

THE LABOR HERALD

Official Organ of The Trade Union Educational League



SEPTEMBER 1923

391  99

15 CENTS

THE LABOR HERALD

Official Organ of The Trade Union Educational League



SEPTEMBER 1923

99

15 CENTS

The Militants' Next Step

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

A National Workers Daily

in the English language

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

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

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

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

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

By the Workers' Party of America

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

Buy a Share Yourself Now

Sell a Share to a Fellow Worker

Daily Worker Publishing Company, Inc.

799 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Daily Worker Stock Application

Daily Worker Publishing Co., Inc.,

799 Broadway, New York City.

Comrades:

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

Name

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

Line Up the Youth!

READ

The Young Worker



"A Magazine for the Militant Young Workers of America"

Issued Monthly

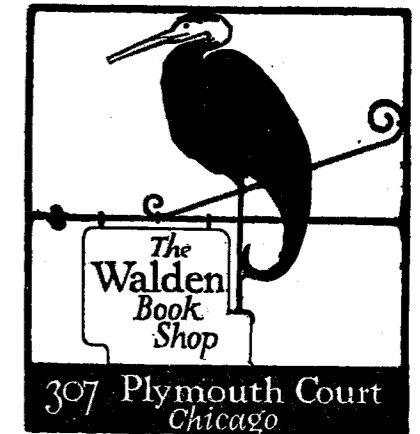
Single copies subscription price
ten cents \$1.00 per year

Send for Sample Copy

THE YOUNG WORKER

2517 Fullerton Ave.

Chicago, Ill.



ALL LABOR BOOKS, PAMPHLETS AND PERIODICALS ALWAYS IN STOCK

Subscriptions Taken for English and American Labor Papers

The Walden Book Shop

307 Plymouth Court Chicago, Ill.

The Russian Unions in 1923

By M. Tomsky

Chairman, All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions

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

24 pages, paper cover.

Rates, single copies, 10c. per copy.

10 to 100 copies, 7c. per copy.

The Trade Union Educational League

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

106 N. La Salle St., Chicago

THE LABOR HERALD

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

Vol. II.

SEPTEMBER, 1923

No. 7

The Railroad Amalgamation Movement

By O. H. Wangerin,

Secretary International Committee for Amalgamation in the Railroad Industry.

THE movement to amalgamate the 16 standard railroad trade unions into one powerful industrial organization has become a major factor in the railroad unionism of America. The railroad unions, like all social institutions today, are profoundly stirred, and are responding to the changing conditions. On the employers' side we find a large part of the quarter-million miles of railroads in the United States concentrated into a few large systems, controlled by a few Wall Street financiers. Thus, the railroad workers are faced with a new situation. Where 15 or 20 years ago it was practical for one craft, or a group of crafts, to deal separately with the roads, making separate agreements, they are now compelled to deal with the great combinations, backed by powerful financial cliques, immeasurably more powerful. To cope with this situation new methods and forms of organization have been found necessary.

Amalgamation Born of Necessity

It was the sheer necessity, brought about by this condition, from which the amalgamation movement was born. In the "open shop," union-smashing campaign of the united railroad capitalists, the workers found the separated craft unions entirely too weak to meet the terrific onslaughts. As an aftermath of the shopmen's strike during the past year, when nine unions remained on the job while seven struck, hundreds of local unions (on some roads all lodges of all seven organizations), with tens of thousands of members, have been wiped off the union map, their organizations completely annihilated. If any argument had been lacking to support the demand for consolidation of the 16 railroad unions, certainly the experiences of the past year have amply furnished that argument.

For this disastrous situation there is but one solution. No other has been suggested. All 16 railroad unions must be amalgamated into one powerful industrial organization. The railroad workers awakened to this imperative need; they have developed a great movement to bring it about. This is the story of that movement.

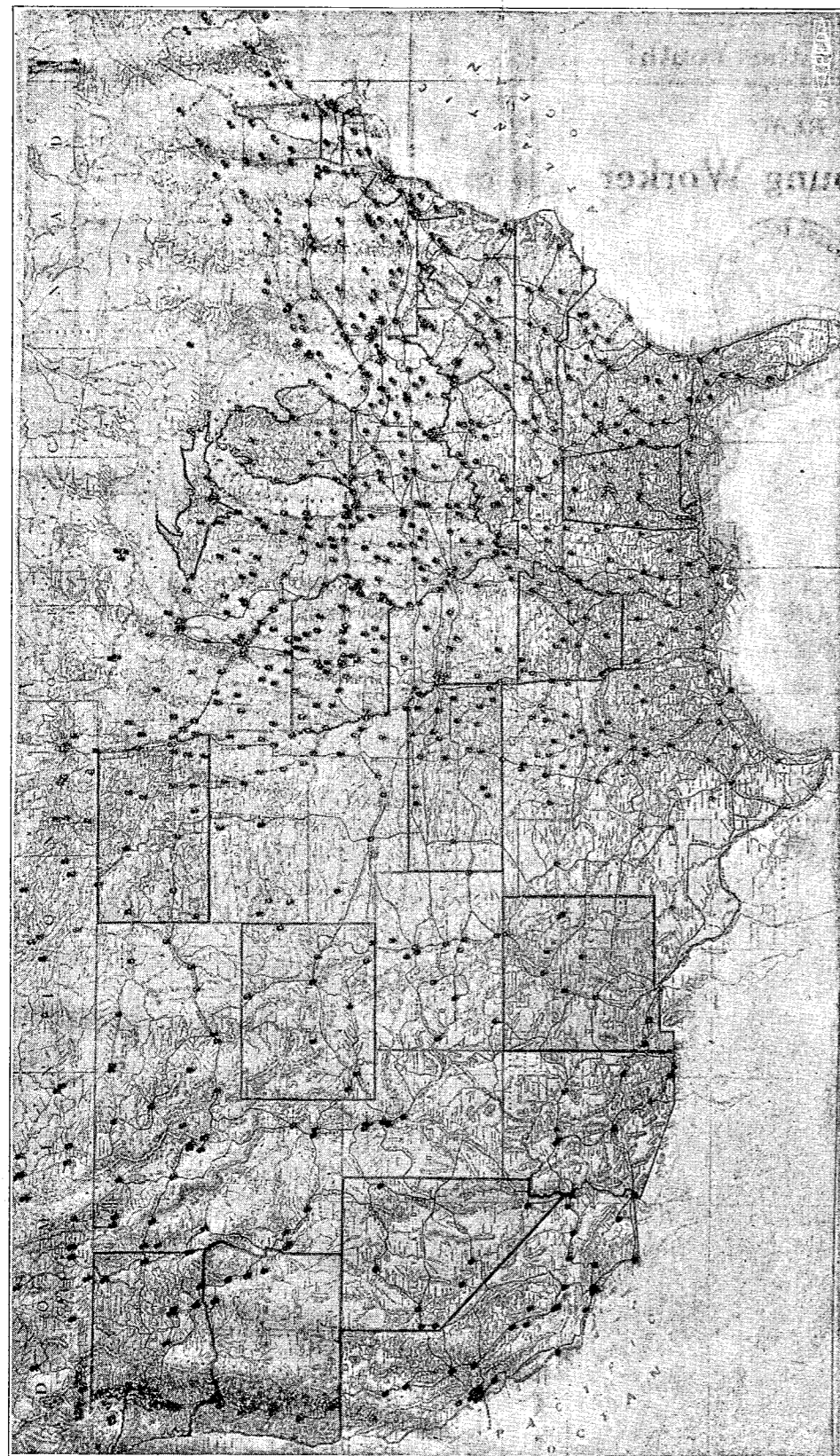
When the International officials blocked the efforts of the Northwest delegates, at the Railway Employees' Convention in April, 1922, to place that body on record for amalgamation, they demanded that a definite plan of organization be presented. Little did they realize they were calling into being a great movement that has since swept the industry from coast to coast, and which is now gathering sufficient strength to compel these same officials to put amalgamation into effect.

Extent of Amalgamation Demand

It was clear that the officials would do nothing toward consolidation. If anything should be accomplished it must be done by a rank and file movement. Immediately after the Department convention, the Minnesota Shop Crafts Legislative Committee prepared to submit a plan of amalgamation to the railroad unions for their approval. On July 1st, 1922, 12,000 railroad local unions in the United States and Canada were circularized with what has since become famous as the "Minnesota Plan."

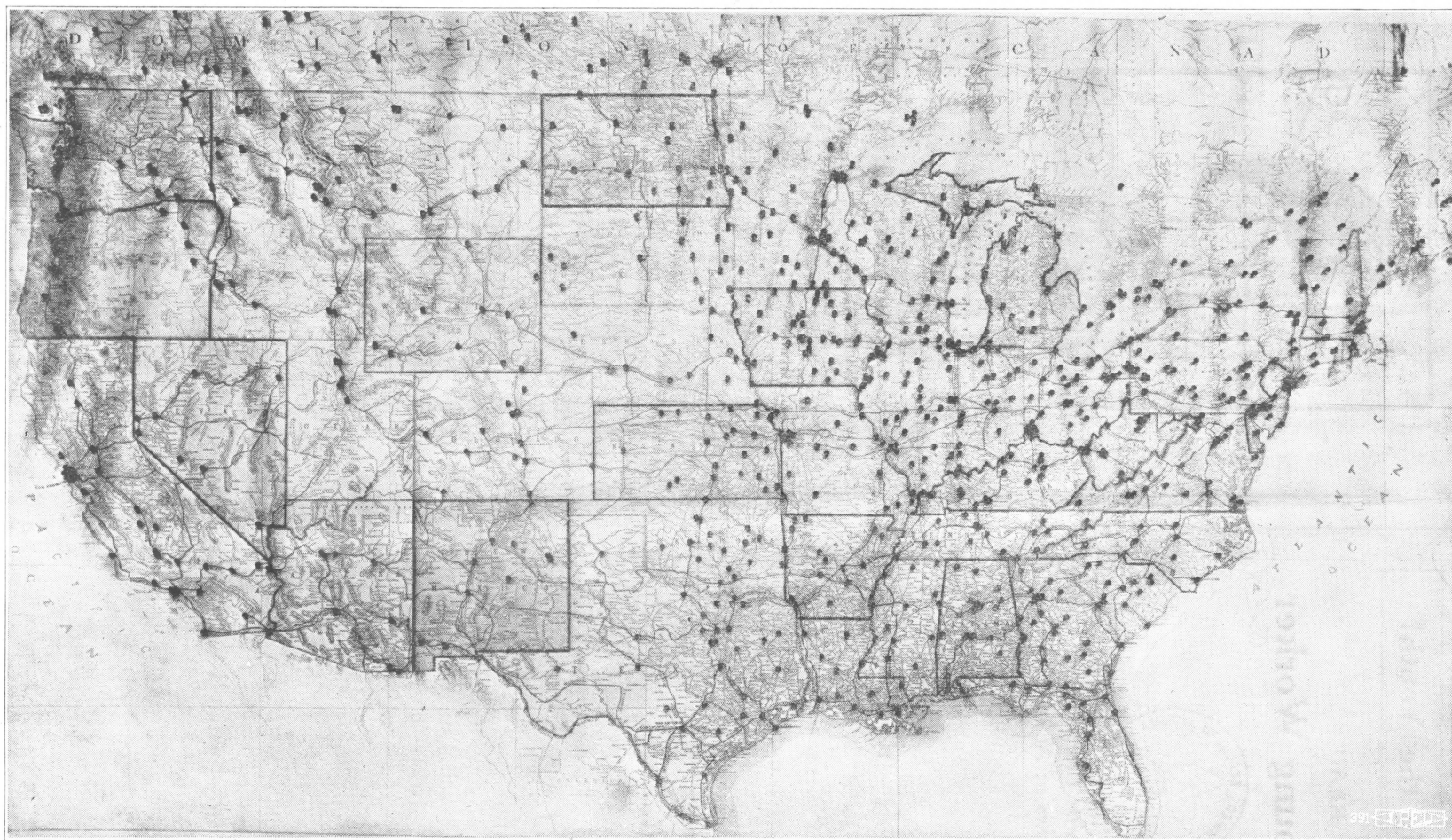
The response was beyond all expectations. Within a year the amalgamation movement has become firmly rooted in every union and in every railroad center. A glance at the map (opposite page) shows to what tremendous proportions it has grown, and will convince the blindest reactionary of the wisdom of the official slogan, "Save your money, boys; amalgamation's coming." From the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the northern stretches of Canada to the Mexican border, sentiment for amalgamation has been expressed by an overwhelming majority.

At the time this is written the "Minnesota Plan" has been endorsed by 3,377 local lodges, including all 16 standard railroad unions. A strong contingent of these come from the "Big Four" Brotherhoods, but the greatest number are from the seven shop crafts, the Railway Clerks, Maintenance of Waymen, Telegraphers, and Switchmen's Unions. It can safely be said that fully 75% of all railroad workers have ap-



MAP OF THE RAILROAD AMALGAMATION MOVEMENT

This photograph, reproduced from the wall-map in the office of the International Committee for Amalgamation in the Railroad Industry, at St. Paul, Minn., indicates some of the railroad centers at which are located the 3,377 local lodges of the 16 standard railroad unions which have endorsed the Minnesota Plan of Amalgamation. Often single dots represent as many as 5 to 50 endorsements. Hundreds of endorsements came from Canadian points not included in this map, and hundreds more from American railroad towns too small to show on this large-scale map.



MAP OF THE RAILROAD AMALGAMATION MOVEMENT

This photograph, reproduced from the wall-map in the office of the International Committee for Amalgamation in the Railroad Industry, at St. Paul, Minn., indicates some of the railroad centers at which are located the 3,377 local lodges of the 16 standard railroad unions which have endorsed the Minnesota Plan of Amalgamation. Often single dots represent as many as 5 to 50 endorsements. Hundreds of endorsements came from Canadian points not included in this map, and hundreds more from American railroad towns too small to show on this large-scale map.

proved the plan of amalgamation and are ready to unite their unions on the basis proposed.

In addition to this great number of local unions, amalgamation has been endorsed by scores of Local, District and System Federations comprising a great number of different trades. The larger organizations to take this action during the past year were District No. 2, I. A. of M., comprising all railroad machinists in Canada; the Joint Protective Board of the Railway Carmen on the Grand Trunk System; Federation No. 41, C. & O. Lines; and, during the month of June, Federation No. 76 comprising approximately 15,000 railroad workers on the C. M. & St. P. Railroad. Two great international conventions, the Railway Clerks and Maintenance of Way men, have also endorsed amalgamation. The latter organization specifically endorsed the "Minnesota Plan," by a vote that was practically unanimous. At this convention E. F. Grable was defeated for President of the Maintenance of Way by F. H. Fljoldal on the amalgamation issue.

The Chicago Conference

Recognizing the need of the situation and in response to the widespread demand on the part of the workers for definite action on amalgamation, the provisional committee called the National Railroad Amalgamation Conference at Chicago, Ill., on Dec. 9-10, 1922. The purpose of the conference was to devise ways and means to bring about the actual consolidation of the various unions as rapidly as possible. Four hundred and eleven delegates, representing all 16 organizations, responded to the call, coming from all parts of the United States and Canada. Delegates were present from Los Angeles, Toronto, Can., Seattle, New York City and Birmingham, Ala., and many other distant cities. It was the first time in the history of railroad unionism in North America that rank and file delegates from all 16 organizations met under the same roof to discuss their common problems. It marked an epoch in the life of the railroad movement.

This conference did not merely endorse the "Minnesota Plan" of amalgamation, but formulated a practical program by which amalgamation will be accomplished. The International Committee for Amalgamation in the Railroad Industry was formed, consisting of one hundred practical railroad men of all trades and located in all parts of the United States and Canada. As measures to further the work of amalgamation the conference recommended that local committees be established in all railroad centers; to provide finances the "Amalgamation Fund" was created and all lodges favoring amalgamation urged to make a \$2.00 monthly contribution to

the fund, and *The Railroad Amalgamation Advocate* was made the official organ of the International Committee. The Conference took a clear cut and definite stand against dual unionism and called upon all railroad unionists to stay in their present organizations and rebuild and strengthen them by amalgamation. The General Amalgamation Program adopted provided for the starting of referendums in the various unions and directed the entire movement toward the calling of a general convention of all 16 organizations where the amalgamation should be effected.

The Canadian railroad workers are also awake to the need of amalgamation. The "Minnesota Plan" has been as widely endorsed in Canada as in the United States. During the month of January of this year, one month after the Chicago Conference, a meeting of railroad workers was held in the city of Montreal, at which a provisional Canadian Amalgamation Committee was formed. It has circularized all lodges of several of the unions which are rallying to its support. Thousands of copies of the plan are being circulated by the Canadian Committee, which is also printing a French translation for circulation among the thousands of French-speaking railroad workers in eastern Canada. The Canadian Committee is working in complete harmony and co-operation with the International Committee and the program adopted at Chicago.

Referendums

As provided for in the General Amalgamation Program adopted at the Chicago Conference, individual referendums are now being initiated in the various trades. Lodge No. 299, Railway Carmen, Minneapolis, Minn., has submitted for referendum in that organization amendments to the Grand Lodge Constitution which will place the organization on record for amalgamation and provide the machinery by which it can be brought about. The constitution of that organization requires that the amendments must be endorsed by five local lodges from five different states. This proposition has received over fifty endorsements from twenty-seven states and provinces in the United States and Canada.

Despite the fact that this proposed referendum has received nearly ten times the required endorsement, the Grand Lodge of the Railway Carmen is making a desperate attempt to block it. All sorts of excuses are given as reasons for opposing the referendum. But the real reason is stated in the following words: "We want to call your attention to the fact that every advantage accruing to the membership through improved working conditions, increased pay, etc., has been brought about through the instrumen-

tality and aggressiveness of our own Brotherhood," and "It is our judgment that whatever benefits may accrue to you in the future will be the results of our own activity, loyalty and co-operation with our own organization." This is the language of incorrigible craft unionists who do not believe in consolidation of the railroad unions, denying the truths of the past and refusing to acknowledge the needs of the future.

The Brotherhoods and Amalgamation

A strong tendency toward amalgamation in the "Big Four" Brotherhood organizations is indicated by the great number of endorsements of the "Minnesota Plan" coming from those organizations. This is further evidenced by the action of the rank and file of these unions during the Shopmen's strike, when they attempted to come to the assistance of the Shopmen by joining them in the struggle. At several points throughout the Country they left their trains, completely tying up traffic, only to be driven back to work by their International officials. At different conventions the membership of these organizations have taken steps to bring about a closer working alliance, the Engineers and Firemen having passed resolutions at their last conventions to form a complete amalgamation of these two organizations. Negotiations to this end are now on.

An indication of the steady growth of amalgamation sentiment was the conference held at Tacoma, Wash., July 7th and 8th, this year. A representative attendance of all classes of railroad workers was present from the states of Washington, Oregon, Montana and Idaho, while scores of local lodges were unable to send delegates on account of the depleted treasuries of their unions.

Only two obstacles stand in the way of amalgamation at the present time, namely: dual unionism and the opposition of the International officials. To a great extent the menace of dual unionism and secession has been removed. This has been done by spreading the idea of amalgamation and making clear to the workers the fallacy of breaking away from their old organizations and starting new ones. The other obstacle is the opposition, open and bitter, of the salaried officials and the so-called neutrality of others. With few exceptions they have taken a definite and determined stand against a general consolidation of the railroad unions. Having no program for the future, they are doing nothing to build up and strengthen the unions and are fighting every effort on the part of the progressive element to move forward. This opposition must be overcome by the membership themselves becoming active in the amalgamation movement everywhere. Through the action of the local

unions and at the District and System Conventions, and finally at the International Conventions of each craft, these officials will be forced into action or be removed from office and progressive leaders put in their places.

The Shopmen's strike has had a disastrous effect on the entire railroad labor movement. A condition of disorganization and utter hopelessness exists in the shop trades.

A more brilliant and inspiring battle was never fought by union men. Enduring untold suffering and privation, sacrificing their meagre savings and many their homes, incurring huge debts to provide the necessaries of life for their families, these men stuck to the sinking ship to the bitter end. Today few of the betrayed shop men are paying dues into the old trade unions. Their heroism has been scarcely equalled in the struggles of American Labor. The tragical story of the Shopmen's strike has not yet been told. But the day of reckoning is near at hand. The railroad workers will never again allow themselves to be led to the bloody shambles by stupid officials who persist in clinging to an outlived policy and system of organization, merely for the sake of their jobs. Of the 400,000 railway shop workers who entered the strike on July 1st, today fully one-half have been wiped out. Hundreds of their local unions, system and district organizations built up through many years of sacrifice and effort, have been completely destroyed. To rebuild this gigantic union mechanism on the old craft basis is impossible.

Our Immediate Future Task

The situation now confronting the railroad workers as a whole is a critical one, indeed. Either we railroad workers will go ahead with our antiquated unions and see them destroyed altogether, one by one or a group of them at a time, or we will consolidate them into powerful fighting machines equal to those of our employers and march on to ever greater conquests. If we are to go forward we must develop greater industrial power to combat the railroad companies. Nothing short of a complete amalgamation of all 16 unions into one industrial organization will suffice. To get the tens of thousands of workers back into the unions who were driven out during the "open shop" drive of the companies, and to induce the unorganized to come into the unions, more is necessary than to offer them the old craft form of organization. The American railroad workers want a new deal all around. To do this two things are necessary, the existing unions must be amalgamated at the earliest possible date and a drive started immediately to organize the unorganized. Henceforth our slogan is, "Amalgamate and organize the unorganized."

Recognize Soviet Russia !!!

THE first workers' Government is still under the blockade of capitalism. By refusing to recognize Soviet Russia the Government of the United States is definitely lining up with the overthrown Czarist nobility and the Russian exploiters generally. It is trying to force the Russian workers to return to their former slavery. It wishes to re-establish capitalist rule in Russia.

Instead of strengthening capitalism outside of Russia, this policy of war upon the Russian workers is but hastening the entire world to complete disintegration. It is a policy of madness, of a piece with the French insanity of the Ruhr invasion. This is even proclaimed by the more clear-headed liberal politicians, such as La Follette, Brookhart, France, Johnson, Shipstead, and many others. There can be no "reconstruction" in the world until there is full peace and trade relations between Soviet Russia and the capitalist countries.

The American trade union movement, however, is led by men who are more capitalist than the capitalists themselves. In the forefront of the forces attacking Soviet Russia stands Samuel Gompers, president of the A. F. of L. In his blind reaction against the revolutionary workers he joins hands with the bitterest enemies of the labor movement. Even the yellow Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions, a sworn enemy of communism, has officially acknowledged that the downfall of Soviet Russia would be the signal for the destruction of the trade unions by the capitalists all over the world. And on the 23rd of May, at the Transport Workers Conference in Berlin, the Chairman and Secretary of the Amsterdam Transport Workers, Robert Williams and Edo Fimmen (the latter also Secretary of the Amsterdam International itself) issued a manifesto declaring:

"The overthrow of the Workers' and Peasants' Republic would be the severest

blow which the international working class could sustain. For no matter what the differences dividing the proletariat internationally, theoretically and organizationally, one thing is certain: Soviet Russia is the last stronghold against the growing international reaction which threatens to submerge the revolutionary working class."

In Europe the working-class organizations are forming a United Front against war and for peace with and recognition of Soviet Russia. In America we are still before the elemental task of forcing our reactionary trade union officialdom to recognize Soviet Russia! Samuel Gompers is today the principal cog in the war-machine directed against our Russian brothers. If we can unite all the progressive and honest forces in the A. F. of L. to repudiate his reactionary conspiracy against the Workers' and Farmers' Republic of Russia, we shall have averted the most immediate danger of war facing the organized workers of America. The first step toward recognition of Russia by the Government of the United States is the recognition of Russia by the American labor movement.

Let no American worker fail to understand that the recognition of Soviet Russia is a first essential to world peace. Already Europe is boiling with the preparations for new wars. Continued war against Soviet Russia means a new world war. The issue is clear: on the one side are the "open shop" capitalists, the Czarist reactionaries, the enemies of Labor throughout the world, and Samuel Gompers, driving towards a new world slaughter that will be a hundred times more horrible than the last; on the other side are the progressive and revolutionary unionists, and the conscious rank and file of Labor. The side on which our trade unions will find themselves internationally will be determined at this time by our attitude towards the Workers' and Farmers' Government. Recognize Soviet Russia!

Gompers Faces Triple Revolt

Problems of the Coming A. F. of L. Convention

By Wm. Z. Foster

SO completely reactionary is the Gompers bureaucracy that every movement for progress in the A. F. of L., no matter how mild its character, assumes the nature of an open revolt against the administration. Gompers proposes absolutely nothing constructive himself, nor will he allow anyone else to do so if he can prevent it by hook or crook. Backed by the united reactionaries, he has choked to death every important progressive movement in the trade unions for many years. One such defeated movement was that of the Socialists. Before the war it looked as though it might break the death clutch of Gompers. But nothing came of it. Gompers scattered the Socialist forces to the four winds, domesticating those that he did not destroy outright. Another wave of progress that dashed futilely against the rocks of reaction was the Plumb Plan movement of 1918-20 for government ownership of the railroads. Although this movement gave Gompers the worst beating of his career, at the Montreal convention, nevertheless he eventually crushed it back and now it is only a memory. Consequent upon this desperate resistance of Gompers and his clique to every form of progress, the A. F. of L. has for a generation remained almost completely unresponsive to the insistent and persistent urge for Labor development set up by our rapidly evolving capitalism. Its social outlook, its tactics, and its structure are practically the same now as they were thirty years ago. Stifled, cramped, and repressed by its own leaders, the A. F. of L. is a weak and insipid organization dangerously unfitted to cope with its militantly capitalistic environment.

The Amalgamation Movement

Although Gompers has so decisively beaten all forms of progress in the A. F. of L. in the past, he is now confronted with a greater progressive revolt than ever. This is much more profound and far-reaching than either the Socialist or Plumb Plan movements. It is of a triple character, developing in three broad streams: viz, the great movements for (1) amalgamation, (2) the labor party, (3) recognition of Soviet Russia. This triple revolt attacks frontally three fundamental policies of Gompers. Victory for it in any one of its aspects might well shatter the Gompers machine and break down the Chinese wall that has been set up against the development of the A. F. of L. Hence, to dissolve and destroy

this deep-seated movement, so dangerous to his rule, will be the supreme problem of Gompers at the Portland Convention of the A. F. of L., in October.

One branch of this three-phased revolt is the movement to amalgamate the craft unions into industrial organizations. Gompers has long been a bitter opponent of industrial unionism. He has fought it consistently since the days of the American Railway Union, whether it manifested itself within or without the trade unions. Already at the Cincinnati Convention of last year the present movement for amalgamation, developing under pressure of the terrific and disastrous "open shop" drive, was beginning to make itself felt. Gompers attempted to head it off by denouncing it as the work of Russian agents, and by digging from its peaceful grave the A. F. of L. declaration of 1901 on industrial unionism, which was written before the era of the modern trusts. But despite all this, the movement ran on acquiring constantly more weight and volume. In the past 18 months, a great number of state federations, international unions, city central councils, local unions have endorsed the plan of combining the craft unions into big industrial bodies. So widespread has the movement become among the broad rank and file, hitherto deemed practically immune to industrial union propaganda, that undoubtedly if the question of amalgamation were put to a referendum vote it would carry by an overwhelming vote. Gompers, on pain of complete defeat, will leave no stone unturned to defeat this vital and fundamental movement.

The Labor Party Movement

Another branch of the triple revolt confronting Gompers is the swiftly spreading movement for the establishment of a labor party. This touches Gompers at his very heart. With almost fanatical zeal he has fought against the workers going into politics on their own score, and, unfortunately, with too much success. Nevertheless, for the last two years the demand for independent working class political action has been mounting higher and higher in an irresistible flood. The capitalists' ruthless use of the Government in crushing strikes and sweeping aside all legislation beneficial to Labor is arousing the workers as never before to the necessity for a political party of their own. A broad and deep movement is under way for the formation of a labor party. So many unions

have declared for the project that one no longer keeps count of them; State and city labor parties are springing up all over the country; the Workers Party and the Trade Union Educational League are carrying on a militant and successful labor party campaign among the organized masses; the old Farmer-Labor Party and the Socialist Party have contributed their mite to the general stream, and even the Johnston Conference for Progressive Political Action, despite its vague aims and timid leadership, has done much to popularize the need for independent working class political action. But the most striking manifestations of the movement were the election of Johnson in Minnesota and the formation of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party at the historic Chicago convention of July 3-4-5. Unquestionably the overwhelming mass of the labor movement are for the formation of a labor party. At the coming A. F. of L. convention it will be the task and necessity of Gompers to thwart this will of the great rank and file for a party of their own and to keep them shackled securely to the political chariots of their industrial masters.

The Recognize Russia Movement

The third branch of the triple revolt now taking shape in the A. F. of L. is the movement for the recognition of Soviet Russia. From the outbreak of the Bolshevik revolution, Gompers has distinguished himself by the most violent hatred and opposition to Russia. He sees in the Soviet Government the personification of the "red" hobgoblin that he has exorcised for so many years and he froths at the mouth when it is even mentioned. Not even the blackest Russian aristocrats outdo him in propagating vicious misrepresentations about the first Workers' Republic. But in spite of him the movement for the recognition of Soviet Russia constantly grows in the ranks of Labor. Already at the A. F. of L. convention last year many prominent labor leaders had declared for it and Gompers was desperately pushed to defeat a resolution calling upon the United States to recognize the Soviets. And since then the movement has made rapid strides. The flood of news from Russia to the effect that the Government has been stabilized, the famine overcome, and the industrial crisis relieved, is having its effect. Consequently many additional labor leaders and organizations have expressed themselves in favor of recognition. Besides this there is the profound effect of the open campaign for recognition being carried on by La Follette, Borah, Johnson, Brookhart, Wheeler, Shipstead, and other liberal politicians whom Labor follows. Gompers at the coming convention will have a

far greater movement in favor of Russia to fight than ever before.

What Gompers Will Do

To suppose that Gompers, at the Portland Convention, will condone or support any one or all three of these above-mentioned movements would be ridiculous. On the contrary, it is perfectly safe to assume that he will carry on a life and death struggle against them, even as he has against every other progressive movement for decades past. His motto is the most determined resistance to every forward step of Labor. He will smash or demoralize them if it is humanly possible for him to do so. And his principal means to this end undoubtedly will be to smear them all over with red. Once again he will conjure up the red peril, which has so many times served his purpose, and thus try to scare the timid and colorless reactionaries into line behind him.

Of the three progressive movements he will have to face, Gompers need fear the amalgamation movement least. This is because it is in a sense the most fundamental of all three. It threatens more directly than the others the petty personal interests of the higher officials that make up the A. F. of L. convention. Hence Gompers, in his fight to hold back amalgamation, can depend upon the loyal support of these officials. Although many of them hail from unions that have endorsed industrial unionism—such as the miners, railway clerks, railway maintenance men, printers, etc.—they will conveniently let the issue slip by without a fight if they can, or, if need be, they will openly violate their mandates, as they did at Cincinnati, to defeat it. It will take a couple of more years, when the amalgamation movement has had opportunity to register itself in the international conventions, before it will become really dangerous to the A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

With the labor party movement, however, the situation is vastly more threatening for Gompers. Undoubtedly there will be a very great sentiment at the convention for the formation of a labor party. A powerful leader might very easily organize this into a movement that would crushingly defeat Gompers. But Gompers, nevertheless, will meet the labor party movement with a frontal attack (in addition to his "red" campaign) if it ventures to raise its head. He will blaze right into it with both barrels and take his chances with it in an open struggle. He knows well the intellectually weak-kneed Johnston who stands at the head of the movement for independent working class political action. He realizes that Johnston does not possess the requisite boldness, courage, and generalship to make a real fight for

the labor party. He will calculate definitely upon Johnston's weakness if a battle develops over this issue.

A Problematical Situation

Especially careful will Gompers have to be regarding the movement for the recognition of Soviet Russia; for, of the three movements mentioned in this article, that is the one most likely to be victorious at the Portland convention. If such turned out to be the case it would be a death blow to his pride and prestige. He is irretrievably committed against Russia, and he will fight to the last in opposition to its recognition. When this question comes before the convention we may look for him to indulge in his usual red baiting and democratic-patriotic slush, in a desperate effort to blind the delegates with their own prejudices. Already he is preparing to meet this issue. That is the meaning of Secretary of State Hughes' recent letter to him outlining the reasons why the United States Government does not recognize the Soviet Republic. That letter, marshalling as it does every argument calculated to appeal to trade unionists, was written primarily to influence the action of the next convention of the A. F. of L. Let us charitably, if innocently, assume that Gompers had no hand in its formulation. We may depend upon it, however, that if the situation demands it, it will serve the purpose for which it was written by being solemnly read before the delegates as the final and overwhelming reason why they, as patriotic citizens, should not fly in the face of the Government and

give aid and comfort to the enemy by adopting a resolution in favor of recognizing Soviet Russia.

Can Gompers, at the Portland convention, beat back all three of these great movements, fed and stimulated by the left wing, to bring about amalgamation, a labor party, and recognition of Soviet Russia? Can he dam up still higher the stream of progress and make the labor movement still more incapable of effective action? Although the unexpected may happen, the chances are very much in favor of Gompers accomplishing his work of reaction. A. F. of L. conventions have become so accustomed to let him do their thinking and to accept unquestioningly as their policies his most trivial whims that it will take little short of an earthquake to rouse the Portland convention from the customary intellectual lethargy and to make it take a stand of its own. But there is one hopeful feature. The revolt against the deadly policies of Gompers is at least under way. Whether it prevails or not at this convention, success must finally come to it. The movements for amalgamation, a labor party, and Soviet recognition must go on taking to themselves greater and greater volume. United with other progressive movements into one broad stream of revolt, they will eventually break through the obstructions built up by Gompers and his clique and sweep before them in a mighty flood the broken fragments of the A. F. of L. bureaucratic machine. When this time comes, and come it will soon, if not at the Portland convention, there will begin a new day for the American labor movement

Lithographers Demand Amalgamation

By Al Smith

FROM the moment that the Third Convention of the Amalgamated Lithographers of America opened in Cleveland, Ohio, on July 9th, until its close more than a week later, the dominant note that rang out was the demand for greater solidarity, for more power, and the delegates had a definite program of achieving it through amalgamation of the printing trades unions. The lithographers' organization is itself an amalgamation, perfected in 1915, of the Lithographic Workmen of America, the Stone and Plate Preparers' Union, the Lithographic Press Feeders' Assn., and the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Assn., uniting all the workers in their particular branch. Now these union men, perhaps the most highly skilled in their industry, feel the need for extending their solidarity to the limits of the printing in-

dustry, and their Convention went on record emphatically to that effect.

Amalgamation came squarely before the Convention in the report of Third Vice-President Vanderven, who voiced the general attitude of the gathering in his demand for this progressive measure. He told about presenting a demand to the secretary of the San Francisco Employers' Association, a demand which "a child would understand was just." That person smiled, however, and said: "It isn't a case of whether you are right or wrong; it is a case of whether you have power to enforce your demand. I don't care how right you are, if you haven't that power you won't get it; and I don't care how wrong you are, if you have the power we will hand it to you on a silver platter."

"The recommendation I have in mind" said Vanderven, "is to start something to bring solidarity in the printing industry. There is today a radical movement that is gaining headway. I don't know how it is in other sections but on the Pacific Coast it is becoming stronger and stronger. The old conservative type of labor union is gradually going down. At a convention held in Chicago recently, called by conservative unions, it was taken away from them by the radical elements. That is the strength that the movement is gaining, and there are two reasons for it. One is that our trade union movement is not progressive enough. It stands by and does nothing. The other is that the employers, by fighting the unions, encourage the members to listen to the radicals. Unless we want the radicals to swallow us up it is necessary that we become more progressive ourselves."

"Our experience on the coast," Vanderven said further, "has been that if there had been an industrial organization we would have gotten somewhere—probably we would have avoided a strike. There is a method to bring it about, because there is an element in each union that is entirely in sympathy with amalgamation. I think the most progressive thing this convention can do is to adopt the resolution for amalgamation that originated on the Pacific Coast, and start in now to work for amalgamation."

Another fighter for amalgamation was Oscar Charette, of Montreal. His local union had circularized the entire Lithographers' Union in May, and submitted a resolution to the convention for amalgamation. The resolution which the Committee reported out to the convention for action was, however, the one from Los Angeles. It read as follows:

WHEREAS; the experience that we gained through our recent lockout was such as to reveal to us the absolute necessity of a stronger and more effective form of organization in the printing industry; and

WHEREAS; there also exists at present a progressive element in various trade unions of the printing industry which is quite substantial in number, who are also of the opinion and realize the real need of a practical form of amalgamation of all printing trades unions; and

WHEREAS; additional evidence of this need is furnished by the fact that all the employers in the printing industry, including lithography, are now working in harmony and as one in their efforts to combat the separate trades organizations of their employes, and to prevent their progress; be it therefore

RESOLVED; that the incoming officers of our Association are hereby instructed to consider the ultimate accomplishment of such an amalgamation their chief aim and purpose, and that they do use their best efforts immediately upon entering office to get in touch with those leaders of the progressive element in the printing trade unions who favor such an amalgamation, and, together with them, devise ways and means toward bringing about some practical form of amalgamation,

and, while it is impossible in this resolution to cover in detail any set form for such an amalgamation, we do, however, believe that the following tentative plan, if followed, will lay the foundation upon which can be built a more perfect and complete structure as time and experience may dictate, to wit:

That all the existing unions in the printing and lithographing industry shall be governed under one centralized head, calling for one International President and an International Executive Board, to be composed of one representative from each trade in the industry.

This Executive Board, with proper safeguards thrown around it, shall decide the policies and paramount issues of the entire Association, such as hours, wages, pensions, etc., all important actions, subject, however, to a general referendum vote of the membership. The local unions shall all continue as at present, and shall regulate and govern their own local affairs, but no local shall have the right to pass any laws or take any action that would conflict in any way with the general laws or purposes of the International Executive Board. Similar to the Government of the United States, where each state of the United States conducts its own affairs, but is at all times amenable to the Federal Government.

This is but a general outline of what we believe, if followed, will bring results. And be it further RESOLVED; that the International President shall report to each local from time to time what progress has been made in carrying out the instructions contained in this resolution.

This resolution was presented to the convention by Brother Rose, Second Vice-President and the chairman of the Resolutions Committee, with a recommendation that it be adopted. Speaking in support of it, Rose quoted favorably the plan of amalgamation of the International Committee for Amalgamation of the Printing Trades Unions. Charette and Vanderven were leaders in the advocacy of its adoption, and a few reactionaries fought against it. When the vote was taken there were found only a few delegates in opposition, and the resolution was adopted by an overwhelming majority.

Thus was another important organization lined up for the great amalgamation movement. The Lithographers are a very important link in the printing trades chain, highly skilled and traditionally conservative. But even they can see clearly the menace of the "open shop" drive and the necessity for more power if the union is to live and grow. The action of the Lithographers is another great victory for the movement towards industrial unionism through amalgamation.

Do you know that the publication that is easiest to sell in the unions is THE LABOR HERALD? Friends and enemies are equally interested in it, because they know that its utterances carry great influence in the labor movement.

Why not order a bundle for sale at your union meetings, entertainments, and picnics?

Lewis Crucifies Nova Scotia Miners

By Tom. Bell

JOHN L. LEWIS, president of the United Mine Workers, has again earned showers of praise from the mine owners and the capitalist press. At the same time he has increased ten-fold the contempt and disgust in which he is held by the rank and file of the Union. When on July 3rd, the miners of Nova Scotia, District 26, went out on strike in protest against troops being rushed into the District to break the steel workers strike, the union men of the whole continent applauded. It was one of those acts of solidarity that bring fresh enthusiasm into the hearts of old battlers and fire the spirit of the young to carry on toward new victories. But the action of Lewis, on July 17th, revoking the charter of District 26, and appointing as provisional officers the men who were overwhelmingly repudiated at the last election, was a treacherous stab in the back. The applause of the capitalist press for his black deed is the natural accompaniment of the murmur of hatred arising from the workers.

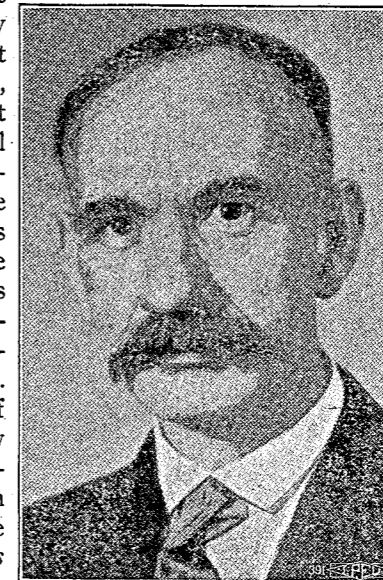
The *Financial Post*, organ of Canadian capital, stated on July 20th: "Lewis has steadily demanded that the miners return to work. His demands have been rejected and so he has wrecked the union and set up a provisional union." Lewis certainly has done his worst to wreck the union. In this work of destruction the *Montreal Gazette* of July 19th says: "He has asked for the co-operation of the British Empire Steel Corporation and that co-operation President Wolvin has readily promised."

The Lewis-Besco partnership to smash the union is still, as in the past, openly joined by the Government. Jim McLachlan, and Dan Livingstone, secretary and president of the District, have been jailed on a charge of "spreading false news." Jack McDonald of Toronto, sent in by the labor movement to express the solidarity of Canadian Labor with the strikers, was arrested on July 21st. Dozens of strikers have been thrown into jail on the slightest pretext. And finally the courts, on application from Lewis' agents, granted an injunction against the men's elected officials, forbidding them to act in their official capacity. By the power of the cap-

italist courts Lewis has installed his appointed provisional officers over the Nova Scotia miners.

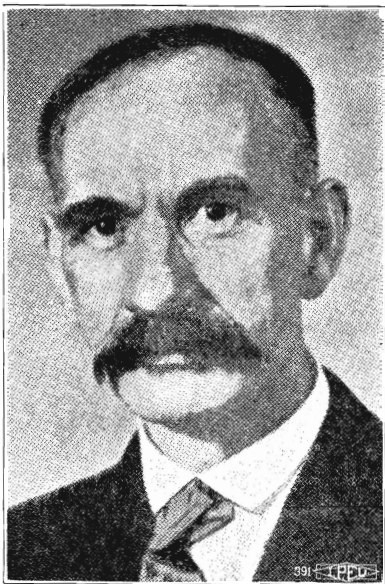
The miners' strike of July 3rd was caused by the use of troops against the steel workers who were fighting for a 20% increase in pay and recognition of their union. The miners have themselves suffered from the military as late as last August. When troops and special provincial police were brought against the steel workers and proceeded to launch a campaign of brutality, the miners decided to strike until these armed forces, which rendered the community unsafe for a worker, should be removed.

The corporation demanded of the District Officers that the miners be returned to work or they would appeal to Lewis. They claimed the strike violated the contract with the union. The District officers pointed out that the contract was not violated, that it pertained to wages and working conditions only, matters which were not involved in this difficulty, and since the contract had no stoppage of work clause in it the miners were not violating it by striking for the removal of troops. The corporation could quickly stop the strike by giving the word to their servant at the head of the Governmental department in charge of the military.



JAMES McLACHLAN

The corporation appealed to Lewis, who was in Atlantic City negotiating with the anthracite operators. Lewis wired back demanding that the miners return to work unconditionally, paying no attention to the representations of the union but only to those of the British Empire Steel Corporation. Meanwhile more and more troops were rushed into the District. Barb-wire entanglements were erected about the mines. Patrols of police paraded the streets and troops were spread along the railroad lines. The situation became so bad that even the reactionary Minister of Labor issued a statement saying that the troops were being used to cow the workers into submission and that application for the troops had been made before the strike took place. The Mayor of Glace Bay wired to the Government that there was no need for troops and that the city would refuse to pay their expenses.



JIM McLACHLAN,
President, District No. 26, U. M. W. A.

From all over Canada poured in protests against the outrageous proceedings. Mass meetings of workers were held in Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Toronto, and in every part of Canada, and resolutions poured in on the Government demanding the withdrawal of troops. The miners in District 18 (Western Canada), Drumheller subdistrict, struck in support of District 26. Lewis immediately ordered them back to work. This intimidated the District Board and the strike being demanded throughout District 18 was not called. The miners were traveling to a victory until Lewis struck his blow and they had to retreat to save the union from disruption.

Then came the order from Lewis, revoking the District 26 charter, and appointing as president Silby Barrett, a man who had been removed from office last year because he advocated the acceptance of 37½% reduction in wages. A great wave of indignation swept the miners, and the strike spread further. The men met in mass meetings (5,000 in Glace Bay) and resolved to return to work only on their own decision. Lewis sent a squad of 13 "organizers" into the District to organize his strike-breaking, preparing to completely smash the union.

At this time Lewis obtained his court injunction, restraining the District officers from further acting as officers of the organization. The Government stopped the preparations for a ballot of the miners. The men called a mass meeting and considered the situation. Threatened by Lewis with the splitting of their local unions, their officers in jail, a court injunction placed upon them,

the entire District in the hands of troops and police, and with all these united hostile forces working in the miners' ranks through the traitorous provisional officers, the miners finally decided that they must have a "breathing spell," and voted to return to work to prevent the destruction of the union.

When the miners returned to work they were met with a blacklist. All union men who had been active during the strike were refused work. This nearly precipitated another strike, as most of the miners emphatically wished to refuse to return until all could go back. Only the strenuous efforts of the blacklisted militants themselves prevented another tie-up which would have given Lewis his desired opportunity to split the local unions. The miners finally returned to work, and since then some of the blacklisted ones have been taken back. The others are being provided for by donations from those working.

The retreat of the striking miners was absolutely necessary to save the union from destruction at the hands of Lewis and his "organizers." The steel workers, who are still on strike, understand this perfectly. With the union still intact the miners can take up the struggle again in the future. The provisional officers have no prestige in the District. An election must be held sooner or later and the miners of District 26 will put into office the kind of men they desire. They are still solidly with the progressive miners throughout the continent; their spirit has not been killed, and they will not rest until Lewis and his reactionary administration no longer disgraces the United Mine Workers.

SECOND GENERAL CONFERENCE OF THE T. U. E. L.

Meets in Chicago

September 1st and 2nd, 1923

at Labor Lyceum

2733 Hirsch Boulevard

The leading trade union militants from coast to coast, and from Canada to the Mexican border, will come together in a most important trade union educational conference which will affect the destinies of the labor movement. Every militant should make it a first order of business to see that his group and city is well represented.

The All Russian Textile Workers' Union

By M. Braginsky, Secretary

ALTHOUGH the Russian workers are keenly interested in the conditions of labor and the life of their comrades in other lands, we have not yet succeeded, through causes beyond our control, in establishing sufficiently close connections. We feel that the workers in America are also interested in the Russian workers' struggles and attainments. We on our side are going to do our best to inform you about the Russian unions, in the hope that this will be one means of establishing better intercourse in the near future.

The All-Russian Textile Workers' Union, like all other labor organizations in Russia, first received the opportunity to exist only after the revolution of 1905. But since, the rights won by the workers during that revolution were soon retracted by the autocratic Czarist government and unrestricted reaction ensued, all possibilities of the existence of trade unions were destroyed. The unions were stamped out and those actively engaged in their work were put into prison and sent to the furthest and rarely populated districts of the country.

The reaction did not fail to affect the textile unions. The numerous unions existing during 1905-1910 dwindled to insignificant groups at the time of the revolution of 1917; in Moscow there was only a group of 64 people, in Petrograd still less.

On the strength of the above, our present union dates its existence only from 1917, from the moment of the new revolution which destroyed forever the rule of the Czar and his gendarmes.

Fighting the Counter Revolution

Due to the political conditions prevailing in the six years of the existence of our union, much of our time and energies have been devoted to problems which, from the point of view of a capitalist country, had little in common with trade union work. We mean our participation in the struggle which our Republic has been carrying on against international capital and its white guard hirelings of all brands. In this struggle many of our comrades both of the rank and file and of the directing bodies gave up their lives.

The active participation of our union in this struggle was due to the fact that the Russian workers, including the textile workers, firmly realized during the imperialist war that similar wars, where workers of one country are sent against workers of other countries ostensibly in the name of freedom and justice, but in reality

for the sake of the interests of the capitalists, with their subsequent oppression, unemployment, poverty and degeneration of the workers, will continue as long as the bourgeois system exists and will only cease when the workers take the power into their own hands and manage their own destinies. This realization forced us to consider the defense of the soviet power and of our republic as our first task.

Before taking up the work of our union of a peace character, we consider it necessary to give a brief description of its general structure.

The Structure of the Union

We have in Russia only one Textile Workers' Union. It includes all the workers and employees connected with any part of the industry, such as the production of cotton, flax, wool, hemp, silk, etc. The union is managed as follows: Its legislative body is the All-Russian Congress held yearly. Now, according to a decision of the Fifth Congress of our Union held in Oct., 1922, this period may be extended to two years if the situation justifies it. The Congress is composed of representatives of local organizations elected at the rate of one delegate from one thousand members.

In between congresses, the union is headed by the Central All-Russian Committee elected at the Congress to the number of 21 members and 13 candidates. This Committee meets no less than once in three months; its current work is carried out by its Presidium elected by the Central Committee to the number of five members.

The next lower step on the trade union ladder is the *gubernia* (state) branch of the union. We have altogether 54 such branches. The managements of these branches are elected at *gubernia* congresses, their number being in accord with the size of the branch. The Executive Committee of the *gubernia* branch also elects a presidium for the regular work. The membership of the presidium varies from three to five men. The *gubernia* congress acts on the basis of the decisions of the All-Russian Congress and its decisions are binding upon the Executive.

In the *gubernias* with a large number of factories and workers, such the Moscow where there are over 150,000 members, and Ivanovo-Vosnesensk with nearly 70,000 members, as well as some other *gubernias*, there are in addition to the *gubernia* branches also *ouyezd* (District) branches built along the same lines with the only differences that in their work they are guided

not only by the decisions of the Central Committee but also of the *gubernia* management. Next to the *gubernia* and *ouyezd* branches of the union come the factory committees. Such committees exist in every factory employing no less than 100 men. Where the number of workers is smaller, the committee is substituted by a so-called institute of delegates. The factory committees are elected at the general meeting of the workers and are composed of from three to seven members depending upon the size of the factory. Space does not allow us to dwell in detail over the functions of each of these bodies—we will just point out that this form of organization which developed quite naturally is very convenient both for purposes of keeping the rank and file and the leading bodies in close touch and for the speedy manifestation of the needs and settlement of all questions arising before them.

The Membership Records

The fluctuation of our membership in the last few years has been as indicated in the table below:

Date	Total member.	Women member. No.	%	No. Under 18 yrs. No.	%
Oct. 1917....	390,000	259,350	66.5	44,070	11.3
Jan. 1918....	571,400	345,697	60.5	70,282	12.3
Jan. 1919....	642,522	384,228	59.8	58,469	9.1
Jan. 1920....	424,609	246,273	58.0	42,036	9.9
Jan. 1921....	461,011	254,904	57.8	44,542	10.1
Jan. 1922....	369,591	203,275	55.0	20,905	5.9
Jan. 1923....	431,413	239,811	56.6	25,879	6.0

A few words in explanation of the above. The relatively small membership of 1917 was due to the fact that at that time the union had not yet been able to absorb the entire tremendous mass of workers which streamed into the union, after the revolution. The considerable increase in the membership in 1918-1919 occurred in consequence of the fact that the union had managed to attract all the workers into its ranks. At this time, due to the capture by the white guards of the fuel and raw material districts of Russia (the Don coal basin, Baku oil wells, Turkestan cotton districts, etc.) the membership in the union could not, due to the natural decrease in production, be fully utilized in actual work and was partly used to guard the factories and equipment against destruction, to obtain and deliver fuel, keep the machines, etc.

This state of industry together with the famine which prevailed during 1919-1921 forced the workers to go to the villages resulting in a reduction of their number. The present increase in the number of workers is due to the improvement in the state of our industry as is indicated by the above figures on the number of workers employed and units of equipment. The figures giving the proportion between the number of

men, women and children are also interesting. Our membership fees are equal to two percent of the wages, entrance fee—one half of a day's wages.

To check up the attitude of the workers towards their union, a campaign was carried out in April and May of this year throughout all the factories in Russia with the result that practically all the workers, minus perhaps one percent of the most backward and oppressed workers employed by small shops, believe in the necessity of joining the union.

This fact is of particular importance to you since in the press of your country whether through misunderstanding or, as we are more inclined to believe, through a definite desire to slander our Soviet Republic, lying reports are being spread to the effect that our trade unions are not free defence bodies, but mere bureaucratic institutions.

Wages and Management

The peaceful period of our trade union work has in the last year undergone some sharp changes. During the first years of the revolution when the old employers were still in possession of their factories, the union had to fight their sabotage both along the lines of production and relations with the workers.

Later after the industries had been nationalized and up to the present time, the union had to tackle all the questions of the organization of the masses joining it, assign managers to the factories from among the workers, prepare the more skilled workers for the position of managers, raise the general cultural level of the workers and settle questions of wages. The last question was up to last year settled by the unions together with the government without the direct participation of the factory managers. This was due to the fact that the entire industry was maintained at the expense of the State which appropriated funds for this purpose often without regard as to what it received in return from the industry. Beginning with last year, when our industries have been put on a self-supporting basis, i. e. they were made to live on their own income from their production, the wage question has been settled by the union and the managers of industry through collective agreements. So far these agreements have been concluded without any trouble and we did not have to apply to arbitration courts to settle conflicts with the factory managements.

The last agreements have brought the wages of the textile workers up to 75-80 % of their pre-war standards. Last year, they were much lower. Simultaneously with its work in fixing wages, the union also takes part in the working

out of the standards of production of each more or less important craft and sees to the enforcement of labor protection measures in the factories.

The participation of the union in the organization of industry is expressed in the fact that no factory can be transferred from one trust to another (we have 50 trusts among which all our factories are divided) or closed down, and no member of the management can be removed or appointed without the consent of the union. The union also participates in questions connected with the market of raw materials and improvements in production.

Educational Work of the Union

The questions of preparation of specialists and other responsible administrative officials from among the workers, as well as raising the general cultural level of our members, takes up one of the first places in the work of our union. We are obliged to devote so much attention to these questions because during the Czarist regime, our workers had no opportunity of getting administrative experience, while our specialists and technicians quit production to a considerable extent due to their uncompromising attitude towards the Soviet Power, the foreign engineers went back home, and our workers were 50% illiterate.

For the purpose of preparing administrators and specialists, our union has organized a number of special courses and took under its jurisdiction a number of higher technical schools. It also actively participates in the determination of the students entering the general schools and sees to it that its members are admitted. All the students of these schools get full pay of a worker of average skill as well as books from the union.

The union gets its funds for these purposes not from its members but from the factories who must pay one and a half percent of the total wages paid to the workers for the maintenance of schools.

As regards the work of the unions in raising the general cultural level of the workers, it is most active in the organization of elementary schools, apprentice schools, i. e. schools in which both elementary subjects and the practical processes of production, the construction of machines, etc. are taught. But this is not all. The union organizes also clubs, various circles to study the history of the labor movement, general history, political economy dramatic groups, libraries, etc.

Up to this time the union has organized 380 elementary schools with 40,000 children; 43 secondary schools with 5,000 children; 140 clubs with 207 studios; 291 libraries; 205 schools to liquidate

illiteracy among adults; and 196 kindergartens with 15,000 children.

This work has resulted in a noticeable rise in the general cultural level of the working masses, so that now you can find in our factories workers who not only are quite clear on the general political, internal and foreign life, but are also good actors, poets, and men of letters.

Besides nearly all of our factories have various institutions for children, such as kindergarten, nurseries, playgrounds, etc. The union actively engages both in their organization and proper functioning.

We cannot pass in silence over the part played by the union in combatting famine in our country. Great work has been accomplished by it in this respect. A large sum of money, enormous quantities of food, clothing, medicines, etc. have been collected by it in the struggle against famine.

You are probably aware of the fact that our union believes in the platform of the Red International of Labor Unions, is a member of the All-Russian Federation of Trade Unions and of the International Propaganda Committee of Textile Workers.

As regards our participation in the International Federation of Textile Workers, in spite of our repeated application for admission as a full fledged member, we have been totally ignored by the leaders of the International, so that we had not even been informed of their official refusal to admit us. Whether they considered it below their dignity to negotiate with us, out of hatred for us as part of the proletariat which has carried out the first social revolution in the world, or if it is due to our affiliation to the R. I. L. U., or for any other reason—we are quite in the dark.

However, in spite of all our political differences with them, especially at the present moment when the bourgeoisie and bourgeois governments are getting ready for another world massacre and are depriving the workers of all their recent gains, we believe in the necessity of the United Proletarian Front, since we are deeply convinced that only with the union of all the proletarian forces will it be possible to give a set-back to arrogant capital.

In conclusion, we think it necessary to state that the most pressing question in our life now is that of raw material of which we have a very limited amount, hindering the further development of our factories, particularly the work of our cotton factories. We hope, however, to be able to overcome this difficulty through the united efforts of all the textile workers of our Workers' State, just as we have got over many other greater difficulties.

The Brockton Revolt

By James Harris

THE strike of the shoe workers in Brockton, Mass., which has been accompanied with such spectacular suppression on the side of the authorities, shows up in a vivid light some of the worst abuses in the American labor movement. It also illustrates the inevitable revolt of the rank and file against such conditions, a revolt which may be delayed, or which may find expression blindly and destructively, but which is as sure as the rising of the sun. The workers struck, not so much against their employers, as against the old Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. They charged this organization with establishing virtual peonage of the workers, vile abuses of the "union stamp," and complete neglect of the interests of the membership. The lessons of the struggle are worthy of study by the whole labor movement.

The position of the strikers is stated in a public manifesto of May 31st. "We are making no unreasonable demands," they state. "We simply will not consent to pay dues to an organization which serves only the manufacturers' purposes." It is charged that the officials signed contracts with the manufacturers, without the pretense of consultation with the local membership, and which contained not the slightest protection to them. The only important clauses in the contracts were those giving the manufacturers the right to use the "stamp" and guaranteeing to the Union officers that the workers would pay their dues. "No demand is made of the manufacturers but that they compel us to supply revenue to the Boston office," states the complaint, "while no demand is made of the latter except that they do all in their power to hold us to a contract made for us but not by us."

The official bureaucracy in the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union keep a tight hold on their offices from year to year, effectively blocking any attempts at reform from the rank and file. They accomplish this by refusing to give charters to that membership which they cannot control, and keeping in existence a multitude of little locals of three to ten members, each of which sends as many delegates to the convention as the large locals. In the actual centers of shoe production the local unions very often do not hold meetings; the Union merely establishes a dues collector, who is popularly known as the "gas meter," in which the workers drop their quarters each week. Thus the militant rank and filers are disfranchised.

To make their steel-riveted control triply sure, the international officialdom packs the conven-

tion with delegates from little fake unions all over the country. Scores of these delegates come from unions which in an entire year do not collect enough dues to pay their delegate's railroad fare—who pays the bills is a secret between the officers and the favored delegates. When, at the last convention, a delegate from Brockton questioned the right of one of these "blue sky" delegates to a seat, Mr. Baine, secretary of the Union, according to his own minutes, stated: "It is just possible there may have been sometime when they didn't have over three members in good standing. We have seated delegates under similar circumstances for years. I contend that his (the contested delegate's) presence at this convention is worth thousands of dollars to the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union even if he didn't represent any union."

Such pernicious abuse of the union label, such flagrant disregard of the interests of the membership, such open flaunting of the principles of working-class democracy within the union;—all of these things brought the Brockton boot and shoe workers to look upon this old organization as a "company union," pure and simple. It never made a fight for them, it never gained them better conditions, it never acted in any way at all except to collect dues from them, deny them a voice in their own affairs, and break their strikes when they launched a struggle independently. The boot and shoe workers everywhere are sick of these intolerable conditions, and all over the country they are stirring with revolt. The fight in Brockton is one of the dramatic phases of this struggle, which is assuming various phases in the different centers. Certain it is that it will go on, until the boot and shoe workers of America at last have made the union into an instrument of their own, one that will fight their battles against the employers and lift them up from their present miserable conditions. Every militant unionist will applaud their fight and assist them in every possible way, especially in directing the struggle into a great stirring throughout the industry which will establish a militant, powerful and united Union of all workers in the entire leather industry.

HOW seriously the officials of the Amalgamated Iron, Steel and Tin Workers take the "drive" to organize the steel workers is shown by the *Amalgamated Journal*, of Aug. 2nd, which carries the story of the "organization plans" on page 19, crowded in among advertisements of groceries, trust companies, meat markets, dentists, etc.

Victimizing League Militants

By Ben Gitlow

THE reactionary machine, controlled by the New York *Forward*, is warring against the militants. They have branded the Trade Union Educational League a "dual organization," and are expelling union members for belonging to it. They are following the lead of Sam Gompers and John L. Lewis. They fear the progress the League has made and, feeling their grip slipping, they hope to reentrench themselves by the use of terrorism.

In the Jewish unions the bulk of the membership belong to the needle trades. They have always been known for their radicalism. Hence, the leaders dare not use the same anti-red arguments against the lefts that Lewis does in the Miners' Union. If they did they would be howled down by the rank and file. The anti-red propaganda is carried on by the *Forward*, which daily prints the most brazen lies about the lefts. The reactionary leaders, therefore, resort to terrorism and technicalities. The lefts are not frankly attacked because they advocate a revolutionary program. They are evasively charged with "holding caucuses" and belonging to the T. U. E. L., which reactionaries claim is a dual organization. Or upon flimsy pretexts the lefts are charged with violating union rules.

In the Furriers' Union the rank and file are prohibited from expressing opinions in opposition to the right wing machine. When they nominated candidates for the Joint Board these were stricken off the ballot because they were members of the T. U. E. L. and had participated in a protest meeting against the methods of their reactionary officials.

In the Fancy Leather Goods Workers' Union, the most popular candidates of the rank and file had trumped-up charges placed against them and their names stricken off the ballot.

In the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, one of the largest and most important in the needle trades, the war against the lefts is being carried on by Sigman, its president. In Philadelphia, he demanded the resignation of the cloakmakers' Joint Board because they were lefts, but without success. He next attacked Local 22, dressmakers, of New York, one of the largest in the International, and now has fake charges preferred against nearly all its left-wing officials. This effort is not succeeding well either. Meanwhile Sigman tried to deal the League a blow in Chicago. Several of the most active members of the League, and long-time members

of the Union, were expelled because they admitted membership in the T. U. E. L. Sigman threatens that no League member shall hold a responsible position in the I. L. G. W. U.

In the Amalgamated Clothing Workers attempts are being made to liquidate the activities of the League. Spurred on by the *Forward*, the right-wing elements in that organization have lined up their forces for the express purpose of fighting the League. The G. E. B. recently made a request upon the League in the Amalgamated, in New York, to cease its activities, explaining that there was no room in the Amalgamated for organized contending factions. The League members realize that in a great many respects the Amalgamated is far ahead, in progressiveness, of all other unions. But the League members in the Amalgamated realize that the League represents the militant forces of the rank and file in the whole labor movement, and that its program and principles are not confined to any particular union, but apply to all unions. In all unions, no matter how progressive, the militant and progressive elements must be organized to carry out their program. One example will prove how necessary the League organization is in the Amalgamated. In spite of the fact that the last Convention of the Amalgamated went on record for amalgamation, the right wing has kept up for months a most bitter opposition to amalgamation of Locals 2 and 5, which by an overwhelming membership vote went on record for that measure. Had the militants not been organized in the League, the sabotage of the rights would have been completely successful, the left-wing members of the executives driven from their positions, and the rank and file movement in those two locals destroyed. Needless to say that in the Amalgamated the left wing fights for the welfare of the organization and the right wing fights for the well-paying jobs.

The right-wing machine in the needle trades today is fighting desperately to maintain its control of the unions. Under their leadership the unions, which once had an iron grip on the bosses, no longer control the situation. The sweat-shop system is now in full bloom, and scab shops do business unmolested. Scabs work while thousands of union men and women tramp the streets idle. Great numbers of workers have already quit the organization and many thousands more have been suspended for inability to pay dues. Even in the organized shops the conditions are bad. The industry is thoroughly de-

moralized. The right-wing machine in control are in a dilemma; they do not know what to do. In all the unions of the needle trades, once known for their aggressiveness, militancy has disappeared. Instead of general strikes, they now declare stoppages that are a farce. The demoralization is the logical result of right-wing leadership. The League meets this situation with a program of action. The reactionary leaders cannot face this program. To attack the League's program would be suicidal for the reactionary machine, because they have no program themselves. They are interested only in keeping their grip on the union. To allow the Leagues to function would mean that the rank and file will accept their program, and sweep into office a new

leadership that will carry this program into effect.

The left wing accepts the challenge of the right. The Trade Union Educational League in the needle trades will not permit itself to be exterminated. The reactionaries preparing for the next convention will discover that it is one thing to threaten to deprive League members of all privileges of union membership except paying dues, and another thing to carry it out. The League's fight is not separate and apart from the rank and file, who will, in no uncertain tone, give their answer to the reactionaries who want still further to demoralize the unions by splitting the ranks through the expulsion of the most active militant members.

The Steel Campaign

By Wm. Z. Foster

AFTER allowing over a year of favorable industrial conditions to slip by unutilized, and after failing completely to take advantage of the great agitation for the eight-hour day, the American Federation of Labor has at last embarked upon a campaign to organize the steel workers. This time, however, the movement will be respectable. The "reds" who disgraced the last campaign (even though they were the ones who put all the punch into it) will be ostracized this time. To keep the thing sane, they have put at the head of it Grandma Mike Tighe, President of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, a man who betrayed the steel workers time after time in their last great battle. If anything is accomplished under his leadership it will be final proof that the day of miracle has not yet passed. The campaign will be financed from a fund of \$70,000, left over from the 1918-19 movement.

Quite evidently, from the way the present campaign is being undertaken, the union leaders have learned nothing from the last great struggle. The lesson which that historic strike shrieked out with brazen lungs was that the steel workers must unite in one body closely affiliated with the railroad workers and the miners in order to be able to cope successfully with the Steel Trust. Yet here are the leaders going at the problem on the same old craft basis, except that this time there are only 14 unions in the campaign as against 24 in 1919, the other ten being too indifferent to take part in the movement.

The militants should take an active part in this campaign, despite the efforts of the reac-

tionaries to keep them out. They should try to make the thing a success notwithstanding the incompetent leadership. Above all, they should strive to give the movement an industrial character. This can be done by directing the masses of workers of every trade to affiliate themselves to the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers. For many years this body has been at least theoretically industrial. Its constitution reads: "*The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers . . . shall be composed of all men working in and around rolling mills, tin mills, steel works, chain works, nail, tack, spike, bolt, and nut factories, pipe mills, and all works run in connection with the same.*"

After the great strike of 1919 the officials of the Amalgamated, in order to square themselves with their rank and file, blamed the loss of the strike upon the other unions that were federated with them. All of a sudden they blossomed forth into red-hot industrial unionists. They declared that henceforth they would insist upon their jurisdiction and would make the fight upon an industrial basis. Now the militants must see to it that they make good their bluff. And if these reactionaries fail to do it, if they unprotestingly allow the steel workers to be split up again in all sorts of craft fragments, then they should be made to answer for it at the next convention of the Amalgamated Association. The only hope for the steel workers is an industrial union led by militants. The way to achieve it is to insist upon the A. A. living up to its jurisdiction and then to fire the trimmers at the head of that organization.

The Workers' Internationals

By Caleb Harrison

WITH the development of capitalism to an international scale, the workers in the various countries soon began to sense the need for an international organization of their own. The first vague step in this direction was the famous Grand National Consolidated Trade Union of Great Britain, formed in 1823. Its founders said: "Do not let our union be stopped by sea or rivers that mark the boundary of states. Let us put into communication with one another London, Paris, Manchester, Lyons, Liverpool, Nantes, Bourdeaux, Oporto, Lisbon, Madrid, Cadiz, Barcelona, Turin, and all the great centers of industry in the world." The employers of England crushed this militant organization. In 1843, a French woman, Flora Tristan, published a book advocating an international of the working class. She died in 1845, and the movement with her.

The First International

The first definite movement for an international grew out of the issuance of the Communist Manifesto in 1848, by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. They sounded the famous slogan: "Workingmen of all countries, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains, and a world to gain." This document produced a profound effect in many countries. After preliminary international conferences in London in 1862, which marked the growing spirit of solidarity between the workers of the various countries, the 1st International was finally formed on September 25th, 1864.

The 1st International was known as the International Workingmen's Association. It was a mixed federation, consisting of trade unions, working-class political parties, propaganda groups, and to some extent, republican organizations. Its headquarters were in London. Marx was a member of its central committee. In 1867, it reached a high mark of 300,000 members. It created a tremendous stir in international capitalist circles. Most of its activities were of a trade union character. It aided strikes in all countries, and did much to put a stop to the international scabbing then prevalent. American connections were not strong, but they played an important role. The men persecuted as Anarchists in the Haymarket affair in Chicago, were members of the 1st International. They were persecuted and hanged because of their activities in organizing the workers. Several international unions were

started by their efforts, notably the Brewery Workers and Bakery Workers.

From its inception the 1st International was marked by bitter internal struggles. Some republicans wished to turn it into simply a conspiratorial organization to assassinate the existing rulers and to organize *coups d'état*. Proudhon tried to win it for his Credit Bank scheme. Bakunin added to this his negative formula of "No God, No State, No Politics." Marx represented the collectivists, or Socialist, group. A fierce struggle developed between him and Bakunin. This raged for years. In 1871, the Paris Commune took place. This profoundly affected the International, and threw the old quarrel temporarily into abeyance. But with the Commune over, the fight was renewed more vigorously than ever. In 1872, the 1st International split over this question. The Marxist majority group moved the headquarters of the badly weakened organization to New York. The last convention was held in Philadelphia in 1876. Scattered groups lingered in various countries for several years. Thus ended the famous and historic 1st International.

The Second International

After the breakdown of the 1st International, Socialist Parties and trade unions developed in many countries. These felt a constant urge to organize together. Consequently in 1889, the basis of the 2nd International was laid. In 1900, its Bureau was established in Brussels. The organization, although made up of trade unions as well as political parties, was predominantly political in character. Of the affiliated parties the German Social-Democracy was the unquestioned leader. Contrary to the 1st International, the 2nd was strongly reformistic in character. The form of organization was a loose federation. Only in a limited sense was it a real international. The organizations composing it were shot through and through with nationalist spirit and refused to confer power upon the International Bureau, which was little more than a mere clerical force.

The world war shattered the 2nd International. Although for many years previously this organization, in its Congresses, had adopted resolution after resolution protesting against war, and pretending to organize the workers against it, still when the great war loomed it did absolutely nothing to stop it. The nationalist spirit pervading the organization prevented interna-

tional anti-war action. The 2nd International stood aside helplessly and watched the millions of workers that it controlled in the various countries march into the slaughter. All through the war, the remnants of the 2nd International loyally supported their several Governments in their nationalistic designs. And when the war was over and the revolutionary crisis developed in many countries, it was these same fragments of the 2nd International who shot the revolutionary workers down by thousands, and saved the capitalist system for the employing class.

The Second-and-a-half International

Consequent upon the complete failure of the 2nd International to oppose the outbreak of the war, and also upon its continued betrayal of the workers during the war, a revolution took place in its ranks, or what was left of them, in nearly all important countries. A three-way split developed, dividing the workers' parties into general groups of reformists, radicals, and revolutionaries. The reformists remained with the fragments of the old 2nd International. The revolutionists formed the 3rd International, of which we shall speak later. The radicals eventually came to form the 2½ International. While objecting violently to the nationalism and reformism of the 2nd International, the radicals were not prepared to go as far as the revolutionaries in the 3rd International. They occupied the middle ground, and were well dubbed "word revolutionists."

Although the split in the ranks of the 2nd International was developing ever since the 1914 debacle, and found strong expression in the Conferences of Zimmerwald (1915), and Kienthal (1916), it first took definite shape in Germany in 1917. At that time the Independent Social-Democratic Party was formed. This body, especially after the Communists split away from it, became a typical organization of "word revolutionists." Similar groups formed in other countries. In 1920, they united themselves into the well-named 2½ International, or the Working Union of Socialist Parties, with headquarters in Vienna.

Amalgamation of 2nd and 2½ Internationals

In the stirring days of working-class struggle since the original split in the ranks of the 2nd International, the elements in the 2½ International have learned from experience that they have not so much difference in opinion and tactics from the 2nd International as they thought they had, and they have re-united with that body. When the crises developed in the various historic labor battles of the past few years, the 2½ International radicals found that there was only two

sides to the barricade. In each case there was always the alternative of throwing their support either to reform or to revolution. There was no middle ground. Time after time they found themselves siding with the 2nd International, which had pulled itself together again after the war. The revolutionary 3rd International unmasked them of their radical phraseology and showed that at bottom they had no other program than to go after the same illusory reforms as the 2nd International. The final juncture of the two reformist Internationals was, therefore, a matter of course. The actual amalgamation took place in Hamburg, in May, 1923. The new organization is called the Labor and Socialist International, with headquarters in London. Comprising practically all of the reformist Socialist and Labor Parties, it is in reality simply a continuation of the 2nd International.

The Third International

The 3rd, or Communist International (often called the "Comintern"), is the revolutionary international of the working class. Its organizational beginnings date back to the Zimmerwald and Kienthal Conferences of 1915-16. At these gatherings the Communist tendency came sharply to the fore. But the real impetus to the movement was given by the Russian Revolution of October, 1917, which threw the control of that great country into the hands of the Bolshevik, or Communist Party. Communist groups and parties began to form in many countries. One of the earliest of these was the *Spartacusbund*, in Germany, headed by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. In March, 1919, a great Congress of the Communist forces was held in Moscow, and the 3rd International formed. Since then the movement has taken on great growth, reaching even into many Asiatic countries, hitherto untouched by international organization.

Led by the men who have carried through the Russian Revolution, the 3rd International is a fighting proletarian organization. Unlike the reformistic 2nd International, it backs up its words with revolutionary action. The 3rd International stands squarely for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the workers' and farmers' Government throughout the world. It advocates the Soviet form of organization and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Unlike the loosely-formed 2nd International, which is only a federation of nationalistic Socialist Parties, the 3rd International is a real centralized world party, animated by an iron discipline. Its famous 21 conditions for affiliation constitute a new world-standard for militant labor. Despising nationalism, warring directly against the capitalist sys-

tem, and making straight for a Communist society, the 3rd International is a terror to the capitalist class of the world.

The Amsterdam International

The International Federation of Trade Unions, or Amsterdam International, as it is popularly called, is the trade union arm of the 2nd International. Originally the Second International included trade unions as well as parties. The reformist politicians, looking with jealousy upon the trade unions, refused for a long time to allow them to develop an international organization. In 1910, however, they were compelled to form the International Bureau of Trade Unions, headquarters Berlin. This body, made up only of the higher trade union officials, a couple from each country, was simply a fake International. It had no real power or program. It went along with the nationalistic policies of the 2nd International, and collapsed with the latter at the outbreak of the war.

In 1919, after the war, the reformist trade union leaders organized the present International Federation of Trade Unions, which is no more than a continuation of the old Bureau. The Amsterdam International still follows faithfully the policies of the 2nd International. It loyally aided the latter in all its after-war struggles to preserve the capitalist system against the attacks of the revolutionary Communists. It is now busy expelling these Communists wherever it can. When the Communists secure control of a local organization, the Amsterdammers expel it; when the former get control of a national organization, the Amsterdammers split it. Thus they have almost wrecked the labor movement in several countries. The Amsterdam International is a loyal servitor of the capitalist class.

The Red International

The Red International of Labor Unions, with headquarters at Moscow, is the revolutionary trade union International. It sprang from the loins of the 3rd International. Originally the latter organization was composed of labor unions as well as political parties. The need for a trade union International based upon revolutionary principles soon became apparent, however, and in 1920, a provisional organization was set up, the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions. In 1921, this organization held its first World Congress, at which the Red International of Labor Unions was formed. The R. I. L. U. is composed of two types of organization, labor unions and organized revolutionary minorities of conservative organizations. The unions of Russia, France, Norway, Bul-

garia, Finland, etc., make up the bulk of its membership. In 1922, it claimed some 15,000,000 members as against some 25,000,000 in the Amsterdam International.

Like the 3rd International, the Red International carries on a militant campaign for revolutionary ends. It stands for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. All over the world the Red International is combatting the splitting tactics of the Amsterdam International, and the latter's policy of toadying to the capitalist class. The Red International is strongly opposed to dual unionism and has done much in many countries to show revolutionists the folly of deserting the old conservative unions. The R. I. L. U. is a militant advocate of the United Front and stands for a consolidation of all Labor's forces for a general struggle against capitalism. In all countries the R. I. L. U. is making a steady advance, and is gradually winning to its side the mass unions affiliated to the Amsterdam International. It is the fighting International of the world's trade union movement.

The Syndicalist International

For many years past the Anarcho-Syndicalist elements have tended to create an International. Before the war there was a vague Anarchist International in existence. In 1913, the Syndicalists held a conference in London to form an International. But upon the refusal of the General Confederation of Labor of France to participate, it fell through. The next step of importance was a conference of Syndicalists in Berlin, 1920. This was followed, in 1922, by the organization of the International Workingmen's Association (named after the 1st International). It has headquarters in Berlin and is commonly called the Berlin International. It is weak in numbers, consisting for the most part simply of scattered Syndicalist groups and minorities.

The Berlin International is a typical Syndicalist organization. It aims to do away with capitalism by the general strike, and to set up a stateless society, controlled by the trade unions. It is violently opposed to all political parties. It strongly endorses dual unionism, and is now frankly engaged in an effort to split the labor movements of various countries. It is purely a disruptive factor.

Labor Must Unite Internationally

The present state of organization of World Labor, with two Internationals on the political field and three on the industrial field, is a passing phase. The way to solidarity lies through the

application of the United Front policy advocated by the 3rd and Red Internationals. In Berlin, in 1922, the then-existing three political Internationals got together to consider a United Front. The 3rd International was ready to go ahead with it, but the reactionaries in the 2nd and 2½ Internationals were not. On the industrial field, better progress is being made. The Amsterdam International officials are yielding to the insistent propaganda of the Red International for a United Front. This was demonstrated by the recent

widely-heralded conferences of the Transport and Metal Workers, which took in the revolutionary elements as well as the conservative organizations. Though there may be many bends and detours in the road, inevitably within a few years there must be unity of the workers internationally on both the political and industrial fields, with both movements, under revolutionary leadership, marching shoulder to shoulder to the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

The Russian Worker at Present

By Moissaye J. Olgin

WHEN a long and wearisome strike has just been won by an organization of workers, do not judge the struggle by their lean faces or empty pantries or starved-looking babies. Judge it by the possibilities that the victory opens before the victors in the future.

The Russian workers went on strike against capitalism on November 6th, 1917. The strike has been the most trying in the history of mankind. An economic organization undermined by three years of war under a reckless autocracy, was being shattered for three more years by internal wars in the vital areas of the country, by the iron ring of economic blockade, by foreign enemy invasions. A population weakened by the loss of seven million dead and wounded prior to 1917, was being bled white by new pernicious fighting, by devastating epidemics, by hunger and starvation. Leading in all those heroic struggles were the industrial workers.

They have won. The backbone of capitalism has been broken forever. Russia remains Soviet. Russian workers are, not figuratively, but in fact and in practice, the masters of the land. Vast possibilities open before them in the near future. Soviet Russia lays the foundations for a new social order. And it is by those possibilities and by the greatness of the historic achievement rather than by the present level of the Russian workers' wages or by their housing conditions or by their clothing that their situation is to be gauged. One should not forget that even at present their strike is not completely over. International capitalism is still menacing Soviet Russia. Counter-revolution is still plotting. Russian workers are not yet able to devote themselves entirely to the task of reconstruction.

And when the most enlightened among them try to visualize their present life, what do they find? *Politically* they have become the dominant

class of their country. *Economically* they are still very poor and backward. As the ruling class they, through the Soviet Government, are the owners and the administrators of the national industries and the natural resources (the land being generally used by the peasants). As industrial workers they have to bear the brunt of privation due to reduced productivity and general economic deterioration. The latter, however, being only a temporary evil, they know that every improvement in the economic situation will invariably raise the standard of their living, and there being no conceivable limits to the growth of labor's productivity under the influence of technical inventions, there are therefore no conceivable limits to the future growth of the well-being of a class which is at liberty to take as big a share of the national produce as it pleases.

It is in the nature of things that the Russian worker should appear simultaneously in the capacity both of a governing class and of a wage-earner. In the former he is a member of the Soviets and of the national and local administration. In the latter he is a member of his labor unions. In the former he is for economy first, last, and always, because the building-up of the economic apparatus is his primary concern. In the latter he is for an increase in the share accruing to him as compensation for his labor, because he realizes that no material increase in productivity is possible without an increase of the worker's capacity to work.

Between these two poles the public life of the worker flows in a colorful stream. It is not always smooth, not always comforting, but always full of fascinating interest and stimulating expectations.

But what about the "Nep" (new economic policy) which has been lately so much talked of?

How about the spectre of private ownership again stalking the wide plains of the Russians? So far, the Soviets have retained and keep on managing for public benefit the entire bulk of the Russian industries plus the entire transport and foreign commerce. According to J. Larin, a well-known economist and an authority on Russian problems, the number of workers engaged in privately-owned and managed factories is 3.9 to every hundred workers, understanding the term "factory" as such industrial establishment which, being equipped with a mechanical motor, employs 16 or more workers, or without a motor employs 30 or more workers. In other words, the grip of private management over the Russian industrial mechanism is almost negligible. The realm of private enterprise is limited to the small shops and to petty commerce; in the latter, however, the field is being successfully contested by co-operative organizations. Altogether, there are no more than 17 per cent Russian workers engaged in private shops, factories, and mines. The absolute numbers will increase in the future with the spread of foreign concessions, but it is doubtful whether the percentage to the total number of workers will become larger, since the Soviet economic organization is also bound to grow and has grown considerably in the last year.

What the "Nep" has actually accomplished is to put every industrial establishment on a rational basis, to eliminate waste, to reduce the personnel, to increase efficiency, to make the enterprise pay its own expenses and yield the commonwealth a margin of profit. "We have got to go to school to the capitalists," said Lenin to his comrades. And so they went, but not to relinquish their hold on the industrial machinery—quite the contrary—to learn how to manage economically, how to stimulate productivity, how to exchange with the agrarian population, how to trade with the world.

One result of this "bracing up" may well be recorded. The average wage of the Russian industrial worker has, between the beginning and the end of 1922, increased 86 per cent. It is not a living wage yet. It allows for bare necessities only. But we may venture to say that under private ownership no such advance would have been possible. The wage increase keeps pace with the stabilization of the currency and general improvement with no regard to the number of unemployed. As a rule, the workers in private enterprises are worse off than their comrades in the economic establishments of the Soviets.

The total number of Russian wage earners is about 7,500,000, of whom 2,700,000 are industrial

workers, 1,200,000 transport workers, 2,200,000 office workers, shop clerks, educational workers, medical workers, etc., and 1,400,000 are farm hands without land. The industrial workers are nearly all organized (with the exception of the home workers and those engaged in small shops, whom it is very difficult, at times impossible, to reach). Thus, by the end of June, 1923, the Metal Workers' Union included 96.7 per cent of all the metal workers in the country. The Textile Workers' Union embraced nearly 95 per cent of all the textile workers. The transport workers are organized 80 per cent. The clerks, educational and medical workers, etc., are organized 63 per cent. The farm hands are organized only 15 per cent. The total membership of all Russian labor unions is approximately 4,500,000.

The number of unions is 23, one to each branch of industry or class of occupation. They are: the Unions of Metal Workers, Textile Workers, Miners, Railroad Workers, Water Transport Workers, Local Transport Workers, Typographical Workers, Chemical Workers, Food Workers, Leather Workers, Sugar Workers, Wood Workers, Paper Workers, Building Workers, Needle Workers, Postal, Telegraph, and Telephone Workers, Medical Workers, Educational Workers, Communal Workers, Soviet employees, Land and Forest Workers. Each union has departments according to crafts, etc. The lower nucleus of the union is the Shop Committee (factory or plant committee) elected by the employees of the industrial establishment. The higher governing body is the Central Committee (National Committee). Representatives of the Shop Committees in every city form the Local Committee of the respective union. A combination of all Local Committees forms the Local Council of Labor Unions.

Membership in the unions is voluntary, dues being collected from individual members either through the Shop Committees or through special collectors.

The difference between the Russian unions and all the others the world over is that *the Russian unions are an integral part of the state administration*. The activities of the unions will be reviewed in another article.

COME TO THE
SECOND GENERAL CONFERENCE
TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE
LABOR LYCEUM, 2733 HIRSCH BLVD.
CHICAGO, ILL., SEPT. 1-2, 1923.

Canadian League Eastern District Conference

By Tim Buck

ON August 4-5, the first annual Conference of the Eastern Sub-District, Canadian Section, of the Trade Union Educational League gathered in the Labor Temple at Toronto, and passed the first mile-stone on the road to complete rejuvenation of the Canadian unions, the organization of the militants, and rank and file control of the unions to which they belong.

Reports from the delegates showed that progress made by the League in Canada, since its inception in April, 1922, has been beyond expectations. Amalgamation sentiment has swept the Canadian unions. Hundreds of local unions have been won over to this progressive measure, in all of the industries of the country. City central bodies have endorsed it. The Canadian railroaders have been in the forefront of the continent-wide railroad amalgamation movement. Every militant who reported at the Conference had the same story to tell about the vitalizing effect of the League educational activity upon the labor movement.

Despite the tremendous amount of work accomplished by the League militants in the past year, we were until quite recently merely loose groupings, and our organizational forms are only now taking on definite shape. Overcoming these difficulties, as well as the vast distances of Canada, 36 delegates were present at the Conference. They came from all the most active groups, ranging from Nova Scotia on the east, to Windsor, on the west; from the Niagara River on the south, to Timmons, at the extreme end of the railroad on the north. Coming from every industry, and covering the whole Eastern District, the Conference was well equipped to handle the problems of the growing militant movement.

The majority of the League delegates were men who, at the same time that they carry on our propaganda, are the chosen representatives of Central Labor Councils, District bodies, and Joint Boards, as well as local unions. This is typical of the character of the League membership generally. It explains the determining influence exerted by the League in Canadian unionism, and promises greater results in the coming year, now that these militants have come together and unified their efforts.

Aside from the stimulating effect of the League's work, the beneficial influence of which was reported from every center, the trade union movement is on the down grade in membership and power. The reactionary officialdom is standing by with childish helplessness, while the em-

ployers proceed with their union smashing. But while the reactionary and reformist leaders are allowing the unions to go to pieces, the rank and file more and more turn to the revolutionary elements. This is illustrated in the Nova Scotia struggle. There is, despite all political differences, not a man in that province so loved and trusted by all factions as fighting Jim McLachlan. John L. Lewis and his local lieutenants, through the dastardly expulsion of District 26 from the U. M. W. A., are the most hated men in the territory; while the progressive executive, who are mostly sympathizers of the League, have consolidated their leadership and won the respect of the entire rank and file. The militants are preserving the unions everywhere in the same manner against the disruptive and decadent influence of the officialdom.

The Conference wasted no time on theorizing. Tacit agreement on all fundamental principles cleared the way for business, which was of a dynamic nature. A full report will be rendered to the General Conference in Chicago. Malcolm Bruce, who recently defeated the Steel Corporation attempt at a frame-up in Nova Scotia, spoke for 15 minutes on the need for a workers' press, and roused a spirit that lasted through the Conference. A cablegram of greetings and good wishes, from Comrade Losovsky of the R. I. L. U., evoked a demonstration of spontaneous enthusiasm. Stirring resolutions of solidarity with the R. I. L. U., congratulations to McLachlan, greetings to the various International Committees and the General Conference of the T. U. E. L., concluded a highly successful gathering. The Western Canadian Conference was announced for September 22-23, at Edmonton. The delegates returned to their homes with clarified minds, a clear-cut program of action hammered out and perfected by a representative gathering, and a multiplied enthusiasm, which guarantees redoubled progress toward the reorganization of the Canadian labor movement.

THE Aurora Trades and Labor Assembly, on July 10th, reaffirmed its previous vote for amalgamation, again adopting the "Chicago" resolution. Many local unions have done likewise.

ORGANIZATION of ex-service men in the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut, is the object of a drive being conducted by the World War Veterans, from Eastern headquarters at 110 West 40th St., New York City.

Selective Immigration

By Clarissa S. Ware

ON the immigration question, the last Congress "passed the buck" along to the next, with its good advice and blessing. The general lines of the legislation that will probably be passed, when the new Congress meets, can be forecast. Various bills were introduced into the House and Senate to change the basis and percentages of the quota law. The smoke-screen of "Free vs. Restricted Immigration" was thrown out. Evidence registering all points of view was taken down at length, and published at even greater length. All the usual motions were gone through, and the administration arrived at its policy. The Colt Bill, sponsored by the employers' associations, was introduced into the Senate. "Selective immigration" became the watchword. Gompers and Gary were both satisfied. The lion and the lamb lay down together.

Free immigration, from which the employers would run away even faster than Gompers, was traded for selective immigration. The administration, to prove its friendship to Labor, then went so far as to request Judge Gary to abolish the 12-hour day in the steel mills. The canny Judge had studied "selective immigration"; he had tapped the supply of unorganized Negro labor in the South; he had even conversed casually with Signor Mussolini. He promised to consider the request. And soon after Mr. Grace, President of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, stated:

We feel that those who are eager to see us abolish the 12-hour day should use their influence to urge a change in immigration laws making it possible for industries to obtain immigrants of the best type, selected on the other side, in quantities as they are needed.

Which, translated into plain language, means: We will give up the 12-hour day (which we have found does not pay, anyway) if you will give us a contract-labor immigration law.

Today the situation is clarified still further. In order to "protect" the American workers from an influx of bootlegged immigration, all foreign-born workers are to be catalogued, registered and distributed. Secretary of Labor Davis has announced that he has a bill ready for the next Congress authorizing the Department of Labor to conduct an annual registration and enrollment of the foreign-born. This is perhaps as dangerous a piece of "protection" as was ever offered to the workers. When the capitalists start "protecting" one group of workers from another, even the most trusting should beware of these

"Greeks bearing gifts." The truth is, of course, that it is a vicious espionage act, to deliver the foreign-born helpless into the capitalist hands for use as strike-breakers and union smashers. And if today the foreign-born workers can be fingerprinted, photographed, and registered, then tomorrow it will be the turn of the native workers.

Mr. Gompers, representing our trade union officialdom, would have us expect "protection" from immigration laws made and administered by the tools of capitalism. He should look a little more closely into the actual workings of the present law. The workers are told that it protects the American workers, their wages, working hours and union organization, from the effects of unrestricted immigration. These illusions are smashed by noting the words of Mr. Grace, of the Steel Trust, who stated:

As to the Mexicans, we started to bring them in only about the first of the year. One of our operating officials said that he believed we could get good workmen by going after them in Mexico, to which the immigration quota laws do not apply. It has been possible to obtain them in large numbers. The law has been observed and we have recruited the men chiefly from border towns.

Mr. Grace also mentions casually that, with the help of the American consuls, his company has brought in 3,000 Mexicans since the beginning of the year. In fact, this is the importation system that has worked so well that it is now to be applied to Europe, under the contemplated Selective Immigration Act.

In the working-out and administration of the immigration laws, and in the proposals for the next Congress, the workers of this country have a splendid illustration of the manner in which the governmental power in the hands of the capitalist class is used against them. Only when the American workers, and not the employers, have the making and administering of the laws, will the immigration acts be in the interests of the workers. Then the American working class can join with the workers of other countries in guiding the migrations of the workers in the interests of the entire working class. The first step toward this goal is to break away from the political parties of capitalism, and join in independent political action, in a Labor Party, the goal of which is the Workers' and Farmers' Government.

Trade Union Officials and Progress

By M. B. Howard

FOR many years the radicals have maintained the idea that the membership of the American trade unions was a stupid mass of yokels, ignorant of their economic interests, and continually being sold out by a small clique of reactionary leaders. This attitude is entirely too naive for practical purposes. Even a casual study of the organized worker reveals the fact that he is not so dull as he has been pictured. What is the actual relation between the officials and the progress of the masses?

So far as literacy and technical training is concerned the American worker ranks as high as any working man in the world. But it cannot be denied that he has been led to his ruin time and time again by the reactionary leadership of the trade unions. The explanation of how this is brought to pass is the first step toward changing the condition.

The conservative trade unions have a membership of 3,000,000 to 4,000,000; such an organization necessarily contains all the elements of the working class itself. It includes a certain number of shrewd individuals who are thoroughly sick of the drab existence that wage slavery affords them. They are not possessed of the idealism of the radical who seeks to better the lot of his entire class; but this in no way deters them from using the labor movement to emancipate themselves individually.

This type of worker, like any other, joins the union because he is discontented with his lot. Having failed to go "up the ladder" via the correspondence school route of a raise in pay every month, he chooses the trade union route. He proceeds to carve an individual career as a "labor leader," and it must be admitted that he has many shining examples to inspire him. His kind is to be found throughout the official circles of the labor movement, not only at the top among Gompers' family, but also in the lesser positions of business agent and secretary of local unions and even among the rank and file.

It is this type of ambitious individual, scattered throughout the trade union movement, that furnishes the bulwark for the reactionary official family at the head of the American labor movement. He is not a "traitor to his class" in the sense that he is trying to liquidate the labor movement. The trade union is the ladder upon which he hopes to climb to his freedom, and he has no intention of helping destroy it. His desire is to keep it static, to keep it firmly fixed in one spot, as all good "ladders" should be kept.

Nor is he cowardly when his personal interest is at stake. In the early days of his career he is often a good fighter in the ranks. Always during his climb he conforms publicly to orthodox trade union ethics. He usually has the union label on his collar.

His first tactic is to take an active part in the union affairs. He serves on committees, helps organization work, becomes adept in parliamentary procedure and debate, and generally masters the technical details of the trade union movement. Trade unionists are practical people on the whole, intent upon bettering their immediate conditions. This characteristic furnishes the stock-in-trade of the trade union bureaucrat. He deals in the immediate issue. He does not like trouble, much preferring to climb in a peaceful atmosphere. But if his union forces him into a strike, he will usually participate actively, always with an eye to gaining prestige and publicity.

But always the interests of this type of official, the brake on trade union progress, is individualistic. He is seeking to secure his own well being. The interests of the rank and file, on the contrary, are communistic. Sooner or later, therefore, the interests of the "leader" and those of the membership come into conflict. If a strike fails the "leader" always finds that it is because the rank and file would not "stick"; if a strike is won, it is because of the excellent "leadership." If a progressive measure is brought forward, he opposes it on the ground that the "membership is not ready" for a change. "Not at this time" is his watchword.

In the past this reactionary lower officialdom has had little effective opposition. The old-time radicals could not win the rank and file because they did not take the unions seriously; they looked upon the unions as a fraud used to delude the workers. They went to the union meetings merely to "educate" their fellow workers by talking. For this reason they did not master the technique of trade unionism. They were inclined to declare in advance a strike was lost because the workers did not enter it with a red flag in one hand and a volume of "Capital" in the other. They scorned to accept an official position in the union, branding such tactics as "opportunistic." The radical pitted his theory against the faker's practice on the immediate issue, and the radical lost.

The new tactics of the revolutionary and progressive workers have changed all this. The

reactionary officialdom is now up against a different situation. The revolutionist is now taking his union seriously. He is giving the same serious study to the details of union administration and procedure, for the purpose of advancing the revolutionary movement, that the faker had formerly given for the advancement of his personal career. The radical no longer scorns to learn practical details, even if he must learn them from the reactionaries. He is becoming more practical than the officialdom itself. Like the Russian workers who, to rebuild their industries, are learning methods from the capitalists, so the American trade union revolutionaries are not

disdaining to learn trade union administration from the "labor leaders."

The progress resultant from the new tactics has been highly encouraging. In the past the rank and file, in the few instances that radicals stayed with them, had not failed to rally to their support. Now that this tactic is being definitely organized the membership is responding beyond all expectations. The American workers are not feeble minded, but, like all large bodies of men, look to their leadership for guidance. If the radicals provide a practical leadership in the interests of the whole working class, as they are now beginning to do, the labor movement will inevitably go our way.

For the United Front

By Carl H. Axelson

TO divide in order thereby to rule has in all ages been the policy of the master class.

They have carried it out with such efficiency in our day that a very small number of individuals control the destiny of the millions of workers on the American continent. This is convincing evidence of what can be accomplished by systematic efforts and efficient organization, and therefore presents a very instructive object-lesson which every wage-earner and working farmer should endeavor to understand and apply it to our own use and interest.

The masters are class conscious, they know their economic interest. We as producers must also develop class solidarity. In that alone lies the hope of success for the working class. We must learn to understand that no matter what kind of service we render, manual or mental, that we are exploited of the bigger portion of the values we produce. Industrially we are absolutely interdependent on one another for our existence. The exploiters could not live at all without us, but we would just begin to live if we could get rid of them. It is either the lack of this knowledge or the courage to act upon it that has rendered us producers the victims of the capitalist class.

By keeping these facts in mind it ought to become clear to every producer that the most pressing need at the present time is some sort of intelligent understanding whereby the producing classes with their various forms of organization, their varying factions and ideals, which have kept us divided and helpless, could come together for the purpose of amalgamating the producing classes in such a way that we may be able efficiently to mobilize our strength for mutual protection and aggressive struggle. This can best be done

through forming and developing industrial unions in such a way that all the workers in any industry owned and controlled by any employer or corporation or group of corporations, would best be able to support and protect one another and put into effect the slogan "an injury to one is the concern of all."

It therefore behooves every individual who has the interest of himself, the union, and his class at heart to strive hard to effect such amalgamation. That must be one of our first aims, and all other activity must fit into that end. In no other way can we develop industrial power and political stability. Let us therefore first build and perfect our industrial organizations on a sound economic basis capable of sustaining the political superstructure, because economic power is the key to political success and permanency.

The proposed attempt to amalgamate the forces of Labor and the working farmers into one united Labor Party is very desirable. Under the prevailing division among the producers it is industrially full of danger and grave responsibility, because wherever attempted by reformist politicians in the past it has only too often detracted attention from the unions. This is because such political action in the past has fostered the illusion that elected representatives could accomplish what in reality we must learn to do for ourselves.

I believe that much good can be accomplished by political action, if we are wise enough to benefit by past mistakes. The most important task before us in entering active politics is to devise ways and means whereby the selected candidates must be chosen from the militants, men and women who are well qualified as educators,

(Continued on Page 32)

THE LABOR HERALD

A Militant, Constructive Monthly
Trade Union Magazine

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

Subscription price, \$1.50 per year

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

Member of The Federated Press

Make checks payable to
The Trade Union Educational League

MUSSOLINI, OWSLEY, GOMPERS

WHEN an organization strays from the field of the class struggle it usually finds itself in very peculiar company. This is notably the case with the American Federation of Labor. We have long since grown accustomed to the wonderful complications growing out of the fraternization of its leaders with the big capitalists in the Civic Federation. Now we see some new ones, equally absurd and anti-proletarian, developing from the A. F. of L.'s alliance with the American Legion. The A. F. of L. has invited Commander Owsley of the Legion to speak at its Convention in Portland, an invitation which he accepted. No doubt Mr. Gompers, or some other high representative of the A. F. of L., will also address the Legion Convention in San Francisco about the same time. Here the plot thickens. The daily press announces that the Legionaries have also invited Mussolini to speak at their Convention, and there is a strong likelihood that he may accept. It would be interesting, indeed, if he and Gompers appeared at the Convention at the same time. Who would be surprised at the A. F. of L. extending an invitation to Mussolini, if he came here? If it can so heartily co-operate with the American Legion, which is such a warm admirer and imitator of Mussolini, why should it draw the line at the big chief himself?

ASSASSINATING AMALGAMATION

CAN the revolutionary workers in labor organizations be disfranchised and denied the right to hold union office? That is the issue now confronting the needle trades. The right-wing leaders in that industry, and especially in the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, hope to defeat the left-wing by expelling the more active militants and by declaring its members ineligible to hold positions in the various Joint Boards, or District Councils, and local unions. These manoeuvres, entirely unconstitutional, are being carried out in New York, Chicago, and other clothing centers. The alleged basis for disqualification of the revolutionists is that they belong to the Trade Union Educational League.

The ultimate aim of this campaign is, of course, to disrupt and demoralize the whole left-wing. A closer, more immediate purpose, is to defeat the amalgamation movement. This is glaringly apparent. Due to left-wing agitation, a tremendous sentiment has been created amongst the rank and file for the consolidation of all needle trades unions. Recently, when the right-wing leaders tried to put across their plan of federation, the amalgamation sentiment was too strong for

them and they had to give up their project. Now they hope to defeat the amalgamation movement at the coming convention of the I. L. G. W. U. by confining that convention simply to right-wing delegates. The plan is perfectly simple. First, the right-wingers attack the right of the revolutionaries to hold office in the Joint Boards and local unions. If they succeed in this purpose the next, inevitable, thing will be to deny the right of the left-wingers to be elected to represent the local unions in the Convention. The consequence will be that, automatically, the convention will be composed of right-wing elements. This, of course, would kill the amalgamation movement so far as that convention was concerned.

It is impossible to believe that the workers in the needle trades will allow themselves to be so easily defeated in their struggle for amalgamation. The cue to the militants is to expose this plot against solidarity. Throughout the length and breadth of the industry they must bring the lesson home to the rank and file that the exclusion of the revolutionaries from office is being done not because they are T. U. E. L. militants, but in order to defeat the amalgamation movement by building up a purely right-wing convention. If this work of clarification is properly carried on, the right-wingers will rue the day when they began to disfranchise the revolutionaries.

RIDING FOR A FALL

THE wild career of union-smashing, launched by the administration of the United Mine Workers in the expulsion of District 18, and of which the Kansas case of Alexander Howat was part, is reaching its climax. The miners will soon be faced with the alternative of deposing this reactionary crowd, headed by John L. Lewis, or see their union laid in ruins by the reckless autocracy of the bureaucrats. The situation is admirably summed up by the *Coke Region Miner*, in its issue of July 28th, in the following statement:

Now let us see how the miners' union stands at the present day.

District No. 14, Kansas, has been expelled and under provisional government. District No. 26, Nova Scotia, expelled and under provisional government. District No. 19, Tennessee, under provisional government. District No. 20, Alabama, under provisional government. District No. 4, Pennsylvania, 45,000 miners under provisional government. District No. 5, Pennsylvania, is on the verge of rebellion, 45,000 miners. District No. 2, Pennsylvania, is on the verge of expulsion from the union. District No. 12, Illinois, 38 of the largest local unions rebelled.

Lewis makes the plea that his expulsion of District No. 26, during the negotiations with the anthracite operators, would strengthen his hand by showing the capitalists that the union could control its members. How much the capitalists thought of his toady tactics is shown by them breaking up the conference a few days afterward. They know, and so does Lewis, that his arbitrary expulsion weakened the miners' unions immeasurably, and was a blow to every miner in America. The employers were delighted with it and proceeded at once to show their increased sense of power.

Perhaps the most despicable part of Lewis' tactics is his open co-operation with the governmental authorities. His agents were in on the Howat arrest in Canada, on the arrest of McLachlan and Livingstone, and in countless minor cases. Lewis is responsible for Howat having to serve more than a year in a Kansas prison. The Lewis administration doubtless knows a

great deal about the arrest of Thomas Myerscough, the fearless secretary of the Progressive Miners' Committee, in Pittsburgh, on a sedition charge. In every struggle the powers of local, state, and national governments are being used to keep the reactionary officialdom in power and strangle the rising spirit of the rank and file.

It can confidently be predicted that the miners of America will not for long allow their Union to be so prostituted. Lewis is riding a high horse, but he is riding for a fall. The day of accounting will come, when he must justify himself before the rank and file of the United Mine Workers, and the verdict will wipe out the shameful stain put upon that great Union by Lewis and his cohorts.

WHY IS JACOB DOLLA NOT RELEASED?

SINCE the exposure in THE LABOR HERALD of the frame-up which sent Jacob Dolla to the penitentiary during the Steel Strike, a new Governor was elected in Pennsylvania. This new head of the State Government, Pinchot, was supposed to be a liberal and mildly progressive man. It was therefore the hope that he would soon get action on Dolla's case, giving belated redress for the terrible wrong committed. But Dolla is still in prison after several long months.

Liberal consciences may be tender, but liberal minds are often forgetful. Perhaps the labor movement has been too quiet about Jacob Dolla. Perhaps in order to get the Honorable Mr. Pinchot to give some slight attention to Dolla, we must raise a little hell under Mr. Pinchot's nose. Perhaps Mr. Pinchot needs some reminders of his duty. It is time for Labor to speak on this subject.

THE ALBANY FIASCO

WHEN the Conference for Progressive Political Action called the New York State meeting at Albany, July 30th, no practical union man expected anything to come out of it except a continuance of the old Gompersian policy which, in that State, means tying Labor to the tail of the Tammany Tiger. But Hillquit and O'Neal are not famed for their "practicality" in trade union matters. They marched their cohorts to Albany, 150 strong, with bands playing and banners flying. They doubtless expected to receive the reward for their sabotage of the Chicago Convention by being taken to the bosom of the big trade union leaders.

But alack and alas! It was not to be. Hillquit and his followers may have been valuable allies to the officialdom in pushing the door shut in the face of the rank and file and of the Communists at Cleveland; likewise their assistance in attempting to "outlaw" the great Chicago Convention by a deluge of denunciation in their press was whole-hearted, and should have been appreciated; also their accusations against the Workers' Party furnished the ammunition for the intellectually barren Brotherhood leaders in the latter's fight against the Labor Party idea. But when the Hillquit group went to Albany to collect for their services by being taken into the "inner circle," that was another matter indeed! They found they still had a price to pay. They would not be even tolerated unless they would make public and unconditional their already consummated private surrender to the trade union bureaucracy by openly disavowing the Labor Party idea.

So it came about that in Albany the Hillquit delegates were thrown out on their necks. Were the actions of the trade union leaders not so contemptible and so sadly illustrative of the generally backward condition of our

labor movement, the whole affair would be ridiculous. Almost exactly the same accusations that Hillquit made against the Workers' Party in connection with the Chicago Convention were now made by the union officials against his group. The latter were held up as a lot of social pariahs who had come to pack the convention and capture it for their unholy and un-American ideas. They were denounced as unfit for respectable working men to associate with, and were then cast into outer darkness. Inasmuch as the right-wingers have so diligently applied this reactionary policy of ostracism and exclusion against the left-wing elements, no one can have any real sympathy for them now that it is applied against them. Though the brew may be bitter, they ought to like it, for they concocted it themselves. At Albany they merely got a dose of their own medicine.

CALIFORNIA RIVALS MUSSOLINI

A CERTAIN Busick, capitalist judge in Sacramento, has issued a court order restraining the workers of that State from joining the I. W. W. If any misled worker should happen, according to Busick's opinion, to have violated that order, off he goes to prison without the bother and delay of court proceedings.

There is nothing to show that any considerable body of workers have any desire to join the I. W. W. in California. As a practical proposition the injunction is a monumental stupidity. But the issue of principle involved is so fundamental that the entire American labor movement should voice a loud and emphatic protest that will shake the politicians of that State with fear. If the court has the authority to jail workers for belonging to the I. W. W., it would quickly go a step farther and prohibit unions altogether if it felt that it could get away with it. The I. W. W. is picked on because it is weak, and has little following. Such an order to the trade unions would be violated a hundred thousand times the first day. But the weapon forged against the I. W. W. will some day be used against the whole labor movement unless it is broken now. It is the duty of the labor movement to do everything in its power to overthrow this infamous decision.

California's record is black enough at present. With Mooney still in prison after seven years, although proven innocent, it would seem record enough for the blackest reactionary. Why smear more dirt on it with this vicious (and practically foolish) injunction?

A WORKERS' DAILY PAPER

ANNOUNCEMENT has been made that a working-class daily paper will be launched in Chicago, the first issue to be published on November 7th. The project is backed by the Workers' Party, which is raising a fund of \$100,000 to guarantee the existence of the paper. Its policy will be to enter militantly into all the workers' struggles against the employers, and become a fighting weapon for the labor movement. It will aggressively support amalgamation of the craft unions, and the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. Entering the Chicago newspaper field, which is dominated entirely by a set of the most vicious and corrupt capitalist dailies in the world, the new workers' daily promises to be of great service to the labor movement. Every militant trade unionist should subscribe for it, and also buy preferred stock in the publishing company, which is offered at \$5. per share. The workers' daily paper is one of the pressing needs of the day; it should get our full support. Address 799 Broadway, Room 405, New York City.

THE INTERNATIONAL

FRANCE THE Communist Party of France is organizing trade union committees so as to more effectively unite its forces in the labor organizations. Called upon to take a stand in the matter, the C. G. T. U., which before its split with the C. G. T. widely practiced the principles of minority organization, adopted the following statement:

The Executive Committee, requested to pronounce upon the situation developed for trade unionism by formation of trade union committees in a political party, declares that it cannot *a priori* approve or condemn a form of organization adopted by a political party. It reminds that in one of its late resolutions, at the same time that it affirmed its determination to resist the intrusion of parties and sects in its affairs, it indicated clearly its formal intention not to meddle in any manner in the interior life of the parties.

The confederal statutes and the *Charte d'Amiens*, reaffirmed by the resolution of St. Etienne, proclaim that trade unionism unites all workers with regard to tendencies and doctrines and recognizes their complete liberty to participate, outside of the unions, in whatever form of organization or struggle corresponds to their philosophical and political conceptions. Remaining within the spirit of the resolution of St. Etienne and of that adopted at the 2nd congress of the R. I. L. U. on the question of French unionism, the Executive Committee declares that as the statutes, forms of organization, slogans, and decisions of the C. G. T. U., cannot be either modified or transgressed from the exterior, so no militant, whatever his function, can violate his mandate without being held responsible before his organization, there resting the right of control of the trade union organization over its members.

The C. G. T. U., autonomous in its form of organization and in the determination of its tactics, never will be, on pain of becoming a groupment of sects, beyond the penetration of political and philosophical ideas. The Executive Committee of the C. G. T. U., which has never ceased to defend trade union autonomy as against all parties, groups, and sects, deems it not to be the function of union organisms to judge the means by which a political or trade union group use to bring their ideas into the trade union movement.

Without wishing to pass upon the tactics adopted by this or that group exterior to the C. G. T. U., the Executive Committee declares that it is interested only in the autonomy of the C. G. T. U., and that the committees created by the sects, parties, and groupments, functioning officially or unofficially, cannot constitute a danger of insubordination because they cannot normally substitute themselves for the trade union organizations in the task that it is their mission to fulfill without putting the union delegates or functionaries in the position of violating their mandates. In this case, the functionaries would have to respond for that violation before the organisms which have given them their mandate.

Having thus determined its attitude, the Executive Committee does not consider it its role to exercise a control over the liberty of individual members; but it invites them not to introduce party quarrels into the midst of the unions and not to make claims

for their parties, under any circumstances, in trade union deliberative assemblies.

On July 17th Andre Marty was released from Clairvaux prison. Thus ends one of the most strenuous struggles for amnesty in the history of the world's labor movement. Marty was the leader of the revolt of the French Black Sea fleet when it was sent against the Bolsheviki, in 1919. He was sentenced to twenty years of hard labor, of which he has completed four years and three months. Immediately upon his incarceration the Communists began a militant struggle to secure his release. This has continued without relaxation. Hundreds of meetings have been held and the whole country kept constantly stirred up over the matter. One striking feature of the campaign was the election of Marty, on the Communist ticket, to scores of public offices. He was called "the most elected man in France." The Communist Party of France is jubilating over its success in securing Marty's release and is redoubling its efforts to free the hundreds of other militants in jail as a result of the coal mine and other strikes.

GERMANY ALL signs portend the outbreak of revolutionary civil war in Germany.

Taking advantage of the nationalistic feeling of the people developed by the pressure being exerted by France the extremely reactionary elements are preparing to smash the labor movement and to take charge of the Government. The most militant leader of this Fascist movement is Hitler, who makes his headquarters in Bavaria. Patterning closely after Mussolini, he has organized the discontented middle classes, ex-officers, and other reactionary elements in South Germany to such an extent that he is not only able to defy the local Government but to menace all of Germany. He is boldly promising his followers that he will soon march on Berlin as Mussolini did on Rome. Naturally Hitler has the support of big capitalistic elements all through Germany. Many of the latter are organizing Fascist policemen to guard their plants and to terrorize the workers. Another of their plans, outlined at a recent big meeting on Easter Sunday in Berlin, is to form Fascist labor unions on the Italian pattern. The expressed aims of these white trade unions are, (1) Opposition to international Jewish Capital, (2) Opposition to the Marxist trade unions, (3) Repudiation of all international labor organizations, (4) Repudiation of strikes, boycotts, and factory councils, (5) the "people's" trade unions shall be affiliated to the German People's Freedom Party.

In the face of this menacing danger the Social Democratic leadership, politically and industrially, are doing nothing effective to develop the workers' resistance. Relying upon the so-called republican elements to help them, they are letting the Fascists organize. On the other hand, the Communists are calling upon the workers to organize a militant defense. In spite of the opposition of the Social Democratic Minister of the Interior, Severing, they are forming "workers' hundreds" all over the country. These are bodies of armed workers who protect their fellows in meetings and at work from the attacks of the Fascisti. They are being organized in all important industries. Already they are very effective in many places. Recently, in Dresden, during the Fascisti outbreak, the workers' hundreds took charge of the situation, the police being withdrawn. Exposing the Fascisti plans and proposing proper work-

ing class remedies therefor, a recent manifesto of the Communist Party said:

The plans of the Fascists cover every detail of the struggle. The Fascists have given their instructions: to conduct the civil war in the most brutal manner possible;—all the workers who resist the Fascists will be shot when made prisoners. For the purpose of crushing all strikes the Fascists have ordered the shooting of one striker out of each ten. The Fascist revolt can only be beaten to earth by opposing proletarian force to the white terror. The proletarian fighters must smash without pity all the Fascists, who are armed to the teeth. If the Fascists shoot one striker in ten the workers will shoot one Fascist in five.

The great Berlin metal workers strike has been arbitrarily called off by the conservative Socialist leaders of the union. The struggle began on July 6th, with the workers demanding 12,000 marks per hour to withstand the frightful increase in the cost of living. A week later, after lengthy negotiations, the employers offered 9,800 marks. At a meeting of the Berlin local union officials this offer was rejected by a three-fourths vote. Nevertheless the higher officials submitted the matter to a rank and file referendum. It lost by 70,658 against 15,664. But in spite of this these officials called off the strike. The strike included over 100,000 men and stirred the whole German labor movement deeply.

ITALY THE recent meeting of the national council of the fascist unions showed that movement to be in a hollow condition. The general secretary complained that the members, whom he claimed to total 1,500,000, refuse to pay even one lira per year in dues. Every issue of the official journal is made with a deficit of 30,000 lire. The head of the organization is one Rossoni, formerly a revolutionary Syndicalist. He advocates the typical Mussolini doctrine to the effect that the workers and capitalists of Italy must collaborate together to defeat the foreign exploiters. Says he, "the essential task of nationalist trade unionism is to develop Italy, which will be able to become veritably an imperial nation when she can count fully upon the spiritual force of our race and its admirable capacity to labor. To accomplish this end it is less necessary to protect the worker against the exploitation of the capitalist class than against exploitation by foreigners" . . . In his efforts to perpetuate his present dictatorship, Mussolini is setting up an elaborate gerrymander to disfranchise the working class through his new election law. One phase of it is to require that one thousand signatures accompany each list of nominees. This will mean to turn the names of large numbers of Communists over to the Fascist sluggers. Another scheme is give two-thirds of all seats in Parliament to the party which receives the highest number of votes. By this device, so says *La Stampa*, organ of Giolitti, the Fascisti will need to get only a little more than one-fourth of the votes cast in order to win the two-thirds majority in the Parliament. Mussolini declares openly that if he deems it necessary he will resume "Fascist action," which means the campaign of murder and thuggery by which he rose to power.

HOLLAND THE united front conference held by the Amsterdam and Moscow transport unions is causing a regular commotion in the ranks of the reformist unionist leaders. Many of them, seeing in the new united front effort a great danger for their prerogatives, have the cudgels out to destroy it. The latest development is that the

General Council, backing water on the agreement already made, is making conditions which it knows the Russian unions cannot accept. Among these is a demand that the R. I. L. U. and its organizations all along the line "give up the battle against national and international reformism." Losovsky, head of the R. I. L. U., has issued a powerful manifesto denouncing this sabotage of the united front and calling upon the workers of the world in the transport services to demand of the Amsterdam leaders what there is unacceptable in the Berlin agreement and to insist that they live up to that important pact.

THE International Workingmen's Association, or the Berlin International, which was formed recently, has signaled its advent into the arena of the international labor field by splitting the Dutch labor movement. For a long time the Syndicalist organization of Holland has been stirred over the question of affiliation with the Red International of Labor Unions. Recently a referendum was taken on the subject. It carried by a small majority for Moscow as against Berlin. The Communists, seeing the majority was small, proposed that for harmony's sake the affiliation be not actually consummated. Disregarding this gesture of solidarity and tolerance, the advocates of the Berlin international immediately split the movement, nationally and locally, and have set up a new organization. The Berlin International is now boasting of this pitiful achievement.

ENGLAND ONE of the most remarkable and bitter strikes in recent English labor history is the unofficial strike of the dockers, which, at last reports, is still going on. Angry because of a reduction of wages which their leaders had tamely accepted, the men began walking out at all the ports in England, beginning about July 1st. Finally 65,000 men were involved. Though not starting a dual union, the leaders of the old organization, Bevins, Gosling, Tillett, and Smith, were ordered out of the strike meetings. The position of these officials was that the men must return to work and abide by the terms of the agreement. It will be fortunate if the union is not destroyed before the struggle is over.

BELGIUM SEVERAL months ago 40 members of the Belgian Communist Party were arrested following their activities in connection with the prevailing mining strike and the agitation against the occupation of the Ruhr. They were charged with plotting to overthrow the Government. They have now been tried and acquitted. Though the prosecutors tried desperately, they could not induce the petty-bourgeois jury to bring in a verdict of guilty.

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

NORTH SIDE TURNER HALL

C. Appel, Manager
820 NORTH CLARK STREET

Large and Well Located

Halls to Rent

For All Occasions

REFRESHING BEVERAGES

Always

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

Two Unaccepted Challenges

By Earl R. Browder

THE isolation of the American labor movement and the necessity of international affiliations, furnish one of the most pressing problems before the unions. The Trade Union Educational League, believing that the only proper solution rests in the affiliation of the American trade unions to the Red International of Labor Unions, has persistently agitated to that end. Desirous of clarifying the issue in the minds of wider masses, and of meeting directly the claims of other groups, the League sent an official letter, on July 12th, to Otto Branstetter, National Secretary of the Socialist Party, inviting that organization to appoint a representative to debate with a representative of the League, on the question of the Red International versus the Amsterdam International to which the S. P. is committed. At the same time an official communication was sent to the I. W. W. inviting that body to discuss the Red International versus the Berlin Syndicalist group or whatever they stand for in international affiliations.

The fate of these two communications illustrates the sad state of petty factionalism and obscurantism of these two wings of the American movement. The Socialist Party did not see fit to make any reply whatever. The I. W. W. contented itself with an insulting letter, headed "Dear Sir," inclosing a statement made some years ago by the Third International, with a notation penned thereon that it had nothing to discuss with such an "outfit." There is little question that both organizations, if they had received a letter from Judge Gary or from the Department of Justice, would have given prompt answers which at least would have been courteous. Such childish tactics, such "purity" of sectarian spirit, is one of the principal reasons why the American labor movement is in such a backward condition. The League is opposed to this attitude, and calls for the fullest and frankest public discussion on the vital problems of the labor movement.

FOR THE UNITED FRONT

(Continued from Page 27)

who possess the scientific viewpoint, who in the service of the cause have proved themselves loyal and true. In no other way will we be able to protect ourselves and the movement from the professional politicians and the reactionary elements both inside and outside the organization. That done, political action would become a very important factor. Through the political campaigns our candidates would have an excellent opportunity to educate and organize the producers. If we are successful in electing them we would displace an enemy in parliament by a friend. And if behind every vote cast, we have an intelligent, educated, and organized class-conscious producer,

then we would stand an excellent chance of promoting our cause and finally realize our ideal of co-operative production and distribution.

When the working class amalgamates both industrially and politically there is no force on earth that can defeat us. In fact the only force that ever defeated us was our own ignorance and division. Therefore, get wise. Study, read, think, and act in unity, and the results will be many and far-reaching. Fellow workers, try for once and be convinced.

ONE booster of THE LABOR HERALD in Lynn, Mass., distributes 40 magazines each month, covering the local unions, strike meetings, etc. If every militant would do what Charley Stevens does, our magazine would quickly double its power. What are you doing?

AMALGAMATION DANCE

Arranged by the

T. U. E. L. NEEDLES TRADES SECTION

ASHLAND AUDITORIUM

Van Buren St. and Ashland Blvd.

Chicago, Ill.

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

MUSIC BY

Sol Wagner in Person and His Society Syncopators

Dancing till 1 A. M.

A Lithuanian Girl Collected \$83.63 in Four Days

WHAT WILL YOU DO?

To Win the Ruthenberg Appeal!
To Prevent a Re-Trial of Foster!
To Keep Thirty Active Rebels Out of Prison—In the Fight!
To Fight the False Sense of Security That Endangers Everything!
To Combat the Apathy of Hot Weather, No Meetings, Indifference!!

BEHIND BARS

These men and women will be buried and silenced for years!
That is what Burns wants! That is what Daugherty wants!
That is what all the reactionary wolves of capitalism want!

WHAT DO YOU WANT?

We must prepare for battle in September.

We cannot trust in an easy victory in the courts.

We must be ready for action—with money you must send.

We depend upon your immediate action to raise funds.

The Labor Defense Council

Calls for your assistance in this hour of need. It asks your immediate support of all Local Labor Defense Councils in gathering funds. It asks that you solicit donations everywhere in defense of the workers on trial for "Criminal Syndicalism."

Send All Communications and Make All Remittances Payable to
THE LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL
Federation of Labor Bldg., 166 West Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

Persecution Never Stops! Defense Must Never Slacken!

CANNONS OR TRACTORS

World War

?

Reconstruction

EUROPE—a boiling pot of economic chaos. The situation growing daily more strained.

WORLD WAR OR RECONSTRUCTION?

That's the Question!

RUSSIA—1/6 of the entire globe. A population of 135,000,000. Unlimited natural resources. A vast buying and selling field as soon as recognized.

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

As long as false statements about Russian life and conditions are broadcasted by the bureaucratic labor and capitalist press, just so long will Russia be refused recognition by America.

Help Send a Delegation of American Workers to Russia

Who will bring back to you the truth about Russia.

What have you done to get your organization to enter a candidate or vote for one of the nominees in the second contest for

A FREE TRIP TO RUSSIA

July 1 to October 1, 1923

John T. Taylor, President Detroit Federation of Labor, was the winner in the first contest.

I cannot contribute but will do all I can to get the support of my organization for the drive.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

NAME OF MY ORGANIZATION.....

I send herewith \$.....
to help buy tractors for the people of Russia.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY.....

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

201 West 13th Street, New York

On Sept. 1st, moves to 100 West Chicago Ave., Room 327, Chicago, Ill.