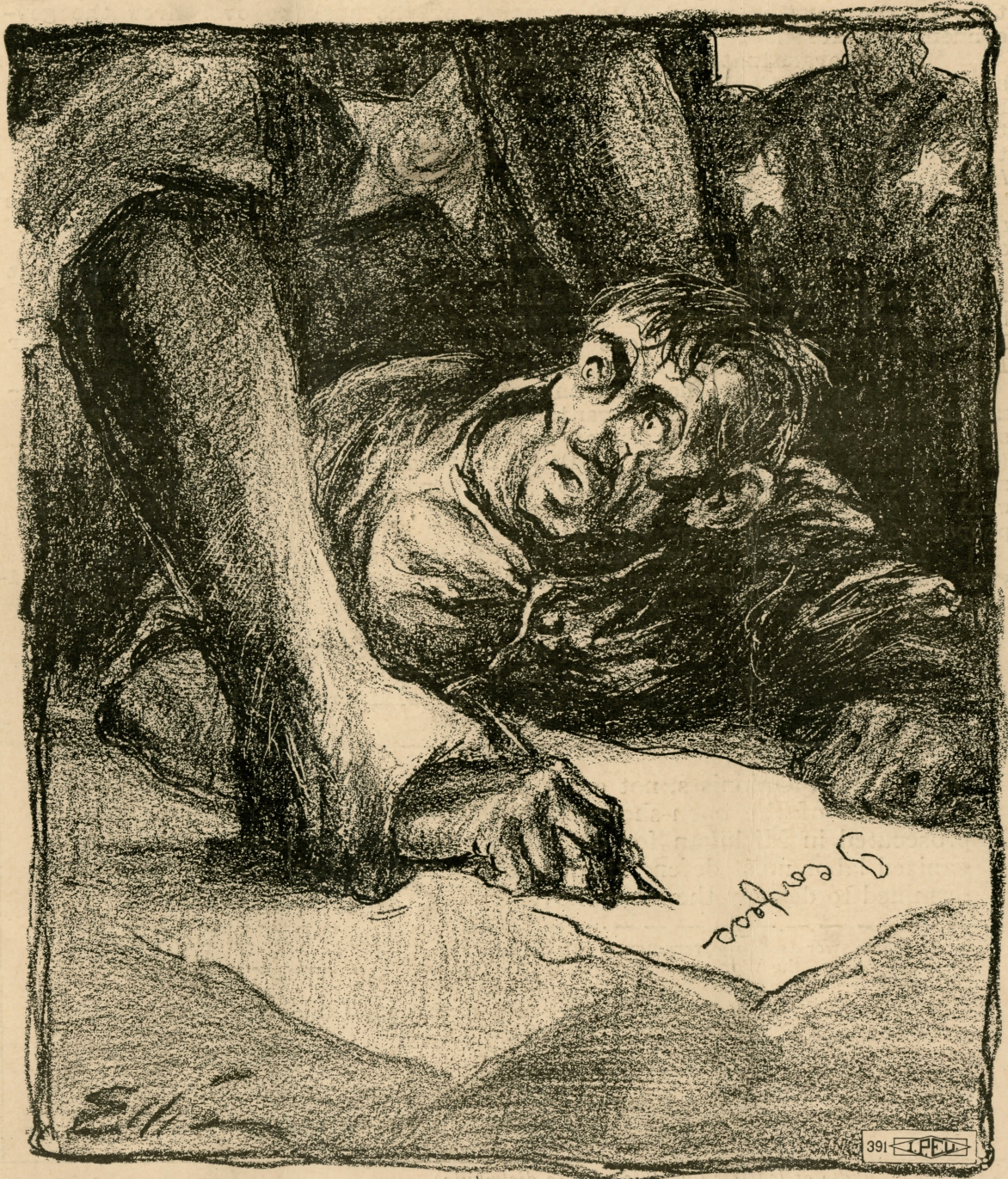


THE LABOR HERALD

Official Organ of The Trade Union Educational League



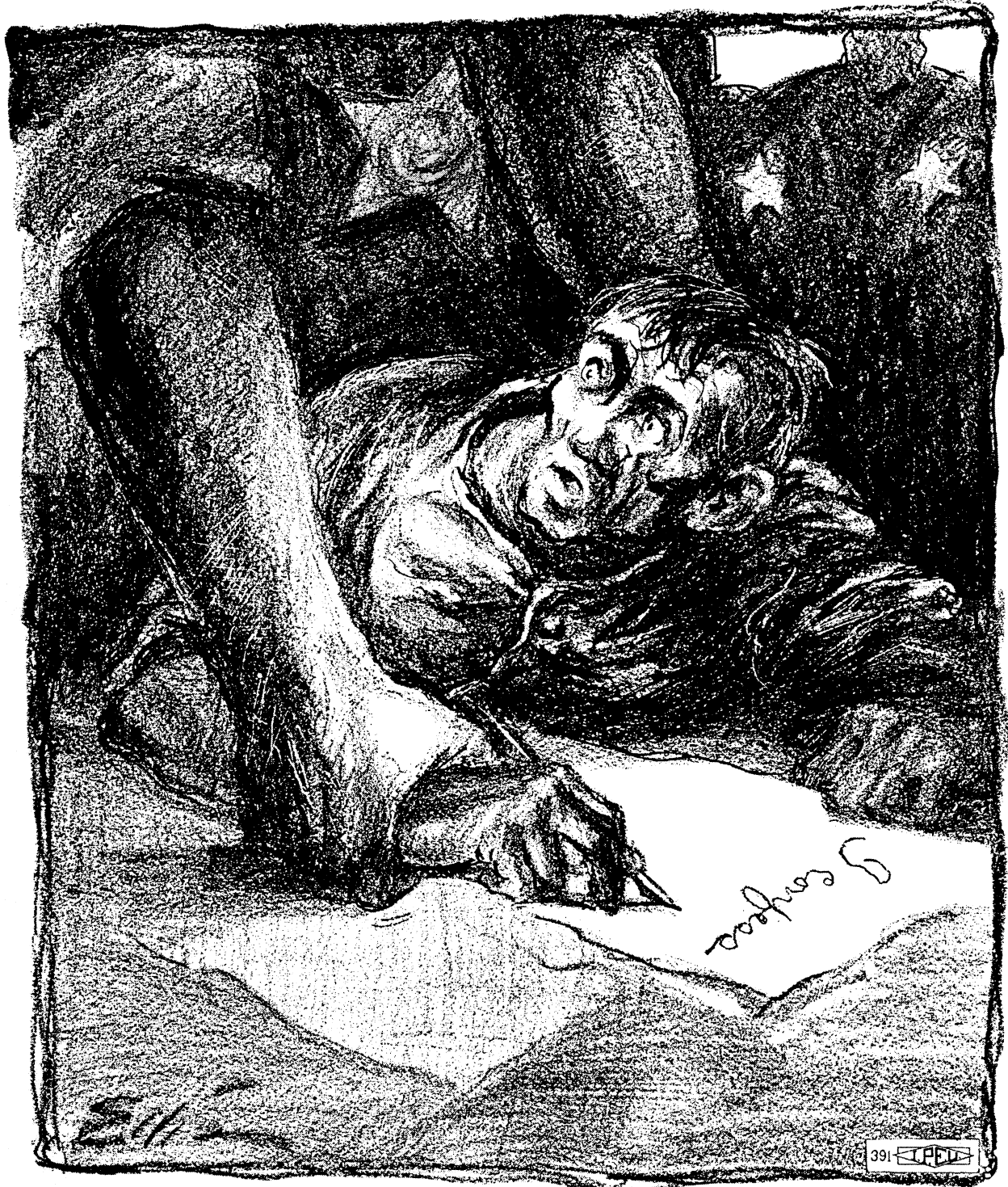
MARCH 1923

99

15 CENTS

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Does This Letter Apply to You?

October 16, 1922

Headquarters,
Vancouver Barracks, Washington
Office of the Intelligence Officer
(Confidential Copy)

Dear Sir:

The Intelligence Service of the Army has for its primary purpose the surveillance of all organizations or elements hostile or potentially hostile to the government of this country, or who seek to overthrow the government by violence.

Among organizations falling under the above heads are radical groups as the I. W. W., World War Veterans, Union of Russian Workers, Communist Party, Communist Labor Party, One Big Union, Workers International Industrial Union, Anarchists and Bolsheviki, and such semi-radical organizations as the Socialists, Nonpartisan League, Big Four Brotherhoods, and American Federation of Labor.

Not only are we interested in these organizations because they have as their object the overthrow of the government, but also because they attempt to undermine and subvert the loyalty of our soldiers.

With a few scattered military posts in this part of the country, it is obviously impossible to cover all points as thoroughly as they should be, hence it is necessary in many cases to trust to the co-operation of law-enforcement officers whose duties and whose knowledge of a particular locality gives them a thorough insight into such matters.

It is requested that you inform this office as to any of the aforementioned or other radical organizations coming to your attention under such headings as (a) location of headquarters, (b) names of leaders, (c) strength of organization, (d) activities of the organization, (e) strikes and methods of carrying on same, and (f) attitude of members. We will be glad to receive copies of pamphlets, handbills or other radical propaganda spread in your vicinity.

If from time to time you will keep me posted as to conditions in your vicinity, such co-operation on the part of yourself and your subordinates as the press of your duties permits will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,
(Signed) W. D. Long,
1st Lieutenant, 7th U. S. Infantry,
Intelligence Officer

ALL Trade Unionists, not only the so-called "Reds" are targets for the attack of the open-shoppers. Twenty-two Union militants are being prosecuted in Michigan for defending the rights of labor. American organized labor must defend them in order to beat back those who are determined to destroy the labor movement.

This is the answer to the governmental attacks on
the Workers.

Enclosed find \$..... for the Labor Defense fund.

Name

Address

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LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL

FRANK P. WALSH,

Chief Counsel for the Defendants

National Office

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By Wm. Z. Foster

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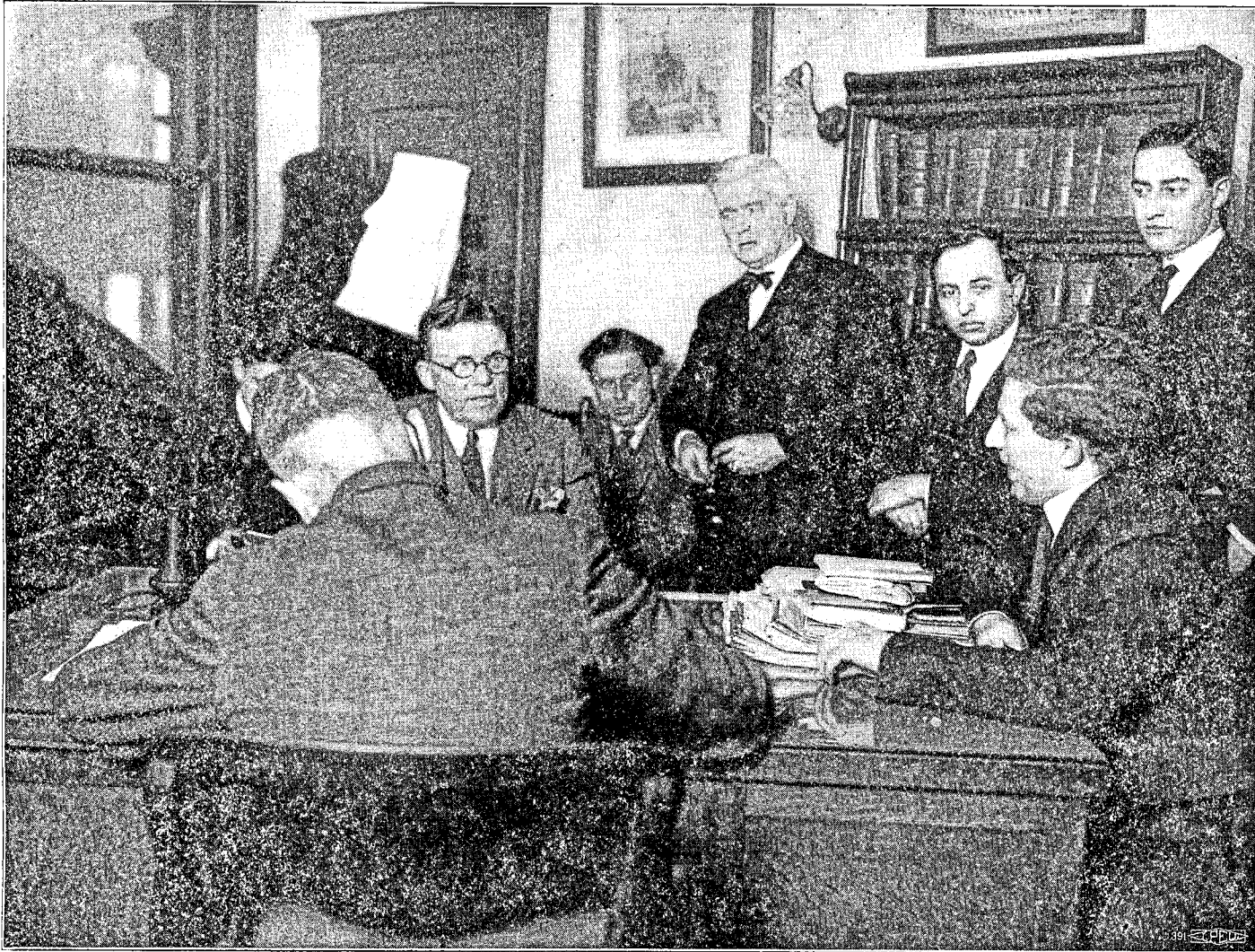
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The Trade Union Educational League

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

118 N. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.



EXPOSING WM. J. BURNS

Former Detective Bailin, (seated at table facing Frank P. Walsh, counsel for the communists), giving his sensational testimony in hearing on Michigan Case.



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THE LABOR HERALD

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Vol. II.

MARCH, 1923



No. 1

Railroaders in Retreat

By William Z. Foster

THE railroad shopmen's strike, begun on July 1st of last year, still drags its weary course. Approximately half of the mileage of the country is still affected by the struggle. Prospects of anything like a real settlement grow less and less. Only the indomitable courage of the rank and file makes possible the continuation of the battle. It is a bitter price indeed that the shopmen are paying for their faulty form of organization. Had they been properly organized, so that all the railroad crafts could have stood together, this great strike would never have happened. But as it was, with the unions divided against each other, solidarity depended upon the whims of reactionary labor officials like Grable, Fitzgerald, and others. Consequently united action was impossible in the crisis. These men double-crossed the rank and file and encouraged the companies to press on in their offensive against the shopmen.

The Great Northern Settlement

In the past month or so, several roads have "signed up," including the Great Northern. Efforts have been made, notably by the railroad paper *Labor*, to make it appear that these settlements are important victories. While the unfortunate fact is that they are little short of complete surrender. How little the shopmen had to say in drafting the Great Northern "agreement" is shown by the fact that it was negotiated by O. E. Schoonover and P. C. Bradley, Chairmen of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen respectively.

Under the "agreement," the union men have no rights whatever. Their unions are not recognized, the presumption being that the company unions will be the ones to deal with the company for the men hereafter. The men are to be taken back just as the company needs them, supposedly in the order of their seniority, but in reality just as the bosses see fit. Any disputes of the rehiring of the workers, shall be taken up not by the officials of the shopmen's organizations, but by the above mentioned Brotherhood Chairmen. A supposed concession is that the returning strikers will not be required to affiliate with the company unions.

Considering the outrageous treatment given them by both the company and the scabs, the returning strikers are filled with bitterness. Consequently of interest is a clause reading "Mr. Mc Gowan (Department representative) gives his personal assurance that there will be no propaganda or bitterness." Then we are informed by the signers of the "agreement" that, "It is our firm conviction that the railway company has entered into this settlement in good faith and with a sincere desire to measure out even-handed justice to all, and an opportunity should not be afforded to any local official to back away from that understanding by any overt acts of the men returning to work." This is rubbing salt in the open wounds of the shopmen.

Signal Men Rewarded

The Railroad Labor Board has just handed down a decision restoring the eight hour day, with time and one-half pay for overtime, to 15,000 members of the Signalmen's union. The workers demanded increases in wages but these were denied by the Board. The three railroad representatives voted against the decision. One labor member, A. O. Wharton, did not vote for it, but filed a dissenting opinion in which he maintained increased living costs called for higher wages.

How the capitalistic interests generally look upon this decision is shown by the notorious *Chicago Tribune*, valiant champion of reaction. This paper says frankly that the restoration of the eight hour day was as "a reward to the Signalmen for their refusal to join the shopmen's strike last summer." It expresses the hope that similar action will be taken in the case of the Maintenance of Way and the Clerks. All over the country at the present time substantial bonuses are being handed out by the railroad companies to those individuals who betrayed their fellow workers by refusing to strike. Can it be that they are going to pass around a few of these bonuses to the organizations whose officials betrayed the shopmen much more dastardly than did the men who actually scabbed?

For many years past Wm. G. Lee, President of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, has been

a curse to organized railroad workers. Movement after movement among them for better conditions he has wrecked with his reactionary conduct. To tell the story of his treason would be to recite the principal causes of all these defeats of railroad men. He has been a faithful representative of the companies.

But at last it seems that we are to be rid of him. Among those who know what's going on, it has long been an open secret that Lee was slated for a good job by the companies when his period of usefulness to them in the union had passed. That point is just about reached. He has nearly run his course. At the last convention of the B. of R. T. he was elected by only four votes, and the opposition against him is constantly growing. He dare not face another convention, so it is up to his masters to give him his reward now. Hence, the timely announcement that he has accepted the presidency of the Steigelmeyer Manufacturing Company, a \$10,000,000 corporation to manufacture automatic train control devices. No doubt Mr. Lee will prosper well in his new venture, with the support of the companies. Like his predecessor, Morrissey, he will get his Judas' silver. Good riddance to him, say we.

How Lee Split the Unions

One of the most hopeful signs of the whole labor situation during the war time and the period afterwards, was the gradual drawing together of the sixteen railroad unions into one cooperative body. Under ordinary circumstances, the logical result of such an alliance was for it to eventually develop into a general railroad amalgamation. But the companies, viewing this tendency with great alarm, were able to break up the combination, tearing the unions apart from each other and reducing them pretty much to their primitive status of each one fighting its own battles. Wm. G. Lee was the principal figure used by them in this treacherous work.

Some of the moves made by Lee to wreck cooperation among the sixteen unions, are told in the *Colorado Labor Advocate* of a recent date, as follows:

"The trouble between Lee and the other organizations began with the appointment of W. L. McMenimen to the Railroad Labor Board. The sixteen organizations had agreed upon three men, Phillips, Wharton, and Forrester. The law provides that members of the Board shall be nominated by the railroad unions, but selected by the President of the United States. Lee went to a rump organization of 100 men on the Boston & Maine, so the story goes, and got them to nominate McMenimen. And, to the surprise of the sixteen big unions, Harding named the man nominated by the small group, ignoring the choice of the great body of workers.

"This was only the beginning of the breach. The fight came over the reduction in wages of 1921. The Trainmen had been kept out of the negotiations by Lee. Then the general chairmen met, July 1st. On July 3rd they repudiated Lee and voted to stick with the other Brotherhoods. For two days Lee refused to have anything to do with his committee or the other organizations. When the time approached for the calling of the strike, the leaders of the organizations involved met with the Labor Board. Only those leaders knew what the strike vote had been. That was the ace card that the men held. They were not to divulge that. Stone, of the Engineers, was picked as the spokesman for all the unions. He was to be the only man to talk for the unions. When the group filed into the meeting of the Board, they were seated by one of the Board men. Then Hooper said, "Well, we will ask you men some questions, beginning with this man,"— and he pointed at Lee who had been seated carefully at the head of the table.

"Lee, according to the story, promptly spilled all the information he had. The strikers' story was given away. Even the vote was told. Afterward the Labor Board announced there would be no further cuts in wages for the Big Four — and there have been none.

"The final break with the other leaders was said to have come after a secret meeting at which it was to be decided whether all railroad labor should go out with the shopmen. After that secret meeting, Lee is said to have told certain other leaders that there had been a dictagraph connected with the room in which the meeting had been held, and that there had been three copies made of all that was said. He is further quoted as saying that J. P. Morgan and Company, representing the stockholders, and the General Managers' Association, representing the operators, had the other two copies of the proceedings. The mysterious thing that must be found out is, how does it happen that Lee has such confidence of the railway owners that they give him one of their three copies."

S. U. — B. R. T. Amalgamation Balked

The general calibre of the men to be found at the head of some of our organizations, as well as how little attention they pay to convention instructions, is well exemplified by the farcical amalgamation negotiations carried on between the presidents of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen and of the Switchmen's Union of North America.

At the 1922, Toronto Convention, of the B. of R. T., a resolution was adopted calling for the amalgamation of the B. of R. T. and the S. U. It specifically stated, "Inasmuch as the yardmen of this country are organized into two separate orders, which in the past has had a harmful effect, and their interests would be better served by uniting into a single and stronger organization, this Convention is in favor of making an offer to the Switchmen's Union looking to the merger of the two orders. Shortly afterward President Lee, "merely for your information," sent this

resolution to President Cashen. The latter wrote demanding further information. To this Lee said, "I am unable to give you any additional information other than contained in the resolution. . . . The only argument I remember presented to the convention by those supporting the resolution, was that in the interest of trainmen and yardmen, one organization only should be arranged for."

Taking his cue from Lee's deliberate sabotage of the amalgamation resolution, Cashen backed away from the proposition altogether, saying, "In the absence of a definite understanding as to the intent of this resolution, the Board finds itself in the position where it is unable to take action. It is our opinion that the intent of the resolution has for its end the absorption of the Switchmen's Union by the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. This apparent intent is totally at variance with the fundamental principle on which the Switchmen's Union of North America is based." He then plumps for craft unionism complete. With such reactionary leadership, how can railroad men make any progress?

A Light in the Darkness

The one hope for railroad men and the one cheering prospect in the present welter of reaction, is the amalgamation movement centering

around the International Committee for Amalgamation in the Railroad Industry. This movement constantly takes on greater and greater scope. Everywhere the rank and file are waking up to its true significance.

At the famous amalgamation conference in Chicago, Dec. 9th and 10th, 1922, the International Committee was instructed to write to the presidents of all the sixteen unions, inviting them to participate in a general amalgamation convention. Only three have replied, Ryan, of the Carmen, Kline, of the Blacksmiths, and Fljzodal, of the Maintenance of Way. The latter alone endorsed the proposition. This lack of response has moved the International Committee to proceed to the next step in bringing about amalgamation. It is now taking a national referendum on the proposition among the 12,000 local unions of the sixteen Standard organizations. This will serve to still further arouse the rank and file to the necessity for amalgamation and to crystallize into action the sentiment already existing among them for this vital measure. Every militant in the railroad industry will do his utmost to make effective the work of the International Committee. Our unions must be remodeled, their reactionary leadership swept away, the workers given new hope and new ideals, and a general renovation in the labor movement brought about.

The Unity Movement in Great Britain

By V. Brodzky

Industrial Correspondent London Daily Herald

THE British Trade Union Movement by means of amalgamation, federations and working agreements between unions has in the last few years been making steady progress towards complete unity of the working class.

In 1920 seven unions in the Metal trades were amalgamated into one union with a membership of 460,000. In the same year twelve other unions took part in nine amalgamations involving about 300,000 workers in seven different industries.

In 1921 and 1922 the rate of progress has steadily increased, the most important developments being the formation of the Transport and General Workers' Union with a membership of 300,000 by the amalgamation of seventeen unions.

During the same period two unions were amalgamated into the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers, with a membership of a little over 200,000; and the latest and most recent amalgamation is that of three unions catering for general laborers, with a total membership of over 500,000. This last amalgamation

has just been completed, and a joint committee of the old executives is now in session drawing up a new constitution and selecting a new title for the union, which incidentally is the largest union in the world catering for general laborers.

Bigger developments and more rapid progress is expected in the next twelve months as a result of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress initiating conferences of groups of trade unions to discuss the possibility of amalgamation and closer unity.

The first of these conferences will be held in Manchester early in February, at which representatives of thirty-five unions in the engineering industry (workers in metal) will be present, representing a total of 800,000 workers. This conference will be followed almost immediately by a similar conference at Bradford of fifteen unions in the textile trade (other than cotton), representing about 200,000 workers.

Apart from the General Council's activity in bringing groups of unions together many in-

formal meetings and discussions are being held between officials of the unions for the purpose of breaking the ground for official negotiations.

Both inside and outside the trade unions the rank and file are discussing the important subject of Industrial Unionism: meetings are continually being held in various parts of the country, by workers in almost every industry.

It would appear from this activity that the whole of the working class of Great Britain, both officials and rank and file, are fired with the one burning desire—to perfect their organization.

Unfortunately, this is not entirely the real position. The motives of the various champions of closer unity, amalgamation and industrial unionism, differ; and uncontrollable circumstances are also responsible for developments, the ultimate result of which will be progress.

Whether the reformist leaders of the British working class, who mainly control the present organizations, like it or not, the trend of events is rapidly taking us towards the time when the workers will be completely organized in each industry, not by employer, not on a basis of craft, or grade, or sex, but on the basis of product and service.

The Forces at Work

With the development of industrial unions, the linking up of industrial groups, under a central coordinating body with administrative, executive and disciplinary powers, is already foreshadowed in the claim of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress to have greater powers than it has at the present time.

The General Council displaced the old Parliamentary Committee two years ago, and its powers have already been greatly increased. Each succeeding year will see a further expansion concurrent with the improvement in the internal organization of the component parts of the Trade Union Congress.

Self-preservation is slowly molding the British Trade Union Movement from a weapon for the defense of trade union standards into a revolutionary weapon; and while the process is going on, the ultimate control of the weapon always remains an urgent necessity for those who desire the complete abolition of capitalism.

In re-organizing the industrial machine, the workers of Great Britain are faced with a titanic task, and except for the over-impatient, there is satisfaction in the progress that is being made.

Greater progress would have been made with amalgamation were it not for the existing law which requires at least 50 per cent of the members of each union to take part in any ballot for amalgamation, and a clear majority of at least twenty per cent of the total vote.

Of a population of 45,000,000 people there are from 13 to 14 million workers, manual, non-manual, professional, supervisory, technical and administrative. In the United Kingdom there are over a thousand trade union societies and associations, with a membership of something under eight million.

From the latest available figures 726 unions were officially registered, with a membership of over seven million. Of these 206 were affiliated to the British Trade Union Congress, giving a membership of 5,128,648.

The Task of Amalgamation

The first and last figures encircle the task; that is, the 13 to 14 million workers and only five million organized and affiliated to the Trade Union Congress; and also the fact that those who are affiliated need as many as 206 unions to cater for them. This means that from six to seven million workers have yet to be made class-conscious trade unionists; it also means that about a thousand unions have yet to be brought under the control of the Trade Union Congress, and the number reduced from one thousand gradually down to no more than twenty or less industrial and service groups.

I have already shown what has been done. The General Council in 1923 are launching a great campaign with a view to bring the millions of workers at present unorganized into the movement, and making them trade unionists; simultaneously with this campaign, many conferences of unions other than those I have mentioned, are to be held, to try and bring about amalgamation of kindred groups of unions in the different industries; existing federations are to be brought into closer contact with each other, and attempts are to be made to get working agreements between unions that intersect or overlap the activities of each other.

Personally I feel that a great deal of progress will be made by these campaigns, but I am also aware of the difficulties that will have to be met and overcome, I see these difficulties in my every day experiences with the unions.

Obstacles to be Overcome

In the first place, there are so many ideas and theories of organization, so much difference of opinion as to what constitutes industrial unionism, and the fact is often forgotten that re-organization in Great Britain must proceed from within the present machine, having a regard to all local circumstances.

One difficulty is that while everyone professes to agree to the general principle of closer unity and to express a desire for greater solidarity, there are many unions jealous for their own identity and autonomy and there is a great lack

of self-sacrifice. For instance, in several recent big amalgamations, officials have had to be guaranteed eight years' work or wages, as a condition of their assisting the amalgamation. General Secretaries of unions, of say 50,000 members, are loath to give up the power over their little battallions by merging with another union of say 300,000. There is still a strong craft feeling amongst the more skilled unions, and a distaste of being under the same banners as laborers and semi-skilled workers.

Again, there are the many different methods of organization and the different scales of benefits paid by the various unions. The vested interests of many unions is also a big obstacle; because one union is worth, say, twenty dollars per member and another only worth five dollars per member, the fusion of two or more unions is often prevented; or again, one of the unions may have the bulk of its members in steady employment, which, of course, means a steadier and greater income.

Pushing Officialdom Into Action

There are personal jealousies between officials of unions, and in some cases open hostility, such as exist between the two seamen's unions; but, as I pointed out, circumstances are helping to overcome these difficulties. Those of the old school are dying off, and just as capitalism was the mother of trade unionism, so has the last great attack on the wages and conditions of the workers created circumstances that are causing solidarity. This is happening in many ways: in some cases unions that were once wealthy have had their funds depleted by strikes and lockouts in attempting to defend their membership from wage cuts and worsened conditions. Every union has suffered financially and in membership by the unprecedented amount of unemployment. The drain on finances has left the union with the alternative of ceasing to exist altogether or of amalgamating with other bodies. The recent great attack on the unions has made the rank and file realize more than ever the folly of fighting and being defeated sectionally; the senselessness of this was demonstrated in the last lock-out of workers in the engineering industry, when no less than fifty-two unions were all compelled to accept the masters' terms. The lesson of this lock-out is mainly responsible for the very live agitation at present going on among the rank and file for one big union for all workers in the engineering and shipbuilding industry. While the rank and file can do very little from a practical point of view, they are compelling their officials to do something.

In the last few years there are several cases on record of officials of small unions opposing amal-

gamation with groups of unions, and the rank and file in consequence going over in a body to the amalgamated organization. An opposite case to this has taken place this week. A small union of dockers, who did not get a sufficient majority in favor of joining the Transport and General Workers' Union already mentioned, has now decided to join up with it, but only after all the officials of the smaller union resigned their jobs and took positions with the larger union.

In many amalgamations that have taken place in the last few years, the new rules and constitutions are less democratic than the old ones; the pensioning of officials has been costly, but this can and will be altered as time goes on.

One of the most hopeful signs of recent times is the rapid organization of non-manual, supervisory, administrative, professional and technical workers. Many unions and guilds have been formed for these classes of workers during and since the war, and all of them are showing a healthy increase in membership and a greater inclination to be linked up in some way with the manual workers. At the General Election last November, the British Labour Party returned 142 members to Parliament. The finances and organization responsible for this success have been built up by the trade unions; there is a great hope that this number will be increased at the next election, but those who place their faith in political action alone, know that the strength of labor in Parliament depends upon the strength and the finances of the trade unions. Because of this the politicians are forced to help any move for the bigger and better organization of the industrial machine.

To Abolish Capitalism

Others like myself who believe that Parliament only registers the victories and decisions won by the workers on the industrial field with their economic strength and power, have for a long time been aware of the power of the Federation of British Industries. This is the trade union of the British Capitalists. It is an united, co-ordinated body that controls its members, and when necessary, the Government. Its power is immeasurable, but we realize that the power of the workers is greater than that of this body, if we all get together in one big departmentalized, scientifically co-ordinated organization. This truth is spreading rapidly, and as the realization grows, so is the British Trade Union Movement growing. Comrades of America, we are doing our job as quickly as we can in our own land; we know that you will do yours equally well; and then we can link hands and throw Capitalism off the Earth, into the limbo of all other horrible and ghastly things.

Immigration—A Capitalist Dilemma

By C. S. Ware

"**M**ORE labor—cheaper labor—relieve the labor shortage." This is the battle-cry raised by the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Association of Merchant Tailors, the National Founders' Association, and such spokesmen of the employing class as Gary, Steel Trust head and "open shopper," and Mellon, guardian of tax-dodging corporations and incidentally Secretary of the United States Treasury. The question is, how is it to be done?

There are several proposals under consideration to change the present immigration regulations. Senator Reed of Pennsylvania, who as a coal and steel Senator ought to know better, is the leader of the Congressional group advocating restricted immigration with the quota based on the 1890 census rather than the present basis of 1910. In 1890 the main stream of immigration had not yet shifted from Northern and Central to Southern and Eastern Europe. This change would increase the quotas of immigrants from Germany, Austria, Scandinavia, and Great Britain. Two points which this suggestion apparently ignores are; first, that it would increase the quota of immigrants who do not supply the common, heavy, machine labor; and second, that even the present quotas from these countries are today not being filled. Only 55% of the British quota and 28% of the German entered during the past year.

Contract Labor

This agitation for a change in quotas cannot be taken too seriously even by its advocates. It has the merit of an apparent change, and today a change in immigration policy is being widely demanded. But as Babson pointed out a bit brusquely in his Special Bulletin of January 16th, "Furthermore letting these good North Europe people in, and getting them to come are two propositions. The Reed Bill will not do it. Suspension of the Contract Labor Law will."

While great publicity is being given to the various restriction policies Senator Colt has introduced the real answer in his Senate Bill S. 4303, which reads as follows: "The Secretary of Labor may, upon submission to him of satisfactory evidence that there is a continuing shortage of labor of a particular type or class which, after reasonable effort, has not been found unemployed in the United States, *authorize contracts with and the admission of otherwise admissable alien labor to such extent as will in his*

judgment meet such established shortage . . . notwithstanding that such aliens so authorized may exceed the quotas of their respective nationalities now admissable under this Act." Babson advised all employers to see to it that that bill is supported, as the solution of the problem from the employers viewpoint lies in *importing slave labor on the contract basis.*

American industry has been built by foreign labor coming to this country. First, before the enactment of the Contract Labor Law, the employers imported great droves of foreign-born workers virtually as slaves. With the enactment of the law forbidding this practice, a period of unrestricted immigration set in which continued until the outbreak of the war. During the war immigration could not be a problem to America as foreign-born workers left and no new immigrants came. Once the war was over, immigration loomed as a menace to the foundations of American government according to the sponsors of the present 5% law.

The Employers' Dilemma

Those countries which had been supplying the bulk of that labor army which had built up America's industries were in the throes of political upheaval. Because of the fear of such immigration being a source of political "infection," the lid was clamped on. Today, the employing class is faced with this dilemma: The industrial reserve army must be augmented with a new supply of common, heavy, machine labor. It has been depleted by the cessation of immigration and the attendant increasing homogeneity of American Labor. We are "back to normalcy" with a shortage of labor and 1,500,000 officially unemployed according to Secretary of Labor Davis. Industrially, therefore, the employers want immigrant Labor coming from Balkans and Southern Europe. Politically, however, such immigration is still "dangerous." These countries are in a state of flux. Their political tomorrow is questionable. Workers coming from these countries are looked upon as a sources of revolutionary contagion. On the other hand, the politically safer and saner workers from Northern and Western Europe cannot meet the industrial demands of our employing class. Furthermore, even if these workers could meet the industrial demands, letting them in and getting them to come are two different propositions. Politically, the employers want Northern Europe laborers; industrially, they reject them. Industrially, they

must have Southern European laborers; politically, they must reject them.

There is still another phase of the problem. Where do the farmers come in? We are told by James R. Howard, President of the Farm Bureau Association, that the immigration restriction is undoubtedly affecting the prosperity of the country, and particularly that of the farmer. The powerful industrial magnates are making this offer to the farmers: Give us a large reserve army of city workers. This will force many workers back to the farms, with the result that farm labor will be cheap. The same industrial reserve army will bring lower wages in the city, enabling the farmer to secure goods he needs because of lowered prices. Thus, so they urge, the purchasing power of the farm dollar will be enhanced and the farmers' prosperity restored.

This is typical of the propaganda put out by the capitalist organizations in their efforts to destroy the growing solidarity of the city workers with the farmers. Of course it is completely unsound. As a matter of fact, during the period of depression, when there was a gigantic reserve army of unemployed totalling six millions and when wages were being slashed to the bone the condition of the farmer was worse than ever. The capitalists that rob the city workers are the same that rob the farmers. The salvation of the farmers today is not to be found in contract labor, restricted or unrestricted immigration.

The Gompers' Point of View

Where do Gompers and his family stand on this proposition? The official position of the American Federation of Labor is based on the narrow craft point of view. Gompers advocates the policy of complete restriction of immigration. When it comes to foreigners, Gompers also sees red. The foreigners, according to his conception, would lower the high American standard of living! It is the foreign workers and not the American employers, says he, who are the enemies of our unions! This is Gompersism in theory and practice.

Such is the way our officialdom promotes Labor solidarity. Keep the foreign-born out of America! This is the tribute paid by Mr. Gompers to the heroic foreign workers who fought so well in the mine and textile strikes—battles which, according even to Mr. Gompers, were largely instrumental in halting the wage-cutting and union-smashing offensive. The entire case of Gompers is fallacious. It breeds dissension and division in the ranks of the workers. It plays directly into the hands of the capitalists by fos-

tering artificial nationalistic divisions among the laboring masses.

Restriction of immigration will not give the American workers higher wages or better working conditions. That can only be gained by stronger organization, industrial organization—the amalgamation of the craft unions into fighting industrial unions. But what can be expected from Mr. Gompers who, in opposition to amalgamation, is lined up with Mr. Gary, with the National Civic Federation, the Chamber of Commerce, the capitalist press, and all the anti-labor forces? What can we expect on the immigration question, from a "leader" who sees Labor's place in the International as being with United States Chamber of Commerce in the League of Nations?

For Workers' Control of Immigration

Against the program of restriction advocated by Gompers and against the contract system of the importation of workers proposed by Colt, we propose the international solidarity of the working class. Let all working-class organizations, regardless of political opinion, hold an international congress to deal with the wages and conditions of employment of the workers of all countries. Let this congress establish a permanent bureau, charged with the task of disseminating accurate information about and regulating the migration of workers on the basis of actual conditions in any particular country at a given moment. This working-class organization will govern the migration of workers so as to preclude even the temporary possibility of detriment to the workers of any country. Such regulation, not being controlled by the organizations of the employing class or their governments that are animated solely by lust for profits, will be the only control of immigration which can protect the workers.

In THE LABOR HERALD for April
will be

"THE MILITANT MEXICAN RAILROADERS"
by *F. W. Leighton* and *Carl Brannin*

"IMMIGRATION AND THE NEGRO"
by *C. S. Ware*

"RUSSIA OUT OF THE SHADOWS"
by *Wm. Z. Foster*

"THE COMMUNIST TRIALS IN MICHIGAN"

With other special articles on the labor movement of America and of the world. All the regular features of THE LABOR HERALD which have made it "the best journal in the International movement," which is the judgment of A. Losovsky, General Secretary of the Red International of Labor Unions.

Progressive International Committee of the United Mine Workers of America

By John Dorsey

TIRED of the pussyfooting and mismanagement in the administration of their union, the militant members of the coal miners' organization are combining together to bring about progressive and aggressive policies in the U. M. W. of A. At a meeting in Pittsburgh, Pa., on February 10th, comprising a large number of delegates coming from many districts, they launched a body to be known as the Progressive International Committee of the United Mine Workers of America, with Thomas Myerscough of Local 4561, Lawrence, Pa., as secretary. This Committee will at once become active in lining up the militant elements throughout the mining districts in the anthracite as well as bituminous fields. Later on a national gathering may be held.

The Progressive International Committee adopted a program, among the chief planks of which are the following: Socialization of the coal mines, Aggressive campaign against dual unionism, Vigorous movement to organize the unorganized districts, Election of organizers by the rank and file instead of their appointment by the International office, Formation of a Labor Party, Remodeling of the constitution of the U. M. W. of A. so as to make fraudulent elections impossible. Affiliation with the militant trade unionists of other countries, Six-hour work day and five-day week, Complete endorsement of amalgamation, not only of craft into industrial organizations but also of the latter into gigantic class unions, Establishment of a national agreement to cover all coal miners, Reinstatement of the Kansas miners, Abolition of the "pay roll" vote at conventions, Immediate fighting alliance between the railroaders and miners, etc.

Mismanagement and Treason

Grave discontent exists among the masses comprising the rank and file of the United Mine Workers of America. For this there is ample reason. The past several years have been marked by the most cynical disregard of the coal diggers' interests by the crowd now in power in Indianapolis.

The neglect to organize the unorganized miners of the country has become an open scandal in the union. The Union administration has found it politically profitable to allow the partially organized districts to drift along with only the faintest pretence of assistance, get them into a fight about election time, and then purchase their support with promises of financial assistance. This support never materializes in any

effective way, so that the earnest and courageous miners who want to join the union, and wage vigorous battles for that privilege, are left to the mercies of the coal operators. In the meantime scores of "organizers" spend their time in the 100% organized fields building political fences for the administration. Lewis is reported to have said, in an unguarded moment, that it was best not to have West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Alabama, Tennessee, and Colorado organized fully, because such tremendous power in the hands of the union would cause the Government to suppress it. One of the crying needs of the miners is a great organizing campaign, put on by men who are in earnest about it.

Consider West Virginia, for example. A finer struggle was never made than that in District 17. But the International administration has done nothing but play politics with it. After the miners there have gone through two years of civil war, military suppression, wholesale arrests, trials for treason, murder, and the entire gamut of capitalist oppression, largely on their own slender resources, they are finding themselves sabotaged by the International office. What success they achieved was made possible by their own courage, and the councils they set up themselves to organize the finances of the battle. Now Lewis is outlawing these bodies.

Cynical Machine Ignores Convention

Time and again the miners have gone on record in convention for a certain policy, only to see their instructions totally disregarded by their officials. Such was the case with the issue of the Labor Party. Clearly and definitely the U. M. W. of A. has declared in convention that the Union should endeavor to create a party of Labor, opposed to the capitalist parties. But when at the Cleveland Conference in December they had an opportunity to see it put into effect, the delegates, hand-picked by Mr. Lewis, voted against the Labor Party.

For some time the Union has demanded nationalization of the coal mines as the only escape from their present intolerable condition. At the last convention this was made the subject of a special report, and a national committee was named, with John Brophy of District 2 as chairman, to study ways and means of bringing this about, and to report from time to time to the membership and educate them along these lines. When recently this committee made public its first report, with a carefully worked out proposal

for nationalization, the mouthpiece of Lewis, Ellis Searles, denounced the document as "unauthorized" and went out of his way to insult the committee.

The infamous expulsion of Howat, and the disruption of the Kansas District by John L. Lewis, was another brazen disregard of the will of the Union. The miners of America believe in Howat, and in the last convention they showed that, by electing him a representative to help establish connections with the militant miners of Europe. Within a few weeks after this vote of confidence in Howat on the part of 1500 delegates from the local unions, Lewis had started his dirty work. Taking advantage of Howat's imprisonment in the fight against the menacing Industrial Court Law of Kansas, a fight which rendered tremendous service to the entire labor movement of America, Lewis caused the expulsion of Howat and Dorchy, threw out the entire Kansas District, and reorganized it with a bunch of his faithful tools. A more shameful proceedings has not disgraced the American labor movement.

The Betrayal of Pennsylvania

The treachery of Lewis and his crowd in the matter of the Fayette and Somerset strikes in Pennsylvania, is of a piece with the entire record. When the great strike was called last April, a grave menace hung over the union in the fact of the unorganized fields. If these continued to produce to full capacity there was danger that the U. M. W. of A. might go down to defeat. A call was issued to the unorganized fields to come out on strike. Scores of thousands in Western Pennsylvania responded, depending upon the solidarity of the union in their great fight to bring them into the miners' family circle and into the settlement. But they were deserted. Agreement after agreement was signed, but none for the strikers in Fayette and Somerset. Coal companies operating mines in those fields were obligingly furnished with miners in adjoining fields, by Lewis and his administration, while they continued to starve the Fayette miners. Without any financial assistance except that voluntarily furnished by near-by friends, these heroic miners stayed out through the summer and through the winter, until January this year, before a single cent came to them from the International office. A two-million dollar assessment was levied ostensibly for relief, but instead of using it to back up the strike the Fayette miners were told to go back to work, while the officials paid themselves all their back salaries which they had boasted was a contribution to the strike cause. In a protest meeting of delegates from 55 striking locals, January 27th, a resolution was unanimously adopted, condemning this betrayal, and calling "upon all other

Districts of the U. M. W. of A. to join in a fight to right the grievances of the various districts and change the cowardly policy of the International Executive of the U. M. W. of A."

More Bureaucratic Arrogance

A vicious and ignorant document, inspired by Lewis and adopted by the Executive Board at Indianapolis on January 11th, was directed at District 26, which comprises the Nova Scotia fields in Canada. District 26, which has gone through terrific struggles within the past two years in which it found itself at the mercy of the oppression of the exploiters, allied with the Government and with British coal interests, has come to keenly feel the necessity for militant International organization, extending the solidarity of the miners throughout the world. In consequence it has taken steps looking toward affiliation to the Red International of Labor Unions, the fighting body of trade unionists of all countries. But the reactionary administration of Lewis will have nothing of international solidarity. The document in which the International Executive Board hands down its ruling is a confusion of ignorance and misstatement. But there is no doubt of the intent behind it. It is a direct threat to the miners of District 26, that unless they abandon their aspirations of international solidarity, the Lewis machine will expel them and smash their union. District 26, it is reported, putting the unity of the U. M. W. of A. above their District aspirations, has decided to obey the instructions of the Executive Board not to affiliate directly to the Red International, and is carrying the issue to the next International Convention of the U. M. W. of A.

All of which is but a glimpse of the high spots in the record of the present administration of the miners' union. The rank and file are sick to disgust with their arrogant and power-drunk bureaucracy, and in the organization of the Progressive International Committee they demonstrate that they are going to take a hand themselves in the conduct of the organization. In the past the administration has been able to win in all conflicts with the rank and file, because the militants have organized their fights purely upon a district basis. With the well-oiled national machine, backed by the national treasury, Lewis has been able to use the other sections to defeat the insurgent group. Confident of his power to continue this merry game, he gaily goes his way, without regard for decisions of conventions or the will of the organization. The Progressive International Committee of the miners is going out to unite the forces of militant progress to see that convention instructions and the will of the rank and file are carried into action.

National Referendum on the Labor Party

DURING the month of March the Trade Union Educational League will launch a campaign unique in the history of Labor. This will be a national referendum of the whole trade union movement on the subject of a Labor Party. Every local union in the United States will be sent letters and circulars outlining the arguments in favor of a Labor Party and requesting a definite expression regarding the same. Because of the different political situation in their country, where the Labor Party is fairly well established, the Canadian locals will not be covered by the referendum. All told, fully 35,000 local unions will be circularized. Returns will be published in the May or June LABOR HERALD. It is the biggest single stroke of educational work yet undertaken by the League.

Not to speak of the political necessity for a militant independent party of the working class, the Trade Union Educational League holds that it is impossible to have a successful trade union movement in this country until Labor has declared definitely for a Labor Party. The Gompers' political policy of rewarding our friends and punishing our enemies is fatal to the Labor unions. In the first place it has demoralized the workers, scattering them among the old parties and making of them a political zero. The whole governmental machine, local, state, and national is in the hands of the capitalist enemy, who uses it without scruple to crush labor ruthlessly. Whatever the workers are able to gain by their strength industrially is taken away from them by their weakness politically. Worse yet, the Gompers' policy opens wide the union doors to all sorts of capitalist political crooks, who poison the organizations with corruption and master-class economics. The workers will never be able to think or act intelligently as proletarians so long as their trade unions are linked up with capitalist political parties. This is a fundamental of unionism. A Labor Party is one of the most vital needs of the American labor movement.

Our bankrupt labor leadership refuses to recognize this patent fact. The arch-reac-

tionary, Gompers, is content to go along from year to year with the working class almost totally disfranchised by his stupid political policy. And the alleged progressive leader, Johnston, is little, if any, better. His Cleveland conference was a stench in the nostrils of all honest unionists. For spinelessness, lack of vision, and betrayal of the mandates of the rank and file, it was without parallel. All it could do was to reaffirm the utterly discredited Gompers' policy. The Trade Union Educational League scorns such pitiful leadership. We know that it does not represent the wishes or aspirations of the organized workers. Hence our going to the masses with the present national referendum.

The reactionary trade union leaders have opposed amalgamation. But despite them the League has popularized this necessary measure. We have created such a widespread demand amongst the workers for industrial unionism that it is bound to register itself sooner or later in a general consolidation of our unions, regardless of all efforts to defeat or postpone it. And so it will be with the Labor Party. We will make it popular and teach the rank and file to want it, notwithstanding any opposition the old guard can offer. We go into the fight with confidence to give American workers a political party of their own.

Amalgamation and a Labor Party. This is the slogan of the militants. It meets two of the greatest present needs of the working class. On the one hand, consolidation of all our impotent craft unions into a series of powerful industrial organizations, and on the other hand, the formation of a Labor Party, based directly upon the trade unions and including all existing working class parties; Farmer-Labor Party, Workers' Party, Socialist Party, Proletarian Party, etc. With these two weapons in hand, a militant industrial union movement and a clear-seeing and revolutionary political party, the working class will begin to make real progress towards its inevitable goal of a Workers' Republic.

National Committee Activities

GRADUALLY the left-wing elements are setting up the necessary national committees to carry on educational work in the unions, and launching these committees out upon active programs. In various articles in this issue of THE LABOR HERALD are reported the activities of these various committees. Most important of all perhaps of the new developments, was the foundation of the Progressive International Committee of the United Mine Workers of America, which is at once starting out upon a campaign of activity among the coal miners. Another important matter was the sending out broadcast to the whole metal industry, 6,000 locals, of its amalgamation program by the International Committee for Amalgamation in the Metal Industry. Besides this, the International Committee of the Needle Trades Section began its intensive campaign for one union in the clothing industry together with announcement of its National Conference in New York City on May 5th and 6th, and the well-known International Committee for Amalgamation in the Railroad Industry put out its general vote to the 12,000 local unions in the railroad industry regarding the proposition of merging the sixteen organizations into one. The International Committee of the Printing Trades is also carrying on much propaganda.

The Leather Industry

A development of special importance was the formation of a National Committee in the Boot, Shoe and General Leather Industry. This grew out of a meeting held in Boston on Feb. 4th. Some 50 delegates were in attendance, coming from many towns and representing practically all the unions in the shoe and leather industry.

This industry is in a very demoralized condition. Besides the old A. F. of L. union, there are a large number of independent organizations. Recently an attempt was made to amalgamate these. They were assembled in a convention and apparently the project was on the road to success. But dissensions sprang up among the officials of the several unions concerned. The result was that the referendum vote for the adoption of the new constitution and the election of officials for the amalgamated organization was sabotaged, even to the extent of one organization getting out an injunction against another. So apparently the consolidation has largely failed.

At the League meeting in Boston, the reason was made clear for this failure, namely, that the amalgamation movement, instead of being essentially one of the rank and file, had been furthered by the officials, with the result that it came to

a smash when the latter quarreled among themselves. All the delegates present were enthusiastic for the League's rank and file program. They were convinced that the League alone is capable of bringing unity out of the existing confusion. A provisional national committee was selected to draft an amalgamation program. When this is completed it will be presented to the whole industry and a big drive begun for amalgamation of all the existing unions, both A. F. of L. and independents. Provisions were made for calling a national conference of Shoe and Leather Workers in the near future. Undoubtedly this will be a big success because, weary of dual unionism, the militants in all the organizations are over-ripe for the beginning of a movement to consolidate all of the organizations. The future holds very important League developments for the Shoe and Leather Industry.

The Food Industry

The General Committee for the Amalgamation of all the Unions in the Food Industry was organized in Chicago, Jan. 19th. It is now working out its program, which when completed will be brought to the attention of all the militants throughout the entire industry. This committee is seeking to consolidate and rejuvenate the Hotel and Restaurant Workers, Brewery Workers, Amalgamated Food Workers, Bakery Workers, Butcher Workmen, etc. Before long it will be a definite factor in the general food industry.

In New York, on Feb. 2nd, an important meeting was held of militants in the food industry. Joseph Manley, eastern district organizer of the T. U. E. L., presided. Over 150 militants, divided about 50-50 between the A. F. of L. and independent organizations, were in attendance. Aside from considering the general program of the League in the food industry, the principal question before the meeting was the bitter jurisdictional fight now going on between the A. F. of L. and independent Bakers. This is bringing hardships, if not actual ruin, to both organizations. A laugh was caused by the A. F. of L. Bakers demanding that Foster, who was present, be selected as an impartial chairman to settle the dispute. In making this demand they stated that they had authority from their convention which allowed them to settle the matter on a purely local basis through whatever agency they chose. Foster declined. As the means to settle the difficulty, the Bakers' Section of the T. U. E. L., in a circular, proposed the following:

1. **Temporary adjustment:** A local settlement on the basis of an agreement between our warring

locals. This temporary agreement should have its roots in a thorough understanding on the part of the rank and file.

2. Final settlement: A national amalgamation of the international unions involved in this dispute. Any local settlement arrived at is only temporary in character, and is little more than a first aid measure. The sole practical solution and the only way that the Bakers can secure a united front and put an end to this ruinous jurisdictional war, is by amalgamating their respective international unions.

Though there was much heat developed at the meeting, a general feeling prevailed that the foregoing solution is the only practical one. The two unions being well established in the industry, they were few who believed that either one could crush the other and become master of the situation. A temporary adjustment, followed by an eventual general amalgamation, were deemed the only practical way out of the difficulty.

The Textile Industry

In November, 1922, a national committee was organized to carry on League propaganda in the textile industry. But, because of various circumstances, it was unable to function. Now, however, as a result of the tremendous interest in the League developing throughout the East,

the time is ripe for it to begin work. In Boston on Feb. 4th, a conference of textile workers was held. This brought forth the fact that the textile industry is about as badly demoralized from a union point of view as is the boot and shoe industry. Likewise, the militants in the textile mills have become enthused over the League and are prepared to accept its leadership in untangling their complicated situation.

The Boston conference went on record for the inauguration of an active campaign, particularly of amalgamation, in the textile industry. A program, already written, will be printed and spread broadcast through out the industry. Then a general call will be issued for a national conference of textile workers of all unions. This conference will take place in New York on May 5th and 6th, at the same time as the conference of the Eastern District of the T. U. E. L. All those in attendance at the Boston textile conference were convinced that the national conference can be made a big success and that it will mark a turning point in the history of textile unionism. From now on the League intends to take an active part in the organization of the textile workers.

Needle Trades Amalgamation Campaign

OF ALL the industries undoubtedly not one is so ripe for amalgamation as the needle trades. The workers in this industry clearly recognize the need for solidarity and, rising to meet the occasion, the International Committee of the Needle Trades Section, T. U. E. L., has launched a big campaign to bring about a general merger of all the unions in the clothing trades.

In carrying out this work, thoroughgoing system will be used. A definite plan of amalgamation has been adopted, carrying with it a full statement of the necessity for amalgamation, the advantages of it, and a consideration of objections. This plan, in printed form, will be scattered broadcast in all the needle trades centers, so that the great masses of the rank and file may become acquainted with its provisions, and their locals gotten to endorse it. In addition an organizer will be sent out to all the important clothing centers of the United States to speak before the local unions and request their endorsement of the plan. Points to be covered by the organizer are, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Indianapolis, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Louisville, Chicago, Cleveland, Buffalo, Rochester, Boston etc. The organizer, who will take the field shortly, is Ida Rothstein, member of

the International Ladies Garment Workers and well known as a militant in New York. Besides winning the locals over to the proposition of amalgamation, she will also make arrangements for the circulation of the Bulletin which the Needle Trades Section intends to issue.

Another most important development in the Needle Trades was the decision of the International Committee to hold a national left-wing needle trades conference in New York the date being May 5th and 6th, simultaneously with the Eastern Conference. All trades and cities will be represented. The conference, which bids fair to be a very important gathering, will not confine itself to amalgamation, but will work out a general left-wing program for the whole industry. All militants will be notified about the details.

Amalgamation sentiment is now running strong in the needle trades. It has been intensified by the announcement of the Needle Trades Alliance plan by the Cap Markers. The latter, which is merely a federation, has been properly characterized, not as a step forward, but as a step to the right. With the big campaign for amalgamation being put on by the Needle Trades Section, it may be confidently expected that an actual merger of the needle trades unions will take place in the near future.

Two Kinds of Attack

By Earl R. Browder

MR. GOMPERS and the employers of labor are agreed in being violently opposed to the Trade Union Educational League. Both profess to see in the amalgamation of the weak craft unions into powerful industrial unions, a threatened "destruction of civilization." Each is afraid for the labor movement to obtain more power. Attack from these two sources are instanced in February, by Mr. Gompers in the *American Federationist*, and by a series of articles in the *Journal of Commerce*, a capitalist daily of Chicago. Fear of the League and its success is the moving spirit behind the articles in both publications; only the method of attack varies. Gompers boldly whistles to keep up his spirits; while the *Journal of Commerce* solemnly sounds a warning to the employing class.

As text for his bombardment Mr. Gompers takes the National Railroad Amalgamation Conference of December 9th. He says it was a "dismal failure." So important does he think this point that he uses three and a half pages of the magazine in an effort to prove it. He rakes up also, for good measure, the old chestnuts about the Knights of Labor, the I. W. W. and other dualist efforts, which, like "the flowers that bloom in the spring, tra la, have nothing to do with the case" of amalgamation.

"Change and progress" in the A. F. of L., according to the ancient Mr. Gompers, are evidenced by the federation idea. The partial early success of federation, achieved in spite of his desperate opposition, and its breakdown under the "open shop" drive, are ignored. Federation a la Gompers, that is the solution to our ailments. Amalgamation is but a devilish scheme, disturbing the even tenor of official life, insidiously designed to establish Lenin as head of the trade unions. In fact, if hard names could stop the amalgamation movement, the February issue of the *American Federationist* would have destroyed the Trade Union Educational League.

As for the National Railroad Amalgamation Conference, the one thing needed to complete its success has now been added unto it. That is Mr. Gompers official denunciation. We will accept his three-and-one-half page attack as sufficient proof of substantial achievement for the Conference. Gompers wanted it to be nothing, therefore he sees it as nothing—but nevertheless worthy of 2,500 words of attack. His opposition is welcomed. His maledictions falleth like the gentle dew upon the amalgamation movement.

Such attacks perform a two-fold service. Be-

side affording a measure of the effectiveness of the movement, they also place the reactionary bureaucracy directly in opposition to the most pressing immediate need of the workers. As a result the rank and file, awaking to this need, also realize the necessity of dethroning their petty Kaisers; they are demanding amalgamation, and when their demand registers hard enough the Gompers machine is going to crack.

But if Gompers professes to see "failure" written on the amalgamation movement, not so the employers. In a series of articles syndicated widely through the daily press, the *Journal of Commerce* says: "It is on the cards that industrial unionism is to supplant business unionism." Speaking of the railroad amalgamation movement, it says: "It was the fact that only seven of the 16 rail organizations were on strike, while nine other crafts remained at work, that gave such an impetus to the amalgamation movement. Organized industry, as represented in the transportation companies, saved the day by reason of this split, but organized labor learned a lesson." This is plain speaking, and quite a contrast to the drivel of the *American Federationist*.

The explanation of the frankness of the employers' paper is, that the *Journal of Commerce* circulates almost entirely in business and middle-class circles. They speak clearly because they speak to their own class and in its interests. Mr. Gompers, in contrast, must turn and twist, evading every vital issue, because his opposition to amalgamation is in the interests not of the workers to whom he speaks but of the capitalists.

The amalgamation movement can accept both kinds of attack in good spirit. The alarm exhibited in all circles of reactionaries and conservatives, among which the Gompersian bureaucrats find themselves in company with the employing class, is the final proof that the labor movement is stirred to its depths. Amalgamation, solidarity; industrial unionism, militant leadership—these are the things that the American trade union movement wants and is determined to have. The future belongs to those who are attacked because of these demands.

While the rank and file press onward to their goal, we pause a moment to drop a bit of advice to Samuel Gompers. When the next Amalgamation Conference is called, he should set aside in the *American Federationist*, instead of the three and one half pages now deemed necessary, at least twelve pages to prove that it did not amount to anything. He will need that much or more.

The German *Arbeitsgemeinschaften*

By Paul Hoyer

AT the triennial congress of the General Federation of Free Trade Unions of Germany last July in Leipzig, one of the most hotly debated subjects was that of whether or not the Federation should participate further in supplying delegates to the *Arbeitsgemeinschaften* (Joint Industrial Councils) that were set up in 1918, or whether they should abandon the policy and leave the field open to the "Christian" trade unions, the *Hirsch-Dunker Gewerksvereine*, and other non-socialist federations of workers to fill their vacancies. So close was the vote that those who stand for continuing the policy of collaboration with the bosses can take little comfort from the result, even though they won a technical victory. For the number of delegates voting against the proposal of continuing was larger than the number voting in favor—the vote stood 345 for abandoning the *Arbeitsgemeinschaften* and 327 for retaining them—and only the fact that the 327 delegates represented 3,803,186 members while the 345 represented but 3,582,362, saved the day for the reactionaries by a narrow margin.

What, then, are these Joint Industrial Councils about which opponents and friends are so stirred up?

Construction of the Joint Councils

During the great world war, under the slogan of preserving the unity of the empire, the unions and the bosses had agreed to refrain from measuring their strength in strikes and lockouts, and to try to compose their differences over the green table. Then, in 1918, came the revolution with its tremendous upheavals. For a while it looked as though Germany might go the way of Russia and become a Workers' State. The bosses saw two alternatives—one, of losing all they had and seeing their industries nationalized; the other, of continuing the "industrial peace" policy of war time, and of admitting the workers to equal partnership, on the surface at least, in the management of industry. They chose the latter—and the workers fell for the bait.

Thus on November 15, 1918, an agreement was arrived at between the leading associations of employers on the one hand, and the general commission of the Free Trade Unions of Germany, the Federation of Christian Trade Unions, the Federation of German Workers' Associations (also known as the Hirsch-Dunkers, after their founders), the Polish Unions, and the Joint Councils of shopkeepers' assistants, of non-manual workers' federations, and of technical employes, on the other. This agreement provided

for certain reforms, and the establishment of a central committee with equal representation of employers and employes to settle all disputes.*

Further negotiations ensued, and by December, 1919, a definite constitution had been adopted for the "Central Joint Council of the Industrial Employers and Employes of Germany," the preamble of which reads as follows:

"Imbued with the realization and the responsibility, that the reconstruction of our national economy demands the co-operation of all economic and mental forces and an all-embracing, harmonious working union, the organizations of industrial employers and employes associate themselves in a central joint industrial council."

It will be seen from the very wording of the preamble that an harmonious living together of the lion and the lamb is the object sought.

Space will not permit the reproduction of all the provisions of the constitution. Suffice it for me to construct a picture from it as to how the joint industrial councils are made up, what classes of workers and of industrials they embrace, and what the tasks are that are delegated to them under the rules adopted.

German industry is, for the purpose of the councils, subdivided into fourteen branches; iron and metal, food and drink, building, textile, mining, glass and pottery, wood, clothing, paper, leather, chemical, oils and fats, and stone industries, as well as the electrical, gas and water works. Each of these forms a national joint industrial council for its particular branch. Each council is made up of an equal number of representatives of the employers and of the employes. The basis of representation is the following: for the first 150,000 workers employed in the industry, one representative each of the employers and employes constitutes the joint council; for 150,000 to 250,000, two each; for 250,000 to 350,000, three each, and so on. The national councils may be subdivided geographically or as subdivisions of the same industry.

Powers of the *Arbeitsgemeinschaften*

Each national joint industrial council has jurisdiction over questions pertaining exclusively to that industry, each regional council over those affecting that geographical district, and so on. Each national joint council determines independently the size of its executive committee and its general committee, and regulates its own order of business. The tasks of these bodies are de-

* For the text of this agreement and an explanation of the part it played in destroying the German revolution, see Chap. I of *The Revolutionary Crisis of 1918-1921*, by Wm. Z. Foster, Trade Union Educational League, Chicago, 1921.

scribed in the constitution as "the autonomous regulation of questions pertaining to the particular industry or trade."

Out of these national councils and their regional or trade subdivisions is created the Central Joint Industrial Council, the *Zentral-Arbeitsgemeinschaft* for all Germany. Its purpose is that of "solving by common effort all economic and socio-political questions affecting German industry and trade, as well as all matters of legislation and administration pertaining to same." It has two national organs,—a Central Executive Committee (*Zentralvorstand*) and a Central General Committee, or board of directors (*Zentralausschuss*).

The Central Executive Committee is composed of 23 representatives each of employers and employes, each of the 14 branches of industry having the right to at least one from both sides. The election of the 23 workers' representatives is one of the chief bones of contention in the present fight in the Free Trade Unions. The Central Board of Directors varies in size, but it has one fixed quantity in the provision that it shall have, besides delegates from the joint national councils, "nine representatives to be designated by the central federations of employers and employes." The functions of this Central Board of Directors are defined as follows:

The tasks of the Central Board of Directors consist in the discussion and regulation of all questions that are common to all national joint industrial councils, in other words, to the entire industry and the entire trade of Germany, as well as of such questions as go beyond the jurisdiction of the individual national councils. The Central Board of Directors is the final authority on questions at issue between the various national joint industrial councils.

Unless there are provisions to the contrary in the collective agreements between employers and employes, the national joint industrial councils have the right and duty of interpreting collective agreements and of mediating in the event of differences between the bosses and the workers.

Functions of the Joint Councils

Such, then, is the general structure of the *Arbeitsgemeinschaften* system. What, next, are the questions which it undertakes to solve?

The report for 1922 is not yet complete, so that my more recent data are not from official reports, but were supplied by the labor secretary of the *Zentralarbeitsgemeinschaft* at Berlin. For the years 1919 and 1920, however, a detailed printed report is available, from which can be seen the wide range of subjects touched upon.

One of the first tasks was that of clarifying the relations of this voluntary association to the National Economic Council, and the ministry of

labor, bodies created by the new German constitution and corresponding to our Department of Commerce or Department of Labor.

Conferences brought about the official recognition of the joint industrial councils, which were given consultative and nominative powers. Relations having been established with the Government, the Councils got to work. I will not deal with the various national sub-councils, but rather review the work of the *Zentralarbeitsgemeinschaft*, for all questions of national importance came before that body. Chronologically, the following are some of the things with which the Central Joint Council dealt:

Protested against separation of Saar Valley from Germany, and against provisions of Versailles Treaty; obtained representatives of the Joint Council in delegation to Versailles; worked out plan for restoration of devastated areas in France and Belgium, which was frustrated by France's refusal; sought to stimulate production of coal by placing miners in a specially preferred category, the proposal failing of adoption; issued an appeal for greater production in name of patriotism, and opposed shortening of work day; protested against chaotic conditions prevailing in the railway system; brought about reorganization of the National Economic Council; proposed an extra duty on exports to improve social insurance, which collapse of the mark and governmental delay brought to nothing—Government agreed to this extra tax but put it in the general treasury; and cooperated in the establishment of national employment bureaus.

The above topics, taken from the official report for 1919 and 1920, indicate the problems with which the Central Industrial Council concerned itself in that time. According to the labor secretary of the council, more recent activities include:

On the question of the eight-hour day, the council agreed that "in principle" the eight-hour day must be adhered to, BUT that under certain conditions overtime work must be permitted, in view of the economic plight of Germany; "stimulation of production," insisted upon by the bosses, brought about by winning over unions to agreements with the bosses for overtime work; prevailed upon railroad workers to accept compromise on pay for time when held in readiness for service, at 50% to 70% of regular wage; sought to prevent strikes by securing automatic raise in wages as index figures for cost of living rose.

What Has Labor Gained?

Having traced the origin and composition of the joint industrial councils, and having shown with what kind of questions they concern themselves, I shall now try to give as objectively as

possible the two points of view prevailing in the organized labor movement as to the advantages and disadvantages of the scheme to the workers themselves.

Those who favor the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* advance several arguments in substance as follows: That in comparison with the times when trade union leaders were jailed for trying to organize, the granting of formal equality in the joint councils is a big step forward; that the joint councils are a training school for the workers in learning the management of industry; that the joint councils afford favorable conditions for carrying on the class struggle on the basis of equality with the employer; and finally, that the scheme is, after all, nothing more than an extension of collective bargaining.

This point of view is held by the official leaders of the trade unions, and was urged strongly before the Tenth Congress of the General Federation of Free Trade Unions of Germany at Nuremberg in 1919, when already grave objections to the scheme were voiced. It was put forward with even greater emphasis before the Eleventh Congress at Leipsig in July, 1922.

The attack against the joint councils was led chiefly by the Communists but was also supported by those Socialists who until recently constituted the Independent Socialist Party, and even by a number of Majority Socialists, and rested upon arguments somewhat as follows:

The fundamental idea underlying the *Arbeitsgemeinschaften* is that of industrial peace. This, says the militants, is something we do not want, for there cannot be peace until the workers have been victorious. Victory cannot come through joint councils of workers and bosses, but only through wiping out the boss-worker relationship—through the abolition of capitalism. To go into the joint councils is to prop up the capitalist system.

Secondly, experience has shown that almost every worker delegate to a joint council loses his labor viewpoint. He soon sees matters through the eyes of the employer. He becomes filled with pride at the thought of being on an equal footing with the boss and suddenly thinks the employer not such a bad fellow after all. Also, the employers, having great financial resources, can send as their delegates men who are skilled in making argument most attractive and innocent-looking, and who "put one over" on the workers without their being aware of it until it is too late.

Thirdly, say the militants, the joint councils do not at all place the workers on equality with the bosses. Part of the "equal" representation of the workers is made up of delegates, like those

from the *Christians* and *Hirsch-Dunkers*, that are so many tools of the bosses, and ready in decisive moments to betray the interests of the workers.

As for the argument that the joint councils are a training ground for management of industry, this is stoutly denied by the militants. The bosses use one set of data and figures in these councils and another set in their own employers' and manufacturers' associations. And finally, the militants challenge the defenders of the *Arbeitsgemeinschaften* to name a single advantage thus far gained that could not better have been secured by the workers in their own organization, dealing with the employers, not as joint councils for industrial peace, but as exponents of the class struggle.

Such is the line up on this great issue in Germany today. The movement against the *Arbeitsgemeinschaften* is growing stronger. One national union—the shoe workers'—has withdrawn from the joint councils. How fast the others will follow suit depends upon the degree of strength the militants can muster. Certain it is that the Communist members of the General Federation of Free Trade Unions stand unalterably opposed to the idea, and that the great majority of the former Independent Socialists favors cutting loose from the semi-fraternal relationship with the bosses. To the extent that the German workers regain their spirit, and recover from the general weariness now prevalent, the struggle against the *Arbeitsgemeinschaften* will once more sweep the great German labor movement into the active class struggle. With growing turmoil in the industrial and political life of the German nation these joint councils and the question of collaboration within them are becoming the storm centers of the labor movement.

THE SUSTAINING FUND—WHAT ARE YOU DOING FOR IT?

Some members of the T. U. E. L. are taking seriously that very serious proposition of The Sustaining Fund. For example, read the following letter:

Dear Comrades:

I'm sending under separate cover a diamond ring for which I gave \$160 two years ago. I believe I was stung—but sell as best you can and apply the proceeds to the Sustaining Fund. I'd rather like to know what you get for it . . .

This may be my last donation, or it may not—I may not live forever—or THE LABOR HERALD may join forces with *Vorwaerts*—or because of the premature second coming of Christ—but you'll never miss it because my kin persuade me—I'll give to them when you give to Sam Gompers.

So long,

George Riley.

New Exposures in the Dolla Case

By Moritz J. Loeb

EVERY day the Dolla frame-up becomes rottener and rottener. Since the Chicago Federation of Labor joined in the campaign to secure the release of Jacob Dolla, steel striker and militant, who was put out of the way by the tools of the Steel Trust, fresh evidence of the frame-up game played in this case has been pouring in. Frightened by the threat of complete exposure, the corrupt agencies responsible have been trying to secure a deportation order against Dolla, hoping to rush him out of the country and thus hush the matter up.

Fortunately there was among those who had finally learned of the railroading of Dolla, a labor militant who was able, being close at hand, to actively organize his defense. Clinton S. Golden, of Philadelphia, business agent of the Machinists' District Council, took up the fight, assisted by Francis Fisher Kane, former U. S. district attorney, and James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor. Their efforts, backed up by resolutions from labor bodies like the Chicago Federation of Labor, has caused the Steel Trust tools to pause for a while at least. It is desirable that many more central bodies and unions take action along the same lines. Every militant should agitate this case and see that a strong resolution is introduced and when passed, sent to the Governor of Pennsylvania and the Department of Labor at Washington.

A New Perjury Confession

One of the latest developments in the exposure, among many others which must be withheld for the time being, is the following letter from a man originally roped into the frame-up game, and who now hopes to undo some of the damage unjustly wrought against Dolla:

Lancaster, Pa., Feb. 5th, 1923.

My Dear Mr. Dolla:—

I was home in Lebanon on Sunday and I heard so much rumor about your case around Lebanon. I for one do not **know** if you are guilty of the dynamiting or not; but I feel you are a victim of a frame-up and in the interest of justice I am forced to break my silence. In 1919, at the time you was in Lebanon County jail waiting for trial, Sergeant Campbell of the State Police arrested me as I had a quart of whiskey in my pocket. He put me in jail and he asked me if I knew you. I said I do. He said if I come half way with him, he will come the other half with me. I asked him what he meant. Then he said he needs more witnesses to convict you, and if I would testify against you he would

drop my charge. Then he told me what to say against you in court. But I told him I don't know you of any wrong doings. I always knew you as a gentleman. He said well there is always a way to fix things. He wanted me to testify against you, that you would have told me how you done the dynamiting and that you was bossing, and how you fixed the scabs. I told him I am not able to do so, I would have to perjure myself by saying that against you. He said I do not need to be afraid, they would have the best of lawyers with them. He said, he will turn me over to the Federal Government and they have the goods on me and they would send me to a Federal Prison. I then told him to give me time to consider the matter. The next day he came out in jail and asked me, how about it. I said all right. He told me the story again what to say. Then he asked me if I could remember everything now. I said yes. He said, stick to it now, your freedom is your reward for this, but keep it to yourself. He put me in the same corridor with Miller, Sohn, and Dissinger in Lebanon County jail. While I was speaking to those fellows about the case, Miller said he absolutely never spoke to you of any kind. Sohn and Dissinger told me they dont know anything about you. But the State Police and Steel Co. lawyers want them to help to convict you. If not they would give them from 20 to 30 years in prison. Sohn and Dissinger said they dont know what to do, as it is a very severe offense to testify against a man what is not true and send him to prison innocent. Miller said he was also innocent but the State Police and lawyers of the Steel Co. would give him from 20 to 30 years if he would not help to convict you. Miller said if he had to perjure himself to convict an innocent man they should just give him the 20 to 30 years. Miller said he would rather go to prison with clear conscience than go free as a coward and perjurer. Had you stood trial and if your lawyers would have fought your case, I was ready to tell in court all about Sergeant Campbell. You would have seen one of the biggest surprises sprung in that Court House you ever saw in your life. I had my mind made up. They could send me to a Federal Prison if they wanted to. The whiskey Campbell found on me I bought it and paid for it with my own money. But I must say Campbell made his promise good. I was left go, even if I did not have to testify against you, but you surely have my sympathy and you should have the sympathy of all justice and freedom-loving citizens of America. After I fairly considered what Miller, Dissinger, and Sohn told me, and what the State Police wanted me to do, nothing in God's world can change my opinion of your innocence. I am willing any time and all times to say what I know. You can use this letter for evidence or publication if you think it is any help to you for I do not fear the truth. You should not be in prison in the first place.

With sincere wishes, I am

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Robert Boyer.

The League Booming

By Joseph Manley

IN the big industrial centers of the Atlantic Coast District, the Trade Union Educational League has now become an established factor in the labor movement. In Philadelphia, long noted for its conservative labor movement, splendid headway is being made. Before long the sleepy unions in that town will undergo a revival which will surprise their leaders very much. The same is true of Boston, which is already responding powerfully to the stimulus of League activity. There are well-established groups of the League in nearly all the principal industries. At the last meeting of the Boston League there were present fully 150 active trade unionists, consisting of many of the very best in Boston.

But it is in New York that the greatest headway is being made. There the League groups in the needle, printing, building, food, leather, and other industries are exercising a real influence. When the League held its general meeting in the Labor Temple on Sunday afternoon, Jan. 28th, there were present at least 500 of the

most active trade unionists in New York City. A splendid spirit of optimism prevailed. This was essentially a delegate meeting. Had there been an effort made to organize anything like a mass meeting, several times that number would have been in attendance.

In years gone by radical movements in the United States have centered themselves very much in the West. For the most part the East remained dead. All students recognized this as a serious condition, with the great industrial centers unresponsive. But, as it is upsetting many other traditions in the American labor movement, so the Trade Union Educational League is upsetting this one. It is receiving heavy support in the very districts which have resisted radicalism heretofore. This is one of the most hopeful signs of the new movement. When the Eastern District Conference, called for May 5th and 6th meets in New York City, the East will be definitely in the move toward a prominent place in the campaign for solidarity.

Local Problems of Amalgamation

By George L. Hedden

MUCH has been written of late concerning the general subject of amalgamation, and its advantages have been ably shown, to the effect that a great movement has been gotten under way. Which brings before us a new set of problems about which we need discussion. These are the problems of how to proceed in our local work. In this we cannot lay down any hard and fast lines, but rather must proceed to the general exchange of information as to the experience that we are gathering in all the various unions and cities in which the amalgamation movement is growing.

In some industrial centers there may not yet be a branch of the Trade Union Educational League. But in nearly every community there will be found some active trade unionists who are interested in amalgamation. Every one realizes that in order to get results in anything we must have some sort of organization. There can be no better way to organize our forces for amalgamation than to form a branch of the T. U. E. L. In this way you always keep in touch with the whole national movement and thus keep the work alive and growing.

It is essential that political factionalism be kept

out of the League. We must work as progressive members of the trade union movement. Our League is the meeting place of those who are out to make trade unions effective weapons in our everyday struggles with the capitalist class, at the same time keeping in view the goal of abolition of the wages system. So it is best not to emphasize any affiliation except that of your trade union, so far as League meetings are concerned.

In avoiding political factionalism, the opposite mistake of neglecting fundamental education should be guarded against. Education as to the nature of the capitalist system, how it robs the workers, and why it must be replaced and how, are thoroughly in order in the League. The capitalist system should be discussed and analyzed, and every issue of the class struggle should be faced.

Wherever there is a branch of the T. U. E. L. working, it is not long until local unions begin to take a stand for amalgamation. This is a big step forward. Every amalgamationist in a local union which takes this action should see that the sentiment and the impulse is spread to other local unions. There is no better way to proceed than to start an educational campaign, seeing to

it that every active member thoroughly understands the subject of amalgamation. This is necessary for developing the speakers needed for spreading the movement to other locals. As soon as possible have an amalgamation committee elected, with a live-wire secretary, which will correspond and visit with the other local unions in its industry and locality, and keep in touch with all the amalgamation sentiment in the district. When several locals adopt amalgamation policies, then a central committee should be established to still further intensify the work.

Another good way to increase the sentiment for amalgamation is to use your local paper. Start a discussion in its columns. I believe this field is sadly neglected. If the local paper is not progressive a good share of the blame lies

with the militants themselves. If we are not dualists, then it is just as much our problem to make the local paper an effective weapon in our struggles as it is to make our union such a weapon. A letter addressed to the editor will not be without effect. I believe that with an organized effort we can use even our various international journals to a greater extent. It is well worth trying!

In conclusion I would say that our job is to organize all the amalgamation sentiment there is, and to leave no stone unturned to increase this sentiment and bring it to expression. This means work—hard, practical work; and thinking out our local problems—hard practical thinking. Sitting still and theorizing will not do it. So all together, let's go!

Progress in the Bay District

By Al. Schneider

TOO long have both militants and conservatives alike held the erroneous conception that Organized Labor in the San Francisco Bay District functions as an active, militant industrial organization, standing together as a unit and enforcing its demands upon the employers through concerted industrial action. Nothing is further from the truth, and in this brief resume of the industrial situation in San Francisco, I will try to set forth the true situation.

To understand the present situation it is necessary to delve far back into the history of San Francisco—back to the great Teamsters' strike of 1901, when organized labor first came to a realization of its power and after a bitter struggle won its battle and emerged as a factor to be reckoned with.

The Teamsters' strike first brought into prominence those men who are today the bulwark of reaction in the San Francisco Labor Movement. After the big graft prosecutions in 1907, in which the Mayor of the city was deposed Organized Labor seized its opportunity and took control of the city government through its political power, electing P. H. McCarthy, president of the Building Trades Council as Mayor.

Thus was realized the era of prosperity of Organized Labor. But, following the election of McCarthy, Organized Labor as a unit abandoned the use of industrial power to enforce demands, and from then on depended entirely upon "back room" political conferences to secure better wages and conditions. The reactionaries were firmly entrenched.

The ultimate and natural result of this stagnation was to usher in an era of dual union propaganda, fostered by the disgruntled militants who, not having the patience to stay in the unions and fight the reactionaries, flocked to the I. W. W., the O. B. U., etc., thus drawing the life blood from the old unions and leaving the reactionaries in undisputed control.

Dual unionism in San Francisco culminated in the split in the Building Trades during the strike of 1921, which resulted in the withdrawal of the most active trades unionists and the formation of the Rank and File Federation of Workers, a dual industrial union, which after a short and hectic career, followed the course of all dual unionism and is now a mere shell, fast withering away. The militant workers are now realizing their mistake and are, wherever possible, re-entering the old unions.

Perhaps the best illustration of the stagnation of unionism in San Francisco (and in all California) is found in the various labor cases which have been tried in the courts of California. Prior to the McNamara trial it was easy to obtain support for any progressive labor undertaking, but the fiasco of the McNamara incident left the trade union movement in a state of doubt and apathy, and it has since been next to impossible to obtain support in any undertaking. This is shown in the case of Ford and Suhr, who have spent the past nine years in prison on a rank frame-up, and the labor movement has done next to nothing to release them; and in the Mooney-Billings case, where almost all of the support came from outside of the State. Had the labor movement of Cali-

ifornia retained confidence in the militants, not one of these four men would be in prison today.

And so we find that Organized Labor in San Francisco and in California is not the giant that it once was. The unions are today in the undisputed control of reactionary leaders; industrial power has been discarded for political favors, and the unions have become mere dues paying organizations, controlled by a few men.

But a bright ray of hope is seen in the realization of the militants that their dual union program was wrong. They are now adopting the

program of the T. U. E. L. and are rapidly gaining strength, and soon will be in a position to successfully challenge the present leadership. An indication of this is seen in the fact that all liberal, progressive and radical forces were solidified in the fight to elect George G. Kidwell, Secretary and Business Agent of the Bakery Wagon Drivers' Union and a life long militant, to the Congressional seat left vacant by the death of John I. Nolan. And the campaign of Kidwell caused consternation for a time in the ranks of the conservatives, who saw their one weapon, political power, slowly slipping from them.

The R. I. L. U. World Congress

By Arne Swaback

IN the large hall of the Moscow Labor Temple about 213 delegates, representing 42 countries, were gathered for the Second Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions in November, 1922. It was a momentous gathering. Delegates had come from all over the world. It was not simply a European-American gathering. There were representatives also from Australia, Africa, Japan, China, Java, Turkey, India, and from all over the Far East.

The delegates were workers, serious-minded and intent upon their mission. There were none of the kind so familiar in American conventions, corpulent, heavy-necked, with diamond rings and big black cigars. There were no sleek, high-paid, officials to look calmly and unconcernedly upon the life-and-death problems of the workers. No, these delegates all were working men whose fate is bound up with the fate of their class. Many of them seemed to have come directly from the shops. Others bore the scars of battle with the Fascisti and other hoodlums of the White Terror.

Serious Problems to be Faced

Fifteen months had elapsed since the First World Congress. Now the reports of this period were brought together. They showed the similarity of the problems which arose in every country during this time. Everywhere was the same capitalist attack against Labor, carried on internationally, and aiming at the complete destruction of labor organization. Everywhere were the same methods in this attack, only varying in the countries with a high, and those with a low, valuta. And in every country this attack had wrought havoc to the labor unions.

The outstanding features of the offensive against Labor were the new strike breaking organizations, and the special instru-

ments of suppression, such as the Fascisti. In every country these new weapons had been brought into the struggle by the capitalist forces, to a greater or lesser degree, in addition to the well-known police, army, and court powers. In almost every country real wages had been forced down considerably; the eight-hour day had been violently attacked and in many instances abolished; working conditions had generally deteriorated; and the unions had lost heavily in membership.

The external cause of the workers' retreat during the year was the terrific capitalist offensive. It was worsened by two principal factors within the labor movement. One was the desertion by thousands of the new recruits, who had been swept into the unions during the rapid growth just after the war, and who now weakened in the hour of trial. This was accentuated by the glaring inefficiency and treachery of the trade union bureaucrats, to whom belongs most of the "credit" for the success of the capitalist attacks. Instead of rallying the organized masses to resistance, they hurried to the rescue of the capitalists, they entered into agreements for collaboration with them. They tied the labor movement to the chariot of capitalism, and restrained the workers from the struggle to maintain their union rights and to improve their conditions.

The Struggle for Solidarity

Between the First and Second Congresses the militant workers in every country had been forced to struggle for the unity of the labor movement. The reactionary officialdom entered into compacts with the capitalists, either tacitly or openly, and viciously attacked the revolutionary and militant workers who advocated the struggle for better conditions and workers' control. This attack upon the militants, coming

simultaneously with the capitalist offensive, amounted to stabbing the labor movement in the back. The bureaucrats were determined rather to split the unions than to find themselves in the minority.

Large scale expulsions were resorted to in some countries, as in Germany; in others, as France, the national movements were split wide open by the reactionaries. Many national unions were destroyed entirely by reckless bureaucrats. The great task of the revolutionary minority in every country had thus become the struggle for solidarity against the splitting efforts of the reactionary officialdom.

Sad to relate, even some of the anarcho-sindicalists who, at the time of the organization of the Red International adhered to it, and professed full support to the Russian Revolution, were reported to have adopted the same dastardly policy of suppression of militant policies and expulsion of their exponents.

Facing Facts and Finding Solutions

Thus the problems confronting the Second Congress were of a most grave nature. Never before had the trade union movement of the world found itself in such a serious condition. Attacked by all the combined forces of capitalism, betrayed and disrupted by the corrupt bureaucracy, its powers of resistance had gone away down. How can trade union unity be restored and preserved? How can a united fighting front of all the workers against the capitalist class be built up? How can the unions be reinvigorated and the workers filled with the will and the power to struggle? How can we re-establish the elementary rights of unionism, and progress towards the control of production by the working class? These were some of the questions that loomed large at the Congress.

The great tasks of the Congress were to examine the situation in each country and outline a policy for each which would merge into the general international policies. Weaknesses were mercilessly dug out and exposed, and nothing was concealed or blurred over. Particularly did the Congress drastically repudiate the policies of secession advocated still by a few rebels, and which result only in isolation from the organized masses. In every question practical and realistic solutions were found.

The sad plight of the trade union movement was forcefully presented by the analysis made of the various countries. The loss of membership alone was terrific. In France the decrease had been from 2,000,00 in 1920, to about 600,000 in 1922; in Italy the membership had dropped from 2,500,000 to 800,000. The unions in Great

Britain have lost 1,200,000 members. Similar conditions were noted in Spain, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, etc. In Hungary where, during the Soviet rule the unions had 1,450,000 members, there are now but 200,000. In our country the loss is well known.

In France the reactionary officialdom had done particular damage. In 1920, while the unions were still strong, the revolutionary minority had gained great support and seriously promised to take the lead of the French labor movement. The old standpatters were furious, and launched a campaign of expulsions and provocations. Some of the militants also had a tendency to play into the hands of the reactionaries. They were too easily provoked. In December, 1921, and January, 1922, the bureaucrats expelled a great block of unions and forced the split. The division was about in half, approximately an equal number going to each side. All attempts of the revolutionary group (C. G. T. U.), which adheres to the Red International, to establish a united front of both organizations to defend the workers, have been refused by the reactionaries. The Congress approved the tactics of the United Front in France, and urged all the French workers to force the unity of the trade unions over the heads of their reluctant leaders.

In Germany the misery and ruin brought about by the war and by the Versailles Peace, has hurled the working class into the fathomless depths of poverty. Real wages have decreased to 10% or 15% of pre-war times. This terrible pressure has at least compelled the workers to remain in their unions in spite of incompetent leadership. The Majority Socialist trade union leaders made their peace with the capitalists, just as the bureaucrats in other countries; declaring that the enemy is to the "left," in other words that they would fight against the revolutionists but not against the capitalists, they started a campaign of expulsions of the militant trade unionists, particularly the communists. Whole unions that voted against the bureaucrats were thrown out. There was grave danger of the unions being wrecked by this reckless crew.

The Splitters Blocked

It is especially in Germany that the tactics of the Red International of fighting against splits has been successful. In spite of the malicious and terrific attacks of the yellow Socialist leaders, the unity of the organizations has been on the whole maintained. This is one of the reasons why the German unions have not lost so largely in membership as the unions of other countries.

Whenever unions and individuals were expelled they, according to the tactics adopted at the First Congress, began a struggle for re-

instatement into the national unions. No dual unions were allowed to be established, nor were the expelled unions allowed to disband. They refused to recognize the expulsion and appealed to the rank and file over the heads of the officialdom for reinstatement. These tactics were a great success. Not only were a great many expelled unions brought back into the mass organizations, but the entire campaign of expulsions was discredited. It proved to be a boomerang to the reactionaries, opening the eyes of the rank and file to their disruptive activities.

A great movement has been developed in Germany for the establishment of workers' control in the industries. This is especially expressed by the shop councils (*Betriebsrate*), which are becoming active and militant throughout Germany. The revolutionary unionists are the leaders of this movement, which held a national congress in Berlin almost simultaneously with that of the Red International in Moscow. About 1,500 delegates attended, representing 4,000,000 workers. The bureaucracy bitterly opposed it, and threatened dire consequences if it were held. The *Betriebsrate* is distinctly against the reactionaries and for a revolutionary policy.

The United Front Against Capitalism

Against the wholesale wrecking-attempts of the reactionaries, the Second Congress put forth the slogan of "Trade union unity" and the "United front of Labor against the common enemy." On several occasions in the past year, a united front has been proposed by the Red International to the Amsterdam International, for specific struggles such as to protect the Spanish workers against the White Terror, to prevent the split in France, to help the locked-out metal workers in Great Britain, to support the Italian workers against the Fascisti, and to help the French miners in their struggle. All were rejected by Amsterdam. But the Second Congress decided to continue the policy of willingness to make common struggle in every fight with other working class organizations against the capitalists.

These slogans ran like a red thread through all the important resolutions adopted. Practical plans were laid for carrying them into action. In countries where parallel unions exist, if adhering to the Red International they were instructed to unite; if any one is of the Red International, it was instructed to work jointly with the militant minorities in the conservative unions and to do all its power to establish a united front in all actions to defend the workers, as a preliminary to obtaining organizational unity.

No secessionist tendencies were tolerated at this Congress. It was made a supreme duty of the militants to remain within the mass unions. There they must carry on the struggle for the immediate demands of the workers who, day by day, will be driven by the capitalist oppression toward the position of the revolutionists. Only in this manner is it possible to weld the labor movement into a single fighting unit, capable of carrying on a revolutionary struggle when the time comes.

The issues upon which the united front was proposed include; active struggle for the eight-hour day, for higher wages, to defend the union rights, against the present heavy taxation of the worker, for development of the shop committees movement, to prepare the working masses for effective struggle against the onslaughts of the employers and their organized agencies of strike-breaking and the fascist brigands, for control of production and seizure of factories to prevent the growing economic chaos.

The American Problems

The American independent unions which adhere to the Red International were told to make an organized campaign for re-entry into the A. F. of L. as organized groups. When some of their advocates held that this body was too conservative for them, and could not be reformed they were told: "If that is true it merely indicates that you must give up for the time your hopes of social revolution, since without the masses in the trade unions the social revolution is impossible."

The work of the Trade Union Educational League was highly commended at the Second Congress. Although no short comings were overlooked, it was pointed out that its policies were correct and its performance has been beyond expectations. All militants and revolutionists were urged to give it full cooperation, including those in the independent unions, to make an ever more aggressive campaign for the complete realization of its policies. The League was named the official representative of the Red International of Labor Unions in the United States.

Throughout the Congress one great idea dominated all thought, deliberation, and decision. That was the unity of all the revolutionary forces of the working class against capitalism. All the revolutionary unions of the world are to be united, with all the revolutionary elements within the existing conservative unions—not for their destruction, but for their strengthening and their transformation into effective instruments for the establishment of the power of the workers, of the social revolution.

Compulsory Labor

By Jay Fox

IT IS coming, wage slavery in the real. Wage slavery will soon be transformed from a figure of speech into a flaming fact. Shortly the Wage Board will tell the boss just how much to clip from your pay check, and the federal troops will stand by to see that you make no fuss about the matter but go on producing. Without any further discussion of the matter you have got to cut out the rough stuff. That habit of stopping production every time the boss takes a slash at your wages has to be stopped sometime, and the quicker the better. It is getting to be a dangerous business, and quite out of harmony with our new American plan.

In the olden days, before we made the world safe from democracy, such infractions of industrial decorum were tolerated in this country. In those days we were still under the spell of old illusions, and we thought we had to humor you a bit. But now that we've canned all that old sentimental stuff about the rights of labor a new policy is about to be inaugurated which will relieve the working class of all responsibility in the matter of wages and hours of labor. All you will have to do is work. The wage board will do the rest. But you will have to keep on the job no matter how often the board cuts your wages. No strike talk, or into the can you go. Democracy is opposed to strikes since the war made her free.

The trouble with you is that you have carried this strike business to the point where it menaces public policy. What is public policy? Public policy, my boy, is the good and welfare of the boss and his wife and kids and their poodle dog. You cannot have a free and prosperous country unless poodle dogs have their teeth examined regularly by competent dentists and have warm blankets to cover them from Winter's chilly blasts and maids to care for them. These things cost money. Be reasonable.

Wants Dukes for His Daughters

Besides, the boss and his family must travel in foreign countries. You cannot expect them to stick around here all the time. You common workmen may not understand, but it is none-the-less true that our better class has to brush up against European culture now and then in order to keep up to date in its table manners and like matters of international importance.

And then the boss has daughters growing up; and being an internationalist, he wants to get them married abroad—to titled guys, of course.

The best in the market is none too good for them. They are simon pure, 100 percent American. But titles come high in spite of a deflated European currency. It all depends on you. If you are willing to work hard and cheap your 100 percent boss can purchase for himself high honors in the ranks of the degenerate European fake nobility.

In years gone by, when you closed up half a dozen mines or the like number of railroad shops it didn't matter much. The boss got your brother union men in other mines and shops to do the work. They worked overtime while you starved out on the picket line until you were reduced to a peace basis. Then everything became fine and dandy again on the boss's terms.

Can't Run Roads with White House Bunk

But dull as the boss has tried to keep you, you seem to have learned something about striking lately. When you close *all* the mines and *all* the railroad shops you betray a streak of wisdom the boss thought was quite beyond your reach; and he has resolved to harness it at once, before it becomes contagious. We can't run railroads with white-house bunk. That's been proven. You are the gink to pull that stunt. So, as soon as we get you back on the job we are going to keep you there till old age or accident disqualify you. Then you can go to the poor house, if still alive.

This is a free country. You can do what you like so long as you do nothing the boss don't like. Remember, strikes are against public policy. Public policy is one of the various cloaks the boss carries in his plenteous wardrobe. Speaking now from the white house that garment becomes him best.

Workers Chained to Their Jobs

So he announces that the long suffering public must be protected from the frequent and painful inconvenience that your foolish strikes subject it to. Therefore, in the name of the people and for the benefit of the boss, you are going to be tied to your job. Hamstrung, shackled, chained to your task and made as much a slave as any colored man that ever trod on Southern soil. For, once strikes are outlawed your union becomes powerless. You will then be a helpless individual at the mercy of a wage board appointed by a Wall Street puppet.

Of course the boss would rather not take this extreme measure. He would prefer that you took council with yourself and became more reasonable in your demands. In applying this

measure he feels that he is only protecting the social system that has been so lavish in its bestowal of power and property upon him. Your power has also grown with the system. But the system has given you nothing but hard work. It has taken from you and given to him. Therefore you have no interest in maintaining it. On the contrary, your best interest lies in changing it so you will get a square deal.

Knowing this even better than you, the boss fears your fast growing power, and wants to

destroy it before it is too late. He knows your power is a standing menace, and he is going to put it down, unless — unless you are able to marshal all your forces and, with unity and proper generalship, defeat him. There is no use in trying to deceive yourself. The boss has declared war on you. His next move will be to disarm you, to take your main weapon away from you before you know the war is on.

The Miner: His Outlook

By Fred Moe

IT has been said that steel is the basic industry of America. It is not. Coal is the basic industry. Without coal there couldn't be any steel. Without coal all the great deposit of ore would be useless dross. We can live without steel; we would die without coal. Without coal railroads would cease to operate and factories would close their doors. Coal is today master of civilization.

What of the miners of coal; the men who bore into the dark caverns of the earth and at the risk of their lives bring up the black diamonds, without which civilization would perish and mankind revert back to the age of stone? Civilization doesn't care a whoop about the miners so long as it gets its scuttle of coal. That 2,500 miners give up their lives yearly in the mines of this country and that the average wage of the miners is 60% below the standard, or "living wage" is no concern of ours. We, the public, civilization, stand by and curse the miner when our scuttle of coal is not forthcoming. We care nothing about the miner's grievances; we are not his keeper; and the profit press is our mouth-piece and guardian of our "rights."

Strikes to Be Made Criminal

It is clearly up to the miner, then, backed by organized labor, to look out for his own interests. The lines are more clearly drawn than ever before. At this late date it requires no argument to convince the intelligent worker that his salvation rests squarely upon his own shoulders, that capital is intent upon tying him to his job and make it a crime for him to strike against any conditions and servitude imposed upon him, however monstrous those conditions may be. And the "public," through its official machinery, will be frightened by threat of want to impose the servile conditions upon the workers. The scheme was framed up five years ago and the propa-

ganda has been carried on, vigorously, ever since. "Public necessity" is the new slogan of the exploiters. Coal is a public necessity, therefore the "public," in conjunction with the mine owners, shall have the right to fix the wages and hours of the miners and jail them if they strike or otherwise dare express their disapproval of decisions handed down by those alleged representatives of the public, selected by Harding or some other political henchman of the capitalists.

The Railroad Labor Board is a good example of what is coming to the miners and all the other industries in the near future. Lacking the power to enforce its decisions the R. R. Labor Board has not been as raw as we must expect it to be once it gets that power, which it may shortly. But what it has already handed to the railroad men is certainly raw enough. Still that is nothing to what is coming when all the machinery for controlling railroad labor is perfected. Then it will be easy to duplicate the process in the other industries. The campaign of frightfulness is on. See Mr. Hooper's spacious article in the Saturday Evening Post recently, in which he predicts that a railroad strike would be more disastrous than the civil war. That system of making war on the public in order to settle grievances with railroads must be stopped, he says, by legislation. The public mind is being prepared for the coming slavery.

Miners and Railroaders Must Combine

Capital is bold and aggressive. It has vim and punch in its movements. In its last drive upon the miners' union it sought to destroy the organization. And while it failed in its aim, it succeeded in checking the miners' proposed advance for the six hour day and put the union on the defensive. The result of this strike shows clearly that labor has an enemy vastly more potent than the scab, the injunction or state and

private gunmen. Hunger is the striker's worst enemy. When all other means fail hunger drives the striker back to his job at the master's terms.

At the present time miners in Washington, Pennsylvania, and W. Virginia are braving the winter's cold, mostly in tents, and subsisting on the meager rations furnished by their fellow workers. Such heroic sacrifice is worthy of the highest praise, but ways and means must be found to make it unnecessary. Steps must be taken to prevent long strikes. The workers are never in a position to maintain long drawn out battles, their funds are too quickly exhausted; and miners suffer more than others through their occupancy of company houses and their isolation from the great body of industrial workers. Miners' strikes should be so organized that victory will be swiftly achieved. When miners strike not a pound of coal should be moved, union or non-union, thus keeping the coal barons from reaping enormous profits on the coal on hand when the strike took place. This would mean an agreement with the railroad men. And why not an entente between the miners and the railroaders?

Miners Railroad Employees

The miners and railroad men are more closely allied than is apparent on the surface of things. The railroads own all the anthracite mines, employing 132,000 miners. Thus all the miners engaged in the production of hard coal are railroad employees. In addition to this the railroads own a considerable number of the soft coal mines producing coal for their own consumption. All those miners should be classed as railroad workers, which they really are. That the miner's union has failed to recognize this fact and sought representation in the system federations is to be regretted, because such affiliation would be a powerful factor in cementing these allied industries together. The men who produce coal are as necessary to the railroads and are as much railroaders as the men who repair the locomotives in which the coal is consumed.

This is not the time for hairsplitting. The question is: Would an alliance between the railroaders and miners be of mutual benefit to both? The answer is most emphatically YES. You cannot run railroads without coal. Without railroads mining would cease. Railroads are by far the largest consumers of coal. Nearly a third of all coal mined is burned up by the railroads. On the other hand, more than a third of all railroad freight is coal. It will thus be seen what an important factor is coal to the railroads and what a tremendous power the producers and carriers of coal wield when combined.

If it will be objected that it would be futile for the miners to seek an alliance with the railroad men at this time when the latter are not themselves united, being split 16 ways, the answer is simply this: The logic of today is *power*; and the railroaders no less than other workers are beginning to get that big idea through their heads. The seed of power has been sown in the fertile soil of a disillusioned proletariat. The workers in every industry are giving ear to the call of amalgamation, which is the key to power. The miners may continue to bargain with the barons but they will make no headway until they strengthen their hands by a compact with the railroaders.

Freedom Through Power, the Remedy

To hold what they have is, to be sure, necessary, but they must realize that is only the minor function of their union. The union must have a vision, it must aim higher than the mere bargaining for a few pennies, which if granted, the capitalists will quickly take back again by an increase in the cost of living. The major function of the union should be to hold before its membership the ideal of the industry free from the odious grasp of the Wall Street profiteers and carry on a campaign of education to that end. Do the miners want to forever continue digging coal for the miserable pittance they now receive? Certainly not. How much better living do we hope to get for them under the present system with the union on the defensive and the money power growing stronger at every turn?

Small chance. The plain duty of the union then is to raise the cry of profitless coal, with the miners getting full returns for their dangerous toil; to be joined by the voices of the other unions in the demand for a profitless country. Is this far off? No farther than we choose to keep it.

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REACTION DEFEATED AT HERRIN

WITH the acquittal of the five miners charged with murder in connection with the Herrin struggle last summer, the bottom has dropped out of the campaign of the Illinois Chamber of Commerce to railroad a group of workers to jail and discredit the labor movement. Financed from the beginning by corporation money, backed by the press of the entire country, blessed by President Harding and every reactionary politician in the country, neglected by most of the conservative bureaucrats in the trade unions,—in spite of all the forces working for this black attempt at legal lynching, the miners of Illinois succeeded in defeating it. Before a jury composed of farmers, the most unfavorable possible to pick in Williamson County without making it entirely of mine owners, the Herrin miners' heroic defence against imported gunmen and thugs was justified. The accused men were acquitted.

This is a victory for the organized power of the Illinois mine workers. Had it not been for the united backing of the 90,000 organized miners of the State, there can be no doubt that the accused men would have been rushed off to prison, never to be seen or heard of again. In this case, as in the entire experience of the labor movement, we have the lesson that Labor can obtain a degree of justice only in the measure that it has its own forces organized to secure that justice. The power of the labor unions is the basic factor in protection against capitalist oppression. The capitalist laws and the capitalist frame-up, the stool-pigeon system, the gunmen, and the thousand and one instruments of capitalist power, are impotent and helpless before a united and determined working class. Such is the lesson of Herrin.

ARKANSAS FASCISTI

MUSSOLINI has nothing on American reactionaries. If further proof were needed to show that our labor baiters are as lawless and violent as he ever dared to be, that proof was furnished in Harrison, Arkansas, by the lynching of E. O. Gregor, shop-striker. Civil war conditions had been prevailing in that benighted town. Enraged because the strike of the railroaders on the system which serves the district had been effective, shutting off transportation, certain corporation tools de-

ecided to break the strike with force and violence. So they organized a mob, lynched Gregor, set up an informal court which drove the duly elected officials, including the mayor, out of town, whipped and tarred numbers of strikers, threatened others with death, ran many out of the county, and generally inaugurated a reign of white terror. Mussolini himself would have gloated over the outrage.

One particularly vicious feature of the Arkansas mob frenzy was the forced confessions, obtained under threat of death from two strikers, of bridge burnings which are since known to have been due to faulty engines. But the two victims who were sent to the penitentiary are still there, and, according to all American precedents, will remain there. Meanwhile the corporation tools who carried on the campaign of assault, arson and murder, go scot-free and continue to swagger the streets of Harrison, Arkansas.

All of which shows us the American scene in its well-known brutality and treachery against Labor, with one significant new development. Hitherto such affairs have been carried on by the "regularly constituted authorities"; in Harrison they broke up the governmental institutions, drove the officials out of town, and set up a dictatorship of the railroad company. In spite of the thousands of miles of water between Arkansas and Italy, we see the same forces at work; and in Harrison, town of 100% Americanism, Fascism comes to birth in its classical form. Arkansas is a portent of the future struggle. The labor movement should be warned thereby.

AS TO LABOR BANKS

THE failure of cooperation, in a movement of its own, is almost complete in the United States when compared to the great and flourishing cooperative movements of other countries. Incompetence, graft, and a general lack of solidarity on the part of the workers has made it practically impossible for the cooperatives to grow. The situation has reached such a stage, apparently—if we are to have cooperative institutions the trade unions themselves must take the matter in hand and bring the cooperatives into existence.

The tendency for the unions to do this is one of the most pronounced features of our present-day movement. The recent rapid growth of labor banks is the most striking example. Every friend of cooperation welcomes these banks and helps to establish them. But a note of warning must be sounded. In the hands of progressive officials such banks will be constructive and helpful institutions, but in the hands of reactionaries they will do great harm. We view with alarm the founding of banks in various industrial centers by A. F. of L. hide-bound reactionaries. Any one who thinks that such banks will be used in the interests of the workers has his economic A. B. C's still to learn. On the contrary, we can expect such reactionaries, strengthened by great financial power, to use this power in every possible way to prevent the growth of progressive sentiment in their organizations.

A move which is bound to cause much unfavorable sentiment is the recent affiliation of Warren S. Stone to the Empire Trust Co., as a director of that body. No good can possibly come from such an alliance, which, in a crisis, will inevitably be turned against Labor. Such class-collaboration must

be fatal to the workers' interest, Labor banks, yes, but in the hands of progressives, not reactionaries.

COMPETITION'S DEATH-KNELL

ANOTHER nail in the coffin of the competitive system in industry is the coming of the Arbitration Society of America, under the chairmanship of Charles M. Schwab. This body, realizing the absurdity and futility of competition among the owners of the industry, is setting up arbitration committees in all the industries, for the purpose of smoothing out the differences between the employers engaged therein. Considering the man at the head of this movement and other active figures in it, it may be confidently expected that the whole proceeding represents a long step towards general consolidation and the elimination of competition. Practically all the big industrial divisions now have their arbitration committees. It is the employers' One Big Union in the making.

Although the expressed purpose of the Arbitration Society of America is to teach the employers to arbitrate their disputes with one another, unquestionably the mechanism now being created will serve as an efficient weapon against Labor. Trust Mr. Schwab not to have overlooked that detail. The answer we must give to such movements on the part of the exploiters is to consolidate our own forces. As against Mr. Schwab's "arbitration" scheme, we must push ahead more vigorously than ever with the amalgamation of our craft unions into industrial organizations.

THE WAR IS RESUMED

THE world war is not over. That conclusion is forced upon us by the events of the past few months. The Treaty of Versailles is in the wastebasket; the Treaty of Sevres is smashed. The French are advancing into Germany. Turkey and England have broken off negotiations. Poland and Roumania menace Russia, and keep a Russian army necessarily in readiness for war. The witches' caldron of European politics boils on, while industry decays, money becomes worthless, the workers starve in ever-increasing millions, and Bankruptcy is King. Only in Russia, where the new order is taking form, and in America, where the old order still retains vigor, are there any signs of stability.

These are basic facts for the trade union movement to face. The struggle to protect the interests of the workers is being transformed, with ever greater momentum, into a struggle against the madness of capitalist imperialism. It is of no avail for the German unions to increase wages if, at the same time, they support a government which frantically depreciates the mark in which wages are paid. The French unions cannot uphold living standards, if they cooperate with the nationalist jingoes who rush the country headlong into bankruptcy. The English workers cannot get out of their blind alley of starvation wages and unemployment by continuing to support British Imperialism. The capitalist system of Europe cannot feed its slaves; so the fight for food becomes a fight against the capitalist control of society. The reformistic leadership which cannot see this plain and simple fact will soon be swept away.

American capitalism seems to be outside of this madhouse. But the strong frame of our capitalist system is also shot through and through with the germs of the same disease which is destroying Europe. The vicious "open shop" drive, the Terror in Arkansas, West Virginia, and elsewhere, the thousands of assaults upon Labor, are all systematic or spasmodic attempts of the capitalist class to cure this inbred disease of their system by intensified exploitation of the workers. Instead of alleviating the trouble, this blind oppression but intensifies it. The American labor movement must soon be facing the same problems which now overwhelm the conservative trade unions of Europe, but with immeasurably less strength and experience with which to meet them. Preparedness for the coming struggle demands a renovation of our leadership, a cutting out of the paralyzing bureaucracy, the adoption of a policy of class struggle, the modernization of the union structure onto an industrial basis, and the organization of the unorganized millions. Above all, American labor must learn the hard lesson that it has to fight against capitalist imperialism, not alone that of France or of Germany, but also that of America.

In Russia the trade union movement has turned the corner, and is solving new problems, those of building a new society of the workers. Struggling under the tremendous burdens of industrial breakdown, invasion and civil war, blockade and famine, the Russian unions in cooperation with the Soviet Republic are rapidly raising the workers' standard of life. Already the upward movement has brought them above the German workers, who are swiftly being plunged into the pit out of which Russia is just emerging. The basis for a working-class, communist, system of society is being laid. Industry is being re-organized. Life is taking on a more solid aspect. The stability of the Russian political organization, the strongest in the world, is rapidly being extended to the economic organization. In contrast to American stability, which is steadily being undermined, the Russian economic system grows stronger each day.

Thus the renewal of the world war comes to a world quite changed from that of 1914, when the war started. The stage is now set for the working class to emerge from wage slavery, to become the rulers of society, and to re-make the world. The immediate task is to organize a competent leadership in the trade unions for the impending struggle.

THE I. W. W. AND THE COMMUNISTS

CORROBORATION is at hand from two sources for the story as to how the I. W. W. expelled Communists for their political opinions, carried in THE LABOR HERALD for January. *Industrial Solidarity*, February 17th, admits, under cover of a bit of bluster, that the facts were as stated. The other is a brilliant article by Charles Ashleigh, former I. W. W. member who served a long sentence in Leavenworth for that organization and was later deported to England, printed in *International Press Correspondence* of January 25th. In the course of his searching analysis of the degeneration of his former organization, Ashleigh says: "The I. W. W. has manifested, by its latest Convention, the complete bankruptcy of its theoretical leaders and of dual unionism in general." "Blind leaders without a program" is Ashleigh's judgment on the I. W. W.

THE INTERNATIONAL

GREAT BRITAIN ENCOURAGED by their successful struggles against first the miners and then the metal workers, the employers of England are making a general offensive against all their organized workers. The battle, on their side, is captained by the Federation of British Industries. This body, but a few years old, is by far the strongest employers' association in the history of the country. It is the one big union of the bosses.

The employers' offensive is taking shape in many industries. One group attacked heavily are the building trades workers, whose employers demand that they accept a 20% cut in wages and increase their hours from 44 to 47. In the woolen industry the employers are battling to substitute the 55½-hour week in place of the 48-hour week. In coal mining a determined effort is afoot to rob the miners of the 7-hour day and put them back on 8 or 9. In many other industries it is the same story, with the short work day particularly attacked.

As against this vicious and organized assault the Amsterdam type of leaders are showing their usual lassitude and timidity. Instead of calling a special congress and lining up Labor's forces solidly against the employers, they are trying to fight the thing out pretty much along the old lines. Some progress is being made along amalgamation lines, however. Two mergers have recently taken place in the printing trades and more are in prospect. In the building trades, metal trades, transport trades, and several other industries amalgamation projects are under way which will yield important results before long. In the meantime, the General Council of the Trade Union Congress is inaugurating an intensive campaign of organization to bring into the unions the 7,000,000 workers still unaffiliated. A feature of this drive is the holding of "trade union weeks" in all the important industrial centers.

ITALY ITALY, under Mussolini, is undergoing an orgy of nationalism. The Italian state has been erected into a sort of god which all must worship, on pain of dire consequences. A sample of the extremes to which this is going is the expulsion of all Masons from the Fascist party, the reason given being that they are internationalists.

In the general welter of patriotic nonsense one of the worst features is the efforts of many labor leaders, once proud to call themselves internationalists and revolutionaries, to crawl under the safe protection of nationalism. A case in point is that of the heads of the Railwaymen's organization, a body long known for its militant and syndicalistic tendencies. In the middle of January they sent a letter to Mussolini craving his favor and promising to be good. They declared that their organization is autonomous of all political parties and does not adhere to any international body. They also expressed the belief that with the new powerful Government in control an agreement is possible between the State and the railroad workers.

To this cringing, Mussolini sneeringly replied that the railroad chiefs could not fool him; that he knew they were revolutionaries; that they were respon-

sible for the Alliance of Labor; and that they are internationalists. He demanded, before they would be given any consideration, that they make formal announcement of their definite submission to the Italian State and then amalgamate themselves with the Fascist railroad organization. He refused point blank to consider their last general strike, and he flatly denied the right of strike to those employed in the public service. The Railwaymen refused to bow to the harsh terms of Mussolini, and are now waging a life and death fight.

THE professional splitters, following the lead of the Amsterdam reformists, are now at work dividing the trade union movement in Italy by expelling the Communists. The first important stroke in this direction was the expulsion of the Turin section of the Italian Metal Workers' Federation, accomplished early in January. The expulsion followed a big victory of the Communists in the Turin union elections. The opposition ticket was supported openly by reformists, Fascists, and employers. Nevertheless the left wing won out handily. Then came the expulsion order, and the sending in of officials to reorganize the section. Important developments are impending as a consequence of this arbitrary act.

GERMANY AT Cologne, on January 5-6, a further step was taken to unite the world forces of right-wing Socialism. The Committee of Action, selected at The Hague Peace Congress in December, 1922, by representatives of the Second and Two-and-a-half Internationals, has called a World Congress of Socialists, to take place at Hamburg, May 21, with the expressed purpose of re-establishing Socialist world unity. The Committee of Action, repulsing the Communists in its manifesto, lays down the following conditions for participation in the Congress:

1. The emancipation of the workers by abolishing the capitalist system of production to be the ultimate aim, and the class struggle to be the means of attaining that object.

2. The unity of the trade union movement within the International Federation of Trade Unions at Amsterdam to be essential to the success of the class struggle;

3. The resolution of the Hague World Peace Congress in 1922 on the question of the "Mission of the workers in the struggle for peace" to be the basis of all action against the danger of war; the necessity of being perfectly clear as to the attitude of the workers during war;

4. The International is not merely a peacetime instrument but an essential weapon during war;

5. On the final formation of a Socialist International, to adhere to that and to no other political international association outside this body.

At Essen, on January 6-7, a conference was held of Communists and revolutionary unionists to discuss ways and means to prevent the war threatening as a result of the Ruhr situation. Representatives were present from France, England, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Checho-Slovakia, and Germany.

Among others in attendance were Clara Zetkin, Monmousseau, and other well-known militants. An international committee of action was selected, consisting of representatives of the C. G. T. U. of France, the Communist parties of France, Germany, England, Checho-Slovakia, Belgium and Poland, the Communist International, the Red International of Labor Unions, and the Communist Youth International. The Congress called upon the workers of all countries to resist the impending war by setting up a united front against the exploiters in all countries and internationally.

GERMANY **O**N Christmas Day, in Berlin, the Syndicalists launched their new and much-talked-about International. This makes the third trade union international in the field. The new body has an old name: the International Workingmen's Association, being a harking back to the first International, founded by Karl Marx and his comrades.

The wind was taken out of the sails of the new international by the action of the Red International of Labor Unions, just previous to the Syndicalist convention, in breaking the organic connection between it and the Communist International. This satisfied the demand of the Unity General Confederation of Labor of France and kept it from participating in the new international. Likewise the Spanish General Confederation of Labor decided to have nothing to do with the new Syndicalist organization, but to renew its affiliation with the Red International. Consequently, with these important organizations holding aloof, the Syndicalist International starts out on its work of division and disruption numerically weak. Even the American I. W. W., for reasons best known to itself, refused to participate in the new body.

IN the German Railroad Union the Communists are rapidly increasing their strength, carrying many local elections. One effect of their growing power was to force the reinstatement of the Saarbrücke local union, expelled by the national organization because it sent delegates to an unofficial left-wing congress. When this local was expelled many other locals in the Saar district took up the cudgels for it. They demanded that the expelled members be taken back, that the rump secretaries be displaced and a new election ordered, and also that considerably more autonomy be granted the Saar railroad men and that a paper be established to represent their interests. In the face of the determined attitude of the men, the bureaucracy had to yield and grant all demands.

RUSSIA **T**HE Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions addressed a letter, in the middle of January, to the heads of the London, Vienna, and Amsterdam Internationals inviting them to form a united front to resist the threatening war by calling a general international strike on January 31st. They recalled the action of the Hague Peace Congress in advocating a general strike to be applied when there was imminent danger of war, and declared that such danger existed. They proposed the holding of a

conference in Berlin on January 21st, where the three political and the two trade union internationals should determine the arrangements and course of the international protest mass strike. As we go to press the right-wingers have made no direct reply to the general strike proposal, save that the Amsterdam International has issued a public statement warning its members not to participate in "any attempts made by other elements to draw them into ill-prepared adventures."

FRANCE **T**HIRTEEN Communists, including Marcel Cachin, have been arrested for anti-war activities in connection with the occupation of the Ruhr. They were active in the Committee of Action set up between the French Communist Party and the Unity Confederation of Labor, and were organizing the resistance against the imperialistic policy of Poincare. At the first hearing of the men a long information was read, reciting in great detail the formation of the Committee of Action as a result of the 4th Congress of the Communist International, the conference at Essen, the subsequent anti-war activities in France, and charging them with plotting to overthrow the Government. Quite evidently France is in for another great political trial comparable to that of Monatte and his comrades two years ago.

The action of the Red International of Labor Unions in breaking the organic connections between it and the Communist International and substituting therefor voluntary cooperation, is being well-received in the ranks of the Unity General Confederation of Labor. The Congress of the Seine Federation of Labor (Paris and environs) adopted the new policy by a vote of 94 to 37. This body, long characterized by its militant syndicalism, was the principal objector to the previous organic connection between the two left-wing internationals.

Efforts to bring about unity of the trade union movement in France continues in various forms. These are furthered by the Unity General Confederation of Labor. As for the old General Confederation of Labor, it will have none of them, declaring that unity can only be achieved by the detached unions returning humbly to its ranks. There is a tendency for the local unions of both warring camps to get together with a mixed administration, pending the time when a general unity convention can be called. But the Unity General Confederation warns against this practice, pointing out that it inevitably puts such local unions outside the scope of their respective national centers, creating an autonomous movement and leading straight to three national organizations instead of one.

HUNGARY **T**HE Court of Justice of Budapest has published a report 176 pages long relative to the prosecutions of the Communists. According to this report, sent out by the Horthy Government, 70,000 Communists have been arrested and punished in one way or another as a result of the downfall of the Hungarian Soviet and subsequent events. Undoubtedly the number of victims is much greater than Horthy here admits.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO DOLLA CASE

Forwarded to C. S. Golden

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BOOK NOTES

Oil—Its Influence on Politics. By Francis Delaisi. Labour Publishing Co., London.

THE invention of oil-burning marine engines threatened England's trade empire, which, before the war, was founded upon coal. Once poor in oil lands, Britain's adroit diplomats have won control of the world's oil resources, excluding Standard Oil. America's oil supply is failing, and by fighting back for Standard Oil another war is foreshadowed. So-called "democratic" governments are shown to be playthings of great corporations.

An Outline of Modern Imperialism. Plebs Textbook No. 2. The Plebs League, London.

AN analysis, nation by nation, of the evolution of capitalism and the politics of industrialism; shows how the change in exports of developing countries from immediately consumable commodities to "capital goods" in iron and steel makes competitors out of customers, compels economic crises and forces international solidarity upon the workers, under pain of mass starvation. Used in study classes of the labor colleges of England.

Railroad Melons, Rates and Wages. By Charles Edward Russell. Kerr Publishing Co., Chicago.


UPON the basis that railroads, being highways, should not belong to private corporations, the author exposes the vast over-capitalization which, accepted by the government as legitimate, results in low wages—while dividends are paid on enormous fictitious capital. A mine of information as to the chicane in railroad finance. Amusing argument is made in conclusion for government ownership by reimbursement for money actually invested.

The American Labor Year Book—1921-22. Published by the Rand School of Social Science.

THE fourth issue of this rarely valuable source book for students of the domestic and foreign labor movement, well arranged for reference. It is regrettable that time or space lacked for inclusion of the Workers' Party and Trade Union Educational League. While the best work of its kind, defects are noticeable, one being an inexcusable "definition of political prisoners." The international aspect is especially complete.

Thinking: An Introduction to Its History and Science. By Fred Casey. Labour Pub. Co., London.

DEVELOPED from the premise that as life is a function of combinations of naturally evolved matter, thinking is a function of special parts of that matter; development of thinking thereafter depends on material relations, modifiable by man's tool using. Fine summary of philosophy, ancient



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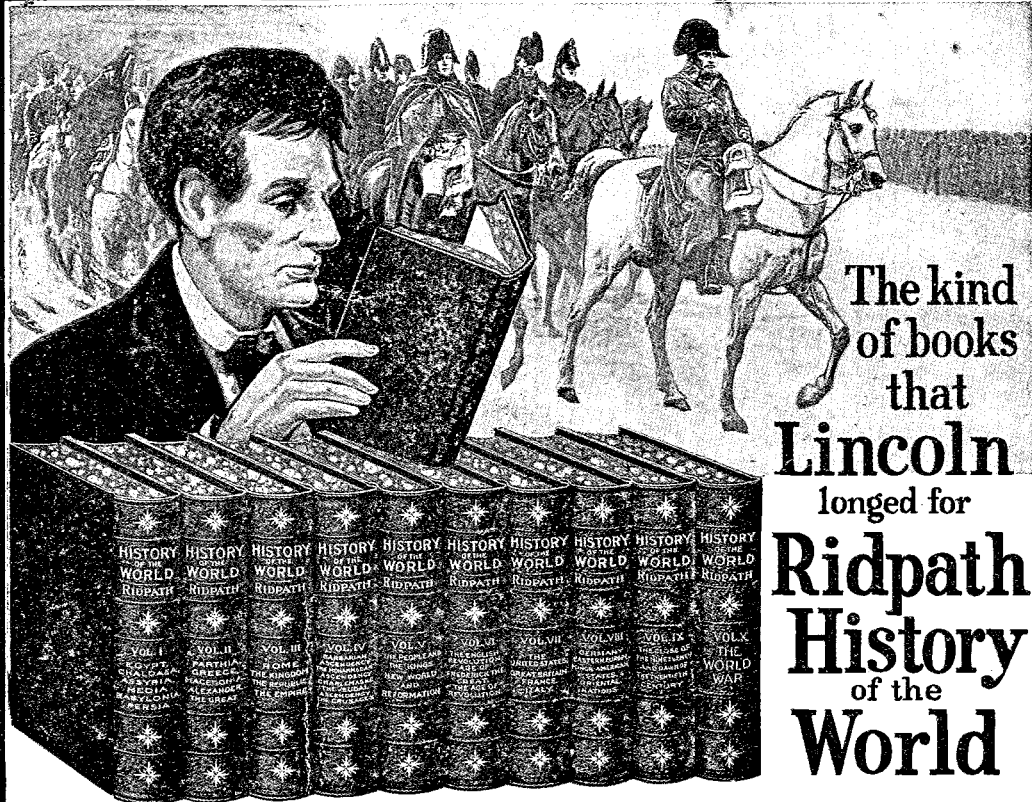
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and modern, and its branches of idealism and materialism; how the materialist school evolved the science of logic, down to Dietzgen.

The Twelve-Hour Shift in Industry. By the Committee on Work Periods in Continuous Industry of the Federated American Engineering Societies. Publishers, E. P. Dutton & Co.

GIVING general and special reports on the twelve-hour shift in the various industries, recommending for cautious capitalists the change to eight hours before the workers take it. Happily, it is found the change "can be achieved without economic or financial disturbance to industry"—quoting President Harding, who blesses science in a Foreword. Estimates 150,000 workers on twelve-hour shifts in steel industry at present.



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The Child of Today is the Citizen of Tomorrow

Help Build Russia's Citizenship



(Kar. Liebknecht Home No. 1)

This home was once the dwelling of a wealthy Russian family, housing only several people and their attendants. Now close to 100 children are made happy in it.

The Friends of Soviet Russia is already caring for:

4 **John Reed Homes** at Samara, 480 children

12 **Eugene V. Debs Homes** at Kasan, called the Children's Village, 430 children.

1 Home for the Blind at Samara, 42 children.

OTHERS ARE WAITING—OPEN THE GATES

Russia's Children Are Calling

Their parents have given all that the First Workers' Republic shall live. **What have you given?**

The Soviet Government is able to supply sufficient buildings to house the needy children, but it is not yet able to equip and take care of these homes.

It costs \$5 per child to equip and \$2 a month per child to care for it. This includes food, clothing, vocational training and medical attention.

The Soviet authorities feed..... 380,000
 The Russian Trade Unions..... 162,000
 The Red Army..... 35,200
 The Peasant Communes..... 50,000

How Many Will the American Workers Care for?

Get your organization to pledge itself to equip, support and name a home. Send for plan.

Russia asks **no charity**. We ask that you **give no charity**. We ask that you help Russia in her heroic effort to give her children the very best the country has to give.



These children are housed in a home at Yusevo.

OTHERS ARE WAITING—OPEN THE GATES

Save the Russian Children—Adopt an Orphan Organizations—Adopt a Home

Fill in blank below and mail to
Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 West 13th Street, New York

OPEN THE GATES TO NEW HOMES

The undersigned pledges to provide for a Russian child for One Year, paying \$5 for equipment and \$2 a month for care.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

Do you want us to send you name and photo of child you adopt?

SAVE RUSSIA'S CHILDREN

I cannot pledge to adopt a Russian orphan but I wish to contribute to the general Orphan Fund.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

Amount.....