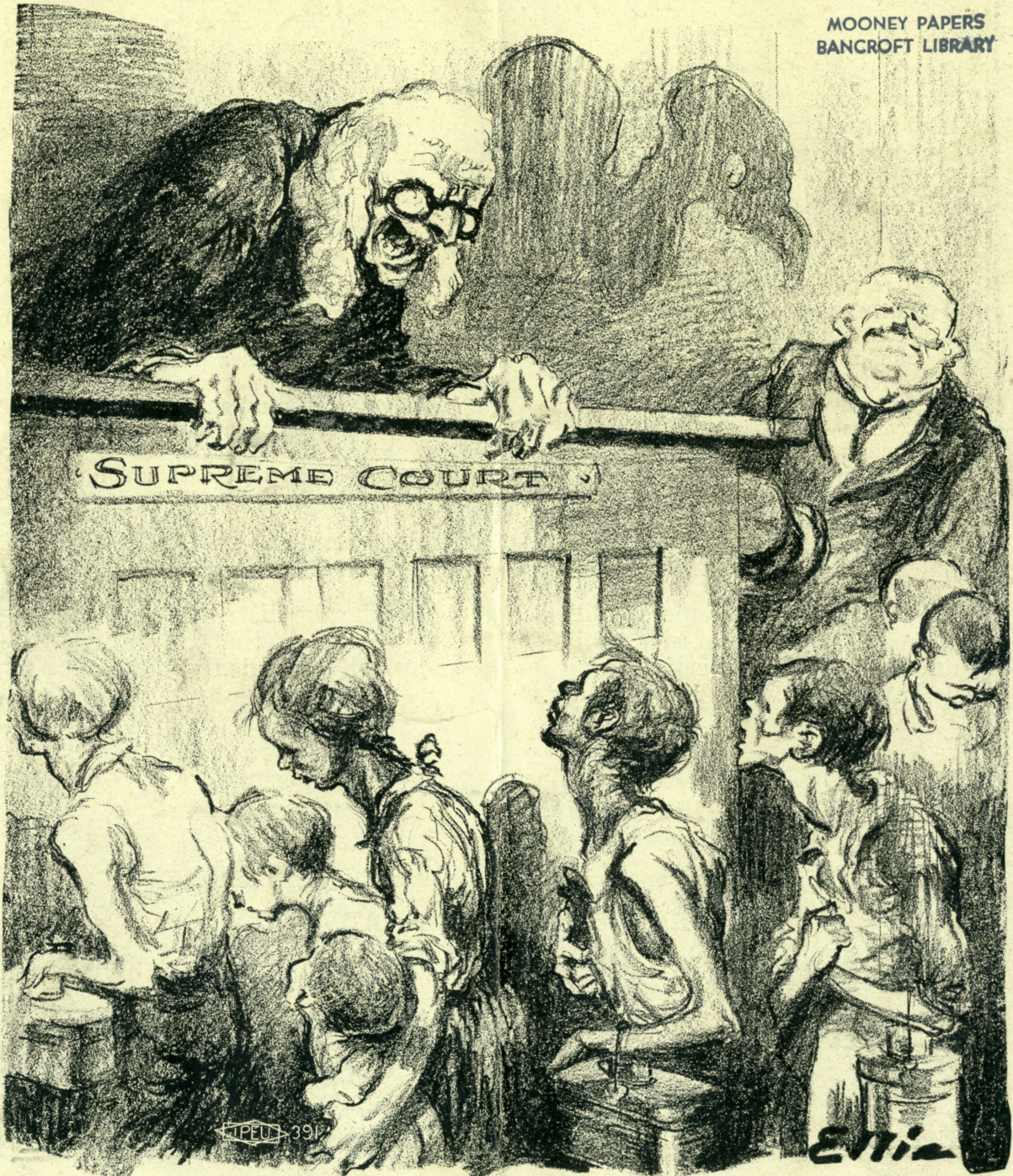


THE LABOR HERALD

Official Organ of The Trade Union Educational League

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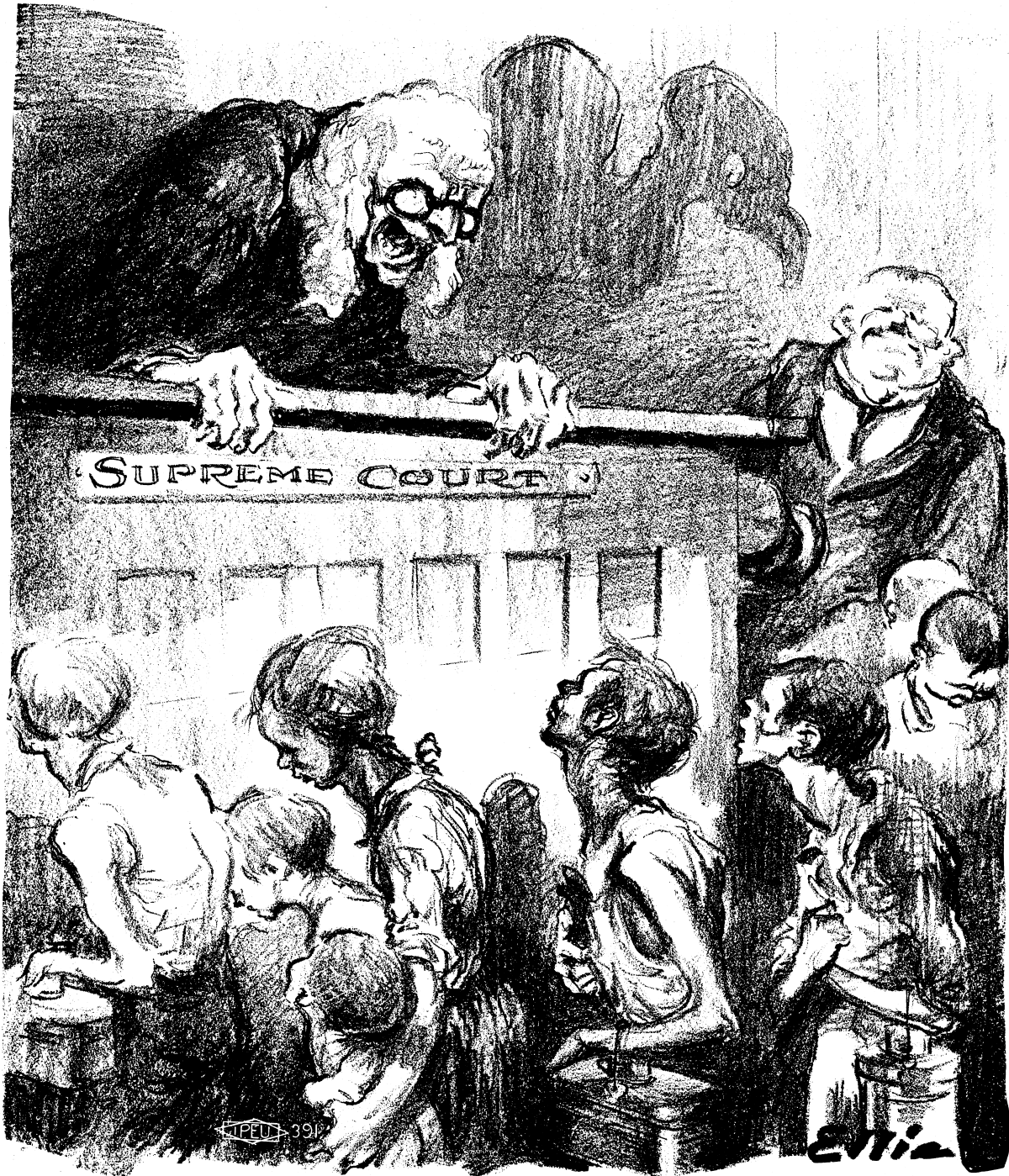
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THE LABOR HERALD

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391

The Railroaders' Next Step: AMALGAMATION

By Wm. Z. Foster

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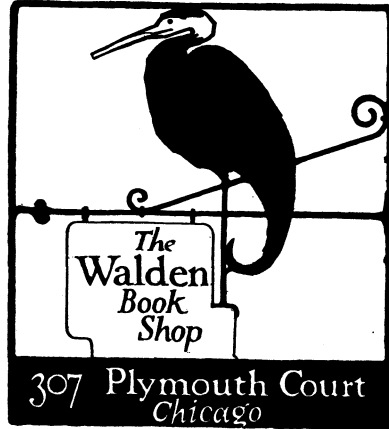
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THE LABOR HERALD

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July, 1922



No. 5

Trades Unionism in Canada

By Jack McDonald

THE trade union movement in Canada has developed under the social and economic conditions created by its peculiar position. Canada is dominated by two great powers—England and the United States. Politically a part of the British Empire, Canada is becoming more and more dependent in finance and industry upon Wall Street. Downing Street and Wall Street being at times in conflict, Ottawa (capital of Canada) is bent and torn between them. Moreover, the farming interest is raising its voice, and having some peculiar interest at odds with both Downing Street and Wall Street, complicates still further the situation. Capitalist Canada is not a unit; it is a house divided against itself. And the labor movement is just beginning to make itself heard.

Canadian Labor also is greatly influenced by two great labor powers, the British Unions and the United States Unions. Partaking of the philosophy and traditions of the British, yet it is organically hooked up with the United States unions because of the close economic connection between the two countries. The great bulk of Organized Labor in Canada is part and parcel of the International Unions with headquarters in the United States—yet the Canadian, like the British rather than like the U. S. movement, stands for the Labor Party in politics and is affiliated to the Amsterdam International.

Thus the Canadian Labor movement stands somewhere between the British and United States movements. It finds it impossible to progress as far as the British, but neither can it remain as backward as the U. S. It stands somewhere in between, but, while the British influence of ideas and programs is strong, undoubtedly the U. S. influence of economic relationship is the most vital and important.

Independent and National Unions

According to available statistics there are approximately 300,000 trade unionists in Canada. The vast majority of these are members of the "Internationals," of the great unions with headquarters in the United States, mainly of the Am-

erican Federation of Labor. In addition to the Internationals, there are also a few independent unions, or federations, which are nationalist in character. Those in the railroad industry are described in another article. Some of the other most important ones are as follows:

The Canadian Federation of Labor is a federation of purely Canadian unions. Its title is more pretentious than its strength warrants, as very few unions are affiliated, and these are weak. The pioneers of this movement were the Pressmen who seceded from the International Typographical Union nearly 15 years ago, at the time of the struggle for the eight-hour day. A Toronto local of Electrical Workers, formerly of the International, now the Electrical Workers of Canada, is the strongest unit in the Federation. This local seceded from the International about two years ago. Toronto, Ontario, is the center of the Federation. Small units come and go, and its total strength is never more than a few thousands. A short time ago an official publication was launched, *Canadian Federationist*, which, according to late reports, is in bad financial straits. Generally speaking, the secession unions which make up this federation are imbued with a narrow nationalist spirit, and have a deep prejudice against being governed "from the other side."

The National Catholic Unions are of recent origin, and are located solely in the French-Canadian Province of Quebec. Born and reared under the direct control of the Catholic Church, they are an attempt, (1) to prevent the organization of the Quebec workers in the same unions with fellow workers in the other provinces, and (2) an attempt to bring the question of religions into the economic organizations of the workers. They are confined solely to members of the Catholic faith. Their strength has been gradually increasing, and is now around 35,000. There is a strong sentiment among the employers in Quebec against the International Unions. Quite recently the Premier made a bitter attack upon them, he was infuriated at the strong stand taken by the Typographical Union. The question was

raised in the legislature, and the threat was made of outlawing the International Unions in Quebec.

But even the Catholic unions, it is interesting to note, have whetted the appetite of the workers for organization, and bid fair to thwart the purpose of their organizers. The meager concessions, given them, as a formal recognition of their organized state, have also given an inkling of what a real organization could and would do.

The Lumber Workers Industrial Union of Canada, formerly the British Columbia Loggers, were at one time a strong organization. The present conditions are, however, very adverse, with the closing down of many of the lumber camps due to the depression. The lumber workers became affiliated to the One Big Union at its inception, and were its greatest financial support. In 1920, however, they broke away because of disagreement over the form of organization, and took their present name. In spite of the hard times they are now going through, this virile and radical organization has blazed the trail for the Canadian labor movement by deciding in Convention, some months ago, for affiliation to the Red Trade Union International. They have no rivals in the Canadian lumber woods, and a revival in the industry will give these stalwarts the opportunity of making their power felt in Canada once again.

The One Big Union dates from the conference held in March, 1919, at Calgary, Alberta. About 230 delegates from Trades Councils and local unions of the Internationals, of the four Western Provinces—British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba—met and made some momentous decisions.

The Western delegation at the Annual Dominion Trades and Labor Congress had always comprised the radical or left-wing. Apparently becoming impatient at the slow progress of their ideas amongst the Eastern workers, and without foreseeing the distasteful effect that their decision was to have on the movement in general, this conference decided to ask the membership to sever all connections with the International organizations.

The One Big Union has changed greatly in its short life. Today its most intense propaganda is against industrial unionism. The *Bulletin* of May 11th carried a long editorial, since reprinted as a pamphlet, the burden of which is that "the advocacy of one union for one industry is a reactionary step." It may therefore be of interest to know what was the attitude of the Calgary Conference, which launched the One Big Union. Resolution No. 2, which was carried unanimously, reads as follows:

"Whereas, great and far-reaching changes have taken place during the last year in the realms of industry; and

"Whereas, we have discovered through painful experiences the utter futility of separate action on the part of the workers organized merely along craft lines, such action tending to strengthen the relative position of the master-class; therefore be it

"Resolved, that this Western Labor Conference place itself on record as favoring the reorganization of the workers along *industrial lines*, so that by virtue of their industrial strength the workers may be better prepared to enforce any demand they consider essential to their maintenance and well-being.

Resolution No. 3, carried, read as follows:

"Resolved, that this Convention recommends to its affiliated membership the severance of their affiliation with the International organizations, and that steps be taken to form an *industrial* organization of all workers."

Section 5 of the policy committee report is also interesting:

"In the opinion of the committee it will be necessary to establish an *industrial* form of organization. . . ."

In May of that year came the memorable Winnipeg general strike. While this was one of the most magnificent displays of working-class solidarity in North America, culminating in the imprisonment of the strike leaders, it also gave stimulus to the formation of the O. B. U. which came in June. The movement, under the slogan of industrial unionism and secession from the Internationals, virtually swept the Western Provinces. Official figures placed the membership at around 40,000. However, it failed utterly in its effort to invade the East. When we recall that the Eastern Provinces are the industrial and manufacturing provinces, containing the bulk of the population of Canada, it is clear that this fact doomed the O. B. U. Since then there has been progressive decay in that organization. Reports of membership are conflicting, but certain it is that it does not exceed 4,000 and in Winnipeg alone does it have any strength. There is not a trace of it left in Vancouver, while in Regina, Edmonton, Calgary and Saskatoon, all former strongholds, nothing but the name remains. Today, when the O. B. U. is denouncing Industrial Unionism and the Red Trade Union International, we find most of its former spokesmen are now against the policy of dual unionism, and are for industrial unionism through amalgamation, and the program of the Red International; among these may be mentioned Kavanagh of Vancouver, Mogridge and Lakeman of Edmonton, Mills of Saskatoon, and Fay of Calgary. The best elements are thus departed from this old mistake, and are now hard at work in both East and West (which are now closer together than ever before), endeavoring to consolidate the labor movement as a whole. All now realize that the first prerequisite for even defensive struggle is a unification and consolidation of the existing organizations.

The Real Labor Movement of Canada

The vast majority of organized workers in

Canada belong to the internationals. The group of first importance, as they constitute the keystone in the labor movement of the country, is undoubtedly the railroad unions. The building trades, metal trades, and miners, follow in order of importance. The Canadian District Council of Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L., covers the metal trades outside the railways; the railroad shopmen constitute District No. 4 of the Railway Department. The United Mine Workers have a membership of approximately 20,000, organized in two districts, viz; No. 18, in Alberta, in the West, and No. 26 in Nova Scotia, the East.

Canada is a land of vast distances, which militate against frequent conventions in the trade union movement. The chief work must, of course be done in the large cities. From Halifax to Vancouver is a far throw, but the work must be carried on, on that scale. This is the reason that the militant union men and women of Canada have been inspired by the work undertaken by the Trade Union Educational League, which is working in the unions from coast to coast, getting a common program into action in every town and city throughout the Dominion.

As a whole, the Canadian movement presents even better opportunity for our work, for immediate results, than any other section. The movement is more advanced in its social and political outlook than the movement across the line. The Dominion Trades and Labor Congress, the counterpart of the A. F. of L. Convention, not only has gone on record for independent political action, but has taken the initiative in the formation of Provincial labor parties, to which trades unions and other working class organizations can affiliate. At the last Congress the basis was laid for the linking up of these Provincial parties into a Dominionwide Labor Party.

The backwardness of the American labor movement has been used as an argument by the advocates of Canadian national unionism; they have cited the lack of national autonomy, the absence of power to bring strong pressure on the Dominion Government, as their strong argument against the Internationals. However true it may be that the Canadian unions lack power, it is certain that such power cannot be achieved through the policy of splitting up the movement as has been done with the nationalist unions and the O. B. U. And just as the confusion of dual unions is insupportable, so also is the multiplication of craft divisions that now exist. The only solid basis of working class power industrial as well as political, lies in the movement for consolidation and amalgamation. The present Councils of autonomous unions, separate headquarters, separate constitutions, separate sanctions to pro-

cure for each projected action—all this is obsolete and must be scrapped. From a purely financial point of view it is untenable. Millions of dollars annually are literally thrown away upon duplication of offices, editors, organizers, and officials. Because of our lack of unity, among the workers organized, we stand helpless before the solid phalanx of the master class.

The trade union movement in Canada, as in other countries, is passing through its most critical period. The employers are attacking viciously. The movement is relatively weak. Thousands upon thousands of the workers know our weakness, and know that industrial unionism is the answer. Nowhere is this message given to the rank and file, but what is received with acclamation. Why then do we not make more progress? The reason is our lack of organization among the militant unionists in the past. We have relied upon a blast of trumpets. That will not do the deed. Steady, hard, plodding work alone will suffice, and thorough organization. Instead of being content with damming the reactionary machine, we must build our own machine—not for the gratification of personal ambitions, but for furthering militant unionism. The Trade Union Educational League has been formed for this purpose, and is already taking up the task. Let us all take hold, and with this instrument ready to our hands, set to remolding the trade union movement along industrial lines, infusing it with a new spirit, and thus make it fit to cope with the ruthless attacks of the capitalist class.

READ

The Labor Herald FOR AUGUST

Special Printing Trades Number
also

**The Convention of the American
Federation of Labor**

reported by Wm. Z. Foster

This issue goes to press while the Convention is still in session, and the complete report will appear next month.

Special articles on various phases of the labor movement, Notes on the International situation, editorials, and the regular departments. This will be the last issue of THE LABOR HERALD before the National Conference of the T. U. E. L.

First National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League

THE First National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League will meet in Chicago, August 26th and 27th. Responding to the crying needs of the present situation in the labor movement, it will bring together all the organized groups of militant union men within the trade unions. At this gathering will be worked out the national policies for the radical unionists, plans for work in each industry, and the attitude to be taken toward the various burning questions before the workers.

Surely this move is not premature; it comes at a time when the labor movement is on its most desperate retreat. The Convention of the A. F. of L. reports a loss of membership for the year of over 700,000 members. This is an average loss for the year. The exact figure at this time is certainly well over 1,000,000. Never before has the labor movement suffered such a loss in strength.

In the matter of wages and hours, the retreat is just as pronounced. Following close upon the heels of one another have come wage cut after wage cut. Increase of hours has become the order of the day. The drastic lowering of standards of the railroad workers, 1,200,000 of whom are now voting on a strike indicates the situation throughout the field of industry.

Political enslavement has increased along with the decreasing power of Labor. Injunctions of the type of those issued by Judge Anderson are becoming established as "normal." Laws aimed at Labor particularly are being passed in every state, and by the national Congress. Within a few days the Supreme Court knocked out the Child Labor Law, and decided that union treasuries could be attached for damages to employers because of strikes. Industrial Court Laws are being enacted, and Labor is being forbidden to strike. Black reaction swings its whip over Labor in the field of Government.

What have the leaders of the American labor movement to offer the workers in this crisis? Nothing. They are completely bankrupt. Now that hard times calls for Labor's reserve power, the conservative leadership is shown to have been doing business on empty paper promises, with nothing whatever to back them up. The first moment they are called upon to meet real prob-

lems, to display real leadership, they stand completely helpless and impotent.

But if the leaders will not act, then the rank and file must. In every union and in every city there are men who see our present plight clearly, and who do have something definite to offer to Labor to meet the situation. The Trade Union Educational League is their organization. It is carrying a message to the rank and file, proposing that we put our unions on a modern footing. The retreat of Labor must be turned into an advance. To accomplish this, we must wipe out the divisions which are the sources of our weakness. We must have not more than one union in any one industry. Besides this, these industrial unions must act together as regiments in an army. And finally, we must give the workers a militant spirit by teaching them that they have absolutely no substantial relief to look for as long as the wage system persists.

The First National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League will be one of the most important gatherings in the American labor movement for a long time. It will mark the birth of a new organization, crystallizing a new tendency and will be one of those epochal gatherings that occur seldom in the lifetime of an individual. It is highly essential that every union and every city and town be represented at this Conference, so that it can give the benefit of its advice and assistance in laying the corner stone for the new radical movement in the mass unions.

Each Local League will be entitled to six delegates. Every city should try to send as nearly that number as possible. As a matter of economy, there will be a district conference for the Pacific Coast held during July, which will enable the active workers there to gather in larger numbers and then send a few delegates to the National Conference in Chicago in August. All other local Leagues will send their delegates directly to the National Conference. One of the most important items to come before the Conference will be the permanent organization of Districts, of which there will probably be four—the Eastern, the Central, the Pacific and the Canadian. Where there is more than one delegate from any locality, they should be chosen from different industries. This will help to make the Conference thoroughly representative. If your local League is not yet fully organized, get busy at once to complete your work, and prepare to elect your delegates.

Dual Unions on Canadian Railroads

By P. Morton

THE railroad labor union situation in Canada is muddled by dual and secessional unions probably more than in any other country. While the sixteen "Standard" railroad unions of the United States and Canada, the Internationals, have the overwhelming majority of those who are organized, yet there is a flock of little outside organizations which sap the strength of the railroad men and render harder the struggle of the workers. These dual unions draw away each a portion of the more active workers from the mass union in its particular field; more serious yet, the resulting confusion and factionalism becomes an excuse for large additions to the ranks of the "Ancient Order of Dues Dodgers."

Nevertheless, the actual condition of the railroad unions in Canada has not justified dualism to the extent that has been present in the United States. In the United States there have been a number of great strike movements which, repressed by the International union officials, found expression in "outlaw" strikes and caused the formation of some of the secessionist organizations. The vicious war carried on against the unions in the United States by the railroad executives, under orders from Wall Street, has also contributed to ploughing the ground for dual effort there. But these conditions did not exist to nearly the same intensity in Canada. Our prolific supply of dual unions must rather be attributed to the fact that our more active rank and filers have lacked a "balance wheel," and have been open to every influence and suggestion wafted on the season's breezes.

At this time there are in Canada (counting the standard unions, who all have some sort of working arrangements, as one), six organizations bidding against each other for the support of the shop trades, five unions competing for the running crafts, eight unions fighting about the clerks and freight-handlers, six more disputing for the maintenance of way and shop laborers, six over the stationery firemen, four dividing the telegraphers, and two splitting the dining and sleeping car employees. In each group, with the exception of the clerks and freight handlers, the International craft unions (the sixteen standard railroad organizations) have many more of the organized workers than all the others combined. And the standard Internationals are also the organizations that conduct the negotiations with the companies for each group, with a few exceptions mentioned later. But though their member-

ship is small, the dual unions create much confusion and seriously weaken the whole mass of the railroad workers. A few outstanding examples may be cited.

The "Best" Organizations

In 1919, a man by the name of Best, formerly a district chairman of the Locomotive Engineers on the old Canadian Northern Railroad, started a new union, called the Canadian Association of Engine Service Men. He endeavored to get the engineers and firemen to join, using the slogan of "Canada for the Canadians." He was to a certain extent successful, obtaining a number of those workers. But in a referendum vote recently taken of the employees of that road, they voted two to one in favor of the International Unions. Undoubtedly, however, this dual union will remain for some time yet to further complicate the situation.

The same Mr. Best later started a secession movement within the secessionist O. B. U. shopmen of Winnipeg, calling it the Canadian Association of Railway Shopmen. He was for a time able to get a few shopmen, but it seems to be dying out. Another organization fathered by this prolific begetter of dual unions was the Canadian Association of Train Service Men.

The Canadian Railway Workers' Industrial Union

This embryo "industrial union" was launched among the shopmen of Calgary in 1919, about the time of the O. B. U. movement. Its members were recruited from the workers on the Canadian Pacific Railroad, but never got beyond a few of the shop trades. Largely due to the divisions caused by their secession and the numerous other dual unions, these same men are, for the most part, not now members of any union.

The United Association of Railway Employees of America

There are only a few scattered members of this organization in Canada, principally among the running trades. Their propaganda against the International Unions is, however, quite industrious. Recently an organizer for this union in Eastern Canada made the announcement that they were going to start a Canadian Section of the United Association. Just how far it has gone is hard to tell yet, but it will probably be another contribution toward division and disunity.

The Catholic National Union

This organization was started a number of years ago by some authorities of the Catholic Church. Some of its organizers are priests, and

in some cases where it has a foothold, the priests act as business agents. The reason given for its separate existence is that the International Unions are too "radical," and hence have a tendency to alienate their followers from the Church. They claim to have 40,000 members, accepting all classes of workers. Their principal strength is in the province of Quebec. How strong they are on the railroads is problematical; they have some shopmen and clerks, but in no instance are they a considerable factor on the railway systems so far as wage movements or negotiations are concerned.

The Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees

This organization, like others in this field, is largely "national" in character. But while emphasizing its peculiar Canadian nature, it has had, paradoxically enough, to cross the line into Minnesota in order to organize the clerks on the Canadian Northern Railroad, which has a branch into Virginia and Duluth. Thus is strikingly demonstrated the fallacy of "national" unions on the railroads, all of which cross the international border.

At its inception in 1909, this organization was not a dual union, in the strict sense of the word. At that time the clerks, freight-handlers, laborers, boiler and engine room employees, etc., were totally unorganized. The international unions with jurisdiction over these fields had not made any energetic headway in Canada. It was only a short time, however, until the Canadian Brotherhood threw open its membership books to

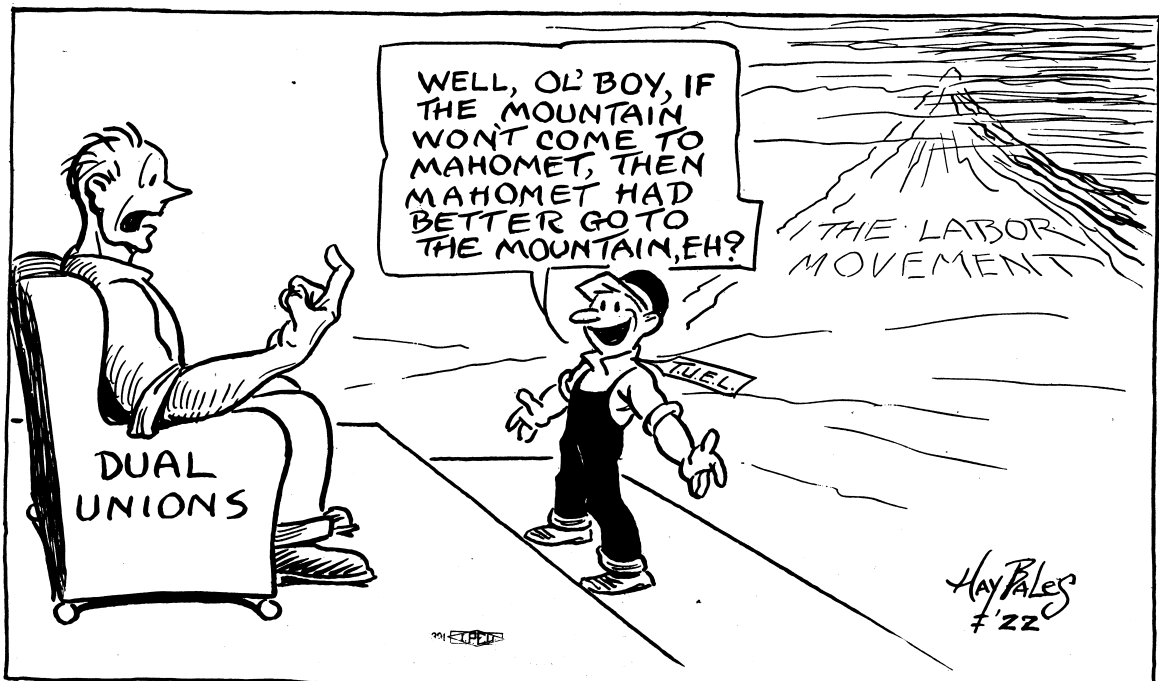
all railroad employees of every craft. From time to time it has secured a toe-hold among the shop and other trades, only to lose it again after a brief period.

At present the Canadian Brotherhood has the majority of the organized clerks and freight-handlers in Canada. It negotiates with the Canadian National Railroad for that group of workers, and also to some extent for the boiler and engine room employees and shop laborers on that road. In the last few years, however, the Clerks' International has organized that group on the Canadian Pacific Railroad, and carries on their negotiations. For the last four years, both unions have been making great efforts to secure complete control, with the result that the hostility between them has become pronounced. This situation is deplorable, and keeps many workers out of both organizations, continuing disorganization. The sign of progress here is, however, that there is a move under way to amalgamate these two unions into one organization.

American Federation of Railroad Workers, and the International Brotherhood of Station Employees

The American Federation of Railroad Workers made an attempt to get a foot hold with the railroad workers in Canada, and secured a few members on that portion of the New York Central, Wabash, and Pere Marquette Railroads that run through a section of Canada. Here their influence stopped, and has at all times been negligible, except for the prevention of unity.

The International Brotherhood of Station Em-



ployees is one of the three unions into which the clerks and freight handlers are divided on the Canadian section of the Grand Trunk Railroad, and during recent negotiations for that group of employees all three organizations laid claim to being the proper one to represent them. The result was that the officials of the railroad proposed that they appoint a joint committee from the three unions, which was done. It is certainly some situation when the boss has to advise the workers to get together, and it is not hard to imagine the state of chaos that exists among these workers on the Grand Trunk Railroad.

The One Big Union

All of the dual and secessionist unions mentioned above have been conservative or reactionary, either on account of their nationalistic position or their general philosophy of the labor problem. The One Big Union differs from all the others in this respect. It has always been a "radical" union, with a philosophy of the class struggle, and internationalist leanings. However, the practical results of its organization activities have been to continue and extend the deplorable disunity and division.

The One Big Union, contrary to the opinion of many people, never made any large successes on the railroads. Very few railroaders, other

than shopmen, ever joined it at any time. The shopmen they did get were all in Western Canada (west of Port Arthur and Fort Williams), and their numbers were not more than 50% of the shopmen involved. This means that at its strongest, the O. B. U. had no more than 10 to 15% of the Western railroad workers at the height of its power. Never did they obtain enough power to function as an ordinary union in this field. The organization has now lost most of its members, and has degenerated into a baseball pool establishment. The pools conducted by the O. B. U. Bulletin have done much to keep that organization in existence. The Bulletin is being sold in immense numbers, for the pool tickets that are printed therein; but the influence of the organization as such is rapidly dying.

All this complication of unionism has resulted from the original mistake of quitting the old organizations. The membership, instead of working to improve these organizations and to make them function effectively, has run off to all sorts of union tangents, with the confusion we see. The situation will never be corrected until the original mistake is made good by the active spirits going back to the trade unions again and taking the mass of seceders with them. Except this is done there is no immediate hope for solidarity among Canadian railroad workers.

Brothers to the Boss

By Jay Fox

A FRIEND writes me to ask: "Why a trade union educational league? Aint our national school system sufficient for all practical union needs without you brothers handing us out some new-fangled stuff to torture our tired brains about?"

The trouble with this brother is so much like the trouble of the rest of us that we had better talk the thing over in public. First, he is a victim of capitalist propaganda—the most pernicious pest the world has ever known. Second, he dislikes to use his brain—a plague second only to the other.

Now, let us go down to bedrock. The bedrock fact of our subject is that there are two classes in this country—those who work for wages are in one class, those who own the jobs constitute the other. The line of demarcation is so distinct that it would seem almost unnecessary to point it out. But there is where the capitalist propaganda combines so effectively with our mental laziness to keep us from learning a basic truth, a knowledge of which is absolutely essential.

See how vehemently the newspapers and edu-

cators, the preachers, politicians and capitalists deny the existence of classes and denounce as enemies of society all who point out the self evident fact. "Sure," they say, "there are capitalists and working people, but they are not enemies. They are the mutually dependent producers—two branches of one great industrial family—brothers, in fact, with common interests and aspirations." And the great mass of us believe that bunk in the face of all the evidence to the contrary; and we will continue to believe it so long as we refuse to "torture our tired brains" doing a little thinking of our own. ("Lazy brains," I would say, for it is quite evident they don't get tired from use).

If any worker doubts my statement let him look at the lineup in the coal strike. On one side are the coal barons, the fellows who "own" the mines (the jobs), the courts trying strikers on the charge of treason, the newspapers and capitalists in general. On the other side, the miners, supported only by their worker friends. Now I didn't make that lineup. It is there by

reason of the economic law which "the pillars of society" say does not exist.

Now it will be asked: since classes do really exist why are the capitalists and their retainers so persistent in their denial? The answer to that question is also self evident. The capitalists know that as soon as it becomes generally known amongst the workers that classes exist there will be a lineup in this country that will stir things to their very foundation. The capitalists are shrewd men. They don't let their brains tire for want of use. They know that classes exist, but they don't want us to know it. It is because they know it that they always put up such a solid front when opposing us. And it is because we *don't* know it that we are so much divided amongst ourselves.

Here is where the function of our educational work among trade unions comes in, and there is nothing "new-fangled" about it either. It is a simple explanation of things as they exist and have existed for hundreds of years. The bunk that there are no classes in this country is the great American lie. And as soon as we grasp it in sufficient numbers we will lay the foundation for a movement that will free us from the octopus of capitalism in whose tentacles every worker knows he is held.

The reason why so little progress has been made by the workers of this country is due to the fact that so many of us believe we are one-hundred percent brothers to the bosses. With that superstition dominant in "our tired brains" we have been led without a halter by the henchmen of capitalism; we believe the bunk set before us daily by the newspapers; we support the politicians and lawyers who, in the service of the capitalists, yearly make more and more laws to enslave us; we turn away from those of our own class whose untired brains have seen the light of day thru the fakery of the "friends of labor;" and in various other ways we help the capitalists to keep us enthralled, while they go merrily on to the conquest of power.

Now suppose we come to a realization of the truth that every proposal put forward by the henchmen of capital is 100% for capital and 100% against labor, that society as it is organized today in all its various ramifications is a huge machine designed and operated for one specific purpose—the enrichment of the rich at the expense of the poor; a capitalist society by, for and of the capitalists.

That is a broad statement, but it can easily be proven. Look around you. How much of the country's wealth, all created by labor, does labor possess? This country was worth nothing when labor landed here. Today it is worth over 500 billion dollars, (richer than the great British

Empire), and labor, to whom all that uncountable wealth really belongs, is stinting along in the same old way, striving to make both ends meet and pay the landlord for the privilege of living in the houses it built.

How else could it be done, since the mass of us don't want to "torture our tired brains" by taking any thought of our own material interests? The capitalists use their brains, while we use our hands and work under their direction. We might as well not have any brains at all.

A man with a horse makes the animal do all the work he is capable of doing and does himself those things the horse cannot do. The capitalists have a better graft. They train us workers to do *all* their work and give us grub only while we work. The horse has the best job, his grub is continuous.

If there is still more proof wanting that this is a capitalist-owned society, let us pursue the subject a bit further. The jobs upon which our living depends are "owned" by the capitalists, who have the legal right at any time to cut off our food supply and leave us to starve to death; and we have no recourse in law. We may die of hunger and the men who cut off our food supply are not held for murder. The jobs are their private property and the government stands behind them with its courts and jails and hangmen, its cossacks, machine guns and poison gas.

We are compelled by the necessity of food, clothing and shelter to go to these capitalists and meekly ask them for permission to work at the industries that we have created, paying for the privilege all we produce over and above the scant wages which the capitalists have agreed to pay us. That is the condition of labor in "free America" and it is the purpose of our present movement to change it. We are determined that labor shall be free in free America. And it is our opinion that the burden of liberating labor lies in its own hands and no where else. We are convinced that the first article of freedom is the right to work without the permission of any man. This means that in order to be free, labor must control the industries. Such a consumation can only be attained by the organization of the workers of each industry into industrial unions, such unions to be formed by the amalgamation of the present trade unions.

The Trade Union Educational League of Chicago is cooperating with the four Russian Famine Relief organizations which are putting on a joint tag-day throughout the city on June 26, for the benefit of the Russian children. The organizations are, The Trade Union Committee, the Friends of Soviet Russia, American Committee for Russian Famine Relief, and American Relief for Russian Women and Children. 5,000 women will be on the streets collecting funds. Volunteers should send in their names.

Railroad Workers! To Action!

THE railroad workers are faced with the supreme decision—struggle or slavery. We must fight, or we will be fastened with chains worse than even those of the past. The Railroad Labor Board, disregarding the solemn warnings of our unions, and the representatives of Labor on the Board, have cut right into the very lives of all of us. They have reduced us to a standard which will make it impossible to live in the slightest approach to decency. They have taken the clothes off the backs of our wives and children, and the food from off our tables. There can be but one answer—**STRIKE**.

While we prepare with all our energy for the struggle, let us end, once for all, this horrible travesty of having *our representatives* sitting upon the same Board which is the instrument for our destruction. Withdraw the representatives of Labor from the Railroad Labor Board at once! Tell Wharton, McMenimen and Philips to resign!

Our unions must be immediately prepared for the strike. We have wasted many precious years, months and weeks, which should have been used organizing our forces. We should be prepared to throw one great united army into this struggle. No crime so great has ever been committed as that which has kept us railroaders divided among ourselves. Now that we are forced into the fight before we have attained solidarity, we must bend every energy, every ounce of our strength, to remedying this evil. Solidarity of the railroaders—this must be our slogan. When the strike is called, let it be a general strike of every worker on the railroads!

The miners are already in the battle, fighting the same enemy who so cynically forces us into the struggle. Their army of 665,000 have been fighting stubbornly for three months before we must strike. Our cause is the same as theirs. Our forces should be united. We should not allow that they could, by any possibility, be beaten just as we begin our struggle. Let us join our issue, and win or lose together; our fighting power will be thus increased a hundredfold!

The strike before us is at once our test and our opportunity. If we measure up to the fight, we can make it the turning point in the present disastrous period. We can, joining hands with the miners, begin finally the struggle which will carry us forward instead of backward as we have been going for two years. We can turn our present retreat into an advance. We can become the advance-guard of the entire army of Labor, which, inspired by our example, will make a general assault upon the forces of capitalistic reaction.

All together—against the railroad companies, against the Railroad Labor Board, against the capitalist class and their lickspittle Administration.

S T R I K E.

They Move an Inch

A Story of Four Railroad Conventions

By Wm. Z. Foster

IT is a basic law of life that all organisms, social as well as animal, when confronted with a new environment must either change to meet the new conditions or perish. That is exactly the situation the railroad unions are now up against. Their environment has changed mightily in the last few years. The employers have become enormously stronger financially and better organized; likewise they have taken on a high degree of class consciousness and are out to destroy all unionism. Unless the unions can meet these new conditions by revamping their methods, structure, and social conceptions they must die. For them it is either evolution or extinction.

The situation on the railroads, from a union point of view, is just about desperate. The companies have wiped out the national agreements. They have gutted the eight hour day, and are reintroducing piece work—that is where they do not farm out the work altogether to dummy contractors operating without the pale of the Transportation Act—and company unions are being set up on various roads. All the organizations have taken cuts in wages, and now the Railroad Board is going over them the second time, clipping their salaries again. Within the past few weeks the Maintenance of Way workers, many of whom were cut to as low as 23 cents per hour, have been reduced to a starvation wage; the six shop crafts have also been slashed another 12% or so, and the latest are the Clerks, while the Telegraphers, the four Brotherhoods, and the rest are standing around waiting the convenience of the Board to guillotine them. The general consequence is demoralization among the rank and file, a demoralization which not even the strike vote can check. Many thousands have left the organizations, and many more will do so in the near future unless a way is found to stop the rout.

In such a crisis one would think that our leaders would do the necessary and logical thing; that is, call a special convention of all railroad organizations and there weld them together into a compact body able to repel the assaults of the companies. But of course nothing like that is done. The movement is too much Gompersized for such action. The best that they do is to develop a mild progressivism. In their conventions during the past month, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen & Enginemen, the Order

of Railroad Conductors, the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, and to a lesser extent the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, failed badly to measure up to the needs of the situation. But they did move forward an inch nevertheless, and in our stagnant labor movement that is not to be sneezed at.

Facts About the Organizations

The B. of L. F. & E. opened its convention in Houston, Texas on May 1st. This was the 29th since its foundation in 1873. There were present 905 delegates representing 120,000 members. From 1881 to 1892 Debs was Secretary of this organization. At its foundation the union functioned in wage matters, but after the great, ill-starred strike of 1877 it repudiated strike action and confined itself to serving as a sick and death benefit society. The enormous upheaval in the middle '80's woke it up again and at its 1885 convention it readopted the strike policy. The convention of the B. of R. T., with 760 delegates, opened in Toronto, May 9th. Approximately 180,000 members were represented. The B. of R. T., originally known as the Brotherhood of Railroad Brakemen, was organized in 1883. Like the rest of the Brotherhoods, it encountered so much opposition in its early stages that it had to function merely as a fraternal order. It became a genuine labor organization in 1885. It has assets to the extent of \$8,000,000. The O. R. C. opened its 37th convention in Cleveland the first week in May. The organization consisting of 60,000 members, was founded in 1868. Until 1890 it devoted itself to beneficial features; but at that time it changed its constitution so that it became a trade union. The B. of R. C. etc. held its convention in Dallas, Texas, beginning May 1st. This was the 14th since the founding of the organization in 1899. There were approximately 150,000 workers represented. The Clerks' union lingered along from the beginning, having only a small membership. At the outbreak of the war there were only 6,500 members on its rolls. Then it underwent a tremendous growth, reporting 175,000 members in 1921.

Warren S. Stone's Program

In the following recital of the progressive measures considered by the four conventions the name of Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, constantly occurs, despite the fact that his was not one of the four organizations directly involved. The

reason for this was his great activity in connection with the conventions. He has developed a definite railroad program, including closer affiliation, working class political action, recognition of Russia, co-operation in general and co-operative banking in particular, building up of the railroad paper, *Labor*, remodelling the convention system, etc., and he went from convention to convention to put it across. Three of them, the Firemen, Conductors, and Trainmen, he visited in person, and no doubt his influence was powerfully felt at the other, the Clerks. And when all was said and done, nearly everything progressive that was accomplished at the conventions, at least that of moment, was the result of his campaign.

Stone is not a radical, quite the reverse. He has showed time and again (lately at the Ladies Garment Workers' convention) his hatred of revolutionists and their policies. Likewise, his conduct in holding his organization aloof from the general industrial struggles of the mass of railroad workers, thereby gravely injuring the cause of the workers and aiding that of the companies, shows conclusively that he lacks the larger vision. Nevertheless in many minor aspects of the movement he has quite a streak of progressivism. Despite his serious shortcomings he stands head and shoulder above the other leaders in the railroad industry, not only because he has some sort of a program, (while they have none), but also because he has the aggressiveness to put it through. Compared with him the static Jewell, President of the Railway Employees' Department is a pigmy. It is safe to say that if the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers were affiliated to the A. F. of L. Stone would soon put Sam Gompers off watch.

Amalgamation

The question of closer affiliation cropped up all around. In this respect the Clerks took the lead and showed real understanding. They adopted one resolution, introduced by Wade Shurtleff, calling for the amalgamation of all railroad unions into one body, and another resolution, introduced by J. T. De Hunt, the one originally adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor, demanding that the A. F. of L. proceed to fuse all the craft unions in every industry into a series of industrial organizations.

The Trainmen, besides developing a movement for closer relations with the conductors, adopted a resolution to amalgamate with the Switchmen. Should this go through, and there is every prospect it will now that the Switchmen's Union is broke and cannot furnish good paying jobs to its officialdom, it will put an end to one of the most disastrous inter-union wars in the history of Organized Labor. The amalgamation should

have been brought about and the fight stopped 20 years ago. Although the Switchmen were long the most militant craft on the railroads their position in resisting the merger was wrong and their arguments that brakemen and switchmen cannot function in the same organization were ridiculous. The fight held the whole railroad union movement back. Moreover great harm was done to trade unionism at large by the Switchmen who, taking advantage of their A. F. of L. affiliation, systematically poisoned and estranged the body of trade unionists from the four brotherhoods.

But an even more important amalgamation project developed at the Firemen's convention. They decided to have their general officers sit in with the general officers of the B. of L. E. to map out a plan to merge the two engine service organizations into one. When completed, the plan will be submitted by referendum to the membership of both unions for ratification. It is almost certain to carry. This scheme is pretty much the work of Stone. He went to Houston and advised the Firemen to go through with it. Immediately after he stopped talking the resolution was adopted. In explaining the advantages of the plan Stone touched on the only real obstacle to amalgamation, namely, the fear by the officials that they may lose their jobs. He said, "It would materially reduce the number of field officers, permit of having but one instead of two salaried Chairmen on each road, and all of that. Some of these salaried Chairmen may be out of a job." "But," he declared, "don't legislate for your general officers, legislate for the rank and file of your Brotherhood and then you will get results. Forget your officers."

Political Action

All four organizations declared for the political program inaugurated at the Chicago conference recently. This puts nearly all of the unions on record for that movement, which looks like a Labor Party in the making. Quite evidently the railroad workers are tired of being kept political ciphers simply because Mr. Gompers refuses to think. It will be only because of timid leadership if, before these lines get into print, they have not marched into the A. F. of L. convention and successfully demanded the abolition of the absurd policy of Labor's "rewarding its friends and punishing its enemies." Stone made a strong defense of the new political policy before the three conventions at which he spoke.

Recognition of Russia

Another point in Stone's program is the establishment of peace with Russia. In some manner he has developed a sympathetic attitude towards that embattled country. In the March number of the *Locomotive Engineers' Journal*

there appears an editorial, doubtless with Stone's O. K., in which Gompers is laced as seldom before because of his brutal Russian policy. In his scorching article the writer declares that Mr. Gompers, "Like the gold-braided generals of France, wants peace, but first he wants his bucket of Bolshevik blood." He states further that the well-informed labor leaders, political economists and statesmen of Europe are agreed that Russia must be rehabilitated before normal conditions can be restored in the world. Then he says, "Opposing them are the bloodthirsty Czarist generals, the horde of ex-Russian landlords, no-account counts, ignoble nobles, and other jobless remnants of autocracy, together with a Russian propaganda bureau in New York sponsored by eminent Wall Street bankers and labor haters. Truly Mr. Gompers has chosen strange bedfellows." Stone made no issue of Russia in his convention addresses. The Clerks were the only one of the organizations to take a favorable stand in the matter, and they demanded the recognition of Russia and the establishment of trade relations with her.

Co-operative Banking

At the various conventions Stone made propaganda for another one of his measures, namely, labor banks; but so far as the writer has learned at this time, the only organization to respond to the proposition was the Clerks. They commissioned their officials to go ahead and organize a bank to be owned and controlled by the union. Thus added impetus was given the labor banking movement initiated by Stone. Already, in addition to the original B. of L. E. institution, the following labor banks, are either in operation or being organized: the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in Chicago, the Brotherhood Railway Carmen in Kansas City, the Order of Railroad Telegraphers in St. Louis, and the joint locals of the four Brotherhood organizations in Minneapolis. The thing is growing too rapidly. We can look for a crash soon, once the well-known genus labor faker begins to take a hand at high financing.

Building the Journal "Labor"

One of the striking features of the conventions was that three of them, the Clerks, Firemen, and Conductors, subscribed their entire membership in a body for *Labor*, the weekly paper owned and controlled by the 16 railroad unions. This meant an immediate increase in circulation of about 300,000 per week. Rarely if ever has labor journalism experienced anything of the like. And again the hand of Stone is seen at work. The building up of *Labor* is one of the planks in his platform. For a long time the various organizations had backed the paper in a desultory way,

issuing all sorts of pressing and even frantic calls through their respective journals urging the membership to subscribe for it. But the Locomotive Engineers, which is to say Stone, were the first to really take the matter seriously. At their last convention they subscribed the whole organization for *Labor*. Stone then took up the propaganda for it in the organizations, advocating it in his recent convention speeches. It now looks as though practically all the railroad unions will take the paper en masse. Within a year or two it will probably be one of the widest-read labor journals in the world. *Labor* represents one of the get-together tendencies now agitating the railroad workers. Unless it falls short of its true mission it will some day supplant the conglomeration of 16 railroad union journals that are now in the field. Although now cold and official, it should finally become the one great paper of the one all-inclusive industrial union of railroad workers.

Reorganizing the Conventions

Particularly demoralizing to the railroad unions is their system of holding conventions. One bad feature is the custom of having them in different cities each time. This reduces the gatherings to mere junketings and picnic parties. The habit is for the delegates to spend more time and interest in sightseeing than in considering organization business. Another bad feature is the system of allowing one delegate from each local union, with all expenses paid by the general organization. One effect of this is, in the larger unions, to make the conventions practically into mobs of 1000 to 1500 delegates apiece. Real business is out of the question. And the expense is fabulously high. At their last convention the Firemen spent over \$600,000, and the Carmen, Conductors, Clerks, and others expended about the same. The result is that conventions become fewer and fewer as the delegations grow larger and the junketing spirit develops. And even when held they are practically worthless.

For some reason Stone has singled out this abuse, and during the recent conventions he broke a few lances against it. At the Firemen's gathering he panned them (also the Conductors) for their antiquated convention system. He stated that the Engineers have reduced their delegation one-half, likewise their expenses. Besides, they now hold all their conventions in the home city, Cleveland. He declares that it took a long fight to put the thing through in the face of the opposition of the cheap delegates, ever present at conventions, who battled to get as much out of the organization as possible for their petty graft. He said, "We tried to get it through three conventions. We finally got it referred to a refer-

endum vote of the membership, and by an 80% vote they decided in favor of a reduction of delegates. This meant the end of having conventions for the purpose of having good times and junketing trips." The Firemen, with their convention costing them \$52.06 a minute and due to last a month, saw the point and appointed a committee to work out a plan along the lines suggested.

In addition to holding all the Brotherhood conventions in one town, Stone aims to center their headquarters in one place also. At present three of them, the Engineers, Firemen, and Trainmen, are located in Cleveland. Stone invited the Conductors to move in from Cedar Rapids, Iowa, so that all might get together without much difficulty. But in this he was defeated, the old foggy Order of Railway Conductors refusing, for sentimental reasons, to leave their ancient home. They promised however to take up this weighty matter again in their 1925 convention.

The Old Guard Re-elected

Few changes were made in the various administrations. Fitzgerald of the Clerks was re-elected unanimously. Sheppard of the Conductors also got by without difficulty. Carter of the Firemen refused to run again, a fact which will help amalgamation of the two engine service organizations mightily. He has become a historian of his Brotherhood at the full salary he got as President. His successor is D. B. Robertson. Bill Lee had opposition in the Trainmen, Val Fitzpatrick running against him. But Lee won out handily. The fine spirits on his branch of the service who should have been there to fight him are now out of the organization; they quit during the ill-starred "outlaw" strike of two years ago. Lee was able to take much credit from this affair, posing as the saviour of the Brotherhood. He defeated the effort to have the "outlaws" reinstated. The railroaders of the country will be afflicted with him for another three years unless the unexpected happens.

Noteworthy was the absence of the Plumb Plan from the conventions. Though some railroaders continue to do reverence to this guild system, it is now practically a dead issue. Sam Gompers had a large share in its killing. Carter said of it in the Firemen's convention, "The propaganda that has been spread against it by the railroad manipulators and the big financial interests has rendered it impossible to establish its principles under the name "Plumb Plan."

Such, in the main, was the work of the conventions. A little was accomplished, but in view of the prevailing crisis it was pitifully inadequate. In one summary we have mentioned the work of Stone often, and his influence was undoubted-

ly great. None of the other big leaders had a thing to offer. It was the old story of the one-eyed man being king in the land of the blind. But some also felt the influence of our League in the conventions. In discussing the Clerks' convention the *Illinois Tribune* said, "With a vote that left no misunderstanding this convention went on record in favor of the amalgamation plan which the Trade Union Education League has been advocating, and by the same kind of a vote recognition of Soviet Russia and the establishment of trade relations by this Government were demanded." Such mild advances as were made will not suffice. Nor will the oncoming strike settle matters, though that must of course be fought through to victory. The only thing that can fully meet the needs of the railroad workers is the realization of the program of the Trade Union Educational League. First, the entire army of railroad workers must be fused together into one body, and then this organization must be inspired with a revolutionary purpose. Only when this is done will the railroad workers really be fitted to make progress towards their eventual goal of emancipation.



The Revolution in the Office

By Earl R. Browder

HUMAN life is a changing thing. Among the many changes of the past hundred years or so, none has been more complete than that of offices, and office work. Machinery, the great transformer, has been busy in the office, to a degree almost, if not quite, than it has been at work in the shops. Social and political life has been made over into something quite new, so far as outward forms are concerned, and the life of the office workers has kept pace.

How great the change has been is hard to realize. But we get some small idea of it, if we go to our bookshelf (or to that of a friend, as the writer had to do), and dig up one of the old favorite books, to read again the description of an office in the year 1780. I have picked up a book by Charles Dickens, and read of the office of Tellson's Bank, by Temple Bar, London.

The Office of Yesterday and Today

"It was very small, very dark, very ugly, very incommodious . . . the partners in the House were proud of its smallness, proud of its darkness, proud of its smallness, proud of its incommodiousness. They were even boastful of its eminence in those particulars, and were fired by an express conviction that, if it were less objectionable, it would be less respectable . . .

"Thus it had come to pass, that Tellson's was the triumphant perfection of inconvenience. After bursting open a door of idiotic obstinacy with a weak rattle in its throat, you fell into Tellson's down two steps, and came to your senses in a miserable little shop, with two little counters, where the oldest of men made your check shake as if the wind rustled it, while they examined the signature by the dingiest of windows, which were always under a show-bath of mud from Fleet street, and which were made the dingier by their own iron bars proper and the heavy shadow of Temple Bar. If your business necessitated your seeing "the House," you were put into a species of Condemned Hold at the back, where you meditated on a misspent life, until the House came with its hands in its pockets, and you could hardly blink at it in the dismal twilight."

An obvious caricature, you say. Granted. We do not need to insist upon the superlatives of Dickens. A caricature is an exaggeration, but no one, so far as I know, has accused Dickens of creating something which did not exist at all. Recalling that the quill still flourished in those not so far-off days, and that the steel pen was still to come into use, and the brightest picture

possible of the typical office of our great-grandfathers will seem quite primitive.

The particular stimulus which caused the writer to dig up this description of Tellson's Bank office came when, recently, he had occasion to drop into the counting room of a large modern bank. There, in a large, well lighted room, were 30 or 40 machines, with electric motors, going at top speed, filling the room with burr, click, and hum, and the atmosphere of a small factory. Attending each machine was a young man, model of sartorial art, engaged with intense concentration in summing up the day's business of many millions of dollars. Here was a battery of adding machines, totaling the transactions of the various departments; there was an array of book-keeping machines, swiftly and mechanically segregating the items and posting them to individual ledger accounts.

Passing into a private office, one waited while the cashier completed a letter which he was registering on a Dictaphone. No crude stenographer present, to interfere with the privacy of the interview. Yes, there was a stenographer elsewhere in the office, if wanted, as one could tell from the sight of a Stenotype Machine at another desk. Just outside the office door, was a spruce young lad, feeding letters into a machine, which turned them out sealed and stamped in a jiffy. The paper which I was carrying needed the signature of a man in another part of the building; but no boy was called to send it. It was dropped into a pneumatic tube, and with a whirr and click was back in a moment with the necessary endorsement. The people in the office moved with a jerky, mechanical precision, and went through standardized motions as if they were used to doing the same thing over and over again, thousands of times a day. The whole effect of the place was that of a cross between a modern machine shop and a sterilized, disinfected hospital or toilet room.

Quite an extreme contrast with Tellson's Bank! Perhaps all offices today are not like it, just as all offices in 1780 were not like Tellson's. But both are typical of their times, and the contrast tells the story of a revolution of methods of industry as a whole.

The Office Workers

What of the human stuff which lives its life in these contrasted environments? Has it changed as these outward forms have done?

The office worker of 1780, according to Dick-

en's sample at Tellson's, was a miserable being. "Cramped in all kinds of dim cupboards and hutches at Tellson's, the oldest of men carried on the business gravely. When they took a young man into Tellson's London house they hid him somewhere till he was old. They kept him in a dark place, like a cheese until he had the full Tellson flavor and blue-mould upon him. Then only was he permitted to be seen, spectacularly poring over large books, and casting his breeches and gaiters into the general weight of the establishment."

The ripe-cheese aspect of the Tellson book-keeper is, of course, sufficiently in contrast with the present snappy, flashy, peppy office clerk. Change, change, no doubt, has writ heavy on this scroll. But Dickens gave us no light upon the soul beneath the heavy exterior of Tellson's creatures. We have to turn to another book-keeper in Dickensland, to see, touch, and taste of the eternal spirit of the office-worker, the unchanging and undying soul of the bookkeeper. The name of this immortal office clerk, this epitome of the book-keeper through the ages, is Uriah Heep.

"Me, Master Copperfield?" said Uriah. "Oh, no! I'm a very umble person."

'It was no fancy of mine about his hands, I observed; for he frequently ground the palms against each other, as if to squeeze them dry and warm, besides often wiping them, in a stealthy way, on his pocket-handkerchief.'

"I am well aware that I am the umblest person going," said Uriah Heep modestly; "let the other be where he may. My mother is likewise a very umble person. We live in an umble abode, Master Copperfield, but have much to be thankful for. My father's former calling was umble. He was a sexton."

At last we are on solid ground! Here is something stable, unchanging like the rock of ages. Uriah Heep is not dead; he is immortal. He can be seen in any city, in almost any office, still umble, still thankful. Sometimes, indeed, he takes the form of the other sex, and is called Pollyanna. He is ever present and everlasting. He is the office worker.

Far be it from the writer to slander those unfortunates who are condemned to spend their lives in an office. Himself spent many, the best, years of youth and young manhood there. He knew many another in the same unholy calling who, like himself, were strangers there, seeking always for a way out to— anything. He speaks not of the accidental office worker, the one who, from force of circumstance, finds himself trapped there for a time. No, he speaks of the type, the natural office worker, the one who, from choice

and fitness, finds a career in this unblest sphere. Such a person is Uriah Heep, immortal.

Even Uriah Heep Changes Today

Immortal, we said. But such a term is not strictly true. The revolution in the office has been working its alchemy. In spite of Uriah, and in spite of Uriah's boss (who is another story, deserving separate treatment), the *machine* is marching forward with iron feet: slowly but surely its transforming power enters, and the radium of its energy plays upon the soul of Uriah Heep, the office clerk. Under this influence, Uriah is gradually but certainly being remade. He is becoming a real human being, a proletarian. This is how it is being done:

The change in the office which has wrought the greatest transformation in the worker, has been higher organization and greater numbers. The old bookkeeper was almost a self-sufficient working unit. This is no longer so. The modern worker is a cog in the office machine. The office cannot run until each man is at his place, for one depends from moment to moment upon the other. The division of labor in a modern office rivals that in a Ford auto factory. Every hour of work impresses upon the young man today, that he amounts to little at all except as part of the great machine. Together with this, goes the growth in numbers. The general office man, handling the entire accounting process and general correspondence, is of little account. His numbers are small, and his influence is smaller. No one pays any attention to him. The field is dominated by highly organized, minutely divided, offices of trustified industry, gathering from tens to hundreds under the same roof in the same integral organization.

With this new condition, office workers play a more and more important economic role. The office has become a nerve center, regulating the every action of the industrial machinery from moment to moment. Always a strategic point, it now becomes as vital to business as the solar plexus is to the body. The entire reflex action, the normal physiological processes of the body of industry, are stimulated and regulated by the office. More than any other phase of the industrial process, the office is vital. Cut off the office and the industry withers and dies. A general strike of office workers would create more consternation in a day than a strike of the miners for three months.

Under these modern conditions of the machine-made office, the office worker has become a proletarian, so far as social position and interests are concerned. But his soul, the soul of Uriah Heep, has stubbornly resisted the forces of change, and only in this generation can we see the beginnings

of a change therein. A working-class understanding and spirit, is gradually being created by the continuous and steady play of these modern conditions upon the humble office worker of tradition.

The Dawn Of Social Revolution

If asked to name the most revolutionary portent in social life today, the writer would point to the fact that office workers are beginning to organize into unions—into labor unions affiliated to the hod carriers, the garment workers, the printers, and the whole world of labor. The beginning is pitifully small in America, it is true, but progress is surely being made. Out of the couple of million or so of commercial office workers, there are at least 5,000 to 8,000 organized, and tens of thousands of railway clerks are united in the same union with the freight handlers. Who can overestimate the vast chasm bridged, the tremendous leap in social evolution, that is witnessed in this fact. In Europe progress is even more rapid. Great unions of office workers exist in Germany, Czhecho-Slovakia, Italy, England, and other countries. The Berlin office workers organization is one of the most

revolutionary in Germany. Throughout Europe they are joining the vanguard of the workers.

The primeval slime of the Uriah Heeps is beginning to stir with the spark of life of working-class consciousness, weak as yet but gaining strength with every passing hour. Between the office clerk of the time of Dickens, and the same person today, there is all the difference between the *amoeba* and the *pithecanthropous*, or ape-man. And such a marvelous evolution, in such a short time, gives us the definite assurance that this spiritual "hairy ape" of the modern office worker is assuredly going to continue his progress. He is going to go onward and upward, proceeding firmly up the ladder of evolution, until he blossoms forth as a real human being, a proletarian, a union man with a solid organization of his own.

All hail this budding marvel of progress! Nature is grand indeed! On that fair day when we welcome the class-conscious, revolutionary International Union of Office Workers, affiliated to the Red Trade Union International, voting for a general strike of all capitalist industry and the setting up of the Workers' Republic, then we will say, "The task is done. Old Mother Nature, you can do no more."

THE MACHINIST GRAND LODGE ELECTION

THE final vote in the late Machinist Union election was:

- WM. H. JOHNSON..... 41,837
- WM. ROSS KNUDSON.. 14,598

This was the first attempt in any A. F. of L. union to test the real revolutionary strength. Knudsen solicited and received only the votes of those standing on the class struggle, unconditional surrender of Capitalism and Affiliation with the Red Trades Union International.

Knudsen's vote was 26% of the total and as the total vote was about one third of the membership it is safe to say that 45,000 members in the I. A. of M. stand with Knudsen and his ideas.

In fact the strength is even greater if one analyzes the election. The total vote cast in the progressive lodges was about 15% to 20% of the local membership while in the conservative locals (for some well founded reasons) the vote, was from 75% to 100% of the membership. In fact 23 lodges voted from 150% to 260% over their membership and this being too raw their vote was thrown out. To give an illustration:—

Lodge No.	members	Ballots
Findlay, Ohio	1393	4 104
Woburn, Mass	1243	3 61
Jamestown, N. Y... .	566	12 97

Lawrence, Mass.....	172	16	64
Laconia, N. H.....	1326	27	153
Haverhill, Mass.....	1208	27	38
Cincinnati, Ohio.....	1042	29	168
Hartford, Conn.....	606	35	50
Lowell, Mass.....	745	46	81
Stamford, Conn.....	1054	69	81
Philadelphia, Pa....	816	55	67
Indianapolis, Ind....	910	140	155
Schenectady, N. Y... .	646	215	277
Lowell, Mass.....	138	284	454

Others could be given but they must be saved for evidence. Knudsen, of course received no vote in these lodges and someone's hard work went for nothing.

In fact, jokingly, after the election many were bragging about their sore wrists due to an over exertion in marking ballots. What many are asking and which seems a puzzle, is how did the lodges with small membership get so many ballots? And furthermore how are those that did cast their vote in regular form in these thrown out lodges going to have their votes recorded?

But tomorrow belongs to those that really represent the historic rising class and with their rise all these mishaps of today will disappear. Tomorrow belongs to the real progressives and such action as took place in the recent Machinist Union election will only cause real men to work that much harder for a real Labor Movement.

A Labor Program That Means Something

By Hulet M. Wells

Representative of the Seattle Central Labor Council to the Red Trade Union International.

FOR American trade unionists to correctly appraise the work of the Red Trade Union International in its first World Congress at Moscow, it is necessary to remember that the atmosphere in which we met was quite different from here. In our country we are immersed in the humdrum details of our daily struggle, until the greater struggles of the whole human family toward a larger, freer life is oftentimes obscured. In Russia the goal of a great struggle has been reached; the working class has accomplished that which the faint-hearted say is impossible—they have thrown off the chains of class oppression within Russia, and their destiny is in their own hands.

We found, tempering the exultation of victory, the agony of the Russian workers, enduring with fortitude all the sufferings that the hate of the capitalist world could inflict. Many of the delegates were from other countries where the conditions were ripening for revolution. No one knew what the day might bring. Seeming miracles occurred, like the veiled women of the East, who came bearing International greetings. There were crowds, cheers, and banners, and wreaths laid on graves. And over all there loomed a new terror—the black shadow of famine.

An emotional setting was created by all these things, which I realize the reader cannot feel. It was a memorable experience for those who lived it, but here in America it is hard to realize, because there is nothing like it in our life. What can be understood is, that we must look beneath the colorful environment and revolutionary phraseology to get at the real work of the Congress.

Unemployment

Some of the subject matter and considerable of the discussion has no application to the present status of the labor movement here, and it would sound startling and confusing to many because it concerns only people who are engaged in the actual, revolutionary transition from one state of society to another. But the main work of the Congress embodies a sound, adequate, coherent, practical program which the trade union movement of America must understand and adopt, if it is going to find itself and continue to serve the working people of this country.

Unemployment is the weakest spot in the capitalist system. It is a great, growing canker that the old methods of trades unionism are power-

less to counteract. The end of the war brought unemployment in some countries where there had been a great destruction of capital goods, but in the United States it prevails for quite a different reason, labor being so productive that, at the scale of living permitted to the working class, the product of full time labor can not be consumed.

The greatest prosperity that our workers ever enjoyed was during the period of our greatest waste. Unemployment is a disease inherent in the capitalist system, and it can only be dealt with by a labor movement that is not afraid to attack the system itself.

There can be no sane consideration of the unemployment evil until we lay bare its root and discover it to be the fact that all production is carried on solely for the purpose of making profit, and with no responsibility on the part of the profit takers for the lives of those that create the wealth. Heckert, of Germany touched this point when he said, "From the moment when the capitalist ceases to extract profits and begins to incur losses, he loses all interest in production. We are witnessing it in France, where a big French statesman and manufacturer was asked why he had put out his blast furnaces and thrown thousands of workmen into the streets. He answered: "I produce only while production is profitable, otherwise I am unable to produce any more.'"

In its manifesto on world conditions the Congress drew the following picture of the economic situation in America:

"A very similar picture we find in the U. S. A. Five million unemployed. War profits have ceased. Factory after factory is being shut down. The workers in large masses now find themselves thrown out in the street. They may go now; they are not wanted any longer. The trunks are packed. 'Democracy' is celebrating its victory, and is beginning to introduce the "open shop," simply employing unorganized labor. What are they doing who were supposed to give warning of this misery inflicted on the working class? The leaders of the trade unions do nothing. They consider it inevitable like the ocean tide, and, like obedient serfs they kiss the hands of their masters."

Workers' Control

What, then is to be done? This is considered in the tactics outlined under the heading of

"Workers' Control." But the first thing of all things to be done—the essential pre-requisite to the success of any tactic—is to begin to act like men, like men who have a small degree, at least, of courage and intelligence. And here I wish to quote again the apt words of the Congress:

"If the capitalist class dares to be aggressive at the present time and throw millions of workers upon the streets, it is because the working class feels itself inferior, and imagines that the gigantic capitalistic machinery is simply unconquerable. You continue to look up to the capitalist class. Many of you consider the established division of labor quite natural—the rule of one class and the subjection of another. Arise from your knees, and the capitalist class will not appear so strong to you as before."

The subject of Workers' Control was reported to the Congress by Tziperovich of Russia, but the idea ran thru every subject on the agenda, and may be said to be the keynote of the Congress. Especially is it related to the subject of unemployment. Heckert, in his discussion of factories and workshops said, "Comrade Ziperovich and myself have put great stress on the importance of the present unemployment in the working class movement. It is important for us to utilize these forces."

The following are a few extracts from the report of Ziperovich, adopted by the Congress:

"There is no necessity for me to dwell upon the details of the crisis which all capitalist countries are now living thru. The crisis is the most characteristic expression of the fact that the capitalist class is unable to master the chaos in production, which it itself established as an organizer of production . . . There developed a crying contrast between the misery and despair of the working class and the luxury of the capitalist class. This gave birth to a new thought which suggested to the working masses that the capitalist regime is a regime of destruction and wholesale ruin, and that it is necessary to create some new forms of mutual relations between labor and capital—forms which would do away once and for all with the existing system of oppression—and the idea of workers' control has rapidly developed."

Now, it may be that you think that these words have reference to some time in the remote future, and that it is merely a repetition of the usual demand for social revolution couched in the formula of political socialism. Not at all. I am proposing and the International is proposing, a practical plan of action for the trade unions *now*, a plan to cope with unemployment, lock-

outs, jurisdictional disputes, and the breakdown of your organization due to the struggle for jobs.

It is not expected that in the present time in America we should mount any barricades or forcibly seize any factories. The first revolutionary step must be taken is to *strike for the right to work*.

What is the situation in which we are placed in America at the present time? The richest natural resources in the world, the most highly developed machinery for production, and millions of people in destitution because they are shut off from the opportunity to work. We have also the most powerful and arrogant capitalist class in the world, and a labor movement weak and inefficient because it does not know how to meet the situation. The leaders of the Red Trade Union International are telling you how to meet it. I commend you the words of Tom Mann:

"Every industry should carry its full complement of workers, and carry them constantly. If, as is sure to be the case, there are fluctuations in the amount of work to be done, such fluctuations must not be met by discharging a percentage of the workers, thus depriving them of the means of sustenance and precipitating their families into social distress. Such fluctuations must be met by the adjustment of working hours over as much of the industry as may be desirable; if need be, of course, over the whole industrial field."

Unemployment insurance, he says, is "miserably inadequate, the full wage is what must be demanded, and it will be obtained, or abolish the wages system." And here is his primary demand which, in my opinion, ought to be written into the strike demands of every important industry,

"Accept responsibility for all unemployment in the industry, and undertake to adjust working hours so that virtually there shall be no unemployment; and for all men to receive wages for every week in the year."

That is what the miners, the building tradesmen, the printers and all the rest of us ought to agitate, organize and strike for, wages for the time being a secondary matter. The first step in workers' control is control of the right to work.

The employing class will, of course, resort to any artifice in order to save their profits. But capitalistic profits are not as sacred as the right of men to work. Industries that cannot meet that obligation should be taken over by society as bankrupt institutions. The owners should receive no compensation until the claims of the creditors are adjusted; in other words no more than the capitalization of whatever income may remain, at prevailing prices for products, after

ALL the workers are paid union wages for full time.

Industrial and Dual Unions

The report on workers' control closed with the following reference to industrial unionism: "Workers' Control may also be made use of as an argument for the speedier reconstruction of the unions upon an industrial basis, instead of by profession or trade. Workers' control can be systematically carried out only when all the workmen within a definite concern are united in one body."

Industrial unionism will also end the absurd jurisdictional disputes that disgrace our movement. Primarily, of course, such quarrels as those between the carpenters and sheet metal workers and between the steam engineers and electrical workers have their root in unemployment. It is one more evidence of the struggle for a chance to work.

The importance of building strong industrial unions to conform to the powerful combinations of capital in modern industry, has long been emphasized by the radical wing of American labor; but for twenty-seven years a most peculiar policy has been advocated, that we should completely destroy our unions, into which we have with such effort organized some millions of workers, and start to build again from the beginning.

Nearly all the Russian leaders, Lenin, Buch-

arin, Zinoviev, Radek, and many others have expressed their amazement at such childish tactics as those advocated by the I. W. W.. Tomsky, the former president of the Russian unions has said, "The exit in itself is in its essence equivalent to flight from the field of battle, dictated by cowardice in the face of the complexities and difficulties of the struggle."

Secretary Lozovsky, speaking at the Congress, said, "We want to clean house, not to pour kerosene over it and set it afire." Writing on the aims of the International he says: "To leave the unions and set up small independent unions is an evidence of weakness; it is a policy of despair and, more than that, it shows lack of faith in the working class."

The four points covered here are closely related, and form an immediate trades union program so essential that I beg to remind you of them once more by summarizing them in four short sentences:

1. The trade union movement is becoming impotent under the curse of unemployment.
2. A progressive assumption of Workers' Control is the only remedy.
3. Successful assertion of Workers' Control requires industrial unions.
4. Those who believe in this program must stay within the existing unions to accomplish it.

We Demanded Bread But Got a Stone

THE program of the Trade Union Educational League has been getting a startlingly strong hold in the unions, in the last few months. Gompers and his Crown Prince Woll, cannot be blamed for being worried somewhat. Their campaign of calumny which was reported in the last two issues of THE LABOR HERALD continues unabated. But even their stupidity is not so complete that they cannot see its failure. Gradually they are being forced to answer the demands for more solidarity. The rank and file are demanding the bread of amalgamation; Gompers, Woll & Co. offer them the stone of federation.

"Efforts of the A. F. of L. for the future will be to strengthen labor alliances and form a closer co-ordination of kindred trade groups," says Woll in a copyrighted article for the Cosmopolitan News Service. He adds; "The sentiment of this convention of the A. F. of L. is most emphatically opposed to amalgamation and the doctrines preached by Foster and other groups."

Such lip-service to labor solidarity while deny-

ing its substance, which can be achieved only at the expense of craft autonomy, will not solve the problems of the labor movement. Gompers and Co. are in the position of answering, not the questions of THE LABOR HERALD, but the questions which history presents and which are repeated in threatening tones by masses of the workers. Sophistry will not help them.

How can the unions get more power? That is the question before the movement. Our troubles arise from our weakness. We must have strength. Gompers says we will get it by being good little boys, and not offending the Chicago Tribune; THE LABOR HERALD and the Trade Union Educational League say that we will get it by uniting all our scattered forces into one union for each industry, and bringing all these industrial unions together like regiments in an army. The forces of capitalism are crushing the workers into a realization of the absolute necessity of this amalgamation. Nothing can take the place of pow-

er, not even the sophistical arguments of Gompers or Woll.

The fire which has been built under the reactionary officials is causing further frantic gymnastics in their propaganda. A few weeks ago THE LABOR HERALD was said to be in league with Lenine and the Soviets; then it was solemnly insinuated that the employers were financing it. And now, to keep up the entertainment, the Crown Prince brings in a variation. He says: "It is a recognized fact that Foster is a member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union of America and apparently is being financed by that body in his campaign of "boring from within" for no other reason than the self-aggrandizement of Sidney Hillman."

Aside from the fact that Foster is NOT a member of that organization, that the League is NOT being financed by that or any other body, but by the individual rank and filers, and that the modest Sidney Hillman, although president of one of the most progressive organizations on the continent, is NOT receiving aggrandizement from its work—aside from these falsehoods, the statement may be correct.

It is the natural instinct of the reactionary to thus blindly attack all signs of progress. Woll lumps the League, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Soviet Government, the Federated Press, and every other achievement of the militant workers, into one general menace to himself and his kind, the flunkies of capitalism. And in this he is no doubt correct—but he makes a fundamental mistake when he identifies the interests of reactionary officialdom with that of the rank and file of labor. The rank and filers know better, anyway. This is illustrated by a letter written by Local Union No. 59, of the Molders, to the Editor of their International Journal:

A Word From the Rank and File

"Local 59, I. M. U. of N. A., having read the article by Matthew Woll, in the Journal, entitled 'Foster Scheme for Rulership' etc., desires to enter a protest against such an unwarranted and scurvy attack on the amalgamation movement by resorting to lies and vilification against its chief spokesman."

"We have endorsed the movement for amalgamation in this country, because we have learned by bitter experience that the old craft method of warfare against the modern industrial capitalist is antiquated."

"In his entire article, Matthew Woll makes no attempt to answer the arguments of amalgamation advocates; but instead resorts to personalities, which have nothing to do with the subject. We might accuse Woll, in like manner, of being

governed by ulterior motives in this matter. We might accuse him of belonging to that detestable sect known as "Swivel Chair Artists" who are so numerous in the American labor movement today, and who tremble with rage because they know their pie-cards will be no more when the workers amalgamate. We might accuse him of being in league with big business to keep the workers divided. Of course we don't accuse him of these things personally—but those are the very tactics he uses against the amalgamation movement adherents."

"Now we are of the rank and file of the labor movement and we know that the workers want amalgamation: it is peculiar that the International officers of all the unions, almost without exception, are opposed to it. They have never yet given any logical reason as to why they are against it, while the Trade Union Educational League gives a long array of facts and reasoning as to why it should be done. THE LABOR HERALD, of which Woll speaks in such venomous language, expresses the spirit of the workers—this we know—that is why it is so popular."

This letter is signed by the president and corresponding secretary of Local 59, Chas Blome and Louis Schneider, respectively. It is a good example of the spirit which is raging throughout the labor movement, and which is responsible for the rage, fear, and desperation, with which these powerful officials are throwing their entire resources into battle with the little baby organization, the Trade Union Educational League, which has only been able for a little over four months to even publish its magazine.

Keep the Reactionaries Hopping

If any assurance were needed that the program of the Trade Union Educational League offers hope of the future, that assurance has been given in the strongest possible way by all these attacks. When the bankrupt leadership of the American labor movement, in a period of retreat and demoralization, go before their Convention with no constructive proposals of any kind whatever, and consider it necessary to spend their time and energy in denouncing a little educational organization, it is because they know their own bankruptcy and know who is hitting close to home in attacking them. And we can give assurance to Messrs Gompers and his Crown Prince, that the fire which makes them so uncomfortable will continue to burn. The demand for amalgamation, for industrial unionism, for militant policies, and for the Workers' Republic, will continue to grow until it overwhelms them and their kind, takes control of the labor movement, and begins the workers' forward march to all power.

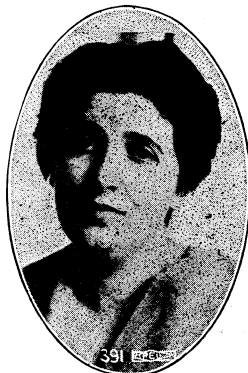
How I Became a Rebel

A Symposium. Part 2

Editors' note;—A fundamental part of the general revolutionary program is to make rebels; to develop men and women who have definitely broken with capitalism and who are looking forward to the establishment of a Workers' Society. But how can such rebels be made? To throw some light on this all-important query, THE LABOR HERALD has asked prominent figures in all branches of the radical movement, to explain briefly just how, why, and under what circumstances, they became convinced that capitalism had to be done away with. This installment completes the Symposium.

By Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

IT IS difficult to say how, when or where our rebellious spirits were born! Possibly we are but fortunate inheritors of a rich legacy. Undoubtedly countless generations of wild Irish ancestors who fought and fled into the hills and died for Irish freedom, contributed much to mine. One great grandfather lay all night in the ditch near his little house, watching for a light in the window which meant his wife came safely through childbirth. Another went to join the French when they landed at Calala Bay and never returned. My grandfather came to Maine to escape hanging. But life in the land of the free was not easy in those days for the Irish.



ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN
They were foreigners to the Yankees and had to fight their way to economic and political equality. It is strange that the same historical background has not produced more rebels of Irish blood in this country! Many of the second and third generation are policemen and politicians, causing a race that should symbolize freedom to be hated and feared as tools of tyranny. But America seems to have a similar disintegrating effect on the second generation of other races, as well.

Sympathy plays a large part in molding the child mind. I remember little episodes which left indelible impressions. A woman who had lost all the fingers of one hand in an unguarded machine went by our house daily. I could not understand why this poor woman must still work.

I saw an old man weeping as he was put in the little town lock-up at Adams, Mass., for vagrancy. What a torment of questions stirred my mind then! Nor will I ever forget my childish horror when a girl's hair was torn off by the belting in a mill across the street from our school and the mill stopped for only a few minutes. Imperceptibly my thought processes began to question poverty which was obviously the explanation of these tragedies.

My father had worked his way through college, studying civil engineering. But he had been burdened by his mother's large family and had commenced late, a real handicap in competition with younger men. The result was that although he is exceptionally talented, it was not easy to secure continuous employment and the actual pinch of poverty was brought home to us more than once. This visualized the problem as no amount of abstract reading could have done.

So I was in a receptive state of mind for radical thought when I joined a school debating society. We grappled with the problem of capital and labor, woman suffrage, the trusts, etc. During the big anthracite strike of 1902 one of our favorite topics was "Shall the Nation Own the Coal Mines?" A strike of the elevated roads in N. Y. brought the questions of municipal ownership of transit systems before us. I began to see that message of hope, that comes to all of us, "Socialization of industry."

I heard Tom Lewis at a Socialist street meeting, and many other excellent speakers at the old Harlem Socialist Club. Sometimes when I get low-spirited about the value of speeches, I recall how inspired and thrilled I was by them. Finally I thought I too could speak. I was not yet sixteen and I chose the ambitious topic "Woman and Socialism." While I still am intensely interested in how to reach women, I fear I know far less today than I did then. I went into the East Side. I met the garment workers, then in the throes of great struggles and learned of the idealism and fighting spirit of the Russians and Jews. I plunged into street speaking and loved it intensely. I was "converting the masses!" How the fresh idealism and enthusiasm of youth carries us along. But it is a stream that refreshes and revivifies our movement. Intolerant and uncompromising, it is rebuffed and chilled by older "practical" people! The creation of a sympathetic understanding and appreciation of those who must tread this stormy



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path would save much precious force for our movement.

One night I was arrested on 39th St. and Broadway, by an apologetic policeman, bailed out by a saloon keeper and given some fatherly advice by the Irish magistrate on the futility of preaching Socialism to Broadway. Of course this was a dreadful shock at high school and eventually resulted in my enlisting actively in the labor movement.

It must have been about this time that I heard Debs and DeLeon speak together on "Industrial Unionism." It was immediately after the launching of the I. W. W. and it certainly worked a turning point for me. I really began to place my feet on the ground and tread a definite path. Out of the first flush of youthful emotion, I passed into a second stage—based on a firm conviction which I still hold to, that the union movement is the real and lasting labor movement. I saw a new society built by the organized workers—not along geographical but industrial lines. Regardless of differences of opinions on forms, methods, and tactics, the fact remains that it is the movement of power, it is at grips with capitalism in the strategic place, the point of production. It speaks the worker's language. I have no faith elsewhere than in the industrial organization of the workers, and I have unlimited faith in the promise of life and liberty it holds out for the future and the eventual ability of the workers to put it across. So I remain like my Irish ancestors, a rebel!

By James H. Maurer

I AM asked to tell how I became a rebel. This, I fear, is not any easy question to answer.

I am descendant of old, conservative Pennsylvania stock, was born in a shanty during the stormiest period of the Civil War, reared among very poor and superstitious people, left fatherless at the age of seven. I became a news boy first and a factory worker before my tenth birthday. I was a machinists' apprentice at fifteen and a member of the Knights of Labor at sixteen. Less than thirteen months of my life were spent in school. What education I did secure, I got, not on account of the State, but in spite of it.

Handicapped, of course, on account of being illiterate, yet a greater handicap was the misfortune of having a step-father who knew less than I did and who never tired of gloating about his superior wisdom. The one outstanding asset of my life was my dear, little mother, to whom not one of her four sons ever spoke an angry or unkind word. She was lovable, gentle and yet, when roused, knew no fear. She was ever ready to share her last crumb with the unfortunate,

fight an evil or defend the under dog.

This may answer the question as to how I became a rebel or perhaps I should say why Mother's four sons turned rebels before any of them turned twenty-one.

It was not from what I read, because I was active in radical circles long before I could read. It came from what I lived.

Before I was eighteen years of age, I joined hands with the "Green-Backers," at twenty, I read, "Progress and Poverty" and, became a "Single-Taxer." Later I joined the "Populists Party" but, through it all remained active in the Organized Labor Movement; studying and reading, of course, added fuel to the fire. In my search for good pamphlets and books, I came across the "Communist Manifesto." This, of course, helped weld still more closely my inherent rebel spirit. Twenty-four years ago, I joined the Socialist Labor Party and, four years later, the Socialist Party where I have remained ever since.

So, the question as to just how I became a rebel is still unanswered. I guess dear, little Mother could have answered the question better than I.

By Wm. Z. Foster

FOR me to become a rebel was an easy, natural course. My father was an Irishman and an ardent patriot. He was driven from Ireland in the latter '60's, because he was implicated in a plot to overthrow all the English garrisons in the country. Upon its exposure he had to flee post haste to escape jail. In later years, as his



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family grew up in the United States, he fed us on hatred for the oppressor England. It was the intellectual meat and drink of our early lives. I was raised with the burning ambition of one day taking an active part in the liberation of Ireland. As I grew older and began to notice what was going on about me I was quick to realize that everything was not as it should be. The wrongs of the workers made a ready appeal to me. It seemed as natural to hate capitalistic tyranny in the United States as English Tyranny in Ireland. From my earliest recollection I was militantly partial to striking workers. Particularly was I impressed by the many strikes in the nearby anthracite coal fields—I was raised in Philadelphia. To my boyish conception the coal operators were inhuman monsters, and after all, I was not far



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wrong. The free silver agitation in the the '90's attracted me greatly.

But I never got by bearings until one Saturday night in the summer of 1900, when I was 19 years old. Walking along South street I ran into a Socialist soap boxer at the corner of Broad street. He was the first Socialist I had ever heard speak and I listened amazed. The whole thing was a revelation. Whatever prejudice I had been taught to have against Socialism melted away like snow before a summer sun. The thing was clear at last. My rebellious spirit saw the broad way to its goal. Though I said nothing to the men conducting the meeting—I have often wondered since who they were—I left a convinced Socialist. After that the rest was easy. I plunged head over heels into revolutionary literature, reading everything indiscriminately and gradually swinging from right to left in my conception. I was "made" that Saturday night in Philadelphia. That's how I became a rebel.

By Robert Minor

BY A childhood of poverty I was moulded for life membership in the working class.

When I left school at fourteen to work in a sign painter's shop my love of picture making developed to a fierce passion. It may seem incredible that this had a great deal to do with making me a rebel, but I say seriously that even the scant, pitiful art possibilities of a sign shop gave me an impression of conflict between every artistic impulse and the needs of commercial life. Few outsiders know that sign painting shops cover many really talented young workers, but my kid eyes saw and understood the conflict between young workers' instinct for beauty and the need of the shop to drive for money.



ROBERT MINOR

The smallness of the wages of a sign painter's apprentice drove me from that small Temple of Art, to start learning the carpenter's trade. Here I contracted the peculiar pride of the craftsman. Carpentering seemed to have a relation to art, and I maintain to this day that it has. My relatives got me out of this and into a "nice clean" job in a railroad office, with a chance to work up to be president of the railroad. But I couldn't stand it. I was already branded with a different iron; I quit and went off to wander on freight trains as a hobo laborer. Fifteen hours a day on a farm, at fifty cents a day, soon gave me my

fill of agriculture; and I drifted into easier jobs at ten hours a day with pick and shovel. This was the serious beginning of the opening of my eyes. One day an old mule-freight teamster caught up with me on a lonely Texas road and told me I could ride if I was a working man. On the wagon he gave me a long tirade on the wrongs of the working people and the need of the working class to stick together and make a revolution. His words sunk into my memory to stay.

At camp fires in railroad construction camps and on the freight trains and in the "jungles," the conversation of wandering laborers from all quarters of the earth gave me my "cosmopolitan culture." Here I learned the indescribable beauty of that spiritual fraternity of cummunism which was poured a few years later into the songs and the deeds of the old-time I. W. W. And I learned the dreadful curse of God upon a scab.

When I returned to my native town to work at the carpenter trade and joined the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, my rather crude working class loyalty got a slightly more definite form. Two members of the Union puzzled me by endlessly talking Socialism; of their hifalutin words I couldn't remember a thing except the constant repetition, "Carrol D. Wright to the contrary notwithstanding." But I learned more definitely what a scab is. The order came for all hands to make a stand for the Union scale of wages, which was not being paid. I was the only Union member on my building job, and I walked out on strike alone. I never got another job at the carpenter trade.

I wandered about Texas and New Mexico on freight trains, looking for work living by hand-outs, learning the peculiarly bitter lesson of the unemployed man sleeping on the open ground in Winter.

Unable to get work at carpentering or sign painting, I found a job as cartoonist for a small daily newspaper. This was my entrance to a trade that has taught many a man what a rotten core is inside of the social system. I didn't notice it at first, but was for some time absorbed in the rapid ambitions of the newspaper life. I got a better job on a big St. Louis newspaper. But about this time the trial of Willim D. Haywood at Boise, Idaho, came to disturb me—to awaken all of the old-time dreams—the call of my class. Simultaneously I met a Russian Jew, the first one that I had ever known. The strange talk of this man changed my understanding of what life is for. He filled me full of the fever to learn and feel. At first this merely stimulated my work and brought me some of the petty newspaper success that I had thought I wanted. Now that it came, I didn't want it. About 1908 I



ROBERT MINOR

went into the Socialist Party. I was elected to the City Central Committee, but drifted out of the party as it began to change its character, about 1912, and began to take an interest in the Anarchist movement.

At the age of 29 I got my first opportunity to study art, and went to Paris with my saved-up wages to attend the French national art school. To my bewilderment I found that the "art schools" have not the slightest interest in art, but concern themselves solely with teaching men the way to make money, which I already knew. They have exactly the same motives as the sign painters' shop in Texas. This shook me off the track again. I could not associate with the foul bourgeois in the art academies. In the working class neighborhoods of Paris I learned the French language mainly by listening to agitators' speeches, and with the language I absorbed a typical Paris working-class point of view—anarcho-syndicalism. I returned to New York with no appetite for the job I had already contracted for, as a cartoonist on the New York World.

Unfortunately the first day's instructions in my new job were to begin a series of cartoons which were to be a campaign to fasten guilt for a bomb explosion (July 4, 1914) upon Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman. It was an affair with which they had nothing to do, but which the "World" wanted to fasten upon them in one of its well-known circulation drives. For refusing to participate in this, and perhaps also for suggesting that I might publicly protest against it, I was reduced to the rank of cartoonist for the evening edition of the "World." I take space to mention this only because it is illuminating to show how a man is literally beaten along the path to one side or the other of the class struggle. I was allowed to make anti-war cartoons to my heart's content in the Evening World for about a year. Then a strange thing happened: all of the great newspapers in America (except the Hearst press) were suddenly lined up FOR the war on the English-French side. I was ordered to begin turning my cartoons to the Allied side. I quit and went over to the New York Call, where I thought I could make revolutionary cartoons.

Later, I went to Europe as correspondent for a "liberal" newspaper syndicate. There I saw as plain as daylight the beginning of "the transforming of the Capitalist war into civil war and revolution"—the event of which Lenin's little group in Switzerland was the prophet. This prediction of course ran like a red thread through all of my writings and stuck out in my drawings. The newspaper syndicate quit printing my

stuff. I came home in the steerage, amongst "my kind." I had advanced a long way—I had learned that *soldiers*, and not unarmed people, make revolutions. It opened wide vistas of thought.

The last underpinning of respect for the "democratic" social organization was knocked out of me by the Mooney case. I happened to be in California and was drawn into the organization of the Mooney defense. The Chamber of Commerce, the street car corporation, "respectable" labor union officials, strike-breakers, policemen, petty criminals, prostitutes and "class-conscious" petty business men, conspired to frame up and hang strike leaders. Helping to untangle this amazing conspiracy, opened up to my eyes catacombs of crime and filth upon which capitalist society is built, of the existence of which I could otherwise have had only a feeble dream. I had never before known that *every* Labor case in a criminal court is a stage play deliberately fixed in advance by direct bribery of witnesses and, usually, of the jury. The staggering completeness of it is almost incredible to me even now, as it will be incredible to the reader. It was like standing on a mountain while the mists blow away, revealing in the valley the terrific battle of the classes; the thundering sounds of life are shown to be artillery, and the dimly swirling silhouettes become men in the grapple of death.

That is all of "How I Became a Rebel."

But the time had already come when "being a rebel" didn't mean anything! . . . George Washington was a rebel, but if brought into the society of today he would not function as such. Robespierre was a rebel, but he wouldn't have any significance now. Emma Goldman was a revolutionist in July, 1914, but today she doesn't mean anything. And I discovered when I returned from a trip to Russia in 1918 that "being a rebel" just generally, without taking a definite place in the Communist revolution, didn't mean any more than being a Methodist. I noticed while I was in a military prison that the officers disputed very seriously as to whether I was an Anarchist or a Bolshevik, and upon deciding that I was only an Anarchist they treated me more as a moderately respectable man. This very much humiliated me, and set me to wondering.

So, "How I Became a Rebel" doesn't mean anything, and the story's no good. How I became a *specified kind* of a rebel against a specific thing and *for* a specific thing in a specific way—that is the only tale that means anything.

And that's a different story.

Packinghouse Workers' Convention

By Tom Matthews

THE struggle of the packinghouse workers has convinced me that the unions must be reorganized upon an industrial basis." This is the statement of a well-known official in the labor movement of the Middle West, at the conclusion of the recent strike. And there can be no doubt that the packinghouse strike, and the events leading up to it, is one of the greatest object lessons in the history of the American Federation of Labor. The union which called that strike, and in which the packinghouse workers were formerly organized, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, is meeting in convention on July 24th, at St. Paul; it will be of interest to review some of the problems which that convention must face and solve, keeping in view the lessons of our recent struggle.

The initiative in calling this convention, to take stock of ourselves and reshape our organization and policies, was taken by District Council No. 5, of Omaha immediately after the strike. In its open letter, early in April, the Council stated: "We believe that we should take in all the workers in the packing industry from the time the car is set with live stock until the finished product is delivered to the consumer." In theory the Butcher Workmen's Union is already organized on the plan of one union for the industry. The charter from the A. F. of L. authorizes the organization of "all wage earners in any way connected with slaughtering and packing establishments." But this has not been carried out in practice. One of the big tasks of the coming convention is to see that this is done.

Reactionary Officials and Other Evils

The nature of the present officials of the Union is shown in the splitting up of the solidarity of the workers, where the possibility was present of bringing them all into one organization. They are reactionary. They have shown it in many ways, and consistently try to block every progressive measure proposed by the rank and file. Thus in the convention of July 1920, when the Omaha delegation tried to establish measures which would have prevented the forcing across of the agreement, which came in March, 1921 and tied the workers hands when the packers were comparatively weak, these propositions were defeated by the machine. The high-handed methods used in this and similar situations, created much dissatisfaction and weakened the union terribly.

The unrest in the membership gave a fertile field to another crying evil, that of the dual

unions. Disgusted and disappointed with their organizations' official policies, many of the rank and file fell victims to the dual union propaganda. This policy of running away from the fight has injured the union. Fortunately, this is being overcome. At the coming convention the progressive elements must fight against the remaining dual union ideas, as well as against the reactionary policies and officers.

International Solidarity

When the packinghouse workers have established a real union, with some kind of power in the industry, they will immediately have another problem, that of international solidarity. The great packing trust has established itself in Australia, Canada, Brazil, Argentine, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile, Venezuela, New Zealand, Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy and Denmark. The trust is becoming more international every day. While the undertakings in other countries are not so extensive as those in the United States, they are ever more important, and form a constant resource for the employers in the fights against the union. For this basic economic reason, without considering at this time the other compelling forces, we must decide the question of international affiliation. The Red Trade Union International offers the only opportunity for this international unity.

The packinghouse workers have shown by word and deed that they want a leadership of broader vision and ideals than that with which they are now blest. Not only must we struggle for living wages and human working conditions, but we must also look forward to the time when a new system of society can be brought into being; a system of society that will put an end to this miserable struggle for bare existence—a time when we can abolish the exploitation of man by man, and establish the Workers' Republic.

FRANCE

PIERRE DUMAS, once very well known as an Anarchist, has become a royalist. He is now affiliated to the group supporting the notorious journal, *L'Action Francaise*.

Buffalo, June 8, 1922

"A splendid meeting took place here last Sunday and reports of actual accomplishments were given. All disaffected local Carpenters Unions will be brought back to the Central Trades and Labor Council, Local 374 reporting as the first to have taken this step. Will have lots more to report when all our members get busy."

Fraternally, F. H. S.

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CAPITAL'S DEFIANCE TO LABOR

COMING as a climax to the "open shop" drive, the Supreme Court has just delivered two smashing blows in the face of Labor. Right on the eve of the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, it was considered the proper time by the Supreme Court acting in its classic role of flunkey to capitalism, to knock out the Child Labor Law, and to declare union funds subject to seizure for damages to capitalists by strikes. With 665,000 miners on strike, 100,000 textile workers out, innumerable strikes and lockouts in other industries, unemployment rampant, and restlessness pervading the broad masses, the cold insolence of the employing class and its servants would be astounding, did we not know that they have good reason to feel secure.

Why should they be afraid? Only through united action, through complete solidarity, can the workers effectively resist. This unity and solidarity can only be achieved through the existing labor unions. And the capitalists are not afraid of any action at the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, because they know that no action will be taken there. They know, even if the workers do not yet, that the leadership of the A. F. of L. is intellectually bankrupt. It has no policy with which to meet the attack. It has so completely emasculated itself, with political intrigues with capitalist politicians, and its method of co-operation with the employers, that it is incapable of action. In the face of defeat after defeat, and blow after blow, Samuel Gompers continues to "lead," justifying himself with childish optimistic tales of "the unexampled prosperity of American labor."

So long as union men will not learn by reasoning, they will have to learn by bitter experience. To change their situation their heads must be changed. If they cannot stir their brains to action from within, then the job must be left to the capitalists. The latter will jar the thinking machinery of the workers into motion by hitting them repeatedly over the head. Surely the last blows will start something.

AMERICA'S TAFF VALE CASE

THE decision by the Supreme Court against the United Mine Workers, rendered June 6th, will probably take a place in labor history as America's Taff Vale case. Rendered by Judge Taft, of injunction notoriety, it delivers over the Unions to the tender mercies of any capitalistic court that may wish to con-

fiscate their treasuries. The legal basis is laid for destroying the labor movement.

Great Britain's famous Taff Vale Case, in 1901, marked the beginning of a new period in the British labor movement. The decision in the case was, that labor union funds could be attached to reimburse employers for losses through strikes. It was designed to break up the unions, and was to be the beginning of a great raid upon them. The unions resisted so menacingly that its application fell into abeyance. The union men of Britain received a lesson in class consciousness that was never forgotten. They learned that it was fatal to continue their adherence to capitalist parties. From their reaction against the Taff Vale decision was born the British Labor Party.

It is significant that Taft, in his latest decision, cited this same Taff Vale Case as authority for his pronouncement. He called attention to the fact that the British decision "was affirmed by the House of Lords." Perhaps he thought that the blow would be softened should Labor be made to realize that the club which rapped its head had been cut and trimmed "by the House of Lords," a body which seems of great authority to Taft.

The action of the Supreme Court is not surprising. It is right in line with the traditions of American courts. These bodies have always been used against Labor. They are an integral part of capitalism. The same Taft who delivers this latest blow, is the one who first perfected the use of the injunction against Labor.

The insolence of Taft and his kind is justified by the spinelessness of Gompers and his Executive Council. The latter will use the matter for another slogan in their absurd policy of 'rewarding their enemies and punishing their friends.' The rank and file of labor will get the full force of the blow, with no possible redress until they get a new leadership. The present officialdom is hopelessly bankrupt. "Injunction Bill" Taft's decision, coming as the climax of the terrific "open shop" drive, should help to drive this lesson home and clear the air a little. Can any intelligent union man longer believe that progress can be made with our present antiquated policies? Can any question the tragic need for a complete revision of our futile and absurd craft divisions, and the policy of co-operation with the capitalists and their political parties?

BY GRACE OF GARY

WHEN Gamaliel Harding dined with the 50 steel trust executives, headed by Judge Gary, the feast was doubtless a bounteous one. Unquestionably, also it was topped off with excellent cigars. In the congenial atmosphere of good fellowship, natural in such a gathering, our "worthy" president proposed that the 12 hour day and the seven day week really ought to be changed a little bit. In a burst of generosity, Gary accepted the proposal "in principle." It was agreed that all present favored the abolition of the 12 hour day, "if and when applicable."

Luckily, the miserable slaves of the steel trust did not begin to hold their breath until the great event. The mortality in such an event would have been deplorable. Instead they laughed, a very grim, and a very terrible laugh. And the laugh has re-echoed over the entire continent, reflected even from the distorted sounding boards of the capitalist press. Every one knew Gary's promise for what it was, a horrible and obscene joke.

A proposal to put a grand piano into every workman's home and send his children to college, can easily get the same kind of endorsement—"if and when applicable."

Such a proposal has just the same chance of becoming reality, as the proposal to abolish the 12 hour day. Equally they depend upon the power of the workers, organized and militant, to be achieved. The "if and when" will be made definite only by the action of the workers, by their organized power. The workers will have decent homes, and their children adequate education, when they have prepared themselves to take these things—similarly, the 12 hour day will be abolished, not by the good grace of Gary, but by the power of Labor.

GOODBY BORIS!

BORIS BAKMETIEFF, ambassador of the defunct Russian Capitalism, has gone. The \$187,000,000 loan from the United States Treasury is also gone. For five years this person, who did not even have credentials from Kerensky, has posed as the representative of a defunct Government and spent the money which is now charged up against the Soviets.

We cannot pretend to be sorry that Boris is gone. Neither can we pretend to believe that his going indicates any change of heart in the Administration at Washington. But it does add another one to the many signs that slowly the capitalists of the world are beginning to understand that Soviet Russia has come to stay. The revolution has established itself, and what temporary profits are still to be made out of Russia cannot be through Bakmetieff and his like.

THE STEEL MERGER

DID you think that the steel magnates, with their smooth words about the 12 hour day, were getting soft-hearted? Think again! They were merely getting the attention of Labor and the public directed to something else while they quietly arranged further steel mergers, closer amalgamation of their already few organizations. The Bethlehem and the Lackawana Steel Corporations have been united, and the consolidation of the Inland, the Republic and the Midvale companies, is under way. With the United States Steel Corporation, these constitute the strongest organization in the world.

Again we see that the capitalists are not afraid of amalgamation. They know that in amalgamation of their organizations they obtain more power. They are already so highly organized that in comparison, the labor movement is a loose grouping without particular cohesion. But they keep on improving and perfecting their organizations.

When the labor movement learns this simple lesson from the capitalists, as they must sooner or later, the present deplorable condition of wage-cuts, oppressive laws, judicial assaults, "open shop" drives, will no longer prevail. Against the steel trust, the railroad trust, the oil trust, and the mother of them all, the money trust, the labor unions must pit their own forces in an united organization. Amalgamation is the means to that end.

A GENIUS GONE WRONG

ADAM PROCHOWSKI was a burglar. He was a high-class professional. He was the king of burglars. Even Chicago had never known his like before. He made a specialty of robbing millionaires' palaces on the "Gold Coast," until he was shot to death recently by a watchful detective.

Moved by Prochowski's masterful ability, the "greatest newspaper in the world," the Chicago Tribune, declared that Prochowski was "a genius gone wrong." And the Tribune was right. Prochowski made the

mistake of becoming an outlaw. He should have become a business man. Instead he operated outside the law, a bold fellow willing to exchange shot for shot with policemen, risking his life in every venture. His risks were great and his gains comparatively small. He could have gone into industry, exploited the labor of women and children, poisoned the courts, formed alliances with newspapers and corrupt politicians. Had he but been such a respectable citizen and member of the exploiters' union, he could have stolen half the wealth of Chicago and been hailed as a benefactor.

Yes, the Tribune was correct. Prochowski was a genius gone wrong. The modern high-class criminal knows that his field is that of business. Prochowski should have gone into the cesspool of industry and finance, where talents such as his are better appreciated.

LABOR IN EUROPE REORGANIZES

LAST month we carried several stories regarding the projects of reorganization under way in the labor movements of Australia, France and Norway. In their determination to solidify their forces against the predatory capitalists, the unionists of these countries have undertaken a most drastic and radical inventory of their unions for the purpose of remolding them to fit the pressing needs of the present crisis. The three instances reported are outstanding examples of a spirit that prevades the entire labor movement of Europe. They are all striving in some degree toward the same end.

Contrast this fearless probing into the problems of organization, this spirit of determined progress, with the reactionary and moss-backed standpatism of the American labor officials. The most careful efforts toward strengthening our unions is greeted by the Gompers type of leader as an attack upon "civilization." Projects for amalgamation which would pass anywhere else in the world as the most constructive measures, are denounced as undermining the American Federation of Labor. "Bolshevist propaganda" is becoming synonymous, in the campaign of Mr. Gompers, with everything that smacks of progress. In comparison with Gompers Woll & Co., even the reformistic and jingoistic reactionaries of Europe look like extremist Reds.

Such a deplorable condition may be very effective in keeping these officials in their jobs for the time being, but it is strangling the labor movement. It is preventing our unions from making even a show of resistance to the vicious attacks being made against them. The iron ring of black reaction thus choking our organizations must be broken, the unions must be revitalized and reorganized, or we will go forward only to disaster.

LABOR'S PRISONERS

WORD comes to us that the two outstanding cases of Labor's prisoners today, the Mooney-Billings Case and the Sacco-Vanzetti Case, are both at a crisis which demands action from the labor movement.

In the Sacco-Vanzetti case, support to which has been given by the great bulk of the American labor movement, great unions like the United Mine Workers, endorsing the work of the Defense Committee, the work of the defense is still hampered for lack of a little money. Important investigations which promised to completely shatter the entire case against these men,

had to be suddenly cut off because there were no funds to pay railroad fare and wages of investigators. The Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee, Box 37, Hanover St. Station, Boston, Mass., is in need of money. Readers of THE LABOR HERALD are urged to request their unions to donate to this fund.

The Mooney-Billings Case is facing a different sort of crisis, but one requiring action by the unions also. As stated in this column last month, Governor Stephens is refusing to act on the question of a pardon on the grounds that "Labor is not interested." The Chicago Federation of Labor, and many other bodies of the labor movement, have sent telegrams demanding action from Stephens. But the response has not yet been great enough. Telegrams and letters should be poured in to Governor Stephens, State Capitol, Sacramento, California, demanding an immediate and unconditional pardon for Mooney and Billings. Send copies of the communications to the Mooney-Billings Defense Committee, Box 344, San Francisco, California. The future fate of these men is in the hands of the labor movement.

FRAME-UP EXPOSED IN CENTRALIA

ANOTHER frame-up has been exposed in the case of the members of the I. W. W. sent to prison as a result of the Centralia, Wash., battle with members of the American Legion who were raiding their hall. Five members of the jury which convicted these men have now made public statements to the effect that they were believed innocent by the entire jury, but a verdict of guilty was brought in under pressure.

The frame-up is becoming such a regular and established part of American court procedure that it no longer rouses the intense interest it did a few years ago. This is a very dangerous situation. More and more this dastardly machinery is being resorted to against militant union men. The most complete exposure is that of the Mooney-Billings Case. Quickly after it came Sacco-Vanzetti, who have been declared by hundreds of thousands of union men to be innocent. Now comes the usual story, verified by unimpeachable evidence, regarding the Centralia affair.

The time is coming, if it is not here when the labor movement will have to do something more than pass resolutions of protest against this menace of the frame-up. Drastic action to stop the use of such weapons must be prepared.

G. A. R. VETERAN IN THE FIGHT

"I am nearly 83 years of age. Have long been blacklisted by the corporations, and my fight with them has been wearisome and tragic. Your magnificent enterprise and brave battle exposing the Gompers band of Judases commands my supreme admiration, and I am with you. I am signing order for 4 copies of THE LABOR HERALD."

This extract from a letter just received shows the splendid spirit which is making a success of THE LABOR HERALD and the League. You young men, have you as much enthusiasm as this comrade of 83 years?

PROGRESSIVES ELECT TYPO OFFICIALS

Unofficial returns, with only a few hundred votes still to be counted, show that the International Typographical Union has again elected McParland, candidate on the Progressive ticket, as President of the Union. Hayes, the old guard candidate for Secretary-Treasurer won over Towne, the Progressive. The control of the organization rests on the decision regarding Second Vice-President, which is so close that it is im-

possible to say as we go to press whether the Progressive or conservative candidate is elected, although the Progressive, Trotter, is a couple of hundred votes in the lead. The vote for President was

McParland, progressive	28,640
Barrett, conservative	24,908

POLAND

IN the International Press Correspondence A. Maciejewski gives facts and figures about the Polish trade union movement. The organizations are badly split along national, racial, and religious lines. The principal ones, with the amount of their memberships, are as follows: Central Commission of Class Unions (Socialist) 402,000, Jewish Trade Unions 90,000, Polish National Trade Unions (Patriotic) 600,000, and Christian Unions (Catholic) 50,000. The industrial form of organization quite generally prevails among the various groups. The Socialist unions are affiliated to the Amsterdam trade union International.

The Communists are very active in the trade union movement, particularly the Socialist section of it. They have secured a majority in a number of organizations, including the Building Trades, Leather Workers, Wood Workers, and Paper Workers. They also have large organized minorities in the Metal Workers, Factory Workers, Food Workers, Railroad Workers, Tobacco Workers, etc. In addition they have won control of the Central Labor Councils in the important industrial centers of Warsaw, Bialystok, Posen, Kalisz, etc. A bitter struggle for control is going on between them and the reformist Socialists. The latter have expelled hundreds of Communists from the unions. This brought the Communists to the point where they had to decide if they should undertake to organize a new labor movement. They voted to stay and work within the old unions, no matter how difficult the task. They are organizing the expelled members into separate unions, pending the time when they will be able to force their readmittance by the old organizations.

BOOK NOTES

Constitutional Government in American Industries, by W. M. Leiserson. Reprinted from American Economic Review, by the American Economic Ass'n.

In spite of the excellent authority cited by Mr. Leiserson, in support of his view that trade union agreements form a "constitutional government in industry," we cannot follow him. The evidence cited and the known facts of ordinary trade unionism would justify rather the term "government under temporary peace treaties" or "government under truce." Constitutional government implies a common acceptance of a common basis; trade agreements are determined purely by the relative power on either side, and their terms vary from time to time according to fluctuations of fighting ability. No peace is possible except the truce, until one of the parties has been eliminated. And that is hardly "constitutional government," as the term is commonly understood.

Bars and Shadows, by Ralph Chaplin, with an introduction by Scott Nearing.

This little volume of 30 poems, written by Ralph Chaplin in Leavenworth Prison, is a challenge to the Government of Capitalism. Imprisoned for his devotion to the cause of Labor, Chaplin puts the spirit of working-class revolt into songs, beautiful, tender and defiant. When Labor awakes enough to free her prisoners, this poet-fighter-worker will, we know, again take his place where the hottest fighting is going on. And that's the kind of a poet everybody loves.

THE INTERNATIONAL

GERMANY

THE Committee of Nine, consisting of three members each from the Second "Two and a half" and Third Internationals and commissioned to lay the foundations for a united front of the world's proletariat, has broken up and disbanded. Inability to unite upon a common program was the cause. It proved impossible, even under the extreme pressure of the bitter reaction, to unite the revolutionary Communists with the reformist Socialists. It is now apparently a struggle to the finish between them for mastery of Labor's forces.

Hugo Stinnes, the great German capitalist, has christened one of his new monster steamships "Karl Legien," in memory of the late head of the German Socialist Trade Unions. It was Stinnes and Legien who, acting together, saved the capitalist system for the exploiters during the revolutionary upheaval in 1918. Just as the Kaiser fell and the state, army, navy, and industries passed into the hands of the revolutionary workers, these two worthies got their heads together and framed up a trade union agreement, covering all industries and the entire working class, which gave the workers a number of concessions and in return for which the trade union leaders agreed to keep the capitalist system upright. This agreement they kept even though they had to slaughter 20,000 workers in order to do it. Now Stinnes, by naming his ship after him, does honor to his friend Legien, the labor traitor, in return for these services.

Another Judas of the German labor movement also figures in the month's news, Gustave Noske. This murderer has added to his doubtful laurels by becoming a plain strike-breaker. As head of the Government in Hannover, the home of Von Hindenburg, he recently put through an appropriation for the Emergency Technical Aid Association, the white collar scab organization. And he did it, so he said, because the trade unions were unreasonable in their demands and had to be held in check. He is still a member of the Majority Socialist Party.

AT the close of 1921, according to official figures, the unions affiliated to the General Federation of German Trade Unions (Socialist) numbered 7,788,157. This is a falling off of 237,525 as compared with the same period last year, due mostly to one union of clerical workers changing its affiliation to the "AFA-Bund," also Socialist in tendency. The greater degree of consolidation of these unions than our is exemplified by the fact that although they have almost three times as many members as the A. F. of L. they are all contained in 49 national unions, whereas the A. F. of L. has 117. And of the 49 unions 13 contain 6,574,144 members, or about 85% of the total. They follow:

Metal Workers	1,577,090
Farm Workers	680,174
Factory Workers	677,465
Textile Workers	656,849
Transport Workers	567,131
Building Trades	477,262
Railroad Workers	450,932
Miners	447,401
Woodworkers	396,739
Municipal and State	286,868
Tobacco Workers	127,817
Clothing Trades	124,366
Shoe Workers	104,750

Of the total 7,788,157 members, 1,618,296, or over

20%, are women. The unions with the largest percentage of women workers are as follows:

Textile Workers	430,350
Factory Workers	187,412
Metal Workers	173,914
Farm Workers	170,043
Tobacco Workers	101,292
Clothing Trades	75,143
Book Binders	62,379
Transport Workers	58,490
Municipal & State	53,383

In many of the organizations the women members are in the majority. In the Textile Workers they number 430,350 as against 226,499 men, in the Clothing Workers 75,143 to 49,233 men, in the Book Binders 62,379 to 25,016, etc. The General Federation of German Trade Unions will hold its 11th convention in Leipzig, beginning June 19th.

RUSSIA

WITHIN the past two months three important new affiliations have joined the Red Trade Union International. The first was the Norwegian Trade Union Federation, with 223,588 members. At the Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam) held in Rome recently, Ole Lian, General Secretary of the Norwegian movement announced his organization's withdrawal from that body. The Workers' Federation of Chili has also joined the Red Trade Union International. This movement is, next to that of Argentine, the strongest organization in South America. The third new affiliation was the Sailors' Union of Germany. This organization is independent of the German Transport Workers' Union and it contains the bulk of German seamen. Formerly it had a strong Syndicalist tendency, but this has now about disappeared. In Great Britain sentiment develops rapidly in favor of the Red Trade Union International. At a conference organized by the British Bureau early in April, 270 delegates were present from all over the country.

ITALY

THE International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam held its third convention in Rome, April 20-26. Over 100 delegates from 20 countries, representing approximately 22,000,000 workers, were in attendance. The principle subjects dealt with and the action taken thereon are as follows: (1) Genoa conference—this was condemned as a capitalistic scheme and demands were made upon it to unconditionally admit Russia to the comity of nations and to grant credits to all exhausted countries from an international loan to be floated. The only proposition submitted to the conference that was endorsed was the Russian demand for disarmament. (2) Means of combating future wars—a referendum was ordered among the 3,500,000 metal workers of the world to declare a strike in case of war. (3) How to withstand the worldwide capitalistic reaction—for this an intensified campaign of organization was ordered. (4) Relations with the Red Trade Union International—recognition was given to the previously stated figure of 16,000,000 members for this organization, but hostility was shown towards recognizing or working with it. Its policy of building nuclei within the old unions was condemned. (5) Absence of American and Russian trade unionists—efforts are to be made to win the affiliation of these bodies. Much scoffing was heard because the A. F.

of L. had withdrawn its affiliation with the plea that the Amsterdam International was too radical. The old officials, including J. H. Thomas, President, Leon Jouhaux, Vice President, and Edo Fimmen, Secretary, were all reelected. The next convention will be held in Vienna.

DENMARK

ON April 24th, the great lockout, which had lasted almost two months, came to an end. The settlement carried with it a reduction in wages of 15%, or 12% among the poorer paid workers, semi-annual re-adjustment of wages in accordance with the varying cost of living, reduction of overtime rates to 25% for the first hour and 33⅓% for the second hour, and maintenance of the eight hour day with minor modifications. There is considerable discontent among the rank and file of the unions, they feeling that their conservative leaders have sacrificed their interests.

ENGLAND

THE long fought lockout in the British metal trades has come to an end with a defeat for the men. The latter have been forced to accept the employers' terms, which carry with them very heavy wage cuts and much less control for the unions in the shops. The struggle lasted 14 weeks and at one time there were almost 1,000,000 men involved. The depleted state of the unions' funds, coupled with a terrible unemployment, made the struggle one of the worst in British industrial history. It is a big defeat for Labor.

The great lockout is the aftermath of the collapse of the Triple Alliance a year ago. At that time the highly organized British employers took the measure of the trade union movement. They saw that its leaders, bred in the old Lib-Lab school of unionism are incapable of making a fight on class lines so they passed the word along for a general assault against the whole movement. The attack on the metal trades organizations was headed by Sir Allan M. Smith, President of the Engineering and National Employers' Federation. He demanded that the Amalgamated Engineering Union accept conditions calculated to break the power of the organization. The leaders agreed, but the members defeated the proposition on a referendum. Result a lockout of 350,000 machinists on March 11th. Then the employers moved against the rest of the trades, whose leaders they knew were only too willing to capitulate. For a time the 47 other metal trades unions made a show of a united front, but they finally turned tail on the A. E. U. and entered into separate negotiations with the employers on the basis of terms rejected by the A. E. U. But this treason did them no good, it only encouraged the employers, with the outcome that the 47 found themselves locked out also on May 3rd, adding 600,000 more men to the fray. After endless negotiations, in which the employers displayed unshaking determination to cripple the unions and the union leaders gross timidity and lack of solidarity, the settlement was finally arrived at, first by the 47 unions on June 2nd, and the Amalgamated Engineering Union on June 12th.

The British labor movement is stirred to its depths over this latest defeat. Something drastic will be done about it. Unlike Americans, the British trade unionists are accustomed to learn by their defeats. Many are now declaring that old-fashioned trade unionism has reached the limit of its usefulness and cannot stand before such powerful employers' organization as the Federation of British Industries. An insistent demand is being made for the amalgamation of the entire labor movement into one organization which shall fight on

a class basis. As the Taff Vale decision, at first a great defeat, finally resulted in a victory by producing the Labor Party, so the present disaster will probably change eventually into a great success by uniting the scattered trade unions into one mighty, undefeatable organization. British Labor is now at a turning point in its history.

A CURIOUS illustration of how much further British Labor is advanced than American Labor is furnished by the current issue of "All Power," British official organ of the Red Trade Union International, which contains an article by George Hicks, President of the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives. To get an idea of what this means try to imagine John Donlin, President of the A. F. of L. Building Trades Department writing enthusiastically for the *Liberator* or THE LABOR HERALD. That would seem a miracle.

The Federation of Building Trades Operatives made up of 16 organizations with 500,000 members and headed by Hicks, is one of the new types of industrial unions in the making. Though technically still a federation, it is rapidly digesting its many unions heading straight for an industrial union that will include the entire building trades. It was formed as a result of the great amalgamation movement launched by Tom Mann and his comrades in 1911. In the current issue of *The Operative Builder*, Mr. Hicks, outlining the history and purpose of the organization, says:

I am sure that the great campaign of 1911 to 1914 for full and complete amalgamation of all building trade unions into one industrial organization had a most marked effect in developing the mind of the worker for bigger and better forms of unity. It helped him to realize that it was not sufficient merely to desire better things, but that if he wanted to realize them he had to work for them, and the scope necessary for such work did not lie in being separated from his fellow man, but in co-operation with him. Complete amalgamation has not yet been realized, but again let me say I feel as confident of it coming into being as of daylight following darkness. We ought to have it now. We will have it as soon as the workers demand it. We must broaden the outlook of the rank and file. One union with one aim—that is to seize each opportunity for improvement of status, to work in co-operation with other unions for mutual aid and protection, to link up and fraternize with the workers of the world to assist in the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Think of an American building trades union chief talking like that! The "old guard" would have him arrested and examined for his sanity.

The London *Daily Herald*, the big daily paper of Organized Labor in Great Britain, has been saved. The Joint Committee, representing the General Council of the Trade Union Congress and the Executive Committee of the National Labor Party, has come to its rescue by agreeing to take care of its deficit until their organizations hold their national conventions, in June and September respectively, when definite arrangements will be made to put the paper on its feet financially. For a long time the *Daily Herald* has been in dire financial straits, ascribable chiefly to the industrial depression. At the time this relief came it was just about to expire. The recent anti-union twist of the British press (hitherto comparatively fair to Labor) has no doubt moved the conservative trade union leaders to save the *Daily Herald*.

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These are only two of the many instances that could be recited. While the labor movement of the world, as well as of America, is dividing into two opposing camps of thought, one of which is naturally friendly and the other hostile to THE LABOR HERALD, yet both camps know that it is

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