

THE LABOR HERALD

Official Organ of The Trade Union Educational League



NOVEMBER 1922



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By Wm. Z. Foster

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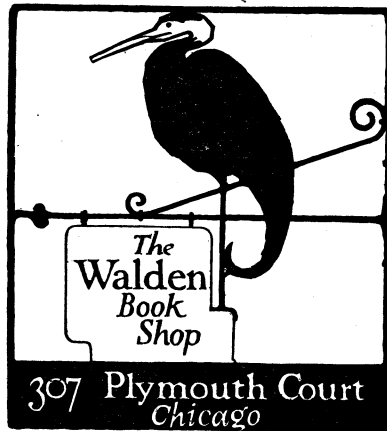
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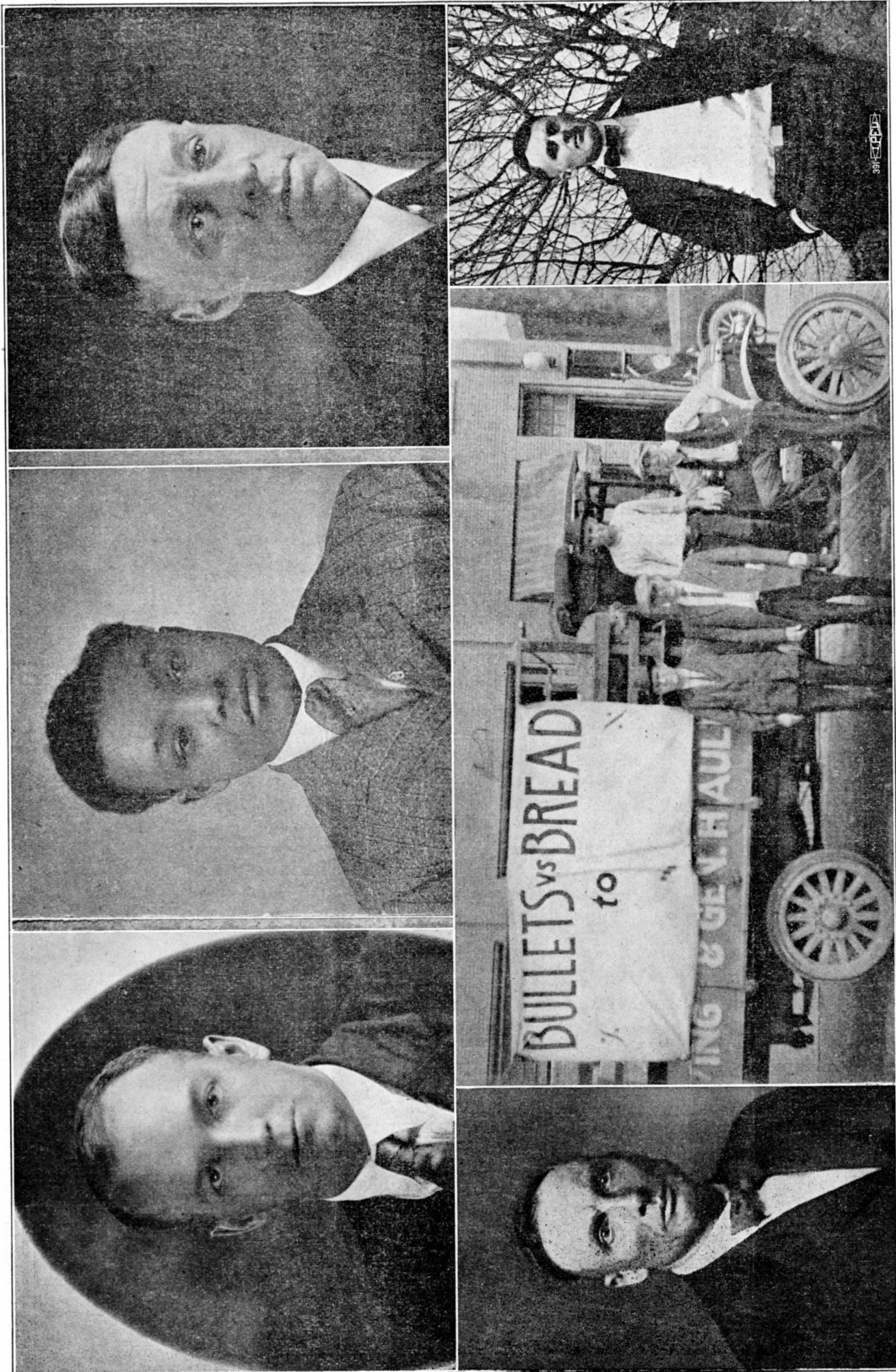
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PENNSYLVANIA MINERS DISTRICT No. 5 PROGRESSIVE LEADERS: UPPER LEFT, THOMAS MYERSCOUGH; CENTER, R. T. HENDERSON; RIGHT, WILLIAM A. GUILER; LOWER, LEFT, THOMAS RAY; RIGHT, FRANK T. INDOF; CENTER, STRIKE SUPPLIES FROM PITTSBURGH MINERS' FOOD RELIEF CONFERENCE.

THE LABOR HERALD

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Vol. I.

NOVEMBER, 1922



No. 9

Railroad Workers, Amalgamate!

By Wm. Z. Foster

SINCE the last issue of THE LABOR HERALD many events have transpired in the railroad industry to emphasize the necessity for complete amalgamation of all railroad unions. The first and most significant of these events was the failure of the Jewell settlement to materialize. So far only about 85 roads, and most of these of a very minor character, have agreed to it. On the rest of the systems the battle still goes on. Confronted with terrific odds, the worst of which is incompetent leadership, the shopmen are struggling valiantly on. They are paying the bitterest of penalties for the absolute refusal of our national officialdom to allow the unions to come together so that they could put up a real fight against the solidly united companies. Undoubtedly many of the large systems are lost to the unions because of this reactionary attitude of the leadership.

Downfall of Grable

A clear and significant indication that the rank and file are through with allowing their leaders to betray them and to keep them divided was given by the dramatic events of the Maintenance of Way Workers in Detroit. The action of Grable in deserting the shopmen in the crisis of their strike was a great crime against the whole working class. For such a betrayal the severest punishment was merited. No doubt, however, Grable, seeing so many of our labor leaders getting away with such treason as a matter of settled policy, thought that he could make it stick also. But he came to grief when he met the representatives of the membership. He found them boiling over with indignation and revolt. The delegates to his convention were not the disorganized, planless, spiritless mob that so many of our conventions are. On the contrary, they had become infected with the ideas and programs of the Trade Union Educational League; they knew what they wanted and how to get it. Consequently they fired Mr. Grable and all his gang so hard and so quick that it made their heads swim. Then they endorsed and reendorsed the Minnesota Plan of Amalgamation half a dozen times to show that they fully realized that the

only hope of the workers lies in complete solidarity. The convention of the Maintenance of Way workers was historic. It was at once a menacing warning and a glowing promise; a warning to the labor fakers of America that their days of labor betrayal are almost at an end, and a promise to the working class that at last the dawn is breaking and our labor movement is about to free itself from Gompersism and to become a real fighting organization. Reactionary trade union officials will do well to heed the warning of the Detroit convention; it is the handwriting on the wall.

Lee Shatters Big Four Alliance

In every railroad labor crisis for many years past, when the workers were either confronted with a splendid opportunity for achievement or menaced by a grave danger, W. G. Lee, President of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, has never failed to make his reactionary influence felt with disastrous consequences. He has always been a disease spot in railroad unionism, a prime cause of defeat and despair. Movement after movement, full of hope and promise, he has shattered and broken up. It was he personally who was responsible for the "outlaw" strike of 1920 and its tragic consequences, it was he who blocked the splendid movement of all the railroad unions in 1921, which, had it gone through, would have put an end to the "open shop" drive on the railroads and laid the basis for a firm alliance between all the railroad unions; it was he also who dealt the shopmen's strike a mortal blow when he preemptorily ordered back to work those of his men who, following the lead of the Engineers and Firemen, had struck legitimately in protest against the tyranny of armed guards and the operation of defective equipment by the companies. He has ever been a loyal protector of the employers' interests.

Characteristically, therefore, just now, when considerable demoralization has entered the ranks of railroad workers as a result of the bitterly fought shopmen's strike, he is at hand to still further weaken the organizations. His latest betrayal is the breaking up of the national alli-

ance between the Big Four, the Engineers, Firemen, Conductors, and Trainmen. Although the four brotherhoods, allied together, have never displayed any real solidarity towards the other trades in the railroad industry, nevertheless their alliance was a most valuable development. It showed that the several organizations, breaking away from their historic policy of individual action, were finally coming to realize the necessity for concerted movements by all railroad workers. It represented a long step forward to the eventual industrial union. Indeed, the famous struggle of the Big Four for the eight hour day just before the war was one of the most inspiring movements in all our labor history.

But now Lee has broken this alliance. In a statement which drips with shame for Labor he has announced through the capitalist press that henceforth the Trainmen and Conductors will go it alone. He declares that, "So far as strikes, wages, and working rules negotiations are concerned, the 'Big Four' no longer exists." He demands a return to "normalcy," with each organization fighting its own battles regardless of the fate of its fellow unions. It is a great crime consummated. Mr. Lee, never a supporter of the Big Four alliance and dragged into it against his will, has knifed it in this hour of difficulty for railroad unionism. It is fitting indeed that the railroad owners and employers generally are pouring forth a flood of praises upon him for his "wise and statesmanlike" action. They know him for a tried and true defender of their interests as against the railroad workers.

Although at first blush one boils with indignation at this latest treason by Lee, yet it will probably turn out in the end a great blessing in disguise. Unless the writer is sadly misinformed as to the temper of the rank and file it will prove the straw that broke the camel's back, the final means to the elimination of Mr. Lee. All over the country, in all the railroad unions the sentiment for industrial unionism through a general amalgamation is running like wildfire. Thousands of local unions have gone on record for it, not to mention great numbers of system federations, etc., and the two conventions of the Railway Clerks and Maintenance of Way. And in the face of this raging sentiment for solidarity Mr. Lee dares to destroy even the faint bonds of unity that exist between the train service unions. The trainmen will not stand for it. Depend upon it they will find a way to repudiate Lee's leadership, to rid themselves of this incubus who has been pressing the life out of them for so long. They will do to him what the trackmen did to Grable, dump him into oblivion. For many years Lee has ruled with an iron hand,

crushing out every progressive movement among railroad workers. But he has overstepped himself by breaking up the Big Four. Watch him hit the toboggan. Every loyal unionist in the railroad industry will consider it his first duty to help cleanse railroad unionism of the labor traitor, Bill Lee.

The Shopmen's Settlement

While accounts are being squared with Bill Lee and others of the leaders who have failed in this crisis, the rank and file will want some explanations from Mr. Bert Jewell also. He has never been whole-heartedly behind the national strike. He was opposed to it from the beginning. At the recent convention of the Railway Employees' Department, where the strike decision was taken, he proposed that only those roads be struck upon which the worst grievances existed, and he pleaded that a proposition to this effect be adopted. This would have been absolutely disastrous, and the delegates had the good sense to vote it down and to determine upon a general battle in which the organizations would have at least a fighting chance. But Jewell, notwithstanding the convention action for a determined struggle all along the line, has succeeded, nevertheless, through his settlement, in getting the strike upon the basis of a series of battles against individual roads. And that will take a lot of explanation, particularly with regard to the ugly statement afloat that many chairmen were misled into voting for the settlement by whispered assurances, never made good, that their roads were included in it. Moreover, Jewell will have to explain to the rank and file how it was that a movement so highly developed as the shop unions was unable to work out any organized system of relief for the strikers. This was inexcusable. In the steel strike, for example, although the unions were newly-born in the face of violent opposition of the steel companies and consisted almost entirely of inexperienced foreign-born workers, nevertheless, before the strike was three weeks old, they had set up in every steel center an elaborate commissary system which functioned successfully to the end of the strike. Why, then, could not the shop unions, disciplined by years of experience and composed principally of skilled mechanics, have done at least as well? Why were the various local organizations thrown practically upon their own resources and no definite national relief system outlined for them?

But far more important than answering questions about the strike management and its "settlement," Mr. Jewell will have to explain why, after this utter breakdown of craft unionism, the many railroad unions should not be amalgamated into one body. His platitudes about industrial union-

ism being a beautiful but impractical dream will no longer suffice. The rank and file of the railroad men of America are distinctly in favor of the Minnesota Plan of amalgamation and are determined to have it. If Mr. Jewell cannot see the light, if he persists in clinging to an outworn craft unionism, he will have to give way to men who do understand the necessity of the workers and are willing to help meet it. The shopmen's strike has sounded the death knell of craft unionism on the railroads. Despite the reactionaries of the Jewell type the organizations must and will be combined into one real fighting body.

Spread of Amalgamation Sentiment

The one hopeful sign in the situation is the rapid spread of amalgamation sentiment among the railroad workers in general. With a suddenness almost startling, the rank and file have become aware that craft division, in the face of a united foe, is fatal. Wherever one goes among railroad men the opinion is practically unanimous that all the unions must be fused together into one gigantic organization. And the best part of it is that we are not dealing with a mere unorganized spread of vague sentiment. The movement is taking on definite, concrete form which is bound to lead to practical results. A long step in the right direction was the organization of the National Committee to Amalgamate the Sixteen Standard Railroad Organizations. Publishing its own paper and carrying on an intense educational campaign, this organization, which originated the famous Minnesota Plan, has the backing of enormous sections of the rank and file of all the railroad unions. Its work, the effectiveness of which was strikingly illustrated in the Maintenance of Way convention, is bound to crystallize soon in constructive results. Every militant railroader in the country will give it his active co-operation.

Two dangers now stand before the amalgamation movement; (1) the effort, ever increasing in volume, of the reactionaries to substitute the idea of a general railroad federation for that of a general amalgamation, (2) attempts to sidetrack the amalgamation sentiment into secession movements. Both of these tendencies must be combatted. As for the first, the railroad workers do not want federation, they want amalgamation. Time and again we have seen federation fail in a crisis; the attitude of Lee in breaking up the Big Four federation is typical of all such alliances. So long as unity of action depends upon agreement between autonomous unions, each of them dominated by a practical autocrat, that unity of action can never be achieved. What must be done is to lock the organizations so strongly together that no traitors or incompetents in office

have the power to separate them. That can be accomplished only by amalgamation. Federation has served its purpose, amalgamation is now the order of the day.

As for the second hostile factor, the tendency to run into secession movements, that, too, must be defeated. Regardless of the glowing plans and good faith of the advocates of dual unionism, the application of their program can only result in splitting us up even worse than is now the case. Instead of our sixteen craft unions, we would then have the sixteen craft unions plus four or five dual unions; for it is idle to suppose that any one of the several dual unions now in existence could absorb all the workers, or that the old craft unions would die out. A growth of dual unionism at this time on the railroads would result in endless confusion and division of our ranks. What we must do is not to try to tear our organizations to pieces and start all over again, for that is impossible, but to fuse them all together into one body. This is the method that industrial unions have been built by all over the world. It is the way we railroad men will have to construct ours. Any attempted short-cuts will only lead to disaster.

For the first time in our history the creation of a great industrial union of railroad workers looms as a practical possibility. The rank and file are overwhelmingly in favor of it. All that is needed now for its realization is to go ahead determinedly with our amalgamation program. Every tendency and every individual that attempts to defeat or divert that program is an enemy to the railroad workers. Amalgamation is the supreme need of the hour. The railroad unions of America stand on the very threshold of consolidation. Two great immediate tasks confront us, (1) to win the shopmen's strike, (2) to bring about amalgamation. Let's go at both with vigor, enthusiasm and determination.

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Betrayal of the Fayette County Miners

By William Guiler, Local Union No. 593, U. M. W. A.; Thomas Myerscough, L. U. No. 4561
and Frank J. Indof, L. U. No. 2353,

Publicity Committee of the Miners' Group, District Five, United Mine Workers

One of the blackest spots in the history of American trade unions is the betrayal of the heroic miners of the Connellsville region, Fayette County, Pennsylvania. In the following pages the committee of the miners gives the background of this monumental piece of treachery, and tells the story. But they are not resting content with complaints; they have a program for preventing another like betrayal in the future. A great rank and file movement is arising in District Five, which will play a part in the coming inevitable cleansing of the United Mine Workers. The following story of the District Five miners is one of the most important matters now before the labor movement.

THE Pittsburgh district has inspired literary explorers to coin pretty phrases, such as "The Romance of Steel," "Workshop of the World," etc. These dilettante reactions reflect the popular conception of Pittsburgh as a steel town; despite this impression, the fundamental industrial fact underlying the whole economic structure of Pittsburgh is, in reality, COAL.

Failure to grasp this fact may lead to serious blunders, particularly on the part of labor leaders. That it is a fact is easily demonstrated. Why is it that, despite the long haul for iron ore from Minnesota, Pittsburgh has no difficulty whatever in maintaining its supremacy as the steel center of America? The answer is so simple that it is apt to be overlooked. A most suitable grade of coal for large scale production can be delivered to Pittsburgh steel mills cheaper than to any other point in the United States.

This industrial situation will not soon be changed. The presence of cheap coal has determined the development of this district, from the time when the first Pittsburgh iron workers crudely fluxed iron along the coal creek beds among the gnarled hills, until the Steel Corporation made its recent improvement of by-product equipment at Clairton costing several million dollars. Upon this basis industrial evolution has gradually transformed the banks of the Monongehela River, so that today, along 28 miles of water front, there is fabricated the most gigantic, complex, and revolutionary industrial unit on the face of this whirling globe.

The casual visitor, and even the trained labor leader, is apt to stand on Mt. Washington and

look with bewildered admiration at this marvelous complexity of river, railroads, and steel mills and forget that this whole structure has its foundation deep in the coal mines further up the river.

Corruption in the Labor Unions

When one has thoroughly grasped this fact he will have the key to the sordid story of corruption in the organization of the miners of this district, which is potentially one of the most revolutionary sections of the miners of America, if not of the world. Because of the enormous profits in steel, and because the supremacy of Pittsburgh steel manufacturers rests entirely upon the uninterrupted flow of cheap coal from further up Monongehela River, there has for many years been an almost equally steady flow of money for the corruption of the officialdom of this district, No. 5, of the United Mine Workers of America.

Undoubtedly the environment created by the economic situation has played a large part in determining the integrity of union leaders. Men who in another district might have been perfectly honest have become corrupted here. For the steel manufacturers of Pittsburgh, who are largely the employers of the coal miners, it is easier to spend the large sums necessary to corrupt formerly honest men, than it would be for coal operators in other districts. This is the principal explanation why here, more than in almost any other part of the country, radical union officials have gone "bad" and become the willing tools of the employers.

Revolts in the Past

Struggles against the domination of the miners' union by agents of the employers, have been many and bitter. Space does not permit an elaborate review of the history of these attempts. They have all of them, however, been doomed to ultimate failure because in each instance they were built around *individual* leadership, unbacked and uncontrolled by organized group effort. A classic example of this was the terrific struggle between Pat Dolan and Francis Feehan. Dolan was an old-country type of Irishman, with the reactionary views of an A. F. of L. conservative, and he developed a strong machine which completely controlled the district. He did not hesitate to defy the will of the rank and file in

the most brazen manner. Francis Feehan appeared on the scene, however, to dispute the control with Dolan. Feehan was a big six foot, strapping, Irish-American, a member of the Socialist Labor Party, well grounded in Marxian economics and probably very sincere in those early days. He was capable, a fluent speaker, fearless and physically fit.

Feehan soon rallied behind him all the progressive elements and a terrific battle ensued lasting several years. The ultimate outcome was the ousting of Dolan and the triumph of Feehan. But the change had no permanent effects whatever. The weakness of the Feehan revolt and all the other numerous rebel movements in District No. 5, has been this extremely individualistic character of the movements. Francis Feehan was looked up to by the miners in the early days as a superman. There was no organized group to direct the movement of revolt; Feehan did that, and the rest was merely the spontaneous support of the masses in the district. The necessity of group control on the part of the class-conscious element in the district was not realized.

The Present Campaign

Growing out of the flagrant betrayal of the Fayette County strikers, there is now crystalizing a new rebel movement, which is organized on a different basis, avoiding the mistakes of the past. It is the outgrowth of many months spent in conferences between the militants of the district which have resulted in an organized group being developed to direct the movement. Before the progressive candidates for official positions of District No. 5 were nominated a comprehensive platform was adopted to which each candidate was pledged. The organized groups of progressive miners know, however, that this is not sufficient. They will continue to function, guarding the interests of the organization, by continually co-operating with and watching the conduct of their representatives. They will continue to carry on an educational campaign with the rank and file, stirring them up continuously to an active interest in the organization questions.

As in all other unions where the machine has become corrupt, District No. 5 has been cursed with dual unionism. This was one of the first obstacles which had to be overcome. Dual unionism had to be definitely stamped out. This, the first step toward a successful campaign, was recognized from the beginning in the platform adopted by the progressive miners. That document also takes a clear stand on the questions of National Agreements, Alliance between Miners and Railroad Workers, Reinstatement of Kansas Miners, Progressive Organization Campaign,

Election of Organizers, Reduction of Salaries of Officials, Investigation of the Notorious Three Million Dollar Defense Fund, and particularly, condemnation of the handling of the Connellsville coke field strike in which these miners were left out of the settlements reached and abandoned without any adequate relief; these are the outstanding features of the progressive platform. The ticket which has been nominated for this fight is as follows:

President, Thomas Myerscough, Local Un. 4561, Lawrence.

Vice-President, Michael W. Brajdich, Local Un. 3257, Wyano.

Secy.-Treas., Thomas Ray, Local Un. 1973, McDonald.

Auditor, Tony Rosena, Local Un. 2398, Van Voorhis.

Auditor, August Arnal, Local Un. 1724, Houston.

Teller, John Usnick, Local Un. 5085, Coverdale.

Teller, Joseph Mautino, Local Un. 3257, Wyano.

Teller, D. P. Taucher, Local Un. 3600, Burgettstown.

International Board Member, W. A. Guiler, Local Un. 593, Charleroi.

For Sub-District Board Members

First, Robert Baird, Local Un. 1089, Raccoon.

Second, Peter Messock, Local Un. 4561, Houston.

Third, Charles E. Shaw, Local Un. 2398, Van Voorhis.

Fourth, Frank Leithold, Local Un. 2396, Fayette City.

Fifth, Frank J. Indof, Local Un. 2353, Smithton.

Sixth, James C. Hickey, Local Un. 1188, Kaylor.

Seventh, R. T. Henderson, Local Un. 1230, Parassus.

Fayette County Betrayal

The decisive importance of the strike of the hitherto unorganized miners in Fayette County, which had a tremendous influence in carrying through the Miners' Union, is already familiar to those who have followed the story of the strike in the articles of John Dorsey in THE LABOR HERALD. The 100% walk out of these non-union miners on April 1st, at the invitation of the officials of the U. M. W. A. was one of the most serious blows ever dealt the capitalist class of America. It struck directly at the power of the most sinister group of employers in the United States,—the United States Steel Corporation and its subsidiaries.

All summer long the miners of Fayette County had an instinctive dread that they might be abandoned. At various mass meetings they repeatedly put their leaders on record as to whether Fayette would be included in these settlements. In some

cases letters were sent to the international headquarters and assurances came back with Lewis' name signed to them, pledging the Fayette miners his loyalty to the end. Just before the conference in Cleveland, while Lewis was in Washington, some of the miners wired to him warning him not to leave them out of the settlement. But in spite of all of this, Fayette County was deserted.

Immediately after the Cleveland agreement, conferences were held in Pittsburgh for District No. 5, but not only did the District Executive Board ignore the coke field miners, but in at least one case signed a contract with the Hillman Coal and Coke Company for only those mines near Pittsburgh and did not require them to sign for their mines in Fayette County. While treachery of this kind is more or less familiar to all acquainted with the history of the United Mine Workers' settlements, yet in view of the tremendous services rendered the union by the Fayette County strikers, this was a particularly nasty betrayal.

The Failure to Give Relief

Not only was the Fayette region left out of the settlement, but they were even abandoned so far as relief was concerned. After a six month's strike wholesale evictions, with starvation, and death from exposure facing tens of thousands of helpless men, women and children, no definite action for relief has been taken nor has even a definite promise of action been given.

Vague promises, however, have been plentiful. The miners claim that at the convention at Foote-dale, August 22nd, 1922, organizers there assured the men that if the strike continued \$3,000,000 a month would be paid out to that section for relief. There is a general impression that funds could be had for that purpose. In 1913, so it is charged in a suit now pending in the local courts, there was a "Defense Fund" created for which purpose a definite assessment of $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1% of the total earnings of each member was levied. This fund was to be used for relief, and amounted on April 1st, so it is estimated, to approximately \$3,000,000. The Fayette miners, however, have gotten relief from no official source of any consequence.

To meet the situation a voluntary organization of trade unionists and progressives in the Pittsburgh district, known as the "Pittsburgh Miners' Food Relief Conference," was formed. In spite of the handicaps facing this body, it has, up to the present time, done more for relief than the union itself has done. In order to force some definite action from the indifferent officialdom, a

representative of this organization went through Fayette County, leaving resolutions in the hands of local unions which demanded an investigation of the relief distribution in District No. 5. This brought some help, but not enough. One result, however, has been that the miners of this district and elsewhere have been stirred up. The meeting of the International Board on October 9th, has been bombarded with a large number of protests against the failure to care properly for the heroes of Fayette County and with demands for adequate relief.

The miners of the coke region feel that they have been deliberately deserted. It is almost impossible now to convince the majority of them that they are really wanted in the U. M. W. of A. They firmly believe that they are being sabotaged out of the organization. If they are now driven back to work by starvation and exposure, the revenge which they will wreak upon the miners' union next April will be something terrible.

With the signing of the Cleveland agreement, there should have been an immediate meeting of the International Board and an assessment should have been levied to take care of this relief. Now, even if the International levies that assessment, it will be November 1st before relief will begin to trickle into Fayette County. Over 5,000 evictions have occurred since June 1st in this district. Thousands are facing cold, foggy nights in flimsy tents with very little food and no winter clothing. Typhoid fever is raging in several of the camps, prospective mothers have not adequate shelter, and many miners' children are only escaping death through being cared for in the homes of Pittsburgh workers. The situation is desperate.

Every miners' local union and district organization should immediately demand quick action from the International. But more immediate aid is also required. Some local unions in the old organized district have refused to send their money either through Wm. Hargest, Secretary-Treasurer of the District Office, or through John O'Leary, International Board Member in charge of the office at West Brownsville. Under these circumstances it seems shameful that the miners should starve through lack of food when there is an agency which can do the necessary work. Any reader of THE LABOR HERALD wishing to make contributions, should send them to J. A. Hamilton, Secretary, Pittsburgh Miners' Food Relief Conference, 35 Miller St., Pittsburgh, Pa., and a full accounting to each contributor will be made of the disposition of the relief funds. The Fayette County miners must be saved to the labor movement and only the most energetic and immediate action will accomplish this end.

Amalgamation Victorious in Ohio

By Earl R. Browder

OHIO has joined the ranks of the State Federations standing for industrial unionism through amalgamation. With eleven such bodies on record as this is written, all within the past four months, amalgamation continues to sweep forward.

The fight of the month occurred in the Ohio State Federation of Labor Convention. Not alone because this organization has heretofore been rock-ribbed conservative, was the battle important, but also because Ohio is one of the greatest industrial states in the country. When the 39th annual convention opened in Canton, October 9, very few people, radical or conservative, expected the startling developments which came out of the meeting.

The convention hall was an immense auditorium, capable of seating thousands. The stupendous intellects at the head of the Federation provided this hall for a few hundred delegates. In the immense room the voices of the delegates were almost lost, producing a reverberation making it very hard to understand the speakers. A large oil painting of the late Mr. McKinley overlooked the assembly. In these surroundings the delegates sat for four weary days, listening to stupid speeches by politicians, all about what a nice fellow the trade unionist is, how much the politicians love him, and what they will do for him bye and bye. It was a typical lifeless, conservative gathering on the surface.

For four days' proceedings, there were but two items which aroused any interest or discussion. One of these was a talk by a representative of the Workers' Health Bureau on occupational diseases, which was very valuable and was appreciated. The other was the question of light wines and beer—this immediately roused the convention, which passed the wet resolution by an overwhelming majority.

Then Resolution No. 27 was reported by the Committee on Organization, recommending non-concurrence. This timidly progressive document merely asked the State Federation to go on record in favor of uniting the railroad crafts so that unity of action may be attained instead of scab-

bing upon one another. A couple of rank and file delegates arose to defend it with some diffidence and lack of confidence. One of them asked: "If you will not accept Resolution No. 27, what will happen to Resolution No. 57?" He was condescendingly told that they expected to do the same thing to both No. 27 and No. 57. Immediately the house began to boil with excitement.

For Resolution No. 57 was the famous "Chicago" resolution for industrial unionism through amalgamation. It had been introduced with the signatures of 21 of the most solid rank and file delegates in the convention. When this was threatened with the same action as Resolution No. 27, the latter became the point for the battle. Scores of delegates were immediately demanding the floor—and every one of them talked for the amalgamation resolution except the president of the convention. The machine was thrown into a panic. They fought for delay, and finally secured adjournment until next day.

Frantic efforts were made during the night to muster their forces to block the amalgamation movement. The big guns were mobilized to take the floor against it. When the convention opened on Friday morning, the one to lead off for the reactionaries was Adolph Kummer, president of the Cincinnati central body, and one of the "inside men" in the State Federation. But his attack, consisting of a rehash of Gomper's twaddle, fell upon deaf ears. The delegates of the miners, printers, and machinists, together with many of the railroaders, demonstrated such an enthusiastic solidarity for amalgamation that the other pull-backs decided that discretion was the better part of valor. The resolution was adopted with a cheer which drowned out the few plaintive "noes." When the Resolution No. 57 came up the fight was over; one of the machine men was forced to take the floor against it, to "keep the record straight," but he was obviously fearful of his duty. His remarks were received as humor, and conservative Ohio joined the ranks of progress in the A. F. of L. The rank and file are getting on their toes, when amalgamation is mentioned, and getting set, all ready to go.

Maintenance Men Rout Reactionaries

MORE than 1,500 delegates, assembled in the convention of the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers at the Woodward Auditorium, Detroit, Michigan, beginning on October

2nd, delivered a death blow to the reactionary machine and definitely took the lead of the amalgamation movement on the railroads. Time after time they reiterated their stand, in answer to the repeated attempts of the reactionaries to tangle

the record. And in the end, to make assurance doubly sure, they "gave the hook" to the whole bunch that was fighting amalgamation, and elected new officials who stand for the consolidation of all the railroad unions.

It was a slaughter of the pull-backs. In spite of their tricky moves, and their attempts to cloud the issue, the reactionaries were hopelessly beaten from the beginning. The temper of the convention was shown when resolution No. 52 was read. It was as follows:

"Resolved, that we favor the amalgamation of the sixteen standard railroad unions into one organization covering the entire railroad industry, and that we call upon our General Officers to take the necessary steps so that a joint convention of all these organizations (or as many as possible) can be assembled to put this amalgamation into effect."

The committee asked the convention to non-concur "on account of believing that it has the appearance of one big union." Delegate No. 310 moved the adoption of the resolution. The chairman, Grand President Grable, ruled him out of order on the grounds that the committee report stood as a motion to not adopt. No. 310 insisted upon his motion to adopt. The whole convention rose in turmoil, demanding that the motion to adopt be put before the convention. The Grand President changed his mind. One lone delegate said a word against the resolution, a pandemonium rose in favor of it. The vote was taken—unanimously in favor of amalgamation. The vote was greeted with tremendous applause.

Immediately another resolution exactly similar was reported by the committee, with the recommendation that it not be concurred in "as it is not in line with craft organization." Again the delegates overruled the Grand President on his point of order, and insisted that the question be put on a motion "to adopt." The delegates wanted to vote "aye" in favor of amalgamation, not "no" against the committee report. Again Grable's spokesman, Dunn, spoke against it. The burden of his remarks were that amalgamation would destroy the trade unions, that there was a conspiracy to put amalgamation across shown by the fact that amalgamation circulars were mailed around to the unions in July just as they went on strike, that some one connected with amalgamation was in jail once, that it was unconstitutional, etc. He was continuously interrupted by the delegates howling "sit down," which he finally did, and again it was unanimous.

Then a resolution was brought in, calling for an alliance between all the railroad crafts. It was howled down, and tabled by a unanimous vote. The delegates looked upon it as a trick designed to side-track the amalgamation vote. In

the midst of the excitement a group of police appeared in the hall. The delegates were furious at this, but could not find out who called the officers, who retired upon request. By this time the convention was in a fighting mood.

When the committee next reported another resolution, exactly similar to the ones previously adopted, with the addition of the words "as propounded by the Minnesota Shop Crafts' Legislative Committee," the delegates seemed to think it strange that these were all presented as separate questions. A delegate moved to table it, as action had been taken on the others. The Grand President put the vote, and declared it tabled. But again the delegates scented a trick. They began to ask questions—what did this vote to table mean? Grable answered evasively, and immediately there was another uproar. The rank and file wanted it known that they were in favor of every amalgamation proposition that came before them. Business stopped right there until Grable put the question again on the "adoption of the resolution," which again was carried un-animously.

That night the administration called a caucus of its forces, with Grable as chairman. The first thing brought in was a resolution for "affiliation" of the railroad unions. Immediately a score of administration men were on their feet. "If this caucus is going to fight amalgamation then about half of us are going right out of that door." Grable, faced with rebellion in his own caucus, agreed not to introduce the resolution. But the next day, notwithstanding the growing sentiment for amalgamation and his own promise, Grable did introduce the resolution. Again the delegates rose in rebellion. After a bitter word battle the vote was again unanimously against the reactionaries and in favor of amalgamation.

All of this slick politics by the machine completely destroyed the confidence of the rank and file delegates. They demonstrated their repudiation of the reactionaries when the elections took place. Grable was defeated by an amalgamation advocate, F. J. Fljoldal, by a majority of 3,813 votes. When it was apparent that the machine was broken, its backers began to run for cover. A progressive candidate, Elmer E. Milleman, defeated the machine secretary by 54,000 votes. Salaries of officials were cut one-third, and the number of vice-presidents reduced from 14 to 5. Headquarters are to be moved from Detroit to St. Louis. Every action calculated to root out the machine for all time that the delegates could think of was adopted with enthusiasm. The rout was complete. Never before was such an overwhelming victory achieved for amalgamation, and for progress generally.

Amalgamation Movement Sweeps Onward

REACTIONARY ideas in the trade unions are being severely jolted. The progress of amalgamation, as reported in *THE LABOR HERALD* for October, has taken on an accelerated pace. More significant, it is no longer only the bodies known to progressive, but some of the conservative hotbeds have swung into line. East and West the State Federations are sending out the call for industrial unionism through amalgamation. It is no longer possible to keep record of the various city central bodies, who are joining the forward movement in great numbers. Great international bodies are shaking with the aroused membership demanding amalgamation, and additions are being made in the ranks of the independent unions. The amalgamation movement is sweeping onward.

More State Federations Join

The news of the Michigan Federation action, which barely got into our paper last month (about which there is an interesting story herein), had barely cooled off when bang!—the Oregon Federation of Labor, meeting in Salem, on September 28, adopted a resolution which concludes:

Resolved, that the Oregon State Federation of Labor urges the amalgamation of craft unions, thereby providing for only one international head for each industry."

The resolutions committee of the convention held an open hearing on the amalgamation issue, at which a large number of students of the Oregon Agricultural College attended, following the debates with intense interest. The issue was clearly the largest before the gathering, but so well was it supported, not alone in committee but by endorsements from various locals and central bodies beforehand, that when it came to a vote it was adopted with very little opposition.

South Dakota followed a few days later, October 2, when the State Federation convened at Sioux Falls. Two resolutions were introduced at this convention, one declaring for industrial unionism, and the other pointing out the method by which this should be achieved. The active work of delegate Carl Anderson had a great deal to do with the fact that all the delegates were given a thorough exposition of the gains for Labor to come from such a program. The first resolution concluded:

"That this convention of the State Federation of South Dakota, go on record endorsing the principle of organizing all the workers working in the same industry into one industrial union."

The resolution on the means to be used, resolved:

"That the State Federation of South Dakota in convention assembled, expresses as its opinion that the different international organizations should be consolidated into one international organization of each industrial department."

Another International Union Lines Up

One of the victories of the month was the action of the Convention of the International Association of Fire Fighters. This organization, meeting in Tulsa, Oklahoma, adopted a general amalgamation resolution introduced by Delegate W. E. Brown of Milwaukee. These men, public service employees, are also awaking to the weakness of craft divisions within their organization ranks. This small organization, acting about the same time when the great Maintenance of Way Union was entering the same road, is another proof of the thoroughness with which the idea of amalgamation has penetrated throughout the labor movement.

Among the Independents

Along with the big victories, including that in the Maintenance of Way Convention (fully related on another page), has gone some steady progress towards order in the boot and shoe, textile, and food industries. These are the fields where the so-called independent unions have flourished most. Seven organizations, formerly hostile and separatist, met in convention in Boston early in October to complete their amalgamation into the Amalgamated Shoe Workers. A national conference is being arranged for militants in the textile industry to map out a comprehensive program for that field. In the food industry, the convention of the Amalgamated Food Workers, despite the opposition of the job-hunters, adopted a splendid resolution for amalgamation of all the unions in the food industry, and charged their executive board to immediately set to work approaching the other organizations for that purpose.

A great need of the workers for solidarity has been touched by the amalgamation program, and they are rousing to the call in enthusiastic masses. If any militant trades unionist is down-hearted today, he should now realize that his local union, central body, or International, is backward because he himself has been backward about placing the new program before them. Get busy circulating the amalgamation leaflets, the *Railroad Amalgamation Advocate*, and *THE LABOR HERALD*, and your organization will surprise you by joining the ranks of the progressive labor movement, on its march toward the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the power of the working class.

Shall These Men Be Sacrificed to Capitalist Tyranny?

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER
EARL R. BROWDER
CHARLES KRUMBEIN
NORMAN TALLENTIRE
T. J. O'FLAHERTY
CHARLES ERICKSON
AXEL BAIL
SETH NORDLING
EUGENE BECHTOLD
JOHN MIHELIC

C. E. RUTHENBERG
CYRIL LAMBKIN
WILLIAM F. DUNNE
CALEB HARRISON
T. R. SULLIVAN
WILLIAM REYNOLDS
MAX LERNER
PHILIP ARONBERG
ELMER McMILLAN
JOSEPH ZACK

These active trade unionists arrested in the Michigan "Red Raids" by Burns-Daugherty agents, face long prison terms under the Michigan Criminal Syndicalism Law.

They Must Have the Full Protection of Their Class

The arrest and prosecution of these men is the challenge of the capitalist class to us.

Our enemies challenge us with the destruction of our labor organizations.

We Must Answer With All Our Resources for Defense and Counter-Attack

Labor Defense Council
Federation of Labor Building
166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

National Executive Committee

Roger N. Baldwin Elizabeth Gurley Flynn
Dennis E. Batt Max S. Hayes
Robert M. Buck Moritz J. Loeb
Eugene V. Debs

Co-operating with Committee of the Defendants

Earl R. Browder William Z. Foster
William F. Dunne C. E. Ruthenberg

This is part of my answer to the latest capitalist attack.

I enclose \$.....for the defense of those prosecuted
under the Michigan Criminal Syndicalism Law.

Name

Address

Send remittances and make checks payable to
LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL

166 W. Washington St.

Chicago, Ill.

Them Turrible Reds

By Jack Carney

“GOOD avenin’, Mr. Isaacson,” said Policeman O’Flannery to his friend the pawnbroker, as he stepped into the shop for his evening chat, “an’ did yez hear all about them spahlpeens as wuz caught in this here red raid up in Michigan? Well, shure, an’ it is a most surprisin’ thing. You wouldn’t believe it at all, at all, if it wasn’t on the best of authority. Y’may not believe me, but a most turrible plot was discovered. Me nephey in Boston has been a sendin’ me the Boston Transcript, an’ a wonderful paper it is. They got a feller name o’ Whitney, what writes it all up. An’ wud y’believe it, them reds wuz just about to capture the whole dang Guvment, when that glorious American, Spolanski, came along an’ saved us all.”

“You don’t say,” exclaimed Mr. Isaacson, “is it possible?”

“It may not be possible,” replied Policeman O’Flannery, “but it’s the God’s truth. Jist look at it, an’ all in print ’n everything.”

He took a paper from his pocket and spread it on the table.

“’Tis all right here. Boston Transcript, September 20th. This feller Whitney he’s got the goods on ’em. Knows all their organizations and all the labor leaders what is Communists. Jist cast yer eye on this list of unions as is direckly controlled by Lenin from Moscow. It’s all in print right here. Here’s the Big Four Brotherhoods, the railroad unions of the A. F. of L., the United Mine Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers which is ‘a branch of the Communist party’ sez Whitney, an’ the Non-Partisan League, an’ the Farmer-Labor Party, an’ the Machinists’ Union, an’ the Wimmen’s Trade Union League, an—”

“Hold on,” says Mr. Isaacson, “do you mean to say that the reds has all these here organizations under their control? Why, there’s millions of members in these organizations.”

“Shure, that’s what it sez, right here. He’s not just ezzackly sure if Johnston, president of the Machinists’, is a member of the Communist Party, but he suspects it. An’ sh-h-h, ye’d never think it, but—”

“But what?” demanded Mr. Isaacson.

“Samuel Gompers, accordin’ to this Whitney feller, is the original Bulshevik in America. Look it here—*‘Even before the coming of Communists to America Samuel Gompers is known to have advocated violence as the only means by which labor could gain its ends.’* An’ talkin’ about right now, he says, *‘even Samuel Gompers* . . .



Attorney General Daugherty: “Pretty good, Bill. But it lacks something. Can’t you paint him pushing over the Government—and get a little more red into the beard?”

Art Young in the Nation, New York

united in attacking the Government.” No, yud never hev thought that, wud ye?”

“But say,” says Mr. Isaacson, “isn’t Gompers a-fightin’ Foster, which is that awful red?”

“That’s easy. Whitney knows all about that. That’s just ’cause Gompers is skeered Foster wants to get his job. Jist read it here, if ye don’t believe it.”

“This here secret conclave wuzn’t the first one. Whitney here, he tells about a bigger one,” reading—*“at a secret meeting of labor men and radicals in Chicago early this year to further the participation of the working class as a class organization in politics. At this meeting a declaration was adopted, denouncing the existing parties in identically the same language as those quoted above embodied in the declaration of the Conference for Progressive Political Action.”*

“How come they didn’t catch this big nest of reds?” inquired Mr. Isaacson.

“Guess it wuz ’cause they met in a hotel right next to the Department o’ Justice offices. But this last secret meeting, they went up to a summer resort in Michigan, an’ o’ course, no bunch o’ workin’ men ever went to a summer resort unless they wuz up to mischief, an’ so this brilliant guy, Spolanski, he knows sumthin’ is wrong, an’ so he ups an’ nabs ’em an’—an’—there you are.”

“Mebbe,” says Mr. Isaacson, “mebbe they just take a rest from their jobs out to the summer place. No?”

“Huh!” snorted Policeman O’Flannery, “They had typewriters with ’em. An’ whenever a workin’ man gets all by himself with a typewriter, then any policeman knows that he’s tryin’ to overthrow the Guvment.”

Labor and the Law

By Jay Fox

CLARENCE DARROW has said: "I don't care who makes the law if you let me interpret it." Darrow meant that the judges interpret the law to suit their own interests and prejudices, no matter how it is written. If anyone knows the ways of the courts surely he does. A long experience as defender of the workers in the courts has taught him how corporation lawyers in the judges' seats interpret the law.

Benjamin Harrison, at an unguarded moment, said: "The principle function of the law is to keep the poor in subjection."

Keeping in mind the opinions of these two eminent lawyers, let us take a look at the Sherman anti-trust law that is now being used to break the shopmen's strike. Originally it was a measure intended, so its proponents said, to curb the trustification of industry; a law to protect the public from being held up by combinations of capitalists intent upon controlling the supply and fixing the price of commodities. As I remember, organized labor got behind the measure and shared in the glory of its passage by Congress in 1890.

Fine. Now we would see if the greedy plutocrats were going to continue fleecing the public, all their trusts having become "unlawful combinations in restraint of trade."

How the Anti-Trust Law Worked

The sugar trust was selected as the first victim. It controlled 98% of the output of refined sugar and could have been easily dissolved if the attorney general and the courts really intended to enforce the law. Thirty-two years have passed and we are still paying toll to the sugar trust and all the other trusts that were made unlawful combinations by the Sherman act, that we, in our ignorance of economic law, thought was going to rid the country of these pests.

Now comes the proof of Harrison's statement. In 1892 Eugene V. Debs organized the American Railway Union, which admitted to membership every employee from the section hand and engine wiper to the conductor and engineer. This vigorous industrial union when but a year old tied up the Northern Pacific and brought the lordly Jim Hill to his knees. The General Managers' Association decreed that the A. R. U. must be crushed before it got too strong. The Pullman Co. discharged members of the A. R. U. and cut wages, forcing a strike and the refusal to haul Pullman cars, which resulted in a general tieup.

The government jumped in to help the railroads with troops, but trains didn't move. Then

they dug up the anti-trust law and framed an injunction prohibiting the officers of the union from performing their lawful duties as directors of the strike, with the result that the strike was lost and Debs and other officers of the union were imprisoned for six months on the charge of violating the drastic injunction. Thus the law that labor sponsored as a trust breaker was used by the courts and the government as a strike breaker.

Railroad Men Subject to Compulsory Labor

Do railroad men know that they may be restrained from striking? Shortly before the Debs case was pulled Bill Taft, then a U. S. Circuit judge, issued an order forbidding the men on the Penn. from striking. An engineer quit after the order was issued, and Taft fined him \$50.00 with a warning of both fine and imprisonment for a second offense.

That was the beginning of government by injunction. It was more. It was the beginning of a new form of slavery. There is no need of a compulsory labor law for railroad men. The precedent is established. Any U. S. judge may enjoin railroad men from quitting, and jail them if they but lay off without the consent of their masters. If that is not slavery what is it?

That the practice has not been generally carried out is probably due to its clumsiness. If men in large numbers ignored an order of that sort there wouldn't be jails enough to hold them. The plan adopted in the Debs case and repeated in the present strike is a better one. Let the men strike, then make it impossible for them to function as an organization and the strike is crippled and soon broken.

After the Debs trust was dissolved the anti-trust law had a long rest. The next trust to raise its villainous head was that of the Danbury hatters. These wicked workers had the nerve to quite their jobs in a bunch, thus cutting down the profits of their masters. After several weeks of watchful waiting for the men to return to their tasks, the masters got together and estimated the amount of profits they were out through the obstinacy of the workers at \$175,000. Then they went into court and got judgment for twice the amount under the very generous terms of the anti-trust law. To satisfy that outrageous judgment the workers' homes were seized and sold over their heads. And thus was justice triumphant and the majesty of the law vindicated.

Shopmen's Trust Raises Its Brazen Head

Another long wait and the multi-headed railroad shopmen's trust brazenly appears on the

scene; and the government "of, for and by the people" running true to form, ever ready to succor the weak and oppressed, went before its latest appointee on the federal bench and got his signature to a document that left no room for doubt as to where Wall St. stands in the controversy between labor and capital. Said the Wall St. emissary, "It is with great regret that I am compelled to institute these proceedings, but they are necessary for the protection and preservation of the unions themselves." And to make it plainer still how deeply soliticious the Washington agency is for the preservation of the unions, man Friday continues: "So long and to the extent that I can speak for the government of the U. S. I will use the power of the government within me to prevent the destruction of the open shop." If that doesn't open the eyes of union men to their true relations to the plutocratic agencies at Washington, nothing will.

That's the real stuff, the stuff that makes men think. We have been waiting a long time for that plain talk, and it does one good to hear it at last. Strikebreaking is now at last admitted to be a function of the government. Backed by the government Wall St. is going the limit. Every liberty that labor possessed has been swept away. All that labor may now do legally is submit to the exactions of the plunderbund. Slavery is the only proper term to apply. Every person with an ounce of brains has known for long that Wall St. controls the powers at Washington. Now even Henry Dubb may know that labor has no friends outside of its own ranks. Acting through its agencies, the government and the press, Wall St. is firmly intent upon smashing the unions and fastening the chains of vassalage upon the workers. In every contest the unions have been forced to retreat. Wages are being slashed in every industry and labor with its fourteenth century system of organization is powerless to resist.

Gompers Offers a Solution of Problem

In the face of this terrific onslaught upon labor, what has Brother Gompers and the executive council to offer. This august body, while inhaling the ocean ozone at Atlantic City, con-

sidered ways and means for excommunicating what it called "unprincipled radicals" from the unions. As an alternative, another praiseworthy method of attacking Wall St. was also considered. The council thought the U. S. constitution ought to be amended. And these men are the leaders of the American labor movement. Is it any wonder that labor is in retreat? A group of 16 year old kids from a back country village would have a better grasp of the situation. And right here occurs the question: Is the labor movement directed by men with village school-boy minds, or by crafty placeholders bent upon keeping things as they are for fear that a change might affect their social standing, their salaries and their jobs? If the executive council was composed of real labor leaders, its meeting would be held in Chicago, the bubbling center of industrial strife, and not at Wall Street's summer resort; and instead of considering ways to Daughertyize the labor movement they would be rallying all the forces of labor for a united front against Wall St.

Rank and File Must Drive for Industrial Control

In the absence of a leadership capable of grasping the grave dangers that confront the labor movement, it is up to the rank and file to take the reins in its own hands. Wall Street's great power lies in its control of industry, and so long as it retains that control it will continue its mastery over the government, the courts, the press and all other avenues of the people's activities. The place to attack the tree of evil is at the roots. It is childish to lop off branches or to tinker around budding on new shoots. The power of injunction will be curbed when Wall St. is curbed, not before.

The issue is clearcut. Control of industry is the key to all power. Labor will be master when it controls the industries it has built with its own sweat and blood; and, obviously, the way to achieve industrial control is by industrial organization. Wall St. acquired its great power by militant, aggressive, industrial organization. Let labor adopt these progressive tactics and forge its way to freedom.

RAILROAD WORKERS: We call your particular attention to the **Railroad Amalgamation Advocate**, a bi-monthly paper which gives the latest news of the amalgamation movement on the railroads. It is published by the National Committee to Amalgamate the Sixteen Standard Railroad Organizations, O. H. Wangerin, Secretary, 411 Dakota Bldg., St. Paul, Minn. The subscription price is 60c. per year, in bundles 2c. per copy. Every railroader should read and distribute this most important paper.

Degenerate Labor Cartoons

By Elwood Brewster

A FEW years ago a young man by the name of J. M. Baer achieved a reputation by his work with the Non-Partisan League. He drew cartoons. They were addressed to the rebelling farmers of the Northwest, and were very effective. He crystallized the growing hatred of the exploited toilers on the land against their enemies; he translated their rebellion into pictures which all could understand, breathing an unflinching spirit of revolt. He was one of those who helped show the farmers their common interest with Labor. The pictures which he drew were a real contribution to the success of the farmers' movement, and achieved quite a reputation for Baer. But unfortunately something happened to him.

Baer was sent to Congress. He moved to Washington. There he became acquainted with "Labor's lobbyists" and the official aspect of the labor movement. He became intimate with them. Gradually the punch went out of his drawings. From being militant calls to action, symbols of rebellion against exploitation, they degenerated into the most pitifully optimistic eulogies of things as they are. They became smug, satisfied, self-congratulatory, and middle-class. Today Baer is no longer the cartoonist of revolt; he is the paid "booster" of a reactionary labor bureaucracy. Another good man has fallen by the wayside.

A measure of the degradation involved in the case of Baer is evidenced by the fact that the *American Federationist*, organ of Samuel Gompers, uses two cartoons each month from his hand. On the next page is reproduced four samples of this perversion of the cartoonist's art. They clearly show a smug contentment, a childishly naive acceptance of moth-eaten formulae palmed off as eternal principles. The perversion of reality is almost complete, and in these pictures the struggle of Labor becomes a sort of Sunday School march, watched over and protected by the good spirits. Meanwhile he shows us Labor's enemies crushed and defeated, not by the power of Labor, but by some sort of magic. They are like a child's dreams, the mystical fulfillment of desires, reflecting the helplessness of the dreamer to achieve his end in the real world.

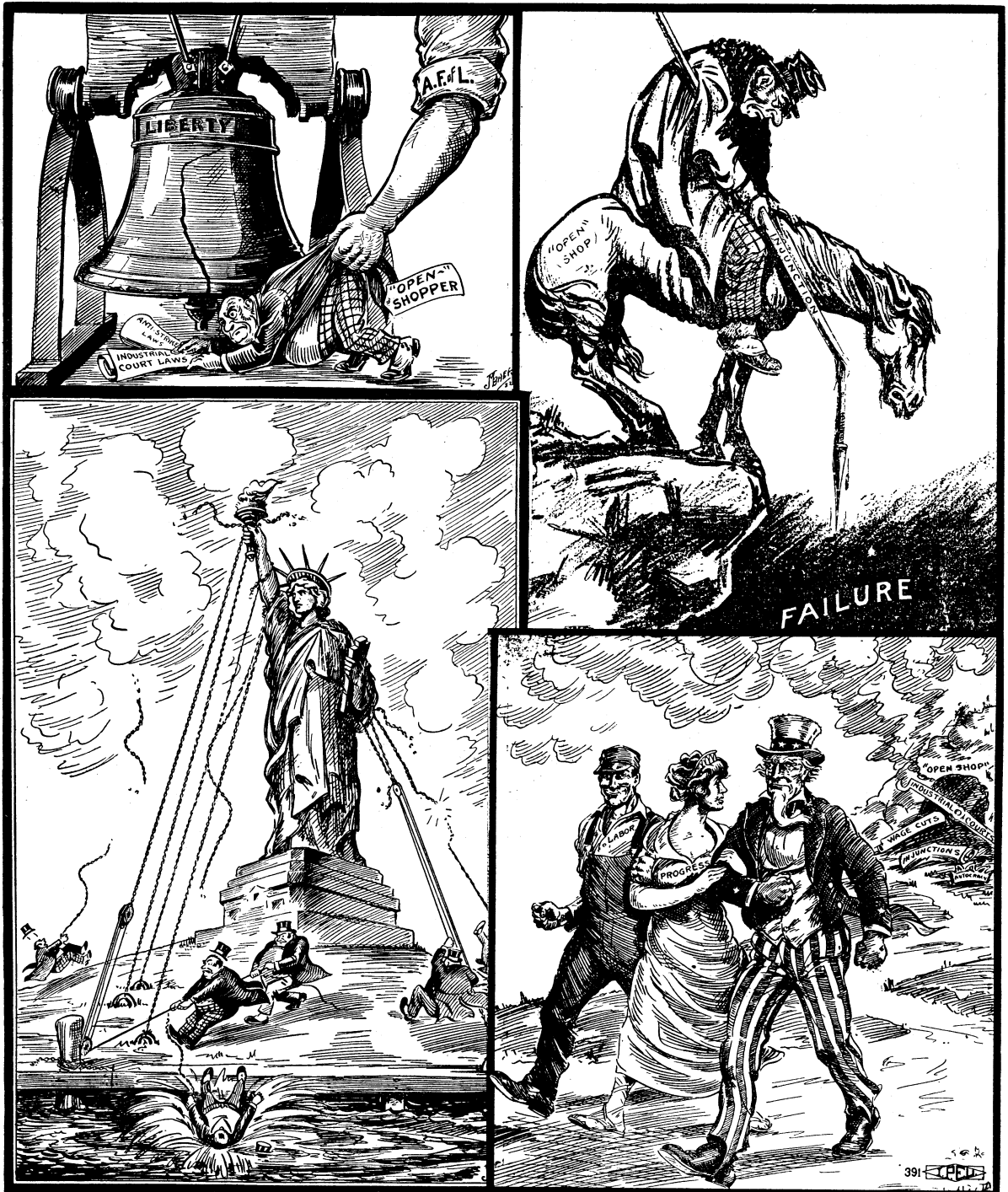
Thus while in the sordid realm of fact the "open shop" forces are boldly and brazenly proclaiming their program, and carrying it out at the cost of Labor, in Baer's dream-world is shown the strong arm of "A. F. of L." dragging

a miserable worm of a capitalist out from the shelter of the liberty bell for all to despise. This picture tells the story, to be accepted by the child-minds who believe what they see in the *American Federationist*, that the frightened capitalists with their schemes for industrial court and anti-strike laws, are firmly in the grip of Gompers and Company, who will perhaps shake the very life out of them if they are not good.

What little success such a cartoon can have among the rank and file of Labor can be secured only through pandering to the immature, to those who would turn away from harsh reality to find comfort in fairy tales. But what of the motives of those shrewd disciples of *Machtpolitik* in the Labor movement who pay for such spiritual opium? It is the same motive that is behind all traffic in drugs, the wish to quiet the otherwise restive victims of exploitation. Alex Howat is in jail for fighting the industrial court law of Kansas—but the cartoon quietly ignores such rude facts, and gently breathes the message: "Gompers is in his heaven and all's right with the Labor world."

Liberty is having a rough time of it—at least for the workers—in America. Official and unofficial terrorism is the order of the day against all Labor, radical and conservative. If a cartoonist wanted to show to trade unionists the extent of their Liberty, he might picture the Goddess prostrate and at the mercy of a gang of capitalist ruffians. That would have some connection with the position of Labor, as it exists. But Baer cannot see it that way—or will not. If he did his drawings would not be accepted by Gompers. No, Liberty is upright, resisting without effort the attempts of pigmy plutocrats to pull her over with ropes, chains, and pulleys. Mr. Baer's exploiters are in a bad way, falling over themselves and into the water in the most approved movie style. The Goddess is unmoved and contemptuous of their pitiful efforts.

Who could believe, after gazing at this cartoon from the *American Federationist*, that Tom Mooney has been in prison for six years; that Sacco and Vanzetti are under sentence of death; that hundreds of labor militants are behind the bars; that repressive laws and injunctions are the order of the day? Who could believe that this picture has any relation to a land where the courts, at the behest of capitalism, regularly imprison strikers without trial? Again Baer's message is one of apathy and acceptance of in-



Upper right-hand cartoon from "Labor"; others from the American Federationist.

tolerable things; again the facts are completely obscured.

"Progress," in the next cartoon of our set, is seen joyously striding down the highway upon the arms of "Labor" and "Uncle Sam." Baer tells us that the latter have just made a complete clean-up of the "open shop," industrial courts, wage cuts, autocracy, and injunctions,

all of which are shown in a state of wreckage on the road behind them. Labor's face is beaming with joy; Uncle Sam, one can see, is in a fighting mood against those who would threaten his bosom pal, Labor. If this picture is not a lie, it celebrates a great victory won by Labor with the assistance of the Government. But no such thing. It appeared in September, and was

going through the mails at the hour when Attorney General Daugherty, speaking for the Government of the United States, Uncle Sam, was telling the world that all the powers of that Government would be thrown into the struggle to preserve the "open shop."

While the postman was delivering this intellectual hash-heesh to those trade unionists (fortunately few) who read the journal which carried it, we have the testimony of Mr. Gompers that Uncle Sam was "engaged in a movement for the restoration of compulsory labor." But instead of driving this fact home to the workers, instead of stirring them to resistance, showing Uncle Sam and Big Biz cooperating in the unprecedented effort to establish the "open shop," wage cuts, anti-strike laws, injunctions, etc., with Progress struck down by their clubs and Labor with their back to the wall—instead of such a message with its call to action Baer prefers to give this silly "dream-fulfillment" which we see in the cartoon published.

If Baer's hemlock draught was served only in the *American Federationist* it would not perhaps deserve attention. But it spills over and flows through other, more healthy, streams of working-class thought. The remaining picture is a sample—taken from *Labor*, weekly organ of the railroad unions with a circulation of a half-million. It shows a disconsolate Don Quixote with a broken spear (the injunction), seated upon a dejected nag about to step into the abyss of failure. This is Baer's message to the ranks of Railroad Labor—*after the Daugherty injunction had been made permanent*. Baer tells the discouraged and demoralized shopmen, facing the

bitterest situation of years, that the "open shop" is toppling over the precipice of defeat, and that the injunction is a broken spear in the hands of defeated exploiters. This is the deadliest kind of poison to a labor movement which faces, as does ours, the necessity of fighting or dying.

No one is more deserving of honor than the cartoonist who serves Labor. His is a subtle art, and when he uses it well is a source of inspiration to the movement of the toiling masses. He deals with the stuff of life, the emotions, the springs of action, the soul of the labor movement. When touched with the spirit he moves great masses of men to resentment against wrongs, urges on to action against dangers, holds folly and weakness up to ridicule. He strengthens and deepens the spirit of the labor movement—unless—unless he becomes the paid apologist for reaction, stagnation, and treachery.

The honor due to the artist who serves Labor, and the health of spirit of the trade union movement, demand that such as betray this sacred trust should be repudiated. The very opportunity for service becomes the opportunity for incalculable harm, and yesterday's laurels are today the shield of vice. When Baer becomes poverty-stricken in working-class spirit, when he becomes the servant of Gompers, glossing over the stark realities of Labor's plight with a puerile, Pollyannesque optimism, then, greatly as we may respect his honorable past, we must turn away in disgust. To the casual traveler wandering by this innocent-appearing spring, we must issue the warning:

"Do not drink here. Look again. It is poison."

THE SUSTAINING FUND

Is your group ready to go, to build up the Sustaining Fund?

Full information will be sent this month to all secretaries who have requested it.

Are you on the list?

The Sustaining Fund will be the financial system of the organization. Unless you have placed your local group in line, you are not yet on a sound basis.

Secretaries should apply for authority to establish the Sustaining Fund at once.

Members should see that this is done.

All together to put the Sustaining Fund into operation!

Michigan Federation Moves Forward

By a Convention Delegate

THE Michigan State Federation of Labor has long been one of the conservative labor bodies of the United States. But, in the words of Al. Posen, "Them days is gone forever." For in the recent Convention, in Battle Creek the latter part of September, the Federation showed a determination to make itself a real, fighting labor organization. It adopted programs and policies abreast of any similar body in the country. The high point of the Convention, which marked the turning of the tide for progress, was the adoption of the amalgamation resolution, news of which was, at the last minute, squeezed into THE LABOR HERALD for October.

The forces of reaction realized that the test of strength would come on the resolution for amalgamation. This was therefore the point for the big battle of the convention. There were three distinct fights over the proposition, and in each of them the progressive delegates won out.

The amalgamation resolution was handed to the secretary, who made the first move against it when he referred the resolution to the Organization Committee instead of to the Resolution Committee. This was the same trick used by the reactionaries in the Railway Employees' Department Convention. The resolution called only for an indorsement of the principle of industrial unionism, and properly belonged to the Resolutions Committee. After a short, sharp fight, the amalgamation forces won out and the resolution went to the proper committee. Thus the first skirmish resulted in a victory.

The next fight came in the committee. The introducer of the proposition appeared before that body and explained all the details of the plan and answered questions put to him by the committee. The opposition here made a flank attack, attempting to have the resolution re-written to take some of the punch out of it. But amalgamation was in the air and becoming popular. The committee reported favorably for the amalgamation resolution. The flank attack failed in a second victory for progress.

Then the fireworks started. The conservatives put forth their best efforts to defeat the measure; they used every argument, sophistry, and parliamentary trick known. But the advocates of amalgamation came back so strong, and the delegates were so convinced of the necessity of industrial solidarity, that the proposal was finally passed with a burst of enthusiastic cheering. The reactionaries were swept off their feet, and only two had the courage of their convictions and voted against it. One of the latter had been

a candidate for the office of president, but withdrew his name when he saw which way the wind was blowing. With victory in the third engagement of the battle for amalgamation, the progressive forces definitely had the lead of the Convention.

From this point on, the record of the gathering was one of progressive action. A strong demand for the release of Tom Mooney was adopted. Another resolution called for amnesty for all political prisoners. Many other actions, covering a wide range of working-class interests, were taken by the meeting, and in all of them the note of militant progress was sounded. Albert Saether, an organizer for the Machinists' Union, and known as a progressive, was elected as president.

The Michigan Federation of Labor was the first large body of trade unionists to meet after the so-called "red raids" in Chicago and Berrien County, and the arrest of a score of trade unionists under the "criminal syndicalism law" of Michigan. The Federation rose to the occasion, and adopted two resolutions on the subject. One of them pointed out that the law in question constitutes a violation of free speech, free press, and free assemblage to the workers; that it is held over the workers' heads in order to harass, embarrass, and intimidate them; and calls upon the incoming Legislature to repeal the law.

The other resolution dealt specifically with the arrests that had just been made. It strongly sets forth the violation of civil rights involved; protests against the brutal treatment accorded those arrested; and excoriates the officials responsible for the whole affair. "The whole farcical proceeding," says the document, "is a campaign of the Burns Detective Agency to shake down the credulous employers." It closes with a demand that the Governor of the State, and the prosecuting attorney, drop the prosecution of the cases. The Michigan Federation of Labor thus placed itself squarely in defence of the arrested trade unionists.

In the past this great body of labor has been used as a stepping stone for politicians to reach political jobs in the State Government. But that day is now gone. The character of the delegates and their determined stand on all the large questions that came before the meeting, indicates that the political hangers-on of the capitalist parties have lost, for all time, this field of activity. The convention just past has put the Michigan Federation into the ranks of the fighting working-class of America.

Chaos In the Textile Industry

By H. J. C.

THE great textile strike, which is only partly over, has brought out vividly the chaos that exists in the ranks of labor in that industry. The importance of the field to the trade union movement is great. Textiles constitute one of New England's principal industries, having in Massachusetts alone an invested capital of \$813,695,415, and employing in that state 180,746 mill slaves. These figures are for 1920, the latest available. In that year, when the cost of living reached its peak, the total wages paid amounted to \$217,303,192 (how much of this being directors' salaries cannot be learned), the average wage of male and female workers being \$22.79 per week. Since that time wage cuts have been drastic and general.

Besides being the greatest, textiles is also one of the oldest industries. The first successful cotton mill was erected as far back as 1790 at Pawtucket, Rhode Island, by Samuel Slater, with capital furnished by Moses Brown, a wealthy Providence merchant. New England possessed a surplus capital, and its many rivers provided the water power, necessary at that time for the manufacture of cotton, woolen, worsted, and silk goods. Its most valuable "asset," however, was an abundant supply of cheap, female labor-power, drawn from the farms and fishing villages of the coast, from whence the young men had either emigrated or gone to sea.

Textiles is essentially a machine industry and the workers in it have consequently passed through every phase of the labor movement in America. Particularly the two tendencies which act to retard the growth of unionism in this country, that towards conservatism which is natural among masses of workers in America, and the other, the dual union influence, have been very active in the textile industry. It is not too much to say that the present chaos demonstrates that these obstructing factors have injured the labor movement in the textile industry to a degree equal to, if not greater than, that in any other.

What are the prospects for labor union organization in the textile industry? This question would, a few months ago, have brought a pessimistic reply from any thoughtful unionist. A disheartening array of facts would have been cited to prove the hopeless position of the textile workers; little organization and that only in the large centers; a confusion of rival unions, reactionary and progressive, A. F. of L. and independent: the many camps which divided the

workers, each claiming to represent labor and mutually suspicious of each other, with apparently no signs of rapprochement between them. Truly it was a condition to discourage the most optimistic trade unionist.

The Mill Owners' Attack

Under these circumstances the rapacious mill barons inevitably fattened themselves at the expense of labor. While the symbols of their great wealth, wrung from the sweated labor of the mill slaves, made of the North Shore a district of stately and palatial mansions, the workers paid bitterly in low wages and long hours for their failure to organize solidly and effectively.

Not that the textile workers did not know how to strike. Not that they failed when in battle to put up stiff resistance to the power of the bosses. On the contrary, the textile workers have time and again demonstrated their splendid fighting qualities. The history of Lawrence, for example, is a series of the most bitter struggles in American industrial warfare. The fault of these workers laid not in their inability or unwillingness to fight. Rather it is to be found in their failure to unite their scattered forces into a single fighting front, and to hold the organization achieved in one struggle so as to enter into the next one with greater power. So it was that with each strike they saw the fruits of victory slip from their grasp; with the great lesson of solidarity unlearned, the organization built with tremendous enthusiasm during the battle frittered away soon after.

The Great Struggle of 1922

Appropriately enough, the struggle which has convulsed the textile industry since the beginning of the present year, began in the Pawtucket Valley, near the spot where Samuel Slater was instrumental in starting what has since become New England's wealthiest industry. Only six months before, the workers, helplessly divided in their petty factions, were unable to resist a cut in wages of 20%. The employers emboldened by this meekness, announced another cut of 22½% in January, together with an increase in hours from 48 to 54 per week. This was more than human flesh and blood could stand. From Natick, in the B. B. & R. Knight Company mill, where the Amalgamated Textile Workers immediately struck, the movement spread quickly to the whole valley. Soon the workers in the adjoining Blackstone Valley, where the United Textile Workers had organization, joined the movement. From there it spread to Rhode Is-

land, where all the textile workers responded to the slogan, "No longer day, no shorter pay." Almost before the country knew that the strike was on, it had spread spontaneously through Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont, involving more than 100,000 workers.

The struggle that followed was extremely bitter. The mill owners, determined to crush the textile unions once for all, used all of the "approved" weapons to drive the rebelling workers back to the looms. In many places military law prevailed. Private armies were recruited by the employers. Shootings occurred, in which, as usual, it was the workers who lost their lives. Compliant judges, yielding to the requests of the textile masters, issued timely injunctions prohibiting the workers from picketing, and barring them from all action to induce others not to scab. In Manchester, N. H., for example, strikers were prevented from sitting on the porches of their own homes, or looking out of their windows, while strike breakers were passing to and from the mill. It was strictly forbidden to speak to scabs, while strike breakers were given every protection in using insulting language to strikers. The latter were denied permits for tag days or house-to-house collections, and those in want, with their dependents, were allowed to suffer; but no objection was raised when scabs of the Amoskeag Corporation conducted a house-to-house canvas to attempt to induce strikers to return to work. But the solidarity of the workers could not be broken.

This splendid spirit of the rank and file could have won the fight in short order, but for the criminal stupidity of the textile unions. When the need for a solid front was so apparent, the "leaders" of the textile unions were guilty of keeping Labor's forces divided. Each union tinkered with the fight in its own manner. No efforts were made to unite the workers of the Blackstone Valley with those in the Pawtuxet Valley. Instead of healing the many divisions that existed throughout the textile labor unions, the officialdom endeavored to intensify them. This condition existed until the end of the strike and undoubtedly prolonged it many weeks.

Factionalism in Lawrence

Lawrence, Mass., is the key to the textile industry. Its wage scale generally determines that of the other centers. While the strike in Lawrence did not begin until March, two months after it had started in the Pawtuxet Valley, still the workers had known the struggle was inevitable. But when it came they were totally unprepared, as elsewhere, for the battle. Practically unorganized, 17,000 workers quit when the reduction was announced, or were locked out by

the mill owners.

Even more than elsewhere, Lawrence was the victim of fratricidal strife. Little organization existed and that which did was divided between four organizations, the largest being the United Textile Workers, and a new brand of dual unionism, the One Big Union, which had recently secured a toehold there. During the first week the strike was directed by a joint council of the O. B. U. and U. T. W., but after this week of harmony, McMahon, of the U. T. W., withdrew the latter organization from the council. Thereupon Ben Legere, spokesman for the O. B. U., launched into a bitter public attack upon the U. T. W., which he kept up continuously until near the end of the strike. Undoubtedly McMahon's action was grave provocation, but Legere's conduct was, if anything, the more culpable. Instead of striving with all his power to re-establish harmony, to create a common front of the workers in Lawrence, Legere chose to widen the breach. These tactics, born of the old dualist philosophy, kept the workers fighting among themselves for the duration of the strike.

The strike in Lawrence differed from the former struggles in that center, in that a far larger percentage of Americans were involved. It was not a "foreigners' " strike. Unlike previous struggles also, the sympathy of the Lawrence citizens was with the strikers instead of against them, the business men realizing that the drastic wage cuts would seriously reduce the purchasing power of the workers. Business men, professional men, firemen, and even policemen contributed regularly to the general strike fund, which was divided between the two organizations.

All of the vicious attacks of the forces of the employers were unable to break the strikers' ranks. In spite of their internal wrangling, in spite of the terrific pressure of the mill bosses, the workers would not return to the mills. Finally, after five months, when it was apparent that the workers would not yield, one of the largest mills, the Pacific, made overtures to the workers. The mill owners realized that they were defeated in their effort to further reduce the textile workers' wages.

Here entered a most significant development. Of the four organizations involved, not one could undertake to negotiate a settlement which would return all the workers to the mills. Under pressure of the circumstances, a joint council was formed including the United Textile Workers, the One Big Union, the American Federation of Textile Operatives, and the National Loom Fixers' Association. Immediately upon this unification of the organizations for negotiating with the mill owners, the latter announced that the former

wage scale was restored without further parley. Thus, although the Council did not reach the point of united action, its potential power deeply affected the settlement. The workers returned to their looms on September 1st.

The Lawrence settlement soon became general. Most of the textile workers of New England are now back on the job at the old scale. But, although the bosses lost their fight for the 54 hour week, and the additional cut of 22½%, the struggle is not entirely over. In Manchester 17,000 workers of the Amoskeag Mills are still out against the longer work week; they have refused to be bribed by an offer of a 25% increase in wages for the longer hours, although they have been out more than 36 weeks. The U. T. W. Convention at Fall River, Mass., recently decided to continue the fight for the 48 hour week until it is won.

The usual condition that marks the end of a strike, prevails, such as discrimination against militant workers, and broken promises on the part of the mill owners. Moreover, the present situation is not really a settlement. At best it is but a lull in the storm, which will break out again with renewed fury. The mill owners have not abandoned their intention to maintain the high rate of profit to which the war accustomed them, and they are going to take it out of the workers. They call it "deflating" labor. The textile workers must prepare for the inevitable battle which the future still holds for them.

What of the Future?

If the textile workers are going to raise themselves out of their present condition of misery and starvation, means must be found by which they can create complete industrial solidarity. The chaos of conflicting organizations must be harmonized and brought together. Some progress in this direction has been made. The independent unions, with the exception of the O. B. U., have formed a federation looking toward a closer-bound, more compact, organization. Amalgamation sentiment is growing throughout the industry.

In this connection the hardest problem is the relations between the United Textile Workers and the independent federation. The former organization is very conservative and has been the least affected by the movement toward solidarity. Its strike record hitherto has made it many enemies. Wherever it has had even a shadow of organization it has claimed the right to settle disputes, even over the heads of great numbers in the other organizations. To such workers this has appeared to be the rankest treachery. In this the U. T. W. is backed by the A. F. of L. officialdom; add to this the fact that it has re-

cruited in this strike, considering the industry as a whole, more members than all the other bodies, and it will be seen that the United Textile Workers is a most important factor. Its membership is sincerely conservative, being without the education in militancy possessed by that of the more progressive unions. No solution of the textile problem is possible which ignores this strong organization.

Any attempt to eliminate the U. T. W. from the textile industry is doomed to failure, nor would it be advisable if possible. Under the present conditions there can be no doubt that it is a distinct obstacle to successful strike action; it is liable at any time, through its influence over a conservative minority within a given strike center, to break the solidarity of the struggle where such is carried on by one of the more progressive unions. But the answer to this problem is not elimination of the U. T. W.; amalgamation is the only program possible. In the past struggles much bitterness against contact with the U. T. W. has been developed in the progressive ranks. But this must be overcome. And within the United Textile Workers there must be developed an organized movement for industrial solidarity through amalgamation.

The prime reason why solidarity has not heretofore been achieved has been the lack of connections between the militant unionists in the various textile centers and the various textile organizations. It is impossible now to lay down a detailed course of action which will remedy the present deplorable condition and resolve the existing chaos into order. This can only be done by the active textile militants coming together and working out, in the light of their combined knowledge, a common course of action.

At the recent National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League, the National Committee was instructed to take the necessary steps toward working out a definite program of solidarity for the textile industry. Such a conference of militants throughout the various organizations and centers will be called upon to work out this program in the near future. That gathering will hold in its keeping the future welfare of the textile workers of America. The program which it will give to the militant trade unionists will finally lift from off the shoulders of the textile workers the dead weight of conservatism, factionalism, and dual unionism, which today combine in crushing them to the earth. A program of amalgamation, carefully worked out by those in intimate touch with all the circumstances, will finally place the textile workers in their proper place, in the forefront of the American labor movement.

A Big Squawk

WITH the amalgamation movement sweeping over the country, alarm is developing in the ranks of the chronic job-holding trade union officials. Those in the office of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers are particularly perturbed over the situation. But as usual, instead of attempting to meet the argument of the amalgamators, they are indulging in a flood of billingsgate. The following is a sample of the trash with which they are filling the columns of their journal for the past few months:

The latest Dr. Jekyll-Mr. Hyde performance staged by Wm. Z. Foster, like all similar ones in the past, has quite naturally attracted all sorts and kinds of emotional, blood-and-thunder platform specialists, violent "literary geniuses," perfumed reformers, "intellectual" tramps, box-car "executives," failures, cast-offs and misfits, sensational notoriety hunters, power-craving selfseekers, weeping sentimentalists, short-cut artists, expert distributors of "literature," hair-brained worshippers who blindly follow the spellbinder they last heard, rainbow chasers, believers in the philosophy of misery, self-styled militants, radicals, revolutionaries, "deep" thinkers who only think they are thinking, "higher" type educators and "superior" intellectuals of various shades who are always to be found hovering on the edge of the labor world seeking a following and a meal ticket.

It is typical of the utter bankruptcy of the trade union leadership that now, with the railroad companies smashing the Electrical Workers' organization, that these hard-boiled officials give the situation no serious consideration whatever, but bitterly attack all those who do. Fortunately, however, the Trade Union Educational League has a means of reaching the rank and file, even of the Electrical Workers, and will eventually wake them up to the type of men they have now at the head of their union.

Likewise, it is typical of the Electrical Workers' officials that, while denouncing Foster in page after page of their magazine, they do not hesitate to steal sections from his writings where they can twist them to suit their own purposes. On page 237 of the April, 1922, number of the Electrical Workers' Journal there appears a lengthy write-up of the development and evolution of the railroad trade unions which was lifted from Foster's book, "The Railroaders' Next Step—Amalgamation," much of it being word for word plagiarism.

The Electrical Workers' officials pretend to see in Foster one of those "nuts" of whom "an

examination above their shoulders would disclose nothing but a great vacuum." But during the great steel campaign things looked different. At that time Foster was engineering a big industrial movement in the steel industry and the Electrical Workers, tickled at seeing the thousands of members pouring into their union to furnish some needed per capita tax, were glad to cater to him and tell him what splendid work he was doing. Then a so-called labor paper of Pittsburgh attacked Foster along exactly the same lines as the Electrical Workers' Journal is now doing, and Foster sent copies of that paper to the Electrical Workers' headquarters; here is the reply that he got:

Springfield, Ill., March 29, 1919.

Mr. Wm. Z. Foster,
303 Magee Bldg.,
Pittsburg, Pa.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Your favor of the 26th to Acting President Noonan, enclosing copy of the Labor World, received.

I have read the article in the Labor World with interest, and take this opportunity of assuring you that it would take something more than the efforts of a paper, subsidized by the steel interest, to shatter our confidence in you. I have no information concerning the articles which they credit you with being the author of, and have little interest in them even though such articles might have been written by you. Men are somewhat different than monkeys. We may be of one mind today, and circumstances may alter our opinions tomorrow.

The attack should not cause you alarm, for it is my firm belief it will only strengthen the confidence of those who are associated with you, and give them the understanding that if your activities were not hurting the steel trust, you would not be a victim of their wrath. The attack is the best evidence of the thoroughness with which you are conducting the campaign, and it is our judgment that instead of being the means of discrediting you, it will prove to be beneficial to your interest.

With best wishes, I am,

Fraternally yours,

(Signed)

Chas. P. Ford,
International Secretary.

We would advise the Electrical Workers' job-seeking officials to do two things: (1) to read the above letter carefully and apply to themselves the arguments they make against the Labor World, (2) to hearken to the advice given recently by an international president to a group of his field men, viz.: "Save your money, boys, amalgamation's coming."

Ravages of Dual Unionism

By William Z. Foster

Extracts from Chapter III of the new pamphlet, "The Bankruptcy of the American Labor Movement," which will be off the press on November 15th.

DUAL Unionism is a malignant disease that sickens and devitalizes the whole labor movement. The prime fault of it is that it wastes the efforts of those militant elements whose activities determine the fate of all working class organization. It does this by withdrawing these rare and precious militants from the mass trade unions, where they serve as the very mainspring of vitality and progress, and by misdirecting their attention to the barren and hopeless work of building up impossible, utopian industrial organizations. This drain of the best blood of the trade unions begins by enormously weakening these bodies and ends by making impotent every branch of the labor movement as well: for the welfare of all Organized Labor, political, industrial, co-operative, educational, depends upon the trade unions, the basic organizations of the working class, being in a flourishing condition. Dual unionism saps the strength of the trade unions, and when it does that it undermines the structure of the entire working class organization.

The Dual Unions Fail

Since the dual program was outlined almost thirty years ago by DeLeon it has wasted a prodigious amount of invaluable rebel strength. Tens of thousands of the very best militants ever produced by the American labor movement have devoted themselves to it whole-heartedly and have expended oceans of energy in order to bring the longed for new labor movement into realization. But they were pouring water upon sand. The parched Sahara of dual industrial unionism has swallowed up their efforts and left hardly a trace behind. The numerically insignificant dual unions of today are a poor bargain indeed in return for the enormous price they have cost.

Consider, for example, the Industrial Workers of the World: The amount of energy and unselfish devotion lavished upon that organization would have wrought miracles in developing and extending the trade unions; but it has been powerless to make anything substantial of the I. W. W. Today, 17 years after its foundation, that body has far fewer members (not to speak of much less influence) than it had at its beginning. The latest available official financial reports show a membership of not more than 15,000, whereas in 1905 it had 40,000. Even its former militant spirit has degenerated until the organization has now become little more than a sort of league to

make war upon the trade unions and to revile and slander struggling Soviet Russia. The I. W. W. is a monument to the folly of dual unionism.

Breaking the Western Federation of Miners

One of the great tragedies caused by dual unionism was the smashing of the Western Federation of Miners. This body of metal miners, organized in 1893, was in its early days a splendid type of labor union. Industrial in form and frankly revolutionary, it carried on for many years a spectacular and successful struggle against the Mine Owners' Association. Brissenden says that its strikes in Coeur d'Alene, Cripple Creek, Leadville, Telluride, Idaho Springs, etc., were "the most strenuous and dramatic series of strike disturbances in the history of the American labor movement." Time after time the miners armed themselves and fought it out with the gunmen and thugs of the mining companies. Their valiant battles attracted world-wide attention.*

But this great organization, unquestionably one of the best ever produced by the American Labor Movement, has long since been wrecked both in point of numbers and militancy. Insignificant in size, it has become so conservative as to be ashamed of its splendid old name. It is now known as the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. This pitiful degeneration of the Western Federation of Miners was caused directly by dual unionism. Some detail is necessary in order to show how it happened.

To begin with, we must understand that only a very small percentage of the W. F. of M. membership, not over 5% at most,** were militant and revolutionary. This small minority, highly organized, occupied all the strategic points of the union. Thus they were able to communicate something of their own revolutionary spirit to the mass as a whole. The organized militants literary compelled the W. F. of M. to be a virile fighting organization.

In 1905, the W. F. of M. was one of the unions that formed the I. W. W. It remained part of that organization for about two years, when it withdrew. The militant elements, the ones who had made the W. F. of M. what it was, were bitterly opposed to the withdrawal. For the most part they stayed in the I. W. W. and allowed the W. F. of M. to go its way without

* The history of the W. F. of M. gives the lie direct to the arguments that prosperity kills the militancy of the workers. That union was made up mostly of American born workers and operated in what was then the most prosperous section of the county, the Rocky Mountain district.

** Estimated by Vincent St. John former W. F. of M. militant.

them. Hundreds of the best men, including such fighters as Haywood, St. John, etc., deserted the old organization, either by quitting it altogether or by becoming negative factors in it. The passage of the W. F. of M. through the I. W. W. had served to sift out the active workers, to rob the W. F. of M. of its very soul. The W. F. of M. went into the I. W. W. a revolutionary organization; it came out of it, if not actually conservative, then at least definitely condemned to that fate.

After the W. F. of M.'s withdrawal from the I. W. W. its militants, all become ardent dual unionists, declared war to the knife against it. The organization which had previously absorbed so much of their unselfish devotion now became the object of their bitterest attacks. Once the very backbone of the W. F. of M., the militants now became its deadliest foe. Under the circumstances, it was not long until the degeneration set in which has reduced the once splendid Western Federation of Miners to its present lowly status.

Among others, the writer was one who pointed out the folly of rebels destroying an industrial union like the W. F. of M., simply because it had withdrawn from the I. W. W., and who likewise urged that they organize a campaign to take control of the union again. But the answer always given was that the Moyer machine, especially because it controlled the big Butte local union, was unshakably entrenched. And when it was proposed to capture the Butte local this was declared impossible. But the fallacy of this objection was made apparent in 1914 when, as a result of insupportable grievances, the rank and file of the Butte organization rose up, drove their officials from town and took charge of the situation. This put Butte, the citadel of the reaction, squarely in the hands of the militants. Had they but stayed in the W. F. of M. and carried on a campaign in the other locals the whole organization would have been theirs for the taking. But they were so obsessed with dual unionism prevailing generally among rebels, and so blinded with hatred for everything connected with the A. F. of L., that they seceded at once and formed a new union. This went to smash, as such organizations almost always do. The only practical effect of the whole affair was to deal a death blow to W. F. of M., already weakened and poisoned by the desertion of its former militants.

It is one of the saddest facts of American labor history that the Western Federation of Miners was finally destroyed by the very militants who originally built it and made it one of the joys of the working class. What the Mine Own-

ers' Association, with all its money and power, was unable to accomplish, the militants, obsessed by dual unionism, brought about with little or no difficulty. Their allegiance to an impractical theory has broken up all organization among the metal miners. And the ravages that were made upon the W. F. of M. have been visited to a greater or lesser extent upon every other trade union in the United States, for all of them have had to suffer the loss of their most active workers and to confront as bitter enemies those very fighters who should have been their main reliance.

Downfall of the Socialist Party

A striking example of the destructive influence of dual unionism upon other working class organizations besides trade unions, was the ruin it wrought to the Socialist Party. For many years the S. P. was the chief vehicle for revolutionary thought in this country. Gradually it grew and expanded until in 1912, it reached a total of 118,000 members. It appeared to be flourishing and destined for a vigorous future. But all of a sudden it began to wither and disintegrate, a process which went on until now the party probably has not more than 5,000 members.

This quick collapse of the Socialist Party was one of the most remarkable events in modern labor history. It seemed that the very bottom fell out of the movement. The first immediate cause was the passage, at the 1912 national convention of the famous Art 2, Sec. 6, of the Party constitution, stringently prohibiting the advocacy of sabotage, and other forms of direct action. This measure, amounting in effect to an anti-syndicalist law, greatly antagonized the left-wing elements and drove many of them from the party. The next blow came when the United States entered the great war. The party adopted an anti-war resolution, only to find itself confronted with a labor movement and a working class generally stricken by war fever. Result, further great losses in membership and prestige. The final stroke came with the Communist split in 1919. This pulled away at least half of the remaining party membership, and the rest, demoralized, have been unable to recover and to rehabilitate the organization. Since then the party has diminished constantly in strength to its present low level.

The three above-mentioned causes for the breakdown of the Socialist Party, despite their importance, were only of a surface character. The real reason lies deeper. It is to be found in the organization's faulty economic policy, in the dual unionism which has afflicted it ever since the party's foundation. All working class political parties, whether labor, Socialist, Communist,

or whatnot, must be organized with the trade unions as their foundation. This is because the trade unions are the basic institutions of the working class. The fact that they carry on the everyday struggle of the workers for better conditions gives them enormous prestige and numerical and financial strength, all of which the parties must utilize in their political work. It may be accepted as an axiom that whoever controls the trade unions is able to dictate the general policies, economic, political and otherwise, of the whole working class. All over the world the strength of the various political parties is in direct ratio to the amount of control they have over the mass trade unions. Such a thing as a powerful labor party, whether conservative or radical, without strong trade union backing, is impossible. Therefore, one of the very first tasks of every working class political organization must be to establish its influence in the trade unions.

The Socialist Party has never understood these cardinal facts. Its working principle, real enough even though unexpressed, has always been a presumption that it would secure its membership and backing from the citizenry generally. It has not realized that it has to have as its foundation not only the masses, but the masses organized in the trade unions. Because of the tendency of its predecessor, the Socialist Labor Party, to split away the rebels from the trade unions, the thing that the S. P. had to do in order to succeed was to carry on an intense campaign to intrench its active workers in the strategic positions of the labor organizations, where they could educate the masses and utilize their industrial, financial, and other strength to further the cause of the whole Socialist movement. But because it did not clearly understand the importance of the unions it failed to map out such a positive industrial program, indispensable to its life and progress. It allowed all its industrial work to be thwarted by a dual unionism which infected it deeply from its inception.

Although when the Socialist Party developed as a split-off from the old Socialist Labor Party one of the issues it dissented upon was the latter's policy of dual unionism, it was not long until it, too, was in the grip of the same disease. A powerful left-wing, bitter haters of the trade unions and ardent advocates of a dual labor movement, rapidly developed. The right-wing favored active participation in the trade unions, chiefly for political reasons, while the left-wing proposed the destruction of the trade unions. The party as a whole, seeking a false harmony, straddled this vital question. Its general attitude was that it favored industrial unionism, but it did not undertake to tell its members how to achieve

this form of organization, whether through the development of the old unions or the establishment of new ones.* As an organization it carried out no serious work to build up the necessary labor union foundation. Each wing of the party applied its own particular industrial policies. For some years the right-wing attempted to capture the old unions, and with considerable success in the Machinists, Bakers, Clothing Workers, Miners and others, but on the whole, the left-wing, by a bitter warfare against the trade unions, sabotaged their work most effectively.

Because of this negative attitude the Socialist Party never won for itself the support of the labor organizations, without which it could not possibly succeed. Its militants never were encouraged to occupy the tremendously important strategic posts, such as executive officers, editors, etc., in the trade unions, which could have been used to enormous advantage for the party. On the contrary, these posts remained uncontested in the hands of the conservatives, who used them most effectively to poison the masses against Socialism. When, for example, the party adopted the anti-war resolution, it would have been comparatively simple to secure the support, or at least the toleration, of the working class for that measure, had the radicals been strategically intrenched in the unions. But with the Gompers crowd in complete control the latter were able to sway the whole trade union movement, and with it the working class, in general, against the Socialist Party. In this instance the party reaped the whirlwind that it had been sowing for so many years by its failure to conquer the trade unions, a task which it could have easily accomplished had it but freed itself from dualism.

In Europe the Socialist Parties of the various countries have suffered many heavy blows since the beginning of the world war. But they have stood up under them far better than the American Socialist Party. This is because, being deeply rooted in their respective trade unions, there is some structure and fibre to them. Consider the Social Democratic Party of Germany, for example. That organization openly betrayed the workers all through the war and the revolutionary period. It forfeited its right to represent the working class. In consequence it was subjected to several great splits and innumerable desperate assaults from without by the left-wing elements. But it has maintained itself with a vigor not even remotely shown by the Socialist Party of this country. The explanation for this

* A classic example of this negative policy was the famous industrial resolution adopted in the 1912 S. P. Convention. This resolution, accepted unanimously by dual unionists and trade unionists alike, was nothing more than an agreement that the party in general should actively support neither the trade unions nor the dual unions, in fact, that it should have no real industrial program at all.

was its firm control over the German trade union movement. Having in its hands practically all the executive positions of the unions, it was able to control the masses even under the most trying circumstances. Had the left-wingers been able to break this trade union control, the S. D. P. would have collapsed even as our Socialist Party did. The degree of success of the German Communist Party in its present struggle against the Social Democratic Party is in direct relation to the former's ability to win the trade unions away from S. D. P. domination.

The Socialist Party in this country collapsed because it was built upon talk, instead of upon the solid foundation of the trade union movement. Because it did not have the labor unions behind it the organization had no real stability. Hence, when it was put to the test, as noted above, in 1912, 1917 and 1919, it went to pieces. Dual unionism kept the Socialist militants out of the organized masses and thus directly prevented the winning of the working class to the beginnings of a revolutionary program. Moreover, it made of the S. P. itself a formless, spineless movement, which was shattered at the first real shock. Dual unionism ruined the Socialist Party.

Further illustrations might be cited almost in-

definitely to show the baneful effects of dual unionism upon various working class organizations. By pulling the militants out of the trade unions and wasting their energies on futile utopian separatist, organizations, dual unionism has robbed the whole workingclass of progressive leadership. It has thrown the great labor unions almost entirely into the hands of a corrupt and ignorant bureaucracy, which has choked out their every manifestation of militancy and progress. And in stultifying and ruining the trade unions, dual unionism condemned to sterility every branch of the entire labor movement, industrial, political, and otherwise: for if the workers in general have not been educated to an understanding of capitalism and the class struggle, if they have not developed a revolutionary ideal, if they have not yet organized a powerful cooperative movement—in very instance the cause may be directly traced to the paralyzing influence of the reactionary trade union bureaucracy, which dual unionism has entrenched in power. The persistence, for a generation, of the fatal dual union policy is the true explanation of the paradoxical and deplorable situation of the United States, the most advanced capitalist country in the world, having the most backward labor movement.

Daugherty's Palmeresques

From the Locomotive Engineers' Journal for October

Wm. Z. Foster and his Trade Union Educational League have been getting a little more than their share of the brunt of official idiocy. Evidently feeling some alarm at the progress of the League, the power that be seem to be determined to crush it or its leading spirit. Their first stunt, running Foster out of Denver on August 6th at the order of Adjutant General Hamrock, who boasted that "no law had been consulted," has been followed by others of equal intelligence and sagacity. Following a train wreck on August 20th at Gary, Ind., the league's headquarters were raided for evidence to connect it up with the wreck and so far as one could tell from newspaper accounts, the evidence was overwhelming. This mischievous maligning of Foster was smeared over by a retraction of the charges made against him appearing on inside and obscure pages of a few dailies.

Another attempt to "get" the league came on August 22nd, with the arrest of more than a score of alleged communists in the Michigan woods, gathered there at a supposed convention. Foster was sought as a runaway crim-

inal violator of the Michigan anti-syndicalism act, and is now held under \$10,000.00 bond in Michigan although official evidence now proves that he was in Chicago at the time of the so-called illegal meeting. The first annual convention of the Trade Union Educational League held in Chicago late in August was treated to another raid, Palmeresque style, when the audience was combed for participants in the alleged communist convention in Michigan.

If Attorney General Daugherty wants to make a national martyr out of Foster and spread his teachings from one end of the continent to the other, he has chosen the most direct road. If what Mr Foster teaches is false, then the less said about it the better, for fooly soon succumbs to a natural death. But if what he propounds is economic truth, then all the persecutions from Pilate to Palmer cannot suppress it. Perhaps Attorney General Daugherty, like his predecessor, sees red things at night. If so, we suggest that he retire to a nerve sanitarium, or else begin prosecution of the war fraud grafters for a change.

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MOONEY STILL IN JAIL

TOM MOONEY and Warren Billings are still in jail. When they were first imprisoned no one defended them but a few "queer people." But from the first day of the case, its influence has grown. Slowly, step by step, the full details of the diabolical plot to destroy these men because they were militant leaders of labor was exposed to the world. Spreading from the tens and scores, the awakening roused the tens and scores of thousands. Gradually the labor movement awoke to the real meaning of the Mooney Case. It became the flaming symbol of the rottenness of the American social structure. In the trade union movement, one's attitude toward the Mooney case has become a test of good unionism.

Today the Mooney case looms large in the minds of the rank and file of labor. Governor Stephens, of California, found that out to his sorrow, when he remained silent on the appeal for a pardon for Mooney and Billings. Stephens had the support of the officialdom of the California trade unions, the most corrupt and rotten gang that disgraces Labor's ranks. But he was defeated. The Mooney case is today a political factor. And this political influence will not stop at the borders of California. It will soon be haunting the distressful dreams of presidential aspirants.

The reason for this does not lie in the personality of the two imprisoned men. The Mooney case transcends Mooney and Billings. It has become the sign of the oppression of capitalist-dominated courts, corrupt government officials, the frame-up, and all the slimy and poisonous weapons used by the exploiters to crush down the restless ranks of Labor. In this case Labor sees its own enslavement dramatized. If Mooney cannot be freed, then Labor is hopelessly enchained. Mooney and Billings in prison are the sign of our degradation—their release will be the sign of an aroused labor movement, on its march toward liberation.

DOUBLE-CROSSING THE SOLDIERS

THE boys who fought in France "emerged from the conflict not only unharmed, but physically, mentally, and spiritually richer for the great experience." This is the statement of President Harding, in vetoing the bonus bill. It may be recalled, if such things are supposed to be remembered after

election, that Harding was elected on a platform which boasted that "Republicans are not ungrateful," and which, after reciting the "valor and patriotism," etc., "imperishable remembrance," etc., said, "We pledge ourselves to discharge to the fullest the obligations which a grateful nation justly should fulfill, in appreciation," etc., etc. But gratitude of the Republicans has turned out to be like that of the Democrats, the kind that is paid in words.

We search in vain for a record of Mr. Harding putting his veto upon any of the innumerable bills attaching the already bloated little pigs of American capitalism to the sow of the United States Treasury. He signed, without protest, the piratical tariff bill. He is militantly in favor of a ship-subsidy, to pass which a special session of Congress is called. He has approved every little bit of pork-barrel legislation which has been presented to him for the purpose of building up the political fences of his party. He has watched hundreds of millions being paid out to government contractors who never delivered a penny's worth of goods to the Government. But the bonus for the private soldiers, a few hundred dollars each, suddenly arouses his civic consciousness. He becomes the watch-dog to protect the public treasury against "class legislation."

The soldiers have been double-crossed. All they will get out of the Republican administration is a lesson. Being so dearly bought, the lesson should be pondered well. It is, that the interests of capitalism, and of a capitalist Government, can never be reconciled to the interests of the masses of the common people. A capitalist Government will legislate billions without winking an eye—if those billions go into the hands of a small group. But billions for returned soldiers, never!

MILITANTS GET THEIR FOOTING

BUT a short time ago the revolutionary unionists came face to face with reality. For something less than two years have they, as a movement, repudiated Utopian dual unionism and set themselves to the task of working with the established trade unions. Except for the small number who have pioneered in the work, they have been, naturally, somewhat clumsy in their new environment. They were "green," notwithstanding most of them being union members for years; this was because they had not taken their unions seriously before. The rebels for years had systematically kept away from the real union meetings, preferring a "pure" circle of revolutionists in a dual union. But the Utopian drunk overcome, they have surprised themselves as well as the reactionary officialdom, with the effectiveness of their work.

The great movement for amalgamation now sweeping through the city central bodies and State Federations, is a monument to the work of these "amateurs" of the trade union movement. It is their work, the stiffening of Labor's resistance to the attacks of Capitalism. They have brought to the movement a deep earnestness and idealism, which has more than compensated for inexpert tactics. And what they do not know about union law and procedure, the fine points of precedent and constitution, the reactionaries are rapidly teaching them. More than years of propaganda could have done, the struggles of the past few months have solidified the left wing, and taught them how to get

results. These results testify that the militants have gotten their footing in the unions.

Room for vast improvement still exists. The Trade Union Educational League is in its infancy. In its present power it has demonstrated unlimited future potentialities. These can be realized only if the achievements of the past months are looked upon as merely warming-up exercises, a playful preparation for the serious task. We have no time for self-congratulation. What we have accomplished is proof that we can do ten-fold. Where 25 copies of THE LABOR HERALD have been circulated, it must become 100; where it was 200 it must be increased to 500. Harder work, and more results, must be the order of the day. The militants have gained their footing; now to the task.

JOIN THE DEFENSE COUNCIL

BY the time this magazine reaches its subscribers, they will have received a communication from the **Labor Defense Council**, outlining the purposes of that organization, which is the defense of the trade-unionists being held under charges of criminal syndicalism in the state of Michigan. We cannot too strongly emphasize the necessity of all members and sympathizers of the Trade Union Educational League joining in the work of the **Defense Council** to the fullest extent of their abilities. The authorities are undoubtedly determined to put these "troublesome" trade-union militants out of the way. The law under which these brothers are held carries a penalty of ten years imprisonment. When we recall the cases of Tom Mooney, Sacco and Vanzetti, and the scores of others still in prison years after they are universally admitted to be innocent, we must face the fact that the Michigan cases are almost certain to result in long prison sentences unless the entire labor movement gets behind the defense in every way, morally, financially, and with active demonstrations of support. The Trade Union Educational League members will certainly do their part to defeat this latest attempt at a frame-up.

THE MINERS MUST CONSOLIDATE

IMPORTATION of coal from Great Britain became a serious menace to the American miners just before the settlement of the strike. Action to prevent international scabbing was proposed at the International Miners' Congress while the strike was on, but was defeated on motion of Robson, representing the British miners. Instead of action to prevent scab coal breaking the American strike, the International voted a bit of money, about \$40,000, or less than six cents per striking miner. This action was a glaring confirmation of the words of the French delegate: "The International (of miners) today is a conglomeration of impotence."

Consolidation of the miners' unions of the world, especially of America and Great Britain, is the only solution to this problem. In the same manner that craft unionism breaks down within a nation, when put under pressure of struggle, in just the same way the national divisions among the miners of the world play into the hands of the capitalists. They use American coal to break British strikes, and later British coal enters America to break the strike of the miners here. Loose federation, even when it is called an "international," is merely a camouflage for

inactivity. Consolidation of the miners' unions of all countries under a common executive, is the necessity of the day.

THE NEAR EAST—IMPERIALISM LOSES

THE great movement of protest in the British labor movement against the threatened war in the Near East, together with the imprisonment of the executive committees of the Greek Confederation of Labor and the Greek Communist Party for their activity in denouncing the Graeco-Turkish war, gives revolutionary significance to this great defeat of British Imperialism. With the Greeks evacuating Thrace ahead of the Turkish armies, the return of the Turk to Europe becomes an actuality. In the rivalry between France and Great Britain, the former gains a temporary advantage, but only at the cost of greatly strengthening Soviet Russia. The Allied Entente is but a paper shadow. Labor in Europe and the toiling masses of the Near East are being aroused. Imperialism is breaking down.

Again has Soviet Russia demonstrated the essential working-class character of its policies, foreign as well as domestic. Just as in 1919, when the British Councils of Action, in accord with Soviet Russia, threatened revolution to prevent war, so in this crisis also Soviet Russia expresses the interest of the labor movement of the world, even the conservative movement of Great Britain. And while the first working-class republic consolidates its power, the basis of world-imperialism is demonstrating its rottenness. The situation in the Near East is but one more sign of the rapidly approaching proletarian revolution in Europe.

STEREOTYPERS WAKE UP

THE progressive minority in the International Stereotypers' Union, weary of autocratic methods by their officials, have selected a ticket and are contesting the elections with the old officialdom. The progressive ticket follows:

For President: George L. Riley, Pittsburgh Stereotypers' Union No. 56.

For Vice-President: Harry Perkins, Toronto Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union No. 21.

For Secretary-Treasurer: Fred K. Russell, Cleveland Stereotypers' Union No. 22.

For Finisher Member of Board: Elmer E. Young, Washington Electrotypers' Union No. 17.

For Molder Member of Board: J. Harry Johnson, Philadelphia Electrotypers' Union No. 72.

SOVIET RUSSIA'S FIFTH BIRTHDAY

LABOR all over the world greets the Fifth Anniversary of the Soviet Republic of Russia with fraternal and joyous greetings. In the past year the Worker's Republic has met and overcome even more dangerous enemies than in the previous four years: the famine, Genoa, the Hague, and the necessity of readjusting the country to the new economic policies. Firmly established and growing stronger with every day, Soviet Russia is Labor's Rock of Gibraltar, the stronghold of the working class in its fight against Capitalist exploitation.

THE INTERNATIONAL

GERMANY **A** NOTHER revolutionary situation is developing in Germany. For many months past, because of the impossible demands of the Allies, the cost of living has been mounting. Bread has multiplied in price four times, and fully 20,000,000 are confronted with actual starvation. The Socialist leaders at the head of the parties and the trade unions, whose policy has been to strain every effort to meet the reparations claims, have been totally unable to map out a program to save the working class from the abyss. Now the rank and file of the workers are taking a hand in the most important movement that has occurred in Germany since the revolution in 1918. This is the calling, for October 22nd, of a National Congress of Factory Councils.

The movement began on August 30th following a serious food riot in Berlin. Desperate, and getting no relief from their leaders, the workers assembled a great gathering of representatives of all the Factory Councils in Berlin. Over 6,000 delegates were in attendance. The meeting demanded that a national assembly of all the Factory Councils in Germany be held to consider the following propositions:

- 1 The struggle for better wages must be centralized and carried on simultaneously in all the industries.
- 2 Increases in wages cannot relieve the workers if they are not accompanied by regulation of prices; and regulation of prices is only possible by control of production. We demand control of production.
- 3 If a requisition and equitable distribution of all life necessities does not take place immediately, these commodities will be cornered and hidden by the usurers and profiteers. We demand therefore control of distribution.
- 4 To remedy the housing crisis, the houses, luxurious hotels, villas, and castles, must be expropriated and put at the disposition of the homeless population and used for the creation of asylums for children and the aged.

The assembly knows very well that none of these measures will be realized unless the workers, themselves, take the initiative. It therefore invites you to institute committees of control which shall survey production, exercise control on all the economic life of the nation and which shall establish prices.

The old leaders are greatly alarmed at this movement, fathered by the Communists. All the labor organizations are stirred to the depths over it. Beyond doubt most important happenings will take place at the proposed national conference of the Factory Councils.

AFTER much negotiation and jockeying around two Socialist parties of Germany have fused together, the Social Democratic Party and the Independent Social Democratic Party. This union will probably be followed by a split-off of the Left-wing of the Independents, who will go over to the Communist Party. Thus the battle of tendencies in the German labor movement takes on more and more the character of a straight out fight between the Socialist right and Communist left.

FRANCE **A** N interesting development in the French trade union movement is a tendency for the warring Right and Left labor organizations to cooperate together to resist the terrific drive of the employers. The right-wing elements were responsible for the sad split that took place several months ago. Their theory was that if they drove the revolutionary elements out of the unions the employers would then tolerate the "purified" organizations and cooperate with them. But this childish hope has been disappointed, as it was bound to be. Instead of rallying to the support of the conservative unions the employers have simply taken advantage of the weakened state of the movement generally by declaring an offensive all along the line. Now, attempts are being made to re-establish connections again. In the case of two important federations, the Postmen and the Miners, negotiations are under way looking towards the creation of a united front against their employers.

WITHIN the past two months France has lost by death two of the figures prominent in its radical and revolutionary movement. One was Georges Sorel and the other Marcel Sembat. Sorel was famous as a syndicalist writer, having produced a number of classic works on that philosophy. Sembat, also a writer, was of the Socialist group.

ENGLAND **B**OB SMILLIE, who resigned the presidency of the British Mine Workers Federation some time ago because of ill health, has been unanimously elected president of the National Union of Scottish Mine Workers, a branch of the Federation. This looks as though Smillie is getting back into the fight again. All real unionists will hail this with joy. The present secretary of the Federation, Frank Hodges, has done much to destroy the militancy of that organization. Recently he undertook to attack Smillie himself. Unless signs fail the latter will make him eat his insulting words. It is to be hoped that Smillie will again find himself at the head of the Federation.

IN the first half of September the British Trade Union Congress met in Southport, England. There were present 717 delegates representing 5,127,308 workers. In the main the congress was a disappointment. Considering the crisis that the British labor movement is now passing through, it was hoped that the national gathering would produce some striking movement to consolidate Labor's forces and to revive the spirits of the embattled workers. But nothing of the kind developed. The few measures of real importance that were considered were either defeated or side-tracked. The sum total of the congress' work was to go through the regular routine program.

The biggest matter that came before the congress was a proposition to strengthen the hands of the General Council of the congress, which was organized recently. The resolution, moved by the Council itself, as an amendment to the standing orders of the Council, provided that the affiliated unions should keep the Council fully informed of all questions at issue between them and the employers, so that in

case of a crisis the General Council could coordinate their activities and, if necessary, impose a special per capita tax on all the members of all affiliated organizations to sustain the unions in difficulty.

This resolution was the first crystallization before the congress of the wide-spread sentiment in the British labor movement for the consolidation of all the unions under one head. In the past two years, confronted by a militant capitalist class and harassed by an unprecedented army of unemployed, the unions have had a bitter experience with the federations and understandings that have served as mechanisms to bring about solidarity between them. The experience showed that in serious crises, notably in the matter of the Triple Alliance fiasco and the great metal workers' strike, such fragile connections between the craft unions could not withstand real pressure. Hence, throughout the country, a movement spread to lock the whole labor movement together so firmly that its component parts might function as parts of one machine, instead of as detached fragments. The resolution to strengthen the General Council is the preliminary step in a process which must go on until the whole British movement has been transformed into one centralized organization.

Naturally, the resolution met with heavy resistance on the part of the reactionaries. Among the latter Frank Hodges, secretary of the Miners' Federation, distinguished himself by his unscrupulous defense of craft union principles and autonomy in general. He was supported by Cramp, Clynes, Cross, Bevin and others. The fight for the resolution was led by Harry Pollitt, of the British Bureau of the Red Trade Union International. He had the assistance of Robert Smillie and other militant figures. But the resolution failed. By a vote of more than 3,500,000 against less than 1,500,000 the proposition was shelved.

A resolution providing for a general amalgamation in all the industries shared the same fate. The amalgamationists were not united on just what they wanted, nor was the movement for solidarity thoroughly coordinated. Some elements wanted the one big union created forthwith out of the existing organizations, while others took the position that first industrial unions must be built up in the respective industries and then combined into one solid body. Ben Turner expressed the view of the latter very neatly by saying, "Amalgamation by industries first, and one big union afterwards."

The side-tracking of the propositions to strengthen the General Council and to bring about complete amalgamation indicate, not that British Labor is opposed to these measures, but simply that it does not yet understand how they can best be put into practice. The conviction that eventually all the crafts must be combined by industries and nationally is widespread and making irresistible headway. The main question, aside, of course, from breaking down the resistance of the reactionaries, is the technical difficulties in working out the consolidation. Something of the general opinion is expressed by Fred Bramley, ass't. sec'y., Trade Union Congress, who says: "I have no hesitation in stating that the immediate object of Trade Union effort from the centre should be a great push for amalgamation. With over 4,500,000 members of trade unions already associated by federation, there ought to be no insurmountable

difficulties in the way of taking the next step."

The situation presents a splendid opportunity to the militants, headed by Tom Mann, Pollitt, and others. The sentiment for amalgamation permeates both the rank and file and the officialdom, but there is great confusion and lack of initiative in bringing it about. The thing that is needed now is for the militants to map out a definite program, both for the individual industries and the movement as a whole, and then to drive heavily to put it into execution. If they will do this they will inevitably acquire tremendous prestige, as well as perform a distinct service for British Labor.

One important action of the congress was to take over the **Daily Herald**, which involved an increased per capita of two pence per member. George Lansbury, the former editor, has been retired. His successor is Hamilton Fyfe. Another resolution was one setting an age limit of seventy years for trade union officials. This will eliminate Bowerman, secretary of the General Council. The congress voiced its protest against the sentence of death passed upon South African miners in connection with the great Rand strike. A committee has been organized to give backing to the victims of that tremendous struggle, 11,000 of whom are still in prison.

A joint committee of the Musicians Union and the National Association of Theatrical Employes has been set up in Glasgow to attain the amalgamation of all unions in the entertainment industry.

NORWAY BY a vote of 43 to 10 the convention of the national organization of the Bakers and Confectioners' Union of Norway decided to withdraw from the Amsterdam International and to affiliate with the Red Trade Union International. The organization, however, will remain affiliated to the International Food Federation.

CHINA THE strongest and best organized union throughout China is the Metal Worker's Union. It was organized in 1909 and has conducted many successful strikes for shorter hours, higher wages and better working conditions. The membership totals, 156,000. The organization is industrial in character and is departmentalized into ten sections, one each for draftsmen, modellers, founders, turners, molders, steel workers, copper workers, machinists, electro-technical workers, and stokers. The affairs of the union are transacted by an executive committee consisting of ten members, to which each of the ten sections elects three additional members. The executive committee elects a chairman and the members of the whole union elect a special union president.

SWEDEN THE Swedish Trade Union Congress was held from August 28th to September 2nd. There were 329 delegates representing 313,208 members. The principal matter handled by the congress was the question of reorganizing the labor movement upon an industrial basis. The National and Executive Committees attempted to evade the main issue by securing the adoption of a resolution simply endorsing the proposition of industrial unionism and inaugurating a campaign to gradually educate the craft unions up to the necessity to apply it. But the Left-wing

elements, principally Communists, of the Metal Workers' and Transport Workers' succeeded in putting through a proposition making it compulsory, on pain of expulsion, for the craft unions to be combined into industrial unions by January 1, 1925.

THE International Communist Ido Federation held its second world convention in Dessau, Germany, on August 5th. The organization has branches in Germany, Checho-Slovakia, Russia, France, Austria, Luxemburg, Bulgaria, Switzerland and Mexico. Delegates to the convention reported sentiment rapidly developing to put into effect the proposition for any international language in all the sections of the Third International.

AT the congress of Clothing Workers in Munich the organization went on record in favor of complete amalgamation of all the organizations in the industry. At Nuremburg the Lithographers' Union met in convention and adopted a resolution inviting all the other printing workers' unions to cooperate in the establishment of one union for the entire industry. The Tobacco Workers' Union met in Dresden and outlined a proposition to form a single federation to include all the workers employed in food and drink industries.

**STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT,
CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF
CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912,**

Of The Labor Herald, published monthly at Chicago, Illinois, for October 1st, 1922.
State of Illinois, County of Cook ss.

Before me a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid personally appeared William Z. Foster, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of the The Labor Herald, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, and business managers are:
Publisher, The Trade Union Educational League, 118 N. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.
Editor, Wm. Z. Foster, 118 N. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.
Managing Editor, Earl R. Browder, 118 N. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.
Business Managers, J. W. Johnstone, 118 N. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.

2. That the owners are: The Trade Union Educational League, a voluntary association; Wm. Z. Foster, Secretary-Treasurer, Earl R. Browder, J. W. Johnstone, S. T. Hammersmark, and Jay G. Brown, National Committee.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

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5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is (This information is required from daily publications only.)

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 21st day of Sept., 1922.

S. T. HAMMERSMARK,
(SEAL) (My commission expires April 22, 1923.)

REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE

Chicago, September 12, 1922.

At the time of the holding of the First National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League, it was impossible to make a detailed audit of the books of the National Secretary-Treasurer, because the Ledger had been seized by the police. Consequently the Chicago Local General Group was instructed to select an Auditing Committee, to examine the books and accounts of the League as soon as the Ledger was recovered from the police, or a new one constructed from the cash books. Since the adjournment of the Conference, the police have surrendered the property taken from the League, including the Ledger. Therefore, the undersigned Auditing Committee, duly selected by the Chicago Local General Group, have carefully examined all the financial records of the National Secretary-Treasurer, and find them complete and correct in all particulars. The following is a classified statement of the receipts and expenditures of the League and THE LABOR HERALD during the entire period of their operation, from October 1st, 1920, to August 31st, 1922, with a statement of assets and liabilities on the latter date, based on a conservative valuation:

Statement of Receipts and Expenditures

RECEIPTS

Subscriptions	\$2,251.78
Bundle orders	3,592.78
Advertisements	428.15
Books and pamphlets	3,306.62
Stock	960.00
Loans	1,200.00
General, meetings, etc.	1,339.39
Transfers	374.65
Total	\$13,453.37

EXPENDITURES

Printing magazine	\$3,381.00
Mailing	466.39
Miscel. magazine	621.88
Office	1,002.80
Wages	2,248.33
Books	2,941.36
Incorporation, etc.	497.30
General	930.42
Transfers	340.93
Total	\$12,430.41
Cash on hand	1,022.96

Statement of Assets and Liabilities

ASSETS

Furniture	\$ 200.00
Books, etc.	200.00
Accts. Rec.	2,000.00
Cash	1,022.96
Total	\$3,422.96

LIABILITIES

Loans	\$1,200.00
Accts. payable	300.00
Total	\$1,500.00
Net worth	\$1,922.96

Fraternally submitted,
Glenn Campbell,
Moritz J. Loeb,
S. T. Hammersmark,
Auditing Committee.

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Expression

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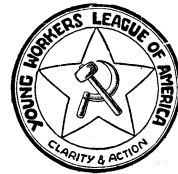
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