrial unions upon an international scale. The Propaganda Committees will be disbanded as soon as this aim is obtained.

In view of the fact that the trade union movement has been split up by the European Gomperses in Germany,

France, Spain, Czecho-Slovakia, etc., and the expelled militants were forced to organize themselves into national federations parallel to the existing reformist bodies, the question recurred frequently as to whether or not the newly developed left-wings in the reformist national federations should not be withdrawn and lined up with the revolutionary national federations. The expelled militants of Germany and Czecho-Slovakia were inclined to support the withdrawal policy, whereas the French Syndicalists, the Russian, English, Italian, American, and other delegations, took the opposite point of view. The Central Bureau went on record as follows:

The struggle against expulsions and for the reinstatement of the expelled must be continued with even greater determination than ever. All the independent organizations must fight for the unification of the disrupted unions. In the countries where two trade union centers exist alongside each other, the organizations affiliated to the R. I. L. U. must fight tirelessly for the reestablishment of unity of the entire movement through the calling of special congresses on the basis of proportional representation.

In the countries with two parallel labor federations (France, Czecho-Slovakia, Spain) the unions expelled by the reformists should join the revolutionary organizations. However, in these countries as well the left-wing elements within the reformist unions should under no circumstances be withdrawn from them and transferred to the revolutionary organizations. In case of expulsions of individual groups or persons from the unions, they, together with the revolutionary minorities, should do their best to be reinstated. The time for and advisability of joining the expelled elements from the reformist unions to the rival revolutionary organizations depends upon the general conditions of the struggle against reformism.

On the question of shop committees, the Central Bureau adopted the following:

The struggle for the united front of the trade union movement will be successful only if we concentrate our attention upon the factories and work places. The struggle for factory and shop committees, where such are not now in existence, and for the revolutionization of those already organized, has now become of utmost importance. The development and strengthening of the factory and shop committees is the best means of establishing unity in the labor movement. It should be remembered that these committees have their special functions and we must therefore definitely oppose supplanting the trade unions by the factory and shop committees.

The mass of young workers are mainly unorganized. The Amsterdammers and the A. F. of L. have both neglected the economic situation of these workers. The Central Bureau calls upon all militant and progressive unions to fight against the present conditions of apprenticeship prevailing in many countries. The chief aim of the struggle must be the introduction of new apprenticeship, based upon full payment for work performed by young proletarians. The young workers should be placed on a basis of equality with adults in industry and taken in to fight against wage reductions, Fascism, and the menace of war. The struggle against threatening new wars and Fascism must be carried on most energetically. Particular attention should be paid to the agricultural workers, the tenant farmers, and other backward elements from which Fascism recruits

its troops. In the struggle against Fascism, the organization of self-defense units, and of workers emigrating from the country of triumphant Fascism, should play an important part. Another vital task is to prevent the formation of Fascist trade unions. It should be made clear to the workers that the Fascist unions are identical with strike-breaking organizations. The slogan "Into the Trade Unions" should also be extended to the working women.

In the United States and Canada the capitalists, the government, and all their lackeys, are doing their utmost to whip up nationalist prejudices in times of strife and strikes and to work up mob-lynching sentiment against the foreign born workers. The consequence is that many pages of labor history are stained with working class blood and tears. In order to avoid this danger, the Central Bureau urges that the immigrant workers should join the existing trade unions of the native workers. And on the other hand, the native trade unions should show the foreign born workers that their rights are being defended energetically. Whenever strike, organization, and propaganda committees, are being formed, the immigrants should be represented on these committees. The entire trade union press of the countries having immigration, should devote sufficient space to immigration questions.

During the session of the Central Bureau, Comrade Tomsky, Chairman of the All Russian Central Council of Trade Unions, delivered a most interesting and important report on the present trade union situation in Russia. On this question the Central Bureau adopted the following resolution:-

It is with great satisfaction that the Central Council of the R. I. L. U. takes cognizance of the amelioration in the economic situation of the Russian working class, which has suffered so much during the long years of struggle against world imperialism. The Central Council sends its fraternal greetings to the Russian proletariat, and assures it that the exploited of all countries are indissolubly bound to the Russian workers and their unions, in their struggle for the triumph of Communism throughout the world.

All in all, the Central Bureau not only solved many burning, practical questions, but likewise perfected organizational forms and propaganda methods. It outlined the immediate tasks for the militant trade unionists of various countries and it also dealt with many entirely new subjects, such as the strategy of strikes,

etc. These will be discussed exhaustively at the next congress of the R. I. L. U. in April, 1924.

Secretary Foster read the following excerpt from Losovsky's speech at the first session of the Enlarged Executive, dealing with the T. U. E. L.:

"In the United States, the work of the R. I. L. U. has assumed a mass character. We are faced with a large movement headed by the Trade Union Educational League. Born only a couple of years ago, this League has made tremendous progress. It is successfully battling against the theory and tactics of dual unionism, i. e., of splitting the trade union organizations, no matter what the cost. For the first time in the labor movement of America, a revolutionary wing has assumed real importance. The influence of the League grows steadily. It is now influencing, ideologically and politically, two millions of workers. This has frightened the reactionary leaders of the American trade union movement, and forced them to carry on a fierce struggle against the League. The small independent revolutionary unions existing alongside the League are trying in vain to compete with its influence. Even less capable of rivaling it is the I. W. W. This favorable situation of the League will encourage its leaders to do everything possible from an organizational point of view, in order to spread the influence to both the independent unions and the I. W. W. The struggle against dual unionism does not exclude the possibility of agreement with the existing revolutionary independent unions. The chief problem there is the further consolidation of the League, the extension of its influence beyond the A. F. of L., the struggle for industrial unionism, the creation of Committees of Action and the overthrow of the most reactionary trade union bureaucracy in the world. All this can be accomplished, provided the League pursues the present policy towards the elements standing outside it."

Secretary Foster stated that this was rather a rosy picture of the T. U. E. L. After all, we are only a very small group in the labor movement. It would be a mistake for us to get an exaggerated idea of our power or importance. We must realize that the enemy opposed to us is tremendously superior in numerical strength. Our only hope is in the correctness of our policies and the militancy of our methods.

Adopted.

International Affiliations

The National Committee submitted the following statement on the general question of international affiliations.

CAPITALISM is international in scope. This is increasingly evident since the close of the world war. The organization and power of industry and of the men controlling it knows no borders. It penetrates and criss-crosses all countries. The capitalist class is rapidly setting up an international united front against the working class. In consequence the necessity for the workers to develop a powerful international organization is great and constantly growing greater. In view of this situation the present isolation of the American labor movement, which is entirely detached from the trade unions of other countries, is especially deplorable. It compromises the interests of not only the workers of the United States and Canada but of the entire world. The time

is more than ripe for the American Federation of Labor and the big independent unions to awaken to a sense of their interest and duty by taking their position side by side with the militant workers of the world now engaged in an international fight to the finish against capitalism.

The Amsterdam International

The International Federation of Trade Unions, commonly called the Amsterdam International, is at present making a strong bid for the affiliation of our labor movement. But the Trade Union Educational League warns the American working class against this organization. The Amsterdam International is not a real proletarian body. It has no faith in the revolution and the workers' republic. It is definitely committed to the perpetuation of capitalism, advocating that the way to freedom for the workers is by patching up that outworn system. It, and its political affiliation, the Second In-

ternational defeated the proletarian revolution after the great war, even though they had to make the streets of German cities run red with workers' blood in order to do so. It is now the principal prop to the hopelessly decrepit and tottering capitalist system. Never, if it can prevent it, does it allow the workers to clash directly with that system. Just as the Italian workers in 1920 were about to seize power and set up a workers' society its leaders betrayed them foully, with the result that Mussolini was able to demoralize the labor movement and to establish the Fascist dictatorship.

The Amsterdam International is not now and never has been a real workers' international. It makes no effort to work out world-wide policies for the workers. Its tactics in the several countries are always identified with the nationalistic interests of the capitalist class in those countries. That is why the men at the head of the organization made no resistance to the world war; that is why they have no world policy in the present peace that is worse than war; that is why they are organizing no real opposition to the international menace of Fascism. Ever since its inception the Amsterdam International, true to its petty-bourgeois nature, has followed the treacherous policy of uniting with the reactionary capitalists against the revolutionary left wing in the trade unions. Its leaders, wherever they have had sufficient power, have consistently expelled the revolutionaries from the labor organizations. This caused the big splits in the labor movements of France, Czecho-Slovakia, and other countries. The expulsion policy of the Amsterdam International is one of the greatest crimes ever committed against the working class by its supposed leaders. The path of the Amsterdam International is the way to destruction for the working class, and the American labor movement will do well to beware of it.

The Berlin International

Within the past year a new world organization of workers has come upon the scene. This is the International Workingmen's Association, or the Berlin International. It is the organization of the Anarcho-Syndicalists. Although weak in numbers, the Berlin International is showing itself to be possessed of considerable disruptive powers, especially in those countries where the labor movements show strong Syndicalist tendencies. Its policy is one of secession. It splits the labor movement wherever by doing so it can gain control over a considerable body of workers. Even more than the Amsterdammers do its adherents object to being in a minority and to obeying majority rule. One of the first results of its disastrous splitting tactics is now to be seen in Holland. Recently the Dutch Syndicalist organization (N. A. S.) submitted a referendum to its membership on the question of affiliation to either the Berlin or Red Internationals. By a small majority the Red International proposition carried. The Communists then proposed that inasmuch as their majority was small the best way to preserve unity in the organization was to withhold all international affiliations. But the Syndicalist would not hear of this. Under the guidance of their Berlin officials, they immediately withdrew from their old organization and set up a new one. It was one of the most cold-blooded secession movements and rejections of majority rule in modern labor history.

The Berlin International is busy carrying on a similar movement in the Unity General Confederation of Labor of France. There is the same bone of contention, the question of affiliation to the Red International of Labor Unions. When at the first congress of the R. I. L. U., held in Moscow in 1921, that body established organic relations with the Third International

through the mutual exchange of delegates to their respective Executive Committees, the Syndicalists of France made violent objection. They declared that they would never permit the C. G. T. U. to become affiliated to the Red International and thus fall under the control of Communist politicians. They categorically demanded a severance of the organic relations as the condition for their affiliation. At the congress of the R. I. L. U. in 1922 the proposition of the C. G. T. U. was adopted and the R. I. L. U. broke off direct connections with the Third International, whereupon the C. G. T. U. affiliated to it. But this, instead of stopping the clamor of the Syndicalists, seemed only to increase it. They are still carrying on a vigorous campaign in the C. G. T. U. against the R. I. L. U., using exactly the same arguments as they did before the organic connections were broken. The agitation is being directed by the Berlin International, which is seeking to split the C. G. T. U., even as it did the Dutch organization.

The Trade Union Educational League condemns and repudiates the Berlin International. There is no good reason for its existence. Its policy of secession is, if possible, even more destructive to working class solidarity than the policy of expulsion followed by the Amsterdam International. The Berlin International is simply a disruptive force; it serves merely to still further complicate an already difficult international situation. American workers should shun it.

The Red International

The Red International is the revolutionary labor organization of the world-wide working class. It repudiates entirely the system of production for profit and stands for the establishment of a workers' republic. It condemns the rotten capitalist system root and branch. It does not propose the patching up of the present industrial order, but its complete abolishment. This it holds can come only through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the every-day battles of the workers against the employers, the Red International condemns the worthless class collaboration which is at the bottom of the present weakness of the world's labor movement. Knowing full well that the only concessions the workers will ever get from the employers are those they have the power and courage to take, it advocates the principles of militant class struggle. Wherever the fight is hottest on the international battlefield of Labor there the adherents of the R. I. L. U. will be found organizing the workers in ever more intensive forms of struggle. In Germany, which is tottering on the brink of revolution, the frenzied employers are seeking to overwhelm and crush the labor movement by the use of Fascisti tactics, even as was done in Italy. In this crisis the scattered advocates of the Berlin International can find nothing more useful to do than to split hairs about the domination of Moscow, while the timid leaders of the Amsterdam International are vainly and stupidly calling upon the capitalist state to protect them from the equally capitalistic Fascisti. It is only the Red International that is showing the understanding, courage, and initiative to make a real fight. It is going to the workers of all factions, getting them to create a united front, and organizing them to meet the murderous Fascisti with their own methods. The armed bands of workers, set up by followers of the Red International, are the one dike now holding against the flood of reaction in Germany. Similarly in the war crisis developed by the occupation of the Rhur by French troops, it was only the Red International that dared to act. The Amsterdam International, rendered powerless by the nationalism that is in its bone and marrow, did nothing to avert

the war horror. It stood perfectly helpless and allowed the situation to develop however it would, while the Red International went actively about organizing the workers' resistance to the threatened blood bath.

In these days of working class division and disruption the Red International is alone defending the true principle of trade unionism. This principle is that labor organizations must include all workers regardless of their political or other beliefs. The Amsterdam International violates this fundamental principle as a set policy. It conceives the labor movement as a sort of reformist Socialist sect. Habitually it excludes Communists and other revolutionaries because of their political and industrial opinions. If these revolutionaries, in spite of the exclusion policy, manage to secure a majority in any organization, then the Amsterdammers immediately split it and form a new union. The Berlin International, with its studied splits and secessions, is following essentially the same policy. Both these internationals, by their utterly reactionary program of pulling their members out of all organizations that they cannot dictate the policies of, degrade the labor movement to a sectarian basis. Their conduct is hardly above those other reactionaries who, for similar reasons, form separate unions on the basis of religion and nationalism. On the other hand, the Red International loyally defends the principle of a labor movement broad enough to include workers of every political, national, and religious conviction. It is opposed to dual unionism, secession, and expulsions as a matter of profound policy. It is carrying on a world-wide fight against these disruptive tendencies and practices. Confident in the justice of its cause, it is perfectly willing to remain a minority within a mass movement dominated by other social conceptions pending the time it can win this mass over to its point of view. The Red International

refuses even to be driven into sectarian labor organization. Where its members are expelled from unions dominated by Amsterdammers or other intolerant elements they fight their way back into their original organizations. The united front is the very heart of the Red International's program.

The Trade Union Educational League endorses and supports the Red International of Labor Unions. We hold that its ultimate goal of a workers' republic is the only possible solution of the contradictions and injustices of our present industrial and social system, and we maintain that its method of militant class struggle is the sole means by which the workers can defend themselves in the everyday struggle and eventually free themselves from the bonds of capitalist slavery. We condemn the splitting policy of the Amsterdam International and the new jump-up Berlin International, and we heartily endorse the united front program of the R. I. L. U. We call upon the workers of the United States and Canada to affiliate themselves to the Red International of Labor Unions.

Adopted.

Report on the Red International Committee

Sec'y Foster stated that the necessity for complete co-operation between the revolutionary minorities and unions had made it necessary to create a body whereby this co-operation could be secured. This was the Red International Committee, authorized by the last Congress of the R. I. L. U. A full statement of the principles and rules of the R. I. C. is to be found in THE LABOR HERALD for August. He stated that as yet the R. I. C. is just beginning to work out its program. At present it is conducting a general survey of the independent unions and also developing a general policy.

Adopted.

Report of the Resolutions Committee

ORGANIZE THE UNORGANIZED

WHEREAS, Only a small percentage of the great working masses are as yet members of the trade unions, great numbers being still unorganized in nearly all the industries, and

WHEREAS, This state of affairs not only militates against the unorganized, who are helpless, but against the organized as well, who find themselves severely handicapped in their struggle for better conditions by the ever-present army of unorganized; and

WHEREAS, The present temporary spurt of prosperity offers a splendid opportunity to bring these unorganized masses into the unions and thus enormously strengthen our ranks against the bitter onslaughts that are bound to come from the employers at the first slackening up of industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Trade Union Educational League, in Second General Conference assembled, call upon the militant unionists in all their organizations to work for the launching of a great organization drive in all localities and industries in order to finally bring within the protecting folds of Organized Labor the masses who still remain outside.

Adopted.

CLASS-WAR PRISONERS

WHEREAS, There are still scores of workers in prison, particularly the members of the I. W. W. in Leavenworth, sentenced under the vicious

war-time laws against the expression of opinions but in reality because they were militant workers; and

WHEREAS, There are other hundreds of workers in the various State penitentiaries, convicted under the so-called Criminal Syndicalism Laws, against not one of whom has a single criminal act been proved, and in every case the prosecution has been brazenly and openly calculated to suppress the expression of the discontent of Labor; and

WHEREAS, In addition to the Federal war-time laws, and the State Criminal Syndicalism laws, which made opinions and their expression sufficient for the capitalists to send the militant workers to prison, there has also been used extensively the "frame-up," one of the highest achievements of American capitalism, by which "evidence" is manufactured by the Burns' and other Detective Agencies to put out of the way those workers who are active against the capitalists; and

WHEREAS, The outstanding and best-known "frameup," that against Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings, two of the most fearless fighters in the labor movement, has been conclusively and completely exposed, so that every one in America knows that they are innocent of the crime charged against them, yet they are still in prison after seven years; and

WHEREAS, The case of Nicolo Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, another "frame-up" that has also been exposed to the world, has for years shown the dastardly methods of the capitalist police and private detectives against the militant workers, and

yet these men are still in prison and one of them has been driven insane, while the defense is hampered by lack of funds; and

WHEREAS, Jacob Dolla, victim of the "frame-up" in the steel strike; John E. Merrick, framed-up by detectives at Haverhill in the drive against the shoe workers; and countless others, many of whom are sent off to prison for long and inhuman sentences without the labor movement even hearing of their cases, all are victims of the desperate efforts of the capitalist class to crush the labor movement, and all merit the most energetic support of Labor everywhere, as the victims of the class war which is directed against all Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the militants throughout the labor movement should carry on a systematic campaign of education to show the trade unions that they should support these and all other class-war prisoners, by

- (1) Demanding of the Federal and State Governments that they be released at once;
- (2) Making liberal contributions to the defense funds necessary to fight their cases through the courts, and make the necessary public appeal for support and for informing the labor movement about the cases;
- (3) Holding mass-meetings and demonstrations, calling upon the workers everywhere to demand the release of these prisoners;
- (4) Making the release of the class-war prisoners a principal order of business in every labor convention;
- (5) Making the class-war prisoners one of the major political issues in all elections, showing the absolute necessity for Labor to take control of the Government to insure justice to the workers.

Adopted.

THE MOONEY BILLINGS CASE

THE most damnable case of frame-up in the history of America is that against Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings in California. At the command of the corporations of the State, the political henchmen manufactured evidence to send these labor militants to the gallows and to prison.

The frame-up was so raw and clumsy, and the exposure made by the Mooney-Billings Defense was so complete, that today not a single fairminded person in the country believes that these men were in any way connected with the crime with which they were charged.

A President of the United States, a Governor of California, a Mayor of San Francisco, as well as the trial Judge have declared that these men should have a new trial.

In spite of all this, after seven years in prison, these two labor militants still rot in jail on the technical ground that "the case is closed." Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Second General Conference of the Trade Union Educational League believes that Mooney and Billings are still in prison because of the criminal negligence of the official leaders of the American trade union movement, who have not made any adequate effort to obtain their release, and we call upon the American Federation of Labor, and all militant workers in every labor organization, to renew the fight for the liberation of these valuable and trusted brothers with the determination not to slacken our efforts until they are again free.

Adopted.

THE SACCO-VANZETTI CASE

WHEREAS, Nicolo Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were convicted of murder at Dedham, Mass, as the result of a court-engendered atmosphere of terrorism evidenced by the surrounding of the court house by armed guards and the searching of every spectator in the court room, which resulted in the jury paying no attention to an overwhelming mass of testimony proving the innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti, and

WHEREAS, Since the trial Lola R. Andrews and Louis Pelsler, two of the Commonwealth's identification witnesses, have admitted under oath that they committed perjury in response to the coercion of the District Attorney's office, and

WHEREAS, It now appears that Carlos E. Goodridge, another Commonwealth identification witness, has served two terms for felony in the State of New York under his true name, Erastus C. Whitney, and was at the time he testified a fugitive from justice from the State of New York and has been during the major part of his life time a professional horse thief, and

WHEREAS, Albert H. Hamilton, Dr. Augustus H. Gill, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Wilbur F. Turner, by means of micrometer measurements and photo-micrographs, proved photographically that the mortal bullet did not come from the pistol of Sacco, thus demolishing one of the strongest claims of the Commonwealth and demonstrating that Sacco and Vanzetti are the victims of a deliberate judicial frame-up; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we do hereby pledge to Nicolo Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti our full and unqualified moral and financial support in their battle for a new trial and a judicial vindication, and we do hereby further recommend and urgently request each of our affiliated bodies to send such sums as they raise to the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee in the city of Boston and to immediately and forthwith take all necessary and proper steps to see to it that the struggle of Brothers Sacco and Vanzetti for justice may be not handicapped for insufficient funds, and to the end that there may be a practical demonstration of the spirit of Labor Solidarity.

Adopted.

THE LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL

WHEREAS, During the Conference of the Trade Union Educational League last year, while the great strikes of coal miners and railroad shopmen were in progress, a raid upon our Conference resulted in illegal arrests and violence to some of our brothers at the hands of federal and city detectives, at the same time another illegal raid upon a convention of Communists was made in the State of Michigan, and all arrested in both raids were indicted under the repressive "Criminal Syndicalism" law of Michigan for allegedly assembling contrary to its provisions; and

WHEREAS, The mis-trial of Brother W. Z. Foster and the conviction of C. E. Ruthenberg, with the pending prosecution against these and some thirty other spokesmen of working-class interests, has shown that the Government, acting in the interests of the capitalist class and with the approval of its reactionary labor lieutenants, is trying to railroad to prison the men and women most valuable to Organized Labor, and is violating the guarantees of

free speech, press, and assemblage, which are useful and vital to Organized Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Trade Union Educational League, in defense of the interests of Organized Labor, calls upon all labor militants and all progressive organizations, to support morally and materially the defense of these cases, by the following means:

1. Co-operation with and contribution to the Labor Defense Council, 166 W. Washington Street, Federation Bldg., Chicago, Ill., or its local branches where organized.

2. The organization in every city where none now exists of a local Labor Defense Council, to cooperate with the Council in distribution of information regarding these cases, to hold meetings, and gather funds for defense.

3. The especial effort of Organized Labor in Michigan to inform the working class of that State upon the issues of the case and to work for the repeal of the "Criminal Syndicalism" law and the release of all workers prosecuted under it.

Adopted.

THE CALIFORNIA INJUNCTION

WHEREAS, There has been issued by Judge Charles O. Busick, of the Superior Court in the City of Sacramento, California, a most dangerous and drastic injunction against the organization of the Industrial Workers of the World, forbidding all activity of that working-class organization throughout the State of California, even such legal activity as providing and speaking for the defense of members arrested and on trial in the courts because of mere possession of membership cards, which possession the Busick injunction makes an offense punishable by six months' imprisonment as contempt of court and without trial by jury; and

WHEREAS, The militants in the Trade Union Educational League, although differing in affiliation, tactics, and views, from the Industrial Workers of the World, believe it is the class duty of workers everywhere to protest against the Busick injunction as an arbitrary abuse of judicial power, as an immediate threat against the life of all labor organizations, and as a violation of the right of trial by jury and the right to secure witnesses and attorneys; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Conference protests against the Busick injunction and that we call upon the militant workers of all organizations to take up the fight against it, and against the persecutions under the so-called "Criminal Syndicalism" law, by the following means:

1. Resolutions and letters of protest to be sent to the Governor of California, at Sacramento, with copies to the California labor press, such as "Labor Unity" of 1470 Valencia St., San Francisco.

2. An effort of Organized Labor of California to force the recall of the Busick injunction and the repeal of the so-called "Criminal Syndicalism" law, and the release of all imprisoned under it.

3. A United Front of all of Labor's forces, political and industrial, in the State of California on a program of definite action to defend the right to organize and replace the servile capitalist authorities of the state with representatives of workers and farmers organized in a political party independent of all capitalist parties.

Adopted.

Upon motion, the following telegrams were ordered sent:-

Chicago, Sept. 2, 1923

Tom Mooney, San Quentin Prison, California.

Warren K. Billings, Folsom Prison, California.

Bartolomeo Vanzetti, Charlestown Jail, Boston, Mass.

Jacob Dolla, Western Penitentiary, Pittsburgh, Pa.

The Second General Conference of the Trade Union Educational League meeting today, with 143 delegates, sends greeting of solidarity. We pledge our continuous efforts to arouse the labor movement to take effective action for immediate release of all in prison for serving Labor's cause. May you soon return to the fighting ranks.

Wm. Z. Foster, Sec'y.

Chicago, Sept. 2, 1923.

To General Defense Committee, I. W. W.

1001 W. Madison St.,

Chicago, Ill.

The Second General Conference of the Trade Union Educational League conveys a fraternal revolutionary greeting to those members of the I. W. W. imprisoned by our common enemy capitalism at Leavenworth, Walla Walla, San Quentin, and elsewhere, and pledges the energy of the League militants to defeat the Busick injunction, syndicalist laws, and to release their victims.

Wm. Z. Foster, Sec'y.

AGAINST VIOLENCE IN THE UNIONS

WHEREAS, For many years past considerable sections of the labor movement in this country have been infested by gunmen crooks who, often seizing union office at the revolver point, habitually maintain themselves in power by a system of terrorism which, punctuated frequently by brutal sluggings and murders, destroys every semblance of democracy and progress in the unions and injures the labor movement greatly in the eyes of all honest workers, and

WHEREAS, Such professional gunmen, although posing as labor leaders, use the unions solely as a means to serve their own selfish interests and many of them, as everyone knows, have grown enormously rich through their double campaign of grafting upon both the workers and the employers, and

WHEREAS, This dangerous evil is on the increase and steadily eating deeper into the heart of the labor movement, the latest unions to feel its effects being the International Ladies' Garment Workers and the Fur Workers' International Union, organizations which, although long and favorably known as progressive and radical bodies, are now suffering from attempts of the controlling officialdom to crush the opposition with hired gunmen, and

WHEREAS, the head officials of the American Federation of Labor are making no campaign whatever against this system of gunmen control and official corruption which threatens to destroy the labor movement, the reason being that in almost every instance the gunmen labor leaders are the most loyal and energetic supporters of the Gompers regime, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Trade Union Educational League, in 2nd General Conference assembled, raises its voice against this menace and calls upon the rank and file of Labor to put a stop to it in the unions affected and to insist upon the re-establishment of the principles of democratic control and honest leadership.

Adopted.

TRADE UNION MISSION TO RUSSIA

WHEREAS, Common sense teaches us that the only way in which the Russian revolution, the greatest social experiment in the history of the human race, can be properly studied and understood is through a first-hand investigation of its institutions and practices, and

WHEREAS, In recognition of this patent fact the labor movements of various countries, including England, Germany, France, etc., have sent trade union delegations and missions to Soviet Russia to study and report upon the revolution; and

WHEREAS, The American labor movement, as represented by the big trade unions, has failed to

take such action but continues to rely upon all sorts of unreliable capitalistic sources of information about Soviet Russia, with the result that it takes a reactionary stand upon this question without parallel in the world's labor movement, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we call upon the American Federation of Labor to send a delegation of trade unionists to Russia to investigate the situation there in order that the labor movement in this country can free itself from the prevailing maze of capitalistic anti-Russian propaganda and acquire a true picture of what is actually going on in the first Workers' Republic.

Adopted.

Second Day's Proceedings. Afternoon Session**RECOGNITION OF RUSSIA**

The Trade Union Educational League again greets the first Government of Workers and Farmers, the Soviet Government of Russia. The greatest historical fact today is that Soviet Russia still lives, the supreme achievement of the working-class movement of the world. Against the united hostility of the capitalist classes of all countries, against the ruin of the war, the civil war, famine, and blockade, the power of the workers of Russia has been victorious and now, in its sixth year, is more firmly consolidated than ever. Along with the general progress of the Russian workers we note, with especial pleasure, that the material well-being of the Russian working class, under the careful protection of the Russian trade unions in co-operation with their own Government, has been notably increased during the past year and is steadily becoming better. These tremendous advances have been made possible through the iron revolutionary will of the Russian workers.

The long-continued war of the capitalist Governments against Russia, instead of strengthening the capitalist system, is but hastening the entire capitalist world to complete disintegration. It is a policy of madness, of a piece with the French insanity of the Ruhr invasion. This manifest fact is even seen by many liberal politicians, such as La Follette, Brookhart, France, Johnson, Shipstead, and others, who are demanding, as necessary to the continued life of the peoples of the world, that Russia be recognized. There can be no "reconstruction" while war is still waged against the Soviets.

The Government of the United States is still in league with Czarist reaction, and is trying to force the Russian workers to return to their former slavery. It wishes to re-establish capitalist rule in Russia. It is a deep shame upon the American workers that they allow the Government to brazenly continue its hostility towards Russia. But a thousand times more disgraceful is the fact that the American Federation of Labor itself is officially hostile to Russia. The American trade unions are led by men who are more capitalistic than the capitalists themselves. In the forefront stands Samuel Gompers who, in his blind hatred of the revolutionary workers, joins hands with the bitterest enemies of the labor movement. Even the yellow Amsterdam International, a sworn enemy of Communism, has acknowledged that the downfall of Soviet Russia would be a calamity for the international working class, and has called upon its followers to protect Soviet Russia. In Europe the labor unions are forming a United Front against war and for peace and recognition of Soviet Russia. In America we still face the primary task of forcing our reactionary trade union officialdom to recognize this

necessity. The first step toward recognition of Russia by the Government of the United States is the recognition of Russia by the American labor movement. The T. U. E. L. calls upon all honest and progressive forces in the A. F. of L. to unite in repudiating Gompers' reactionary conspiracy against the Workers' and Farmers' Republic.

Adopted.

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

WHEREAS, For six years the Russian workers have waged the greatest strike in the history of the world while the united capitalists of all countries have replied to their historic struggles with a world-wide lockout, and

WHEREAS, The Russian workers want to build a new world in which oppression and exploitation will not exist, but are hindered in this by the International Capitalist Conspiracy which makes it impossible for them to reconstruct their machines and factories, and

WHEREAS, From the very beginning the American Government led this capitalist conspiracy against Soviet Russia by refusing recognition and so making reconstruction impossible, and

WHEREAS, The American workers must fight against this plot and give their own proletarian recognition to their Russian brothers, and

WHEREAS, The Friends of Soviet Russia are serving this proletarian recognition of Soviet Russia by helping in the reconstruction of Russia, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates of the Second General Conference of the Trade Union Educational League, in conference convened hereby endorse the work of the Friends of Soviet Russia and especially the drive now in progress for the purchase of twenty tractors to be sent to Russia, and pledge our whole-hearted support.

Adopted.

THE AMERICAN LEGION

WHEREAS, Ever since its formation the American Legion, by breaking up peaceful meetings of workmen, by opposition to strike movements, and by various other anti-labor activities, has given abundant evidence of hostility to the aims of trade unionism and of loyalty to the big employing interests which finance it so liberally, and

WHEREAS, The American Legion has given one more demonstration, of its anti-working class character by inviting to its coming convention, with much gusto and praise, the most vicious labor

crusher in the world, Mussolini, dictator of Fascist Italy, and

WHEREAS, Notwithstanding these facts the leaders of the American Federation of Labor, ever since the Cincinnati convention of last year, are constantly catering to the American Legion by inviting its commander to attend the A. F. of L. convention, by setting up trade union branches of the American Legion, and by various other forms of co-operation, and

WHEREAS, Such co-operation is most injurious to the labor movement by throwing it under the influence and control of an organization that is definitely committed to support the worst enemies of Labor, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Trade Union Educational League, in its Second General Conference, condemns and repudiates every movement or manouvre designed to develop an alliance between the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion, and it calls upon all militants to defeat such efforts.

Adopted.

WORLD WAR VETERANS

WHEREAS, The World War Veterans is an organization of ex-soldiers and their sympathizers whose principal objective is the welfare and organization of the working masses; and

WHEREAS, Their record shows their militant sympathy for all strikers and struggling workers, in which connection your Committee wishes to cite their persistent picketing in uniform of the White House in favor of the release of political prisoners, to point out that in Kansas City and Minneapolis the mere existence of powerful posts and their vehement protests over anti-red activity greatly discouraged it, and that in West Virginia and the Northwest lumber areas they have proved a fearless bulwark of the workers and a powerful counter-irritant to the Klu Klux Klan and other forms of white terror; and

WHEREAS, They have a certain prestige and a definitely aggressive spirit due to their service in the army; and

WHEREAS, In time of strikes such an organization is valuable on the picket line and a powerful deterrent to any group wishing to break up meetings; Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Conference endorse the World War Veterans and that the members of the Trade Union Educational League get in touch with the World War Veterans, Star Building, Minneapolis, Minn., and actively participate in the organization of local posts in the trade unions.

Adopted.

AGAINST FASCISM

THE rise of an international menace against the labor movement, in the shape of the Fascisti, is one of the outstanding developments in the attacks by capitalism and the bourgeoisie against the workers' organizations. The Fascisti, originating in Italy, have taken possession of the Government of that country, through a campaign of brutal and violent attack against all organizations of Labor in that country. They murdered thousands of workers, burned and pillaged co-operatives, labor temples, and workers' printing establishments. They killed and intimidated public officials elected by the workers, and established a reign of terror against the working class and in the interests of the bourgeoisie.

Since the successful counter-revolution of the Fascisti in Italy, the movement has been taken up by the capital-

ists of all countries. In America it is already growing and spreading, and must be fought against in all its manifestations. In this country it takes various forms and names—the American Legion, the Ku Klux Klan, the Minute Men of the Constitution, and there are even American branches of the Fascisti organized by agents of Mussolini—but in all its forms it has but one function, to divide the workers against one another, and to destroy their organizations in the interests of the capitalists.

A beginning has been made in the struggle against the Fascisti in America, with the organization of the Anti-Fascist Alliance of North America, with headquarters at 231 E. 14th St., New York City. This organization has already received the endorsement of hundreds of thousands of American trade unionists, and should receive the loyal co-operation and full support of every militant unionist. The labor movement of America must unite in a relentless struggle against this menace to its very existence.

Adopted.

FEDERATED FARMER-LABOR PARTY

WHEREAS, It is one of the fundamental principles of the Trade Union Educational League that the working class must break with the political institutions of capitalism, and form a political party based upon the trade unions and uniting all the political forces of Labor into one solid front against capitalism; and

WHEREAS, At the monster unity convention, held in Chicago, July 3-4-5, attended by representatives of over 600,000 organized workers and farmers, the first promising start was made in the direction of realizing this great goal, through the formation of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party by the action of the vast majority of the delegates of both workers and farmers in that gathering; and

WHEREAS, The Federated Farmer-Labor Party, although not yet including the majority of the trade unions nor several of smaller working-class political parties, is based upon the fundamental proposition of the complete unification of Labor's political forces, holds the doors open to all labor organizations, and has a program with which no labor organization can disagree in a vital point; and

WHEREAS, The Federated Farmer-Labor Party has announced that it is going to call a great Unity Convention in January, 1924, to which are invited every labor union, workers' political organization, farmers' political and economic organization, workers' co-operatives, fraternal societies, and working-class organizations generally, for the purpose of working out common action for the working class in the coming crucial year of struggle for Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we endorse the Federated Farmer-Labor Party and call upon all political and economic organizations of the working class to join forces in one great United Front against the powers of capitalism by affiliating to the F. F.-L. P.; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge all militant trade unionists to do all in their power to see to it that their organizations send delegates to the great Unity Convention in January, 1924, to the end that all organizations of the workers and farmers that realize the necessity of independent political action shall join forces against the united powers of the exploiters.

Adopted.

THE WORKERS' AND FARMERS' GOVERNMENT

THE prevailing system of society is a rigid rulership by the capitalist class. Citizenship therein is based primarily upon property qualifications. Those who own the most have the most rights. The poor have only a semblance of citizenship. In reality, despite their glittering constitutional guarantees of freedom, they are practically disfranchised industrially, politically, and every other way. The most vital thing in the life of any nation, and the one that determines the makeup of all other institutions, is the manner of dividing the products of Labor. In our society this fundamental process is carried out entirely upon an autocratic basis. Only the owners of the industries have a real say in the matter. They take the lion's share, leaving the workers' barely enough to exist upon. With this industrial basis, the autocracy of ownership spreads to and dominates all other social organization. Before it the alleged political democracy withers like a flower under a hot blast. The voice of a Gary, because of his industrial control, counts for far more than that of 500,000 steel workers in politics, in industry, and in all other vital social matters. We are living under a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

In the early days of the present social system the capitalists were frank in basing real citizenship upon property rights. Only the propertied classes could vote, hold office, or get an education. The workers attacked these open political discriminations. They broke down the expressed property qualifications and extended the right to vote to the broad masses, they won the right to hold public office and sent many of their representatives into the various branches of the Government, they fought for and succeeded in building up a great free public school system. But these seemingly important political victories have proved entirely illusory. They have not given the workers real citizenship in either the industries or the State. The capitalists have known how not only to discount their efforts but to turn them into powerful means of exploitation. With their powerful press they have demoralized the so-called free citizenry and tied them more firmly than ever; with their industrial power they have corrupted the people's representatives and turned them into loyal servitors; with their great wealth they have poisoned the school system which early reformers looked upon as the social cure-all and they have made it into a great factory for producing abject slaves of capitalism. Despite all the reformist efforts of the workers for the past century, the capitalist system goes ahead strengthening itself and multiplying its abuses. The workers are now disfranchised more than ever. The dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is stronger and more drastic than at any time in its history.

All attempts to reform the capitalist system must fail. This is because that system is fundamentally wrong. So long as the great industries remain private property just that long their owners will dominate society. The evil must be cut at the root. Private property in the social means of production must be abolished. The toilers on the land and in the shops must take over the basic, necessary industries. Then they must set up a Workers' and Farmers' Government. Under this new system of society the basis of citizenship must be service. Only those who do actual useful work shall have any participation in the control of the industries and the State. If under such a regime some non-producing elements contrive to exist, they must be allowed no real say in regulating the people's lives industrially or politically. Gradually the repressive State would become unnecessary and the social control develop into a simple

administration of things, with the real producer, doing all the administering. The workers, more frank than the capitalists, who hide their present dictatorship under the fair mask of democracy, call the proposed rule of the workers and farmers the dictatorship of the proletariat. Nothing short of it will finally curb the poverty, crime, war, unemployment, ignorance, and general degradation of the people which grows inevitably in the rotten soil of capitalism.

Adopted.

RESOLUTION ON THE DEATH OF CLARISSA S. WARE

WHEREAS, Our silent companion, Death, who is always near us, and most close where the battle is hottest, has taken from our midst one of our most active and beloved comrades, Clarissa S. Ware, a literary contributor to THE LABOR HERALD, author of the "Foreign Born Worker," member of the Workers' Party, and most sympathetic friend of the Russian Workers' Republic; Be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Second General Conference of the Trade Union Educational League, held in Chicago, Sept. 1-2, in expressing grief to her beloved ones, shall rise and stand in silence for a minute in honor to our late Comrade and true fighter in the interest of the proletariat, Clarissa S. Ware.

Adopted.

THE IRISH REPUBLIC

WHEREAS, The Irish have for seven centuries been held in brutal subjection and are now mercilessly exploited by British as well as Irish capitalism; and

WHEREAS, Since the Easter Week rebellion of 1916 until the recent crushing of the Republican forces Irish workers have carried on a determined and bitter struggle against all the forces of British Imperialism; and

WHEREAS, While seven centuries of foreign oppression causes all Irish revolutionary action to follow national rather than class lines, a long list of sacrifice and struggle from the execution of the heroic James Connolly to the persecution of Jim Larkin bears witness to the revolutionary spirit and indomitable will of the Irish working class, and realizing that led by class-conscious and militant elements the Irish must inevitably recognize their real enemy in foreign and native capitalism, landlordism, etc., be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this conference expresses solidarity with the Irish workers in their struggle, extends comradely greetings to their industrial and political revolutionary organizations, and looks forward to the inception of a real Irish Workers' Republic.

Adopted.

Report of Literature Committee

Del. Hammersmark reported for the Literature Committee. He recommended for the Committee, that the statements on "The United Front" and "The League Not a Dual Union," should be printed in leaflet form and given wide distribution. He recommended also that THE LABOR HERALD Library be issued at regular intervals, possibly quarterly, and that application be made for second-class postage rates. He urged that a systematic distribution of THE LABOR HERALD be arranged in all the important centers. He also recommended a distribution of the "Railroaders' Next Step."

At this time he took orders from the delegates for 1500 copies of the pamphlet, "The Russian Trade Unions in 1923." Del. Feldhaus, also a member of the Committee, made an extended talk on the ways and means to circulate THE LABOR HERALD. The Literature Committee also recommended the adoption of the two following resolutions:-

Report Adopted.

THE FEDERATED PRESS

WHEREAS, The Federated Press is a working-class news gathering and distributing agency, and

WHEREAS, Many reactionary labor leaders have hampered the growth and use of the Federated Press Service, and

WHEREAS, There are many labor papers that should use the Federated Press Service and would use same were it not for the organized opposition of reactionary leaders; Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all members of the T. U. E. L. get in touch with the Editor of their local labor paper and if not successful in interesting the Editor in the Federated Press Service, then to bring the matter before the Central Labor Body in the form of a resolution, so that the valuable news carried in the Federated Press Service can be read by the workers.

Adopted.

Report of Organization Committee

For the Organization Committee, Del. Krumbein submitted the following report, which was adopted.

THE Organization Committee gave due consideration to all of the reports and resolutions submitted to it and recommends that the recommendations of the National Committee on paid secretaries, craft sub-committees, and local industrial groups, as stated in the report of the National Committee, be concurred with. Your committee further recommends:

- 1 That district conferences of the League be called periodically.
- 2 That district industrial conferences be called whenever deemed advisable.
- 3 In all twin- and tri-cities, Coordination of Activity Committees be established, provided separate T. U. E. L. groups exist in two or more of these cities.
- 4 All general local groups shall immediately elect executive committees made up of representatives of the various industrial groups in their jurisdiction.
- 5 All general local group secretaries shall keep in touch with their respective district organizers as well as with the national office of the League.
- 6 That the national committee fill the vacancy of district organizer in the Eastern District at the earliest possible opportunity.
- 7 That the national committee place a full time district organizer in the Pacific Coast District as soon as ways and means can be found for same.
- 8 Concurrence in the resolutions on endorsement of the R. I. L. U. International Propaganda Committees, on the question of establishing connections with delegates to conventions, on the United Front of the International Transport Workers, statement of the coal miners situation and on the organization of the

THE DAILY WORKER
THE militant trade unionists of the United States and Canada, assembled in the second General Conference of the Trade Union Educational League, note with pleasure the announcement of the forthcoming publication of a fighting daily newspaper, devoted to the interests of the working class in their struggles against their exploiters.

The Trade Union Educational League welcomes the powerful assistance which the *Daily Worker* will give the Left Wing in its struggles for the regeneration and strengthening of the labor movement.

The announced determination of the *Daily Worker* to fight for amalgamation of the craft unions into powerful industrial organizations; for the organization of the unorganized workers; for the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, uniting the exploited farmers and workers for independent working class political action; and for the recognition of Soviet Russia, the first Workers and Farmers Government in the world; should enlist for the *Daily Worker* the enthusiastic support of all militant trade unionists in this country.

The Trade Union Educational League realizes the tremendous significance of the *Daily Worker* in the campaign against the disrupters and betrayers of the American working class—organized and unorganized—and pledges its undivided support of the Daily Worker Campaign Committee in its efforts to raise a \$100,000 fund to establish the *Daily Worker* by November 7th, 1923, on the Sixth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

Adopted.

young workers and that the incoming National Committee use all ways and means possible to put same into effect at the earliest possible opportunity.

The Organization Committee also reported favorably on the five resolutions:-

INTERNATIONAL PROPAGANDA COMMITTEE

WHEREAS, The R. I. L. U. has established International Propaganda Committees in the various industries for the purpose of carrying the message of revolution to the masses organized in the International Federations affiliated to the Amsterdam International, and

WHEREAS, These International Propaganda Committees are doing excellent work in rousing the rank and file masses of the Amsterdam International to the futility of their present leadership and policies, and

WHEREAS, These Committees can function to best advantage only when they have live and active connections in all the great countries, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the T. U. E. L., in its 2nd General Conference, heartily endorses the R. I. L. U. International Propaganda Committees and urges all the militant groups of the United States and Canada to get into communication with the International Propaganda Committees in their respective industries.

Adopted.

UNITED FRONT OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT WORKERS

THE Second General Conference of the T. U. E. L. takes especial notice of the United Front of the Transport Workers, established by the Berlin Confer-

ence of May 23rd, in which participated the representatives of the International Transport Federation (Amsterdam), and the Russian Unions standing for the revolutionary transport workers of the R. I. L. U. This is the first great achievement for the policy of the United Front, initiated by the Red International, and the joint manifestos issued against war, for the protection of Soviet Russia, and against Fascism, together with the formation of a joint Committee of action, mark the course which the entire labor movement must take, internationally and nationally.

We call upon the transport workers of America to endorse the United Front of the Transport Workers, and to work for the inclusion of the American transport unions in the Committee of Action for uniting all the transport workers of the world, through which alone the grave dangers now threatening the labor movement can be adequately met and overcome. We call upon all militant workers to fight against the reactionary leaders and officials who will try to sabotage this united front by again separating the transport workers. The international united front, in all other industries as well as the transport industry, is one of the most pressing needs of the moment. The T. U. E. L. pledges its energies to a persistent campaign of education and action to this end.

Adopted.

THE COAL MINERS

THE coal miners of America are faced by a well-organized and ruthless set of employers who are determined to break the strength of the United Mine Workers and reduce its members to starvation and poverty even worse than that now suffered by them. The anthracite miners are entering a struggle which will have the most serious consequences. The bituminous miners will soon have to face the same general aggregation of exploiters and measure their strength with them again.

In this critical situation the miners find their organization sorely weakened by the insanely disruptive tactics of John L. Lewis and the International administration of the union. In the settlement of the strike of last year, these officials allowed the coal capitalists to divide the miners ranks by signing up the anthracite agreement for a different period than that of the bituminous agreement. The anthracite miners find themselves in a death-struggle today, as a result of that betrayal, with their brothers in the bituminous fields tied up with a contract to help break their strike through the production of the fuel that will take the place of the anthracite. Lewis and his henchmen must carry the responsibility for this sad division and all its consequences.

Even more serious, however, is the war of extermination carried on by Lewis and his henchmen within the union against the militant rank and file who are opposing his treasonable tactics. Desperately smashing the union wherever the rank and file puts real fighters into office, Lewis has expelled Howat from the union, and demoralized the Kansas District; he betrayed and abandoned the heroic miners of Fayette and Somerset Counties in Pennsylvania, after these 60,000 miners had saved the situation for the Union in the great strike last year; he has made a compact with the reactionary Farrington, although for years these two worthies have been denouncing one another as corrupt agents of the employers—with considerable evidence on both sides; he has even waged merciless warfare against such mild progressivism as the Nationalization Program brought forward by the Committee headed by John Brophy and authorized by the last Convention.

The climax of Lewis' union-smashing campaign is the expulsion of District 26, Nova Scotia, Canada. The miners of that District, acting entirely within their rights and powers, went on strike to force the military being used against the striking steel workers to be removed. It was a splendid and inspiring demonstration of working-class solidarity. There was not anything in their contract with the British Empire Steel Corporation prohibiting such action. But the Steel Corporation appealed to Lewis to help them out, and Lewis interrupted his negotiations with the anthracite operators long enough to order the Nova Scotia miners back to work and to revoke their charter when they refuse to obey his unlawful and outrageous demands. His agents are now busy disrupting this splendid Union, to the lasting disgrace of the United Mine Workers.

The situation for the coal miners is critical. On pain of complete defeat by the coal capitalists, they must remove from positions of power John L. Lewis and his satellites; they must reinstate into office the battling Nova Scotia miners and Alex Howat and his associates; they must bring back into the union the thousands of deserted miners of Fayette and Somerset Counties; they must organize the non-union fields deliberately left unorganized by the reactionary administration; they must build up a leadership of rank and file militants who repudiate the collaboration with the capitalists and who will battle at all times in the interests of the membership, and for a strong, fighting, invincible United Mine Workers of America.

Adopted.

THE YOUNG WORKERS

WITH more than 5,000,000 young workers up to the age of 20 years employed in American industries, their importance to the trade union movement is plain. They are, however, up to now, largely unorganized, and therefore, potential scabs. In the campaign for the organization of the unorganized workers, the young workers are a fertile field. Heretofore, the employers have been able to use them for their ends. They can be organized by the American Federation of Labor. Their enthusiasm, energy, and idealism can be made a tremendous factor as a source of strength to the Organized Labor Movement. Separate young worker's organizations within the A. F. of L. are unnecessary and out of the question. Still, a certain specialization in methods to reach the young workers, adapted to their psychology, is necessary.

The T. U. E. L. therefore resolves to carry on a struggle for the young workers in America, and as immediate steps demands:

That there be created in the American Federation of Labor a special Young Workers Bureau or Secretariat for the purpose of stimulating the trade union education and organization of young workers, this Bureau to have, among others, the following functions:

1. To point out the importance of the young workers in industry and to encourage all branches of the Trade Union movement to carry on a vigorous campaign to organize them.

2. To compile and publish statistics dealing especially with Child Labor and other features of industry, particularly relating to the young.

3. To issue a regular News Service to the Labor Press, and to induce the various Labor papers to develop special Departments devoted to the problems of the young workers.

4. To issue Organizational and Educational pamphlets especially written to appeal to youthful workers, and pointing out the philosophy, the achievements and the goal of the Labor movement.

5. To carry on a special campaign among adult unionists showing them the dangerous "Open Shop" tendencies their children are exposed to and providing them the means wherewith to educate their young to the necessity of Labor organization.

Further, among other conditions growing out thereby, that the Young Workers be accepted on equal terms with the adult workers into the unions with lower entrance fees;

The establishment of a six-hour day and five-day week for all youth labor with full pay;

The prohibition of young workers up to 20 years being employed in shops and industries injurious to their life and health (mines, chemicals, mills, steel industry, glass works, etc.)

Shop vocational training for all young workers up to the age of 18. Setting up of apprentice departments in all places of work.

These departments to be controlled by the labor unions, full wages to be paid the young workers at union rate of wages.

Adopted.

NOTIFICATION OF CONVENTIONS

THAT the National Secretary shall notify each General Group of the Conventions of each National and International Union, sixty days prior to the meeting

of such convention. That every General Group shall be instructed to do all within their power to aid in the election of such delegates that are in harmony with the program of the T. U. E. L.

The Local Secretary of the General Group shall supply the delegate or delegates to such National or International Convention with a letter of recommendation bearing the seal of the T. U. E. L. which is to be presented to the Local League Secretary in the City where the convention takes place.

The Local League Secretary shall call a caucus of all the T. U. E. L. delegates to order and delegates to proceed to organize a left wing of the convention and draft such resolutions that are in harmony with the T. U. E. L. program to be presented to the convention.

Adopted.

Report of Finance Committee

For the Finance Committee, Del. Sullivan reported that the Committee endorsed the recommendations and statements made by the National Committee. He urged a widespread sale of the Sustaining Fund Certificates as a means of supporting the League's activities.

Report Adopted.

Reports of Industrial Groups

Building Trades

DEL. JOHNSTONE reported that the building trades group had secured connections with militants in 65 big building trades centers, including 19 states and 6 provinces in Canada. Two or three circular letters have been sent out each month to these groups dealing with the situation that exists in the building industry and the problems at hand. Over 11,000 copies of the program have been distributed. This is admittedly small compared to the enormous size of the industry.

The building trades, more than any other group of organized workers, show the inability of federation to successfully combat the solidified forces of the employers. The Building Trades Department is the highest developed federation in the labor movement, but it is unable to bring about solidarity amongst the workers under its jurisdiction. It cannot even maintain upright the present federated form. San Francisco is torn asunder with factional fights and a secession movement. New York City has three Building Trades Councils, and three Painters' District Councils, with numerous wage scales and separate agreements. Chicago has two Building Trades Councils, one representing the majority of the workers who have refused to accept the Landis award and the newly proposed uniform agreement, which is based upon the Landis award. The other group represents those unions that have accepted the scab agreement camouflaged under the high-sounding title of a uniform agreement. Almost from every city comes the same story of division and chaos. Amalgamation, bringing about industrial unionism, is the only remedy.

The building trades group recommend that a big organization drive be started in the building trades to take advantage of the present industrial boom, this drive to be conducted by the Building Trades Department. For this purpose a special organizing fund should be started and a crew of organizers placed in the field under the control of the Building

Trades Department. A low and uniform initiation fee should be established and a universal transfer card system between the unions adopted. The group demanded the abolition of the National Board of Jurisdictional Awards. It also recommended that a bulletin be established to carry the rebel message throughout the entire industry. A whole plan of activity was mapped out by the group.

Railroad Trades

Del. Jensen reported for the railroad trades. He reviewed in great detail the situation in that basic industry. He pointed out the great shopmen's strike, which has been fought since the last Conference of the League, as a striking illustration of the need for amalgamation among the unions on the railroads. Had the train service and other organizations come to the support of the shopmen, the strike would not only have been very short but completely victorious. He pointed out the development of the amalgamation movement from the time of the last convention of the Railway Employees' Department up to date. The organization that took the lead in this movement was the Minnesota Shop Crafts Legislative Committee. It issued a program of amalgamation which was later endorsed by thousands of local unions. Tremendous sentiment developing in favor of amalgamation everywhere throughout the country, a general conference of amalgamationists was held in Chicago Dec. 9-10, 1922. Over 400 delegates were in attendance. This conference established the amalgamation movement definitely among the railroad workers.

Del. Jensen said that the railroad group were carrying on activities along practically all the lines suggested by the National Committee. They have a live bulletin in the field, and active local amalgamation committees in many centers. District conferences have been held in several districts. Far over 100,000 copies of the amalgamation plan have been distributed amongst railroad workers. At all

the conventions of the railroad unions the amalgamationists will be well represented and prepared to fight for their program. He was optimistic of the outcome of the movement.

Printing Trades

The printing trades group submitted a short written report, which created much discussion. The following is the report: "The printing trades are well advanced on the road to amalgamation. Out of six international unions in the industry, three have gone on record favoring a general consolidation, the latest being the Lithographers at their convention a few weeks ago. The others are the Typographical Union and the Bookbinders. The work of the amalgamation committee is proceeding in good shape, but active workers and funds are our most pressing need. There are 2,000 local unions in the industry and these should be circularized regularly, but so far we have been able to raise funds to do this only twice. The local group in New York is struggling along to maintain a paper, and have so far managed to keep it up, but it is difficult to raise funds. As time goes on and we learn our job and eliminate our many mistakes, our work will become easier. Our greatest obstacles are the officials. Many really favor amalgamation but become antagonistic for various reasons. However, the rank and file are for it almost to a man, where our arguments can reach them. We believe that the printing trades will reach the goal of amalgamation among the first. We hereby issue a challenge to the other groups to beat us to it."

Metal Trades

Del. Werlik reported that the metal trades group endorsed the recommendations of the National Committee. He pointed out the broken down state of the metal trades unions. This is the disastrous effect of the "open shop" drive and the widespread unemployment. The membership of the unions has been torn down so completely as to leave barely a skeleton of an organization, and the union treasuries have been almost entirely depleted. The metal grades group laid great stress upon the movement to organize the unorganized and recommended that the local metal trades councils and joint organization committees of local unions initiate general organization drives in their respective localities. For this purpose, uniform initiation fees and universal transfer cards should be established by the International Unions. The amalgamation drive should be pushed with renewed vigor. On the question of the initiative, referendum and recall, the group reported that "the necessity of democratic control of labor organizations is a principle which needs no explanation. In view of the great changes constantly taking place in all phases of activity in the labor movement, it is vitally necessary that means must be provided to enable the labor movement to readily adjust its policies to any important changes which may take place in the metal industry. The metal trades group therefore recommends that all militants work for the establishment of the initiative, referendum and recall in those organizations where they have not been put in force."

Food Trades

Reporting for the food trades group, Del. Earley outlined in detail the situation and the problems in that industry. He stated that the food industry

is one of the poorest organized in the United States. The great packing house section of it, for example, is totally unorganized, and the other branches of the industry are, with few exceptions, not much better off. He said that the campaign to organize the unorganized was needed in the food industry probably as badly as in any other industry in the country.

The same thing is true of the amalgamation movement. The unions are badly split up amongst themselves and cannot hope to maintain themselves against the rapidly uniting employers unless they, too, consolidate their forces. Del. Earley stated that large quantities of their plan of amalgamation had been scattered broadcast throughout the industry and had undoubtedly created much favorable sentiment for amalgamation. As fast as conventions take place, efforts will be made to crystallize this sentiment into definite action. He stated that there was a great need for a paid secretary to handle the educational work in the industry and that efforts would be made toward getting one. Also, if possible, a bulletin would be established.

Mining Trades

Del. Meyerscough reported on the situation in the coal mining industry. He made an extended talk, touching on the situation in detail in practically all of Districts in the United Mine Workers of America. He pointed out the causes that led to the election of Cappellini in Dist. No. 1; the struggle between Brophy and Lewis in Dist. No. 2; the elimination of Dist. No. 3 in the last great strike; the provisional organization in Dist. No. 4, and the betrayal of the Fayette miners in that territory by Lewis in the great strike of 1922; the battle of the Progressives against the reactionaries in Dist. No. 5, the old-time Pittsburgh stronghold of the reactionary administration; the efforts of the militants to get a foot hold in the Ohio territory, Dist. No. 6; the domination of Dist. No. 7 by Tom Kennedy; the unresponsiveness of Dist. No. 8, Indiana; the threatened split in the anthracite Dist. No. 9, which was averted by the efforts of the League militants; the demoralized state of affairs in Dist. No. 10, Washington; the militant but often deceived rebels of Dist. No. 11, Indiana; the struggle against the arch-reactionary, Farrington, in the Illinois Dist. No. 12; the Iowa Dist. No. 13, which has always been known for its reactionary officialdom; the famous Dist. No. 14, Kansas, home of Alexander Howat and his fighting followers; the Colorado Dist. No. 15, which has never been right since the attempted dual organization several years ago; the reactionary Maryland Dist. No. 16, long noted for being one of the worst in the organization; the West Virginia Dist. No. 17, which formerly had 50,000 members and now has but 17,000; Dist. No. 18, which had been previously covered by Del. Buck; Dist. No. 19, Tennessee, now under provisional form of organization; Dist. No. 20, Alabama, where the workers have been betrayed by their misleaders and the race issue is a tremendous problem; the Oklahoma Dist. No. 21, a progressive district, has deposed the reactionary Wilkinson; Dist. No. 22, also in that section, is progressive territory; Dist. No. 26, Nova Scotia, scene of the recent great struggle, which is also under provisional organization. Del. Myerscough then told of many of the general activities and problems of the Progressive Miners' Committee. Del. Dan Slinger outlined the situation in the Illinois District.

Second Day's Proceedings. Evening Session

Needle Trades

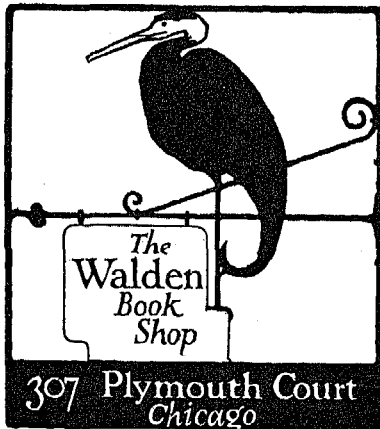
Del. Zimmerman reported for the needle trades. He dealt in detail with the forces leading up to the present complicated situation in the International Ladies' Garment Workers, where the officials are expelling the left-wing militants because of their revolutionary activity. He reviewed the development of the left-wing movement in the International, stating that it antedated the formation of the T. U. E. L. The first step in the direction of left-wing group organization was the Current Events Committee of 1913, an organization that carried on a campaign of criticism in the unions. It died down shortly and was followed by the Industrial Propaganda Committee. This committee carried on an industrial union propaganda and devoted itself largely to getting members for the I. W. W. The next move took place after the Russian revolution, when the militants, deciding to form soviets in the needle industry, organized the Workers' Council. This body aimed at destroying the trade unions and replacing them by direct shop representation. It called a convention in 1919 which was broken up by the police. It finally fell to pieces through internal dissension. After this organization, which lasted a year or two, came the Shop Delegate League movement, which was based upon the idea of opposition to dual unionism and in favor of working within the old organizations. After various adventures, this movement finally affiliated with the Trade Union Educational League. The League has branches in practically all the impor-

tant needle trades centers in the United States and Canada. The effect of its work may be measured by the growing sentiment in favor of its policies among the rank and file and the desperate resistance of the reactionary officialdom. Del. Zimmerman recited in detail the situation in the International which has culminated in the present campaign of expulsions, elsewhere described in these reports. His report showed a flourishing and growing left-wing movement in the needle trades.

On motion a vote of thanks was extended by the delegates to the local comrades who had so royally fed and entertained the delegates to the Conference.

On behalf of the National Committee, Sec'y Foster recommended that the National Committee should consist of seven members, the National Secretary to be elected from their number by the Conference. Adopted.

The following were elected to comprise the National Committee:- S. T. Hammersmark, J. W. Johnstone, Earl R. Browder, Benjamin Gitlow, Tim Buck, M. Obermeier, and W. Z. Foster. The latter was elected National Secretary-Treasurer.



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Van Buren St. and Ashland Blvd. Chicago

Saturday Evening, Sept. 29, 1923, 8 o'clock

Music by Sol Wagner and His Syncopators

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C. Appel, Manager

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Large and Well Located
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REFRESHING BEVERAGES
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The Best Place in the City
To Get Something Good to Eat

Cannons or Tractors Contest Ends!
But the Tractor Drive Continues
Modern Machinery -- that is what Russia needs

The Backbone of the Famine is Broken

But a New Famine is On!

RUSSIA hungers for cultural education.

RUSSIA hungers for education in the use of modern machinery.

RUSSIA hungers for education in the use of efficient farming machinery.

Recognition of Russia means reconstruction of Russia.
Reconstruction of Russia means a stimulated world market.
A stimulated world market means employment and prosperity in America and peace for the world.

As soon as Russia is recognized she will buy tractors from America for her farming population. Until then all true friends of Soviet Russia stand pledged to

Help Break the Backbone of the New Famine!

Friends of Soviet Russia, 32 So. Wabash Ave., Chicago.

Enclosed find \$..... to be applied to the general tractor fund so as to enable you to send farming machinery to Russia next Spring.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE

Friends of Soviet Russia

32 South Wabash Ave., Chicago

**Resolution on Michigan Defense Passed by Second
Annual Conference T. U. E. L. Sept., 1923**

... RESOLVED, that the Trade Union Educational League, in defense of the interests of Organized Labor, calls upon all labor militants and all progressive organizations to support morally and materially the defense of these cases, by the following means:

1. Co-operation with and contributions to the Labor Defense Council, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill., or to its local branches where organized.
2. The organization in every city where none now exists of a local Labor Defense Council, to co-operate with the Council in distribution of information regarding these cases, to hold meeting and gather funds for the defense.
3. The especial effort of Organized Labor in Michigan to inform the working class of that State upon the issues of the case and to work for the repeal of the "Criminal Syndicalist" law and the release of all workers prosecuted under it.

You Have Set Yourself a Definite Task to Perform.

**Militant Labor Activity Has Gained a Partial Victory
in the Michigan Defense.**

Continued Militant Activity Will Complete that Victory

Fill in the coupons and send them in **now**.

THE LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL
Federation of Labor Bldg., 166 West Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

Name

Name

Address

Address

Please send me information concerning how a local Labor Defense Council can be formed in my locality.

Enclosed please find \$.....
for the defense in the Michigan cases.

The Russian Unions in 1923

By M. Tomsky

Chairman, All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions

You have read Gompers' vicious slanders against the Russian trade unions, and you know that they were lies. But you have also wished that you had the first-hand story, written by the Russian unionists themselves, telling just what the unions are like in that Workers' Republic, how they are built, what they do, their part in industrial management, in education, and in protection of the workers. The League offers you just this in the new pamphlet by M. Tomsky. It is the verbatim record of the report delivered by Tomsky, to the Sessions of the Enlarged Central Council of the Red International of Labor Unions at Moscow, June, 1923. Replete with facts and figures which give a comprehensive picture of the entire labor movement of Russia, it is at the same time charmingly and simply written, so that it is a pleasure to read. This will be a very popular booklet.

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The Trade Union Educational League

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

106 N. La Salle St., Chicago