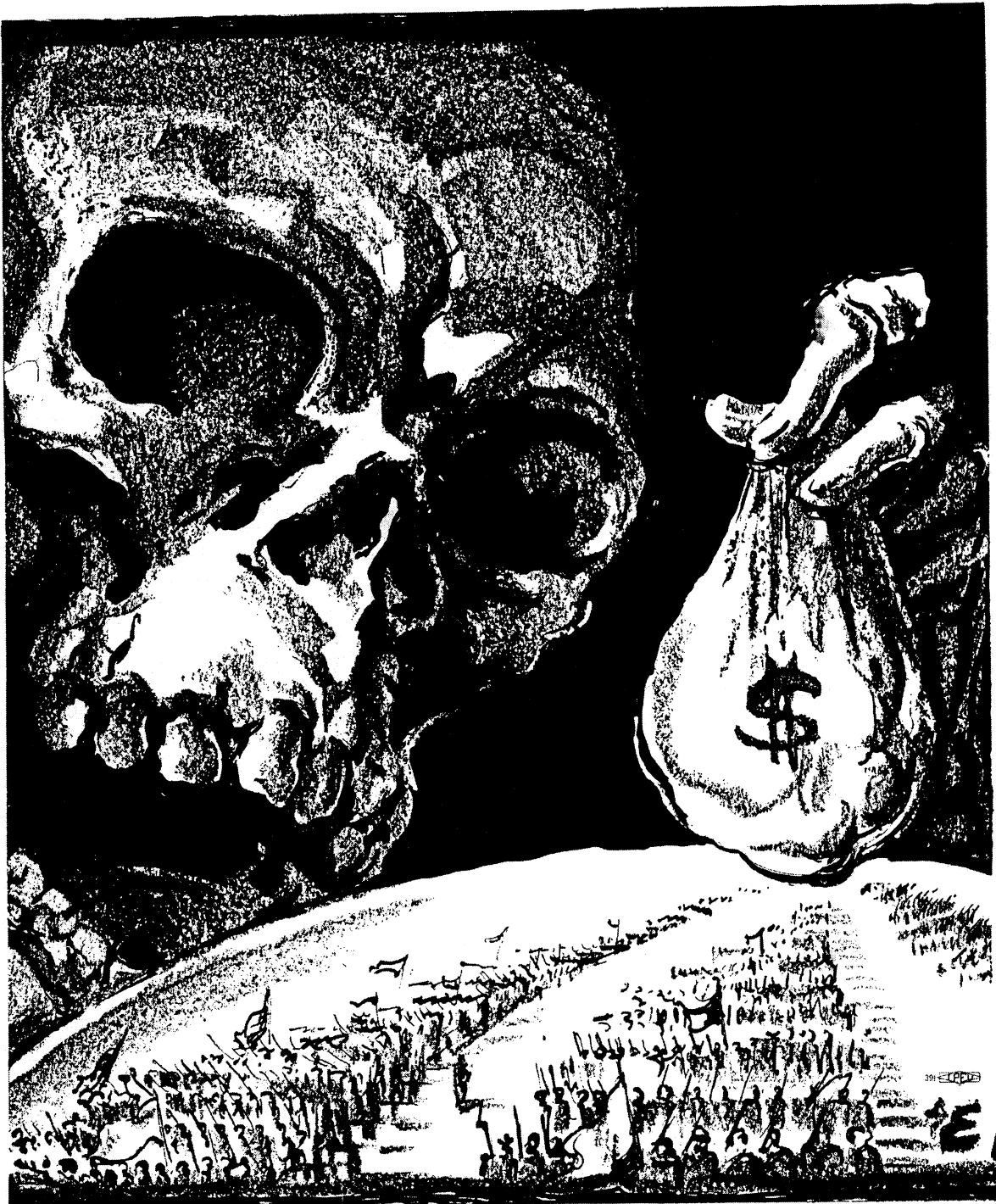


# THE LABOR HERALD

Official Organ of The Trade Union Educational League



APRIL 1923

99

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In St. Joseph the defense of Foster takes on a double front. The legal struggle is being fought in the courts. Everything that could be done to give Foster the best legal defense procurable has been done.

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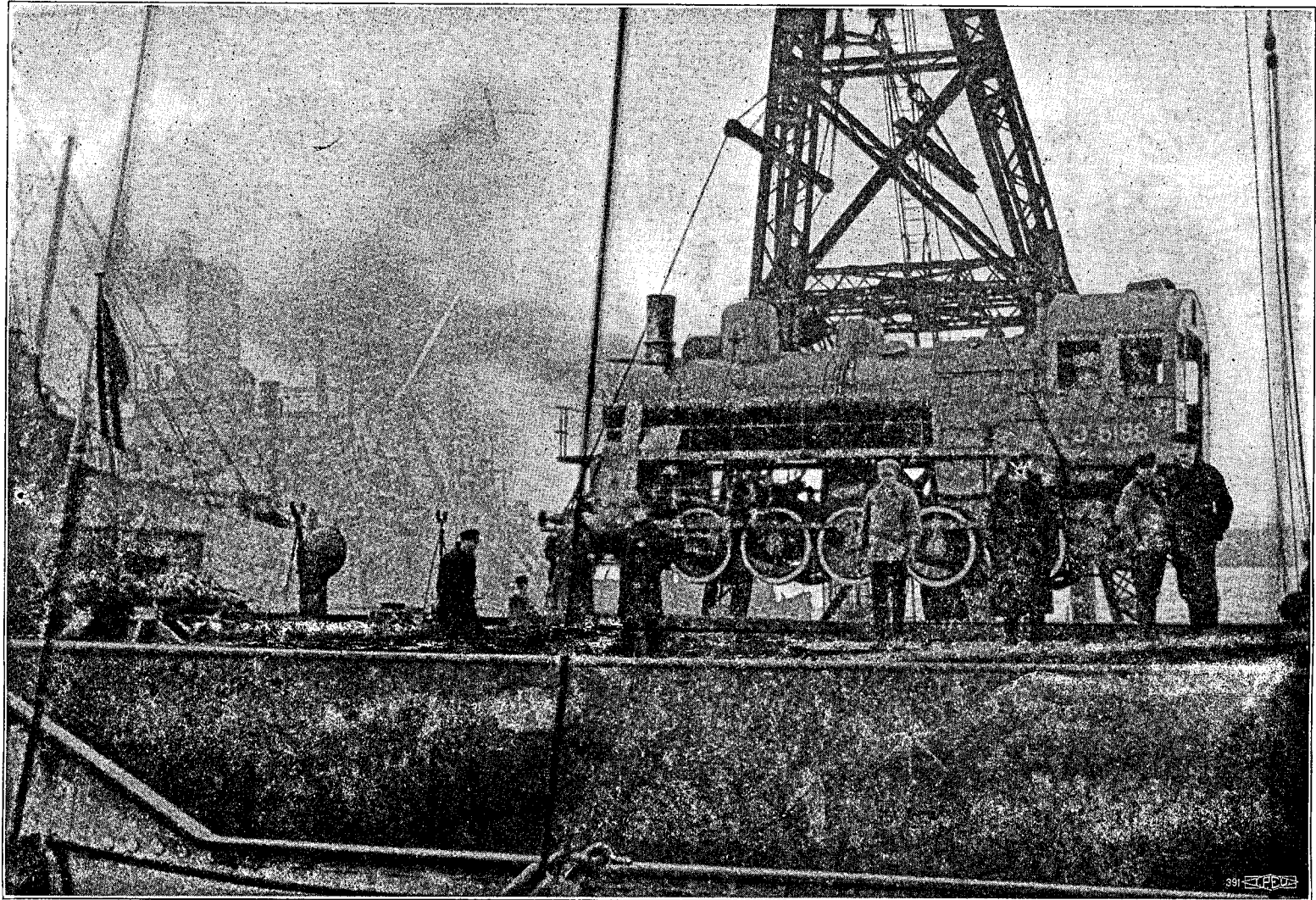
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118 N. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.



SOLVING THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM IN SOVIET RUSSIA

A locomotive for the Workers' Railroads being lifted from the hold of a ship at Riga.

# THE LABOR HERALD

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APRIL, 1923



No. 2

## Getting Together

By Eugene V. Debs

THE urgent, imperative need of thorough-going working-class unity was never so glaringly manifested as it is today. Recent lessons growing out of the defeated steel strike, the defeated mine strike, and the defeated railroad strike, are tragically in evidence in the appeal they make to the workers of the nation. Each of these strikes that resulted in such disastrous failure could and should have achieved a clean-cut victory. The grievances in each instance were sufficiently flagrant to arouse the attention of the entire nation, and the conditions were as favorable for the successful outcome of the battles as they could possibly be. The only reason that the brave soldiers who fought these heroic battles against starvation went down to ignominious defeat, thousands of them having been rewarded with the blacklist in addition to their lost jobs, is that they fought under a craft union instead of an industrial union standard, and consequently became the prey either of their misleaders, or of the designs of their masters and exploiters.

The steel strike was ably and honestly led, and if the workers had been industrially organized and had backed up their leaders with an invincible host of industrial unionists, the story of the outcome would have been differently written.

The leadership of the mine and railroad strikes was as cowardly, weak, and inefficient as could possibly be imagined, and under such circumstances these strikes were almost inevitably doomed to defeat.

Craft unionism today is not only an obsolete form of organization, but characterizing it bluntly, it is a crime against the working class. Its sole purpose in the present industrial development is to keep the workers divided, arrayed against each other for the benefit of their mas-

ters and misleaders, and to their own detriment and undoing. There can be no possible excuse for it, in the light of its recent tragic failure to achieve anything for the members save only the most ignominious defeat and disastrous results.

The craft union was built upon handicraft, and the use of the individual tool. Its purpose was to protect and advance as best it could in its limited sphere the interests of the workers employed in the small shop of that time. The individual tool has long since become socialized, and is now a mass of machinery, in which scores of trades are merged and industrialized.

The evolution here indicated is so clear and so conclusive that only the stone-blind can fail to see it and profit by its lessons.

Of course the trade union of a generation ago should have followed the evolution of industry, and should now be an industrial union, just as the tool has become a machine, and the trade an industry; and it certainly would have followed,

but for the stubborn persistence with which craft union leaders have resisted the change and have done everything in their power to keep the labor movement in its inefficient, helpless, and outgrown state.

The capitalist employer has very wisely adapted himself and his interests to the changed conditions resulting from this industrial development. He is not only thoroughly equipped with all of the latest means of production, but he is organized in an ironclad corporation, which furnishes a magnificent illustration of capitalist solidarity. There are no craft union divisions and weaknesses in his armor when it comes to facing his hereditary enemy, the exploited worker. He is thoroughly united, class-conscious, and his battery consists of the latest 16-inch guns; whereas the tattered and half starved workers that

*"The Trade Union Educational League is in my opinion the one rightly-directed movement for the industrial unification of the American workers. I thoroughly believe in its plan and its methods and I feel very confident of its steady progress and the ultimate achievement of its ends."*

confront him under craft union leadership still use the flint lock and blunderbuss of their ancestors, in waging their warfare against starvation and slavery.

To come directly to the point, the workers of this nation need to be industrially organized without any further delay. It is the crying need, the urgent demand of the working class. That does not mean that dual unions should be organized. Not at all! I should be the first to oppose any such program. The lessons of past experience warn against any such further attempt. The rank and file must insist upon getting together and must furnish the impetus for such concentration and combination as are necessary to unite all the workers of a given industry within one compact and militant body.

A majority of craft leaders will fight this advance, every inch of the way, and in order to know the reason why, it is only necessary to inspect their salary account and realize that they are drawing millions of dollars for almost the exclusive purpose of keeping the workers pitted against each other in numberless craft unions, and thus at the mercy of their exploiting masters.

The hour the workers get together in an industrial organization, the service of thousands of craft union leaders will be dispensed with, to the benefit of all concerned—even of themselves.

The Trade Union Educational League, under the direction and inspiration of Wm. Z. Foster, is in my opinion the one rightly directed

movement for the industrial unification of the American workers. I thoroughly believe in its plan and its methods and I feel very confident of its steady progress and the ultimate achievement of its ends.

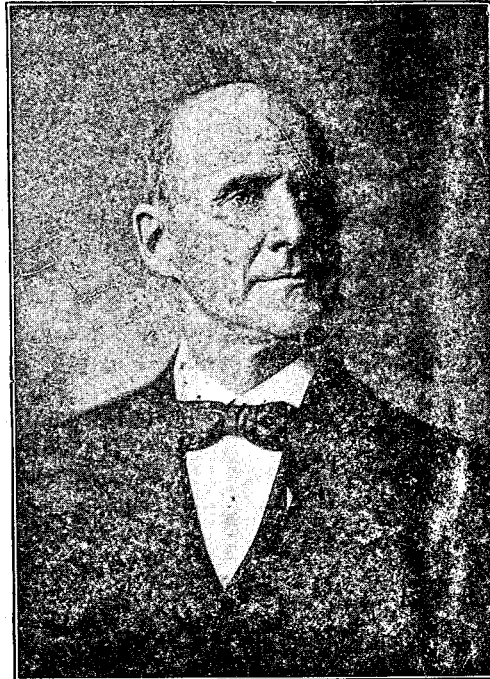
Of course, I also believe in political unity, and the necessity of the working class building up an

independent political organization of its own, for the development of the political power necessary to conquer the political power of capitalism and place the workers of the country in control of the machinery of government, as one of the means whereby they may secure possession of the industrial and productive machinery of the nation.

Defective, inefficient, unionism, although it represents organization in a sense, may not only be of little benefit on account of its weakness, but may become positively hurtful by misleading and misdirecting the workers, blinding their eyes to their true class interests, and forging their fetters more securely while they are under the delusion

that they are battling for emancipation and moving toward the sunlight.

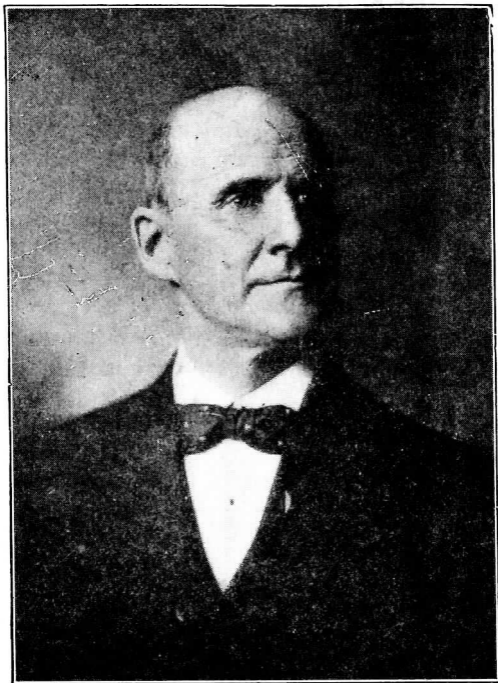
Education, the sound education, of the workers alone can fit and prepare them for the herculean task before them. It is only through the education of the workers that they can come to clearly understand the necessity of not only organizing, but for the kind of organization required to give them the power to carry on their struggle, to fight their everyday battles, and finally to conquer capitalism and come into possession of their own.



EUGENE V. DEBS

*"To come directly to the point, the workers of this nation need to be industrially organized without any further delay. It is the crying need, the urgent demand of the working class. That does not mean that dual unions should be organized. Not at all. I should be the first one to oppose any such program. The lessons of past experience warn against any such further attempt. The rank and file must insist upon getting together and must furnish the impetus for such concentration and combination as are necessary to unite all the workers of a given industry within one compact and militant body."*

*Eugene V. Debs.*



EUGENE V. DEBS

# Alexander Howat

By John Dorsey

**A**MONG the most outstanding characteristics of our trade union leaders are their lack of principles and their general spinelessness. In their company Alexander Howat is as a lone pine in a landscape of sage brush. He is honest and fearless. His connection with the labor movement has been one long struggle against terrific odds for the principles that are within him. Howat is a striking example of the kind of labor man we stand most in need of, one who has the integrity to advocate something worth while, and the courage to fight for it.

Alexander Howat was born in Glasgow, Scotland, September 10th, 1872, of a coal-mining family. He came to the United States when three years of age. His people settled in Illinois, where he went into the mines at the age of 10. Three years later he went to Kansas, where, with the exception of one year that he spent working in the mines of Scotland, he has been employed ever since in connection with the mining industry. He was elected President of District 14, including Kansas and three Missouri counties, in 1902, and has been re-elected President for each succeeding term, until the present.

## Howat Whips John P. White

In his never-ending fight for the Kansas miners, Howat has had many bitter struggles with the fakers heading the United Mine Workers of America. A memorable one was his battle with John P. White in 1914-15. In an effort to ruin him the coal operators of Kansas charged Howat openly with having accepted a heavy bribe to support the formation of an arbitration court which should hamstring the Kansas miners and make it impossible for them to strike. White, posing as the friend of Howat, induced him to resign his office as President of District 14, pending the time when he could be vindicated in the courts. Then, double-crosser that he was, White tried to foist upon Howat an Iowa lawyer, a tool of the coal companies, to defend him in his fight against the Kansas coal operators. The sturdy Howat, however, refused to be so manhandled, and insisted upon a lawyer of his own choosing. The fight dragged on for 21 months. Then the District election took place. Howat secured 25 nominations out of the first 27 locals to vote. Alarmed, White demanded that the District do not elect Howat until he had "vindicated" himself. Then he foolishly agreed to go to Kansas and debate Howat on the proposition.

What happened in the White-Howat debate is one of the most picturesque items in the check-

ered history of Kansas. There were five set-to's scheduled. The first one took place in Pittsburg. The opera house was packed with miners; they barely listened to the platitudes and lies of White and his attorney. But when Howat spoke they tore the opera house to pieces, so to speak. For 14 minutes a raging demonstration took place. Even the capitalist papers, all violently opposed to Howat, admitted that he had received the greatest reception of any labor man in the history of Kansas. White was absolutely flattened. Without any further ado, he called off all the other debates and then and there granted the fighting Howat the right to hire his own lawyer.

Howat secured Frank P. Walsh to defend him. This defense was in the form of a suit for libel against C. S. Keith, President of the Kansas Coal Operators' Association. What Walsh did not show about the rottenness of that organization was not worthwhile mentioning. He forced the coal operators and their agents to clear Howat, and to admit that their bribes had got no further than the tool with which they had wished to corrupt Howat. Result, a rousing vindication of Howat and a complete defeat for John P. White and his Kansas coal-operator friends.

## Howat versus Lewis

Unable to "get" Howat through John P. White, the coal operators are now trying to kill him off with the help of John L. Lewis, the present head of the U. M. W. of A. Seizing upon the pretext of an alleged violation of the agreement at the Dean and Reliance strip mines, Lewis, acting in direct response to a letter from the Kansas Coal Operators' Association, ordered Howat and his men to surrender unconditionally. This Howat refused to do. Lewis then expelled him and the whole District with him, using the notorious Van A. Bitner to reorganize it with hand-picked officers. Then Lewis, to cinch his victory, counted Howat out at the Convention. No tactics were too unscrupulous for him to use. Even to this day he has not preferred charges against Howat or given him a trial.

Expelled from the Union, and with his District organization broken up, would seem to be "licking" enough for any man. But not so with Howat. He has just started to fight. Already the reorganized Kansas District is with him fully 90%. Now that he is out of jail he is organizing his fight for a square deal and readmittance to the U. M. W. of A. From all over the country assurances of support are being sent him.



That he will force the granting of a trial and his reinstatement is a foregone conclusion. John L. Lewis is in for a bigger defeat at the hands of Howat even than was given to John P. White. Lewis made the mistake of his life when he expelled the bull-dog Howat. This he will learn to his cost before many months have gone by.

### Howat Smashes Industrial Court

Incidentally, while carrying on his fight against Lewis, Howat gained one of the most important victories ever achieved by Labor in this country, by wrecking the Industrial Court in Kansas. When Governor Henry J. Allen brought forth this new-fangled court he was heralded all over the country as having solved the labor problem. At last the means had been found to safely hogtie the working class and render it incapable of intelligent revolt. Allen was boomed for the U. S. presidency, and his Industrial Court proposition spread to many states. Undoubtedly Organized Labor was in for a disastrous siege under this new attack.

But Howat, with the backing of his loyal Kansas miners, upset the whole program. Despite

the fact that Lewis, President of his own organization, knifed him at every opportunity and cooperated openly with the mine operators, Howat boldly defied the Industrial Court. He ordered strike after strike, in the face of its sharpest condemnation. He gamely went to jail rather than yield to its jurisdiction. And the result has been the complete discrediting of the Industrial Court, not only in Kansas but throughout the country. Governor Allen's bubble has burst, punctured by the indomitable Howat. The people of Kansas have overwhelmingly repudiated Allen and his system of enslavement. At the last election they voted into office, by a tremendous majority, a new Governor pledged definitely to abolish the Industrial Court.

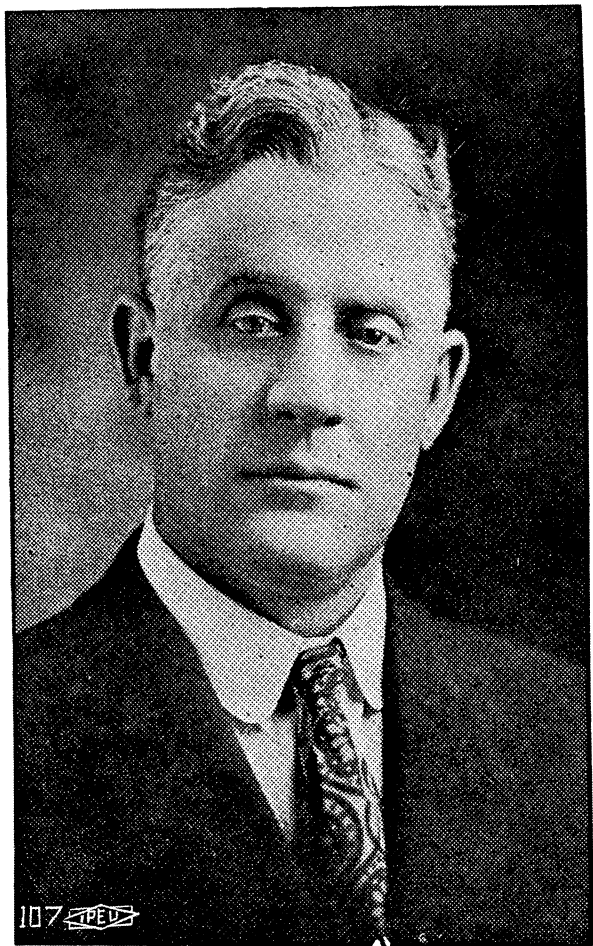
### Howat Saves U. M. W. of A.

One of the strongest characteristics of Howat is his absolute opposition to dual unionism. He is an old experienced fighter in the organization, and has no sympathy whatever for the elements that say nothing can be done. He has learned from past fights that where the militant elements put up even a little bit of an organized effort they are bound to get results. In the capitalist press recently stories appeared to the effect that Howat, upon his release from jail, would start a dual organization in opposition to the United Mine Workers. This was a lie cut from whole cloth and was circulated by his coal-operator and union-bureaucracy enemies to discredit him.

The supreme test of Howat's loyalty to the United Mine Workers and his good sense as a labor tactician, came immediately after his expulsion by Lewis. It was a critical moment. The organization was confronted by a national general strike, the biggest in its history. All over the country the dual unionists, seeking to discourage Howat from further battling in the U. M. W. of A., urged him to quit that organization and to form a new coal miners' union. Had he hearkened to this advice the miners' organization would have been split in the middle and unquestionably destroyed by the terrific offensive of the operators. But Howat, true to his principles, refused such fatal advice. Notwithstanding his expulsion, which was one of the most outrageous in labor history, he stood his ground, determined to fight out the issue under the banner of the U. M. W. of A. This stand of Howat surely saved the Union. For his loyalty and good sense in this crisis the organization owes him a debt it can hardly repay. The very least it can do is to reinstate Howat and the loyal fighters who have stood with him in the struggle against the Kansas coal operators and their friend, John L. Lewis.



ALEXANDER HOWAT



ALEXANDER HOWAT

# Russia Out of the Shadows

By Wm. Z. Foster

**F**OLLOWING the overthrow of the Kerensky regime, the success of the Russian revolution depended upon the solution of three great problems. First, the workers and peasants had to devise and establish a proletarian government, next they had to construct an army capable of defending it, and finally, they had to reorganize and rehabilitate industry. So appallingly difficult was the situation that world experts were practically unanimous in declaring these great political, military, and industrial problems totally insoluble by a Communist program. But by efforts never equalled before in human history, the Russian revolutionaries are accomplishing the seeming miracle. The first two problems, the political and the military, have been definitely solved. The third, the industrial, is well on the way to solution. The success of the revolution is assured.

All the world now admits the mastering of the political problem. The workers and peasants, with no historic experience to guide them, have built the Soviet system of government and made it work. In these later days evidences multiply of the strength of the Government: the confiscation of church valuables for famine purposes, the occupation of Vladivostok, the affiliation of the Far Eastern Republic, and the voluntary consolidation of all the Soviet Republics from a loose alliance into a closely-knit organization. The power of the Communist Party, in city and country, grows steadily. The Workers' Government is definitely established. The bourgeois political wiseacres, who said it could not be done, are totally confounded.

Likewise, the revolutionary workers conquered brilliantly the "insoluble" military problem. Taking a war-weary people, starving, pestilence-ridden, industrially paralyzed and confronted by the armed forces of a hostile capitalist world, the rebels have enthused them, given them fresh courage and organized them into what is unquestionably the strongest army in the world. This time it was the capitalistic military experts who had to eat their words and to admit that the impossible had been accomplished.

### The Third Great Problem

Now we come to the third great problem, the industrial question. This was the supreme problem among all the terrible difficulties presented by the revolution. The old industrial system was wrecked by counter-revolution, sabotage, and the abandonment of the capitalist mode of production. Industry was at an almost complete

standstill. The blockade throttled the country. Famine-stricken, in rags, destitute of tools, materials, seed, fertilizer, and draft animals, the workers and peasants could not operate the industries or work the farms. "Surely," cried the world's economists, "though the revolutionists solved their great political and military problems, they can never lift themselves out of this frightful industrial state." With unanimous acclaim, they declared that if Bolshevism went on, the Russian people would perish.

But now, to the consternation of this school of experts also, the despised revolutionists are clearly solving the great industrial problem upon which, more than any other, depends the fate of the revolution. The reports of economists to the 10th Congress of the All-Russian Soviet, the dispatches from capitalist newspaper correspondents, the reports of delegates and visitors returning from Russia, all tell the same story. Russian production, industrial and agricultural, is rapidly increasing. The standard of living of the people is on the rise. The corner has been turned. The economic crisis is breaking. The master problem is being solved. The revolution is traveling to victory.

### Breaking the Blockade

One of the most difficult features of the industrial problem was the terrible blockade set up by the capitalist nations against Russia to throttle her industries and to force her into submission. To break this blockade has been a major point in Russian policy. Important success has been achieved. Despite the resistance of the capitalist giant industrial corporations and reactionary politicians, economic treaties have been set up with England, Germany, Italy and other countries. Foreign trade, practically abolished by the blockade, is picking up rapidly. Already, reports Trotzky, imports amount to 25% of pre-war figures, and exports to 5%. Exports have increased 600% in the past year, and foreign trade generally is rapidly expanding.

Another phase of the blockade was financial in character, the capitalists of the world refusing to loan Russia the capital she needed so badly to rehabilitate and develop her industries. But the revolutionists have broken through this front also. Capitalists of all countries are now flocking to Russia to take up concessions, on terms which mean victory for the Revolution. In 1922, according to Kamenev, 500 applications were received for concessions. Of these 25 have been accepted and 250 are pending. The great Urqu-

hart concession was refused because England insisted on political conditions contrary to Soviet interests. Like the commercial, the financial blockade is also being shattered.

Still another aspect of the general capitalistic blockade against Russia was the political phase. The capitalistic world attempted to place and keep Russia in the role of an international outlaw, refusing her representation at all meetings of the nations and denying her every diplomatic intercourse. But the Russian revolutionists have irretrievably smashed this political front of world capitalism even as they have the other fronts. Recent international developments prove this. Moved by the facts that the Communists had definitely established the Soviet Government, had built up an army entirely capable of defending it, and were setting up a trade with the world in spite of all their enemies' efforts to the contrary, the international capitalist class, during the past year, was compelled to swallow its pride and to sit down around the diplomatic table with the hated Russian Reds. Necessity compelled them to lift their political blockade somewhat and to invite the Russians to the Genoa conference.

The seating of the Communists at Genoa was an open admission by the world clique of exploiters that the efforts to strangle Russia by military, commercial, and financial blockade had failed. Now it was proposed to accomplish by diplomatic weapons what could not be done through industrial, financial, and military warfare. But the Russians were equal to this occasion. They went to Genoa as victors, not as vanquished. Determined to deal with the nations one at a time rather than all at once, they smashed the united front of world capitalism by steadfastly refusing the slavish conditions offered them. Then they boldly signed the Rapallo Treaty with Germany. The Genoa conference went on the rocks. Alarmed, the allied capitalist nations summoned Russia to the Hague conference, for another try at shackling her, but with the same negative results. The Communists carried off the palm of victory. The Hague conference collapsed like its predecessor. The capitalist diplomatic line went to smash. Since then Russia has signed treaties with several individual countries, including Checho-Slovakia, Norway and Sweden. More will follow in the near future.

### **Production Increasing**

Although the blockade, in its various aspects, still bears heavily upon Russia, its evil effects are steadily diminishing. The revolutionaries have pierced it definitely in its three essential features, commercial, financial, political. Now they are rapidly widening these break-through

points. Soon the whole structure will collapse. We can say positively that the great blockade has been broken. This steel clamp, crushing and devitalizing, has been stricken from the heart of the Russian revolution.

Side by side with the breaking of the blockade goes a steady increase in Russian industrial production. Reporting to the 10th All-Russian Soviet Congress, Bogdanov, of the Supreme Economic Council, declared that in the past year production increases in the various industries range from 150% to 400%, which brings the general average of production in all industries up to about 25% of pre-war times. The ratio of increase gains with the passing months. Textiles are at 70% of pre-war figures, and petroleum at about 50%. In 1921, the low point of production generally there were 1,000,000 poods of cotton yarn produced; in 1922 this was increased to 2,800,000. Coal has reached 34% of 1914 figures, and Bogdanov declared the final crisis practically solved. In 1914 car loadings, all kinds of freight, averaged 30,000 daily. By 1918 these had fallen to 6,000. In 1921 they mounted to 9,500, and in 1922 they went up to 11,500. Now the increase is taking place faster than ever. In 1918 production of gold stopped altogether; in 1922 it reached 20,000 pounds; and in 1923, at the lowest estimate it will be 50,000. Production in the heavy metal industry, while showing 100% improvement in the past year, still lags and is very inadequate.

In the "Economichskaia Zhizn" of Dec. 20, 1922, are cited statistics showing substantial production improvements during October as against September, in 775 state plants. The following gains are typical:

Chemicals 16%, rubber 18%. The number of workers making matches increased by 28%, the number of days worked by 143%, and output by 164%. The improvement in the paper industry continued during the month. There was an increase in the number of leather workers and in the output per worker; production rose by 23%. The number of tobacco workers was reduced, but production increased considerably. For all industries the number of factories working increased; they worked more regularly and there were fewer stoppages or none at all. There was an increase in the number and individual output of the workers. The total output increased.

### **Finance Reforms**

Lenin, at the 10th Soviet Congress, showed the improving condition from another angle, by stating that in 1921 the total goods put on the market in Russia were worth 600 million gold roubles. In 1922 the figure increased to 1,000 millions. The skilled workers, who scattered to the farms in the revolutionary crisis, are returning to the factories more reconciled to the new social order. Industry is fast getting into a

healthy condition. The famine is being overcome in the agricultural districts.

A great factor in the Russian economic crisis was the huge deficit in the government budget. Because its legitimate receipts fell far short of its expenditures, the government was compelled to make up the shortage by issuing paper money in unbelievable quantities. This enormously depreciated the rouble, practically ruining the medium of exchange and demoralizing industry. Important headway has been made, by various economies, towards wiping out this ruinous budgetary deficit, and therefore the rouble is being stabilized. In 1921 the deficit, made up by issuing paper money, amounted to 84%; in 1922 it was reduced to 50%, and in 1923, according to news dispatches, it will be cut to 25%.

One factor in this stabilization process is the setting up of a state banking system to develop credit. Another is the issuance of government loans. During 1922 a 10 million gold rouble grain loan was successfully handled. Now there is a 100 million gold rouble loan being floated among the people. Proof of the stability of the present regime, as well as of the collapsing blockade, is the fact that foreign capitalists have asked to be permitted to participate in this latest loan. The rouble is still falling in value, and the government has been compelled to cut off whole strings of noughts from the denominations. This has bred the current Russian quip that in Moscow one can see wagonloads of these detached noughts being hauled from the mint to the dump. But the rouble's fall grows relatively less rapid. Its speed downward is now much slower than that of the German mark. From Jan. 1st, 1922, to Oct. 1st of the same year, the rouble fell 24 times in value, but the mark dropped 85 times. Russia is now recovering from its paper money disease and its economists are challenging the capitalist nations to do likewise.

### The Rise in Wages

Most important of all, as indicating the dissolving industrial crisis, is the rapid increase in the workers' standard of living. Wages are getting up fast. Consequently the toilers are getting more to eat and to wear. They are emerging finally from the long continued period of semi-starvation which almost ruined the revolution. Their bettered conditions at once give them more interest and faith in the new society, as well as added physical strength to still further increase production. The old situation was that the workers could not work because they had nothing to eat, and they could not get anything to eat because they did not work. This vicious circle is now broken. On the matter of the in-

creasing wages of Russian workers, V. Solsky of Moscow, says (International Press Correspondence, p. 55):

We need only cite certain figures to show how rapidly and in what proportions the real wages of the Russian workers are increasing. To render our figures more correct, we have reckoned the wages of the Russian workers in gold roubles. Thus, in January, 1922, a textile worker earned on the average 4.50 roubles per month; a mechanic, 5.30 roubles; a tanner, 3 roubles. In September, 1922, we find these



THE MEN WHO SOLVED THE MILITARY PROBLEM  
A Red Army Parade in Moscow

wages more than doubled, the weaver earning 8.60, the metal worker 13.32, and the tanner about 12 roubles.

And the raising of wages continues. What are they at this moment in December? Here is a table of what is being accomplished. It shows that real wages are well on the way to equal those before the war. For the purpose of comparison, the wages of 1913 are reckoned as 100 and present-day wages calculated in relation to this standard. Metal Industry 42.9%, Wood 57.9%, Shoe-making 33.3%, Chemicals 58.6%, Textile 42.1%, Sugar 66%, Baking 81.9%, Tobacco 131.5%.

Which gives us in Moscow a general average of 60%,—not to mention the special privileges enjoyed by state workers, such as free municipal service, wood at cheap rates, provisions at cost price. We are certainly justified in concluding from this that the real wages of the Russian workers are fast approaching their pre-war standard. Nor will they stop there. Soviet Russia is the only country in the world where the least improvement in the economic condition translates itself almost immediately into an improvement in the condition of the workers.

In this rising standard of living of the Russian workers is foreshadowed the victory, not only of the Russian revolution, but of the world revolution, as we shall see further along in this article.

### The Control of Industry

For the benefit of those faint-hearted skeptics who believe that the growing prosperity of the Russian people, dating from the inauguration of the New Economic Policy in 1921, is due to the



THE MEN WHO SOLVED THE MILITARY PROBLEM  
A Red Army Parade in Moscow

reestablishment of capitalism in Russia, it will be well to cite a few facts about the control of industry, as brought out by Kamenev, Bogdanov, Trotsky, and others at the 10th Soviet Congress.

The Workers' State owns 4,100 industrial undertakings, comprising all the basic industries and employing 1,300,000 workers. It also owns the railroads and all other means of transport, which brings the total number of state workers up to 3,000,000. As against this, private employers, many of whom are workers' cooperative societies, own 4,000 undertakings, employing 70,000 workers. In commerce, where private capital is most active, 70% of the total turnover goes to the State and the cooperatives, and 30% to independent concerns. Foreign trade, both export and import, is entirely in the hands of the State. The land is all owned by the State.

In the face of this showing, it is idle to talk of Russia being conquered from within by capitalism. When we recollect also that the workers have complete control of the State, the army, the courts, the press, the schools, etc., such talk becomes absurd. Two great facts stand forth from the present situation in Russia; first, the "economic retreat" is over, with the result that the toiling masses are gradually but surely lifting themselves out of the devastating industrial crisis; and second, the workers are firmly in control of the victorious new society. No wonder the Russian leaders' somewhat downcast spirit of two years ago has lately given way to one of optimism and burning enthusiasm. Success has crowned their bitter struggle.

#### **The Revolutionary Significance**

The breaking of the Russian industrial crisis, expressed in its fundamental aspect of profound betterment in the workers' standard of living, is of major political importance, not only to Europe but to all the world. It must inevitably cause such a tremendous outburst of revolutionary spirit and effort as to shatter, if not entirely

destroy, international capitalism. Since the end of the war things have gone steadily from bad to worse in all capitalist European countries. But the workers, horrible though their conditions were, hesitated to rise and end the industrial system that was ruining them, because they feared an even worse fate if their revolution won. Proletarian Russia, starving and apparently a gigantic failure, stood as a warning menace to any working class that dared to overthrow capitalism. The yellow leaders successfully preached the doctrine that the workers' society could come only by a gradual evolution from capitalism. It was fundamentally an anti-revolutionary situation.

But the dissolving of the Russian industrial crisis is rapidly giving the situation a positive and dynamic revolutionary character. Soon Russia, instead of being a horrible example and a deterrent to revolution, will be an inspiration to the workers and a powerful spur to have done with their economic masters. All over capitalist Europe, as the industrial system disintegrates, the living standards of the workers are falling; while in Russia, with the new system evolving, the conditions of the workers are constantly bettering. In Germany the real wages of the workers amount to only 25% of their pre-war value, and still they fall; whereas, in Russia wages are already at 50% of pre-war levels and are steadily increasing. This creates a decidedly revolutionary condition. When its import sinks into the minds of the workers, and this will not take long, their faith in the revolution will mount sky high and they will develop a determined offensive against capitalism. Up till now the one factor wanting, to produce a really revolutionary situation in Europe, has been a demonstration by Russia that the revolution could be made a success. That demonstration is now just about at hand. The solving of the Russian industrial crisis sounds the death-knell of capitalism.

## **Montana Joins Amalgamation Movement**

*Meeting in Great Falls, March 6th, the Montana Federation of Labor adopted by unanimous vote a resolution calling for a series of powerful industrial unions. The resolution was presented by Delegate Clem Burkard, on behalf of the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly of Butte, which had previously endorsed the proposal by unanimous vote.*

*By this action the Montana Federation becomes the 13th such organization to join in the great demand for amalgamation which began last summer. Thousands of local unions have taken the same action in states where the State Federations of Labor have not yet met. Montana has led off for the Spring drive of the amalgamation forces.*

# Militant Mexican Railroad Workers

By F. W. Leighton and Carl Brannin

ON August 1, 1922, the workers of Mexico staged a remarkable demonstration of international solidarity. On every railway division of the country the workers ceased from labor for four hours as a mark of sympathy for their American brothers engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the railroad barons. Passenger trains were exempt from the strike order, but in many cases even these were stopped by their crews at the appointed hour. Every other class of railroad labor was called upon to stop for four hours and the order was completely obeyed. Probably few American workers knew of this great manifestation. Its significance is great.

## Establishing the Mexican Unions

Two years ago such a demonstration as this would have been impossible. At that time the railroad workers were divided into sixteen or more unions, with little common understanding and no unity of action. This is not surprising in a country where the anarchistic philosophy, characteristic of Spanish countries, is predominant in labor circles. But new influences are at work, as demonstrated when the condition of disorganized weakness gives way within a short period to a condition of organized power. The movement for unity began early in 1921, when a convention of all railroad organizations was called in Mexico City.

Clear headed militants in the divided unions had become convinced of the necessity for uniting their forces. But they had many difficulties to overcome. Among the unions present was one of long standing, comprising some of the conductors, brakemen, engineers and firemen. This union was extremely reactionary in its officialdom, and was under the domination of the railroad management. In the convention it was discovered that an attempt was being made to give control of the newly formed federation to these reactionaries, with a program dictated by them. In the struggle that followed the progressives won out. A pact of confederation was adopted which bound the unions together in a strongly centralized organization, known as the *Confederacion de Sociedades Ferrocarrileros de la Republica Mexicana*, with a radical program which included the general strike. The railroad management refused to recognize it, and a struggle ensued which tested out the new organization.

In February, 1921, a general strike was called. The objects were to obtain recognition of the

union and the removal of the Director General. With the exception of the "yellow" union previously mentioned, every worker on the National Railways walked out. A bitter struggle was on. The Government, with the aid of scabs and soldiers, was able to operate a few passenger trains, but in the main the tie-up was complete. Every effort was made to drive the workers back. Troops were sent to various points, and strikers were shot down. The workers generally kept their heads, refusing violence, and concentrated upon making the strike effective, in which they were successful.

The strike lasted until March 19, and ended with something of a compromise. The management agreed to pay full wages to all strikers for time lost, and to re-employ all at their old jobs as quickly as possible. Full seniority rights were restored, except that members of the "yellow" transportation union were allowed precedence over strikers, an injustice which since has been partially corrected. The Government saved its face by refusing immediate recognition, but giving an unwritten promise that the Confederation would be recognized. The objectionable Director General was soon sent away on a mission to the United States. Substantial concessions had been won. Soon after the point of recognition was gained, strikers were reinstated, scabs were eliminated, the membership of the "yellow" union largely won over, and the Confederation has thoroughly established itself.

## An Industrial Union

The solidarity of the 45,000 members of the Confederation, covering all the railway lines of Mexico, seems now to be impregnable. The small elements of disunity are rapidly disappearing. This is best shown in the recent action which restored full seniority rights to the striking engineers and firemen as of the date of the strike. In a letter to the scab union announcing this action, President Obregon urged it to unite with the other railway workers in the Confederation. The Confederation controls the situation.

This new power in the hands of the railroad workers arises from their solid organization. They have what amounts to a departmentalized industrial union. The old craft unions retain their machinery of organization, formulate their demands, and even carry on negotiations. But every point must first be passed on to the central organization for approval, which controls all strike action and agreements. They have con-



centrated great power in the central organization.

The leading body is composed of two general committees of 28 members each, two delegates from each of the 14 unions in the Confederation. One is the Executive Committee, with headquarters in Mexico City; the other is the Legislative Committee, which meets from time to time at Aguas Calientes, a large division point 300 miles north of the capital. The delegates are elected by their separate organizations and serve until recalled. These Committees meet twice a month, or oftener if necessary. The Legislative Committee studies all proposed changes in the laws of the Confederation and passes them on to the Executive Committee for final action. The latter body passes upon all contracts and agreements of all the component unions. Any component union with an unadjusted grievance submits it to the Executive Committee. In this manner the full power of the entire Confederation is thrown behind all issues on which a struggle threatens.

The centralization of strike power, as contained in the rules of the Confederation, was complete, strikes of individual unions being strictly prohibited. In spite of this provision, there have been a few short local strikes to adjust local grievances, the results of which have been satisfactory. There is now a sentiment for an amendment to the rules permitting short, quick walkouts to adjust local matters, always with the approval of the Executive Committee.

#### Accomplishments of the Union

Shortly before Christmas the Telegraphers finished their convention and signed up the most favorable contract of any railroad union. It provided that every employe in their jurisdiction, which includes station agents, train dispatchers, traveling auditors, telegraph operators, and linemen, must be members of their society. In other words, they have the closed shop. The agreement provides for full seniority, compensation for sickness and injury, and for a system of old-age pensions provided by the railroads. Eight hours constitutes a day's work, seven hours for night work. Time and one-half is paid for overtime, as in all the railroad contracts. The telegraphers contract is being taken as a model by the other unions in the Confederation.

The eight shop organizations, Boilermakers, Machinists, Painters, Molders, Patternmakers, Carpenters and Car Repairers, Sheet Metal Workers, and Blacksmiths, are now meeting in joint convention. All these unions have their separate functional machinery, but they draw up and sign a single contract with the management

under the Confederation. The agreement provides for the particular needs of each craft. They have also secured the closed shop. They are now asking for wage increases of about 50%, which will bring the rate for first class workers to \$1.54 per hour (Mexican). Proposals are now being made to equalize the wages in all shop crafts. Strenuous efforts are being made to immediately bring a standard wage according to United States scales, to make possible a freer interchange of workers between the two countries, and a better understanding between them. Arrangements are already in effect for interchange of membership with the International Association of Machinists of the United States.

#### Development of Policies

Speaking in terms of Mexican radicalism, one could hardly say that the railway men are "reds." Yet the most conservative of their leaders would seem a flaming Bolshevik as compared to Jewell, Stone, or Lee. They speak easily of "revolution" and "direct action," but on the whole their actions are conservative, with a readiness to change and adjust themselves quite absent from our conservatives in the States. Mexican railroad union leaders are not corrupted by high salaries; the president of the Telegraphers, for example, receives around 500 pesos (\$250, U. S.) per month, less than many members of the union receive from the railroads.

With growing power, the railroaders are now looking at questions of management. Replacing the irresponsibility of the days of starvation wages, has come a new idea; already the shop unions, in demanding wage increases amounting to 20 million pesos per year, have accompanied their demands with recommendations for economy and efficiency in management which, according to carefully worked out plans, will save the railroad administration 80 millions per year. The Mexican railroad workers are rapidly preparing to administer the railroads themselves.

The Confederation has no affiliation with the Mexican Federation of Labor, the orthodox labor body, or with the General Federation of Workers, the Syndicalist group. It distrusts the leaders of the Mexican Federation of Labor as being too closely allied with the present Government—a number of them hold good jobs under the Obregon regime. Yet there is a recognition of the importance of closer relations between the workers of Mexico and of other lands. An agreement is in effect with the port workers at Vera Cruz not to handle freight when a strike is involving that port. It seems to be the spirit of the leaders of the Confederation, and is certainly so of the rank and file, to extend this principle to

other industries and to amend their contracts accordingly.

In their relations to the workers of other countries, the Mexican railroad workers have a keen sense of solidarity. They follow the movement in other countries closely. A plan of affiliation with the railroad workers of Argentine and Brazil is being studied. Recently the newly elected president of the Confederation said: "In the final analysis the railway workers of Mexico can progress no faster than our brothers in the United States." A demonstration of this thought, and of the closeness with which they watch our movement, was given by the greetings sent to the Amalgamation Conference of the U. S. railroad workers in Chicago in December, and also by the congratulations sent by the Maintenance of Way Convention to its sister organization in the U. S., upon the defeat of Grable and the election of progressives on a platform of amalgamation.

An example of the spirit of these workers is found in the case of Ricardo Flores Magon,

idealist, radical, and martyr. When the politicians would have made capital out of his death in Leavenworth prison and would have brought his body to Mexico at Government expense, the railway men raised a fund, sent a representative to Los Angeles and secured the remains for burial by the workers, whom Magon loved and for whom he fought. A special train manned by men who donated their services, brought the body from Juarez to Mexico City. Stops were made at all important points and demonstrations held. At the capital the remains lay in state at the railwaymen's headquarters for the passing tribute of thousands. When the body was interred a tremendous demonstration was held in which all elements of labor participated. It was a fine exhibition of working-class sympathy and appreciation and much credit is due the railroad men for taking the lead. It was an outward symbol of the spirit which has made the Mexican railroaders an integral part of the vanguard of the American labor movement.

## From Cotton Fields to Steel Mills

By C. S. Ware

**D**URING the recent war the negro population of the Southern States was discovered as a source of cheap industrial labor. This sudden discovery was, of course, due to the cutting off of immigration. The immigration problems of the after-war period, described in THE LABOR HERALD for March, tended to continue the capitalist interest in the Negro. Through the villages and small towns of the South went the labor agents of the munition plants, railroads, and steel mills. Hundreds of thousands of Negroes were recruited, given free rides to Northern industrial centres, and dumped into the shacks and bunk-houses of the mill towns and railroad camps. The period of industrial depression following the war "prosperity" discouraged many of the Negro workers. They were "fired" wholesale, and some drifted back to the cotton fields.

### The Present Migration of Negroes

Today, the cry of "Labor shortage: High wages: Come North," is again being sounded through the Southern States. Negro laborers and share-tenants, unable to make a living in the cotton belt, are answering the call. According to the *New York Evening Post* of Feb. 3rd, a dispatch from Memphis, Tenn., states:

They (the industrial sections) have been offering all kinds of inducements, and the use of propaganda

has been effective in causing thousands to leave the South and go to the North and East.

Babson, in a recent letter of advice to employers, discussing the wage situation, points out that the United States Steel Corporation is paying 36 cents an hour for common labor, and that in the Pittsburgh section the rate is even higher. Furthermore, he expects to see wages for this type of labor go as high as 45 cents before the increase is halted. To meet this situation, Babson proposes:

We strongly advise Northern employers to avail themselves of the Southern labor market to help them out on common labor. With wages easy at \$1.25 a day for such labor in the South, it will be easy to attract these people to the North. Do not try to move the man who wants to pack up, bag and baggage, and come North. Most of these become discontented and want to go back. Try for the prudent colored man, who either is unmarried or is willing to come on ahead of his family and try it out. Such a man, if he likes the North, can get together money to enable him to send for his family. And the experience is that such men remain.

### Negro—A Good Bet for Northern Factories

The colored man outside of the steel cities of the South has little chance for factory work, except in the lowest positions. The mills there are either white or colored. Therefore, the North has a better economic chance to offer to the Negro, and it will be to his advantage and to the advantage of the Northern employer, to join hands. This does not apply

to all Negroes. There are thousands of them that are of no possible use in factory or mill. But the wise selector of colored men can find thousands of them who can do factory work.

No better statement of the case from the capitalist point of view could be made. In brief, employers are advised to send agents into the South, pick up Negroes who, knowing nothing of the ever-rising costs of living in the North, will be tempted by the high-sounding wage figures to come North into the arms of friendly employers. They must not bring their families, however, as they would then learn, all too soon, the fraud of these high wages; that working twelve hours a day in the steel mills will not earn enough for a family to live on; that in comparison with the filthy, segregated quarters furnished to them, where unspeakable housing and sanitation conditions exist, the crude living conditions of the South are much to be preferred. But let the employing class select wisely, and it will find in the Negroes ideal wage-slaves, comparable only to the foreign-born workers, and subject to much the same exploitation and oppression.

### The Negro as An Industrial Worker

The Negro worker comes North, and what does he find? City life, with its cars, stores, movies, and crowds, is all so different from the life in the scattered villages of the South. This serves to blind him to the real facts of his life. Soon, however, he finds that his rent, food, and clothing are costing more than he is making. He learns that he is receiving lower wages, and working longer hours, often in more hazardous tasks than his fellow white worker. He learns that he is the last to be hired and the first to be "fired." He learns to distrust the white workers, who will not take him into their unions, yet who call him scab because, as an unorganized worker, he must take whatever job is offered to him. For years, various unions, while uttering official platitudes about no discrimination on the basis of nationality, color, creed, or politics, really followed the policy of Negro exclusion. Other unions, however, organize all workers in the industry, white and colored. Notable examples are the United Mine Workers' and the Hod Carriers' Unions. In the interest of working-class solidarity, all militants should join in a campaign to open all unions to the Negro workers.

### Capitalists Win by Dividing Workers

The weakness of the American working class lies in the fact that it is divided against itself. There is a section of organized workers—some 4,000,000; and a mass of over 20,000,000 unorganized workers. Even the relatively small group of organized workers, divided as it is into craft unions, is unable to present a united front. Mean-

while, within the mass of unorganized workers the skilled are being pitted against the unskilled, the native-born workers against the foreign-born, and the white against the Negro.

The race-friction and antagonism between the Negro workers and their white brothers is being nourished and developed by the employers. For this purpose they use the press, the church, and the school. To the white workers the Negroes are pictured as strike-breakers, attackers of women and children, a menace to unionism, to wages, and to working conditions. To the Negro the white workers are pointed out as unjustly privileged, and as the source of the consequent discrimination against themselves. Race riots, lynchings, and organized armies of Negro strike-breakers, are but the weapons of the capitalists in their campaign of dividing the workers, and forcing upon them a fratricidal struggle.

There are no such divisions within the ranks of the employing class. Their solidarity is national—it is international. Only recently the French capitalist class has been negotiating with the American Dougherty detective agency, for 5,000 Negro miners to break the strike of the German workers in the Ruhr.

All workers, regardless of race, creed, or place of birth, and regardless of color, political belief, or language, are robbed and oppressed by the employers of labor.

All workers, Negro and white, foreign-born and native, skilled and unskilled, must organize industrially and politically, and thus present one front against the one enemy.

### MIDDLE WESTERN TOUR FOR JOHNSTONE

**J.** W. JOHNSTONE, former Secretary of the Stock Yards Labor Council, has just returned from six months in Europe and Russia. While there he studied the labor movement and attended the Second Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions. He has brought back with him a fund of interesting and valuable information, which will now be made available to League members through the Middle West. Johnstone has accepted the position of Organizer for the Central District, and will make a trip covering the principal centres. He will spend two or more days in each place, and the local Leagues are requested to arrange a mass meeting, at which he will speak on "The Russian Trade Unions," and a League meeting, at which organization questions will be taken up.

The dates which have been assigned follow:

Milwaukee, April 1, 2; Green Bay, Wis., April 3; Duluth, Minn., April 4; Superior, Wis., April 5, 6; Minneapolis, Minn., April 8, 10; St. Paul, Minn., April 7, 9; Des Moines, Ia., April 11; Sioux City, Ia., April 12; Omaha, Neb., April 13, 14, 15; St. Joseph, Mo., April 16; Kansas City, April 17, 18, 19; Sedalia, April 20; St. Louis, Mo., April 21, 22, 23; Springfield, Ill., April 24, 25; Peoria, Ill., April 26, 27; Moline, Ill., April 28; Davenport, Ia., April 29.

# International Committees in Action

By Earl R. Browder

**W**ITH the publication of the program of the Progressive International Committee of the United Mine Workers, another national committee of the trade union left-wing swings its forces into the great battle now going on to modernize the labor movement of America. Following the great drive in the city and State bodies, these industrial committees are forming and, while the League holds the first-line trenches, are carrying the war on to the next line, the various international unions which must be amalgamated before Labor can exert its rightful power.

The oldest and best developed Committee is that of the railroads, the International Committee for Amalgamation in the Railroad Industry. The International Conference called by this body last December shook the railroad unions from their slumber, and established a general movement, officially representing thousands of local unions. It is now carrying on a referendum vote throughout the railroad unions on the issue of amalgamation. Every day new locals, federations, and central bodies, are endorsing its plan. Typical of its progress was the meeting of the Chicago and Alton System Federation, held in Chicago February 9th, with 98 delegates, who unanimously endorsed the Minnesota plan. The enthusiastic mass-meeting of railroad workers in Chicago, Feb. 25th, which greeted G. H. Kennedy, chairman of the International Committee, and Wm. Z. Foster, was but one of a great series of such meetings being held all over the country. The railroaders are getting solidly organized behind their International Committee.

The Metal Trades Committee, formed in December by delegates of many local unions, in attendance at the National Railroad Conference, has circulated 7,000 local unions with its amalgamation plan, and good results are already being shown. In the Metal Polishers' Union a national referendum is now officially being taken on Amalgamation, initiated by the Chicago and Marion locals, and endorsed by District Council No. 4. Throughout the Machinists, Molders, and the other metal trades, the amalgamation movement is gaining ground every day. The Metal Trades Committee is working in close cooperation with the Railroad Committee.

The Needle Trades Committee, comprising the left bloc in that industry, is a section of the Trade Union Educational League. It has recently issued a Plan of Amalgamation and is circularizing the entire industry with it. Ida

Rothstein, has been put in the field as organizer, through the needle trades centres, organizing the left-wing forces behind the Amalgamation Plan, in preparation for the International Conference to be held in New York on May 6th.

The International Committee for Amalgamation in the Printing Trades was formed by delegates and visiting printing tradesmen at the Atlantic City Convention of the Typographical Union. Circulars explaining the amalgamation plan for one union in the printing trades have been sent out over the country, and a definite plan is in preparation which will soon be issued.

In the Food Industry the International Committee is also very active. In this industry the problem of independent unions has rendered the work more involved, but the Committee has drafted a program which covers all the food trade unions, and a uniform program will soon be presented to the entire industry in its Plan.

The Program of the Progressive Miners is printed in full in this issue. The miners have one of the most difficult and serious situations facing them, and their program necessarily goes far beyond the issue of amalgamation, which is the big problem before all the other Committees. Their forces, however, are even greater than in the other industries, and the Progressive Miners are rallying them all with great success. History will soon be in the making as this program reaches the rank and file.

The International Committees for the Building, Leather, and Textile industries are organized on a provisional basis, and are preparing programs to solve the organization problems confronting them. An International Conference will be held for the Textile workers, in New York, May 5th and 6th, and for the Leather and Boot and Shoe workers, in Boston, on May 13th. Progress is reported, by hundreds of local unions, federations, central bodies, etc., adopting amalgamation resolutions, from all over the country. All three of these Committees will soon be in full swing.

The immediate necessity of the movement at this time is to see that in every city and town the workers in each of these industries organize themselves into local industrial groups, connect themselves with their International Secretary, and proceed to work upon the uniform plans being followed by the left-wing unionists all over the country. Particularly should all members of the Trade Union Educational League and readers of THE LABOR HERALD see to it that

such groups are formed at once if they are not already at work.

The amalgamation movement can be considered a living thing only when the International Committees begin to function. Scattered groups of militants, working hap-hazard without any plan agreed upon for all of them, are almost helpless; but as soon as this vital and necessary co-ordinating center is set up, with a uniform plan for all local groups, the former condition of chaos and helplessness gives way to a condition of organization and power. The trade unions will begin to move toward amalgamation, and thus become powerful and strong, only to the extent that we rally all the progressive forces around these International Committees.

Below we give a list of the Committees for the various industries. Let every League member and every sympathizer see to it now that all progressive unionists are connected up with the proper Secretary. Let every city, town, and village, and every workshop and factory, become a radiating center for the amalgamation movement, co-ordinated and made powerful by these International Committees.

The Committees and their Secretaries are as follows:

International Committee for Amalgamation in the Railroad Industry,  
O. H. Wangerin, Secretary-Treasurer,  
411 Dakota Bldg., St. Paul, Minn.

International Committee for Amalgamation in the Metal Industry,

John Werlik, Secretary-Treasurer,  
1426 S. Keeler Ave., Chicago, Ill.

International Committee of the Needle Trades Section, T. U. E. L.,

Joseph Zack, Secretary,  
208 E. 12th St., New York City.

International Committee for the Amalgamation of the Printing Trades Unions.

John T. Taylor, Chairman,  
E. E. Porter, Secretary-Treasurer,  
P. O. Box 31, Detroit, Mich.

General Committee for the Amalgamation of all Unions in the Food Industry,

V. H. Sundell, Secretary,  
2432 Lincoln Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Progressive International Committee of the United Mine Workers of America

Thomas Myerscough, Secretary-Treasurer,  
Labor Lyceum, 35 Miller St., Pittsburgh, Pa.

International Committee for Amalgamation in the Building Trades,

J. W. Johnstone, Secretary,  
118 No. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.

International Committee for Amalgamation in the Leather Industry,

Joseph Manley, Provisional Organizer,  
208 E. 12th St., New York City.

International Committee for Amalgamation in the Textile Industry,

Joseph Manley Provisional Organizer,  
208 E. 12th St., New York City.

## What is a Militant?

By Jay Fox

**A** MAN away back in the wilds of New York City writes me to as what I know about the Trade Union Educational League and its "Militants." "What in hell," he asks, "is a militant?" I referred him to these pages for the answer.

A militant in the labor movement is a fighter for the freedom of his class, a soldier in the army of industrial progress. Does this soldier of labor carry arms? He certainly does. He packs around a pocket full of redhot pamphlets and a head full of high explosive arguments designed to prove to you and me why we should be even as he.

The militant worker is not merely a man dissatisfied with things as they are. He is not just a grumbler. The world is full of grumblers who growl at the boss and the wages and the hours, but never do anything to remedy the evils of which they complain. The militant is not of that ilk. He sees clearly the wrongs inflicted upon his class by the robber system of industry under which we are compelled to live. He examines

the machinery of capitalism carefully to see where the defect is, for he generally has no other thought than that a few changes in the system will insure justice to labor. But after a thorough examination of capitalism he is forced to the conclusion that no amount of alteration would insure labor a square deal. He finds that the capitalist system was originally designed as a means of exploiting labor, of robbing the workers of the product of their toil, and therefore cannot be altered to serve the ends of justice. Then he looks around for plans of a new system of labor and a way to get it into operation and having found it, gets busy at once telling you and me all about it through the Trade Union Educational League. When you see a labor union with a punch in it, look behind the punch and you will find a bunch of militants.

### League Against Secession

The League is not a movement separate and distinct from the unions. It is not a secession

movement—it denounces secession. It is the instrument of the militant unionists, who have devised this means to arouse the indifferent workers to a sense of their duty to themselves, their families and their fellow-workers.

The sleeping workers need to be awakened. They need to be shown that their condition is not a hopeless one; that there is a way out if they will but bestir themselves and make a united and intelligent effort.

If the workers were keen, active and alert to their rights and possibilities; if they knew why they are out of work, or in danger of being out of work; if they knew why they are separated from the earth (which no man made—which was here before man—which is the birthright of all men) they would get active in their own behalf. If the rank and file of labor were alive to their vital interests they would want to know just why the men who claim ownership of the earth and everything thereon stand between them and the source of life and say: "No work, men! We can't let you make shoes for your feet, nor clothes to keep you warm, nor food to keep you alive, because there are hard times!"

If the workers were even curious about the cause of their uncertain economic conditions they would tap themselves on the noodles and get inquisitive. They would want to know the reason of things. And once started who knows where their curiosity would lead them? But the mass never does get very inquisitive about anything. It has the bad habit of accepting things as they are and making the best of what is often the very worst.

### **Militants Born Kickers**

Only a few in every generation are born kickers. To these human question-marks the initiation of all progress must be credited. They begin by questioning existing institutions; and finding them seeping with injustice and tyranny start the agitation that ends, finally, in their overthrow and the establishment of forms of society more in keeping with advanced thought. Today they are promoting industrial unionism and organizing educational leagues with the object of bringing about the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a workers' republic. They don't want to destroy civilization, as has been charged. They merely wish to tear down the rotten old shack she is living in and erect a modern residence for the lady. With the exception of a few rooms on the top floor the present structure is not a fit habitation for a civilized being. Of course, the occupants of the rooms up above don't wish to be disturbed. They are enjoying the sunshine and pure air, and most cordially hate the militants who are fighting

among the millions on the lower floors. But the militants are not distressed by the yelps that come from above. On the contrary, the more noise that comes from above the harder they work down below.

### **Militants Demand Industrialism**

These militants question everything, even their own unions; and there they have made a great discovery. They have found that the unions in their present form are incapable of coping with the industrially organized capitalists. They find that the unions are not only whipped to a standstill but are actually retreating before the onslaughts of the bosses. They are not out to organize new unions. That, they maintain, has been the great blunder of the militants of the past. Their big idea is to bring about the amalgamation of the present unions into industrial units, each industry having one powerful union instead of a dozen weak ones. Upon these industrial unions will devolve the work of managing the industries after the present management has been discharged, according to these militants. Thus they are exceedingly anxious to see that the industries are well-organized and the workers trained in the art of taking care of their own business, so there will not be confusion and general disorder when the present directors receive their "blue envelopes."

These militants assert that our society of today is suffering under the sway of a band of industrial robber barons who plunder and exploit the masses in a thousand ways. And, what is more, they have the proof. Society, they say, is organized in every department, from the kindergarten to the college, so to make it appear that the exploitation of the weak, the robbery of labor, the sweating of children, the shooting of strikers, the imprisonment of labor organizers—all and every brutality that is practiced upon the workers—is perfectly proper and necessary to the life of society; that it has the sanction of the Christian church no less than that of the Chamber of Commerce. Indeed, the church will defend the present order as vigorously as any hireling lawyer of capitalism.

### **Fleas on Back of Labor**

It would be more than human for men to condemn what is generally termed a "good thing." The church is supported by the capitalists; the lawyers are paid by the capitalists; the colleges are endowed by the capitalists; the public schools are controlled by the capitalists. Thus they all sing the same sweet capitalist song of submission: "Do what the boss says and you are a five hundred per cent American. Do what justice tells you and you are a lowbrow, criminal alien."

All the present institutions of society with their hordes of hangers-on live, move, and have their being on the back of Labor, in the same manner that fleas live on a dog. No!—even worse! The human fleas order labor about; the dog fleas never attempt to boss the dogs.

The militants have a strong disinfectant they

want Labor to use in order to rid itself of the pest of capitalism. The name of the stuff is "Knowledge, truth about the habits of fleas, and they way to rout them"; and the Trade Union Educational League and THE LABOR HERALD are the vehicles through which the stuff is distributed.

## Labor Party National Referendum

THE Trade Union Educational League has taken its first big step in the campaign to popularize independent working-class political action. It has sent out 35,000 letters, to practically every local union in the United States. These letters each contain a leaflet outlining the position of the League regarding a Labor Party, and a ballot whereon the multitude of local unions are requested to express their opinion on the commitment of the whole labor movement to independent working-class political action.

The communication points out the need not only for a united political movement, but also for a strongly-built industrial movement, the two issues being linked together. A quotation from the letter follows:

*Amalgamation and a Labor Party!* These are the supreme needs of the labor movement at the present time. On the one hand, we must amalgamate all our craft unions into a series of powerful industrial organizations, and on the other hand, we must discard our present antiquated political policy of rewarding friends and punishing enemies and organize a militant Labor Party capable of defending our political interests. The recent great strikes of shopmen, miners, and others, with the Government entirely on the side of the employers, shows the absolute necessity for a Labor Party. The future progress of the entire labor movement depends upon the accomplishment of these two basic and vital measures, Amalgamation and a Labor Party.

In order to learn the sentiment of the rank and file of the labor movement generally on the proposition of independent working-class political action, each of the 35,000 local unions is requested to vote on the following proposition:

Resolved; That we endorse the formation of a Labor Party by the whole trade union movement, to be based upon direct representation from the local unions, and to include as affiliated organizations all existing working-class political parties.

Wide-spread interest has been aroused by this unusual referendum. Labor papers from New York to California have carried long stories about it, and have commented favorably upon the project. In thousands of unions it is becoming the subject of conversation. Does the labor movement need a Labor Party? Does the rank

and file want a Labor Party? The referendum will give the answer.

Every union man should see that this referendum is brought to the attention of his local union. If the members are not yet thoroughly posted on the issue, they should have it explained to them in short talks by those who have studied the question. The statement issued by the National Committee of the Trade Union Educational League gives the conclusive arguments needed to bring forcefully home the lesson of the need for a Labor Party. This statement is now available in leaflet form at a small price; a few of these distributed in each local will quickly clarify the issue and bring the organizations enthusiastically into line.

Every reader of THE LABOR HERALD should join at once in this great educational campaign. Talk about Amalgamation and a Labor Party. Raise the issue in your local union. Distribute the leaflet issued by the League. Introduce the resolution cited above. Send in the vote of your local to the Trade Union Educational League. Let us act all together; as a result the demand for a Labor Party will soon be as widespread and insistent as the demand for amalgamation.

IN THE LABOR HERALD SOON  
will appear

**"The Best Bosses in Russia"**  
by Anise.

**"The Trade Unions of Norway"**  
by Christian Hilt.

**"The Needle Workers' International"**  
by Rose Wortis.

**"Struggle of the World's Metal Workers"**  
by Vladimir Vaksov.

With other special articles on the labor movement of America and of the world. Each month it will continue to report the progress of the two great movements now stirring the trade unions for Amalgamation and for a Labor Party.

# The Right to Work

By Fred Moe

**W**E call ourselves civilized, which implies that we are honest and just. We have religions to teach us honesty and justice and love for one another. We have schools to develop our minds and direct us in the habits of peace, fair dealing, and culture. Still there are millions of us hungry and cold and asking merely the right to work and it is denied. Why?

The right to work is a natural right. It is the foundation right upon which a truly civilized society must rest. The beasts of the jungle, the birds of the air, the fishes of the sea are all born with the right to work for their living. Man is the only animal that has to buy his right to make a living. Worse yet: he often finds there are no jobs for sale although he be willing to pay the very highest price, which is all he produces over a bare existence.

Capitalist society is founded upon the power to deny the right to work. All the wealth and all the poverty, all the bloody wars and profiteering, all the greed and avarice that is rampant in the world today is due to the denial of this simple basic right to work. If the right to work had not been withheld from the great mass of mankind and farmed out at the will of the holders of privilege there would be no hoards of wealth to quarrel about and no incentive to set men at each other's throats to murder one another wholesale in ferocious wars.

War is the competitive struggle of capitalists for the power to control the right of men to work. He who controls the largest number of jobs is the richest and most powerful man in the world. Every share of corporation stock is a certificate of ownership of some man's job, and dividends is the rent men pay for the privilege of working, the blood of life flowing from the heart of Labor into the gullet of voracious Capital.

## Will Not Admit Right To Work

The masters of society will never voluntarily surrender to the people the right to work. The principle of "hold what you have and grasp for more" is too deeply engraved on their hearts. They will go on in their mad frenzy for gold until some great catastrophe will sweep them from their seats of power. Sentimental appeals to their humanity have proven of no avail. Their humanity is interwoven with dividends, their ideals are anchored with dollars. Under extreme pressure they will yield slightly. They have surrendered the shorter work day. They will agree to give labor a dole of the extra profits it will

produce under the stimulus of being "shareholders." They will even yield to the extent of giving labor a small voice in "the management of industry." They will do anything but get off Labor's back. When it reaches that point Labor will have to give a mighty lunge and toss Capital into oblivion.

The employing class tell us they cannot provide all of us with steady employment because they are unable to procure a profitable market for all that we would produce over and above our keep. In other words: because we can produce in abundance only a portion of us are employed, leaving the remainder in outer darkness to starve by the wayside, for all that Capital cares. That is the logic of capitalism. It is a vicious logic, but there it is, in all its vile nakedness, stripped to the bone. The workers are permitted to make their living only on condition that Capital can sell that portion of their product they are forced to surrender as rent for the privilege of working.

## Workers Must Own Their Jobs

The capitalists talk glibly about the right to work, especially when they are in the market for scabs. That is one of the thousand lies that camouflages Capital. There is no such thing now as the right to work. There is merely the right to inquire if there is a job to rent. And if there is, and the applicant's hunger is sufficiently biting to force him to accept the owners terms, and his record is not known to be defiled with the virus of radicalism, he may be granted the privilege to work; the owner of the job reserving the right to evict him at any time without notice, for any or no cause whatsoever. That is what the capitalists mean when they talk about "the right to work."

The right to work involves the ownership of the job. So long as Capital retains its hold on the job just so long must Labor go begging for permission to live. Living by suffrage is surely a sorrowful and humiliating condition for so-called free men to be in. What a mockery to call men free who must bend the suppliant knee to the lords of industry? The black slave was held in captivity because there were places he could run to. Where can the white slave escape to and be free? Wherever he goes, the taskmasters of Capital are there and the whip of hunger drives him to their service. Freedom, indeed! The freedom of Labor is the greatest fake and delusion of the age. Labor will never be free until it owns its job.



If Labor owned its job it would permit no man to dictate terms of employment; there would be no gang boss speeding the workers up to the limit of endurance, under penalty of discharge. They would laugh to scorn the man who would attempt to "fire" them for any of the numerous reasons for which they are "canned" today. There would be no profits going into the coffers of millionaires with which to hire sluggers and corrupt governments to beat up, jail and murder the workers. There would be no gaudy palaces maintained at the expense of Labor, no highbrow loafers parading up and down the Earth lording it over the people. The idle rich would have to go to work, even as you and I. And the idle poor would welcome the opportunity to work, as a heaven-sent blessing.

### How to Reach the Goal

How are we going to reach that El Dorado where every man shall own his job? We are on our way, only we are moving too slow. Our ox-team pace will have to be quickened. The union is built around the job. The early unionists felt, instinctively, their close relationship to the job, while not comprehending the full significance of their efforts to get a grip on it. They never thought of owning the job. Their aim was better pay and security of employment. But they were on the right track; they laid down the foundation. It is up to us to complete the struc-

ture. They organized craft unions before industry was developed. Today we have the most powerful and highly organized industrial corporations in the world; and still craft unionism in its primitive form.

Organized Labor is Rip Van Winkle in the real. For fifty years it has slumbered in the cradle of craft unionism while the spiders of Capital spun the web of industrial bondage about it. Now it is waking up heavily-bearded with antiquated ideas, but willing to give ear to the voice of militancy, the only voice that does not utter bombast and meaningless platitudes. Militancy is the beacon light that will guide Labor into the safe harbor of job ownership and freedom.

Job ownership means worker's control of industry. There is no sidestepping the issue. That's the logic of industrial evolution. Capitalism is crumbling from its rotten foundation. It cannot save itself. It is approaching the end of its reign of terror and exploitation. It is up to the workers to prepare for the coming crisis. We cannot operate industry with craft unions. Before we take over the ownership of our jobs we shall have to amalgamate our craft unions into industrial units. Thus the question of the hour is the evolution of the industrial union. When it arrives we will then take the next step toward our goal—the conquest of the right to work.

## Two Unions—The Bosses' and Ours

By E. J. Lever

**I**N 1921 the National Metal Trades Association, the most powerful employers' organization in the country, was composed of over 1,000 of the largest concerns in the eastern half of the United States and Canada, employing over 600,000 workers and representing investments running into the hundreds of millions of dollars. Their 23 branches in the larger metal trades centers are used as employment offices to snare the unwary, unorganized slaves by the hundreds of thousands, to be used in maintaining their scabherding pest holes and to break the strikes of the metal workers.

They are not a federation in the sense that the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. is. They were that in 1899, when they first got together in New York, during the Patternmakers strike of that year. But they soon got wise to themselves. A "talking" union wasn't to their taste. Action is what they organized for, and by 1901 they became national in scope and were strong enough to compel a compromise agree-

ment on the Machinists in the 9-hour strike, only to break it a short while later.

Since then the N. M. T. A. has been openly hostile toward any attempt at doing business with any of the Metal Trades Unions. A strike won—a stronger Union; a strike lost—a weaker Union, is their motto. And so to make sure that the Unions stay weak or cease existing altogether they have organized their Big Industrial Union for themselves as employers and leave no stone unturned to smash the Unions of the Metal-Workers.

The significant part about the struggle between the N. M. T. A., the bosses' union, and the bakers' dozen odd little excuses for labor organizations of the Metal Workers is that the N. M. T. A. claims that no strikes of any moment have ever been won since its inception. Where member employers have compromised with the Unions they were immediately expelled. Were we to write of all the tactics employed by this organized gang of belly-robbers ten times this space

would not be enough. Suffice it to say that every one of us; Machinists, Boilermakers, Molders and the rest, have been crushed time and again in our efforts to improve our conditions of life and we know the power of the enemy—even though our leaders may not.

In the face of this stupendous calamity befalling the Metal Workers what remedies, if any, do we find emanating from the headquarters in Washington, Cincinnati, Chicago and Kansas City? "Advice," Brothers, and more of it. Hot air—without stint or limit. It never ceases. An honest attempt at a conservative suggestion for amalgamating all of us into one powerful, all-embracing Union to fight for our joint interests is met with derision and a barrage of misrepresentation.

To suggest a change in the form of organization involves a change and shifting of official jobs. And that will never, never do for those higher up. It is too great a sacrifice to expect a self-imposed, privileged gentry to make. That you and I have to sweat for 50 cents per hour and in turn get "advice," seems perfectly natural to them. Yet they feel rather uncomfortable under the scorching whip of rank and file criticism,

and all because they willfully or through sheer ignorance are incapable of understanding the aims, desires and aspirations of the men they represent.

The officer of any organization in the Metal-Trades who in this day and age possesses the crust to oppose Amalgamation, or passively lets matters drag along without definitely fighting for Amalgamation, should be brought before the high court of justice of the workers in the metal industry—for conspiracy to prevent us from wresting the products of our toil from the worst bunch of capitalist bloodsuckers that ever defaced a fair land. We say again that, found guilty of this shameful conspiracy, they should be debarred and led off to rest in shame and oblivion the rest of their days . . .

To oppose a plan for unifying the workers in their fight against exploitation, along constructive lines, based on sound Trade Union policy, as proposed by the International Committee for Amalgamation in the Metal Industry is the greatest offense that any officer of any Metal-Trades Union can possibly commit against his fellow-workers.

## The Waist and Dress Makers' Strike

By Joseph Manley

**T**HE militants who participated in the recent strike of the 30,000 New York Waist and Dress Makers, deserve both praise and criticism—praise for the fervent, unselfish spirit they displayed in supporting the strike; and criticism for not having made clear the realities of the situation, and the larger policies necessary to the successful winning of any strike in this branch of the industry.

"Week Work!"—the slogan that precipitated the strike—had a hollow sound to the workers, because they were dimly conscious of the fact that they did not have the degree of organization or prosperity that would enable them to wring this real concession from the well organized bosses.

Week work has always been an issue kept in the fore-front by the militants. In this instance some of the leaders—whatever their motive—used this slogan of week work to rally the workers to the point of striking. Shop after shop in favor of week work voted in favor of a strike; but those not in favor were left severely alone. This developed a small artificial majority, and led to the impasse that occurred at the memor-

able meeting where the issue was reached of whether to fight on the question of week work or to accept a humiliating compromise. The meeting decided for a strike; and the militants, to their credit, plunged whole-heartedly into the struggle and worked ceaselessly for its success, on the basis of week work. This issue appealed little to the rank and file, but the militants nevertheless encouraged them to stay on strike, with the hope of winning this concession. The strike was settled on the original compromise of a 40-hour week. This is a slight concession, and establishes a precedent hardly worth mentioning.

A thing which the militants failed to do was to point out that the industry cannot be organized by such ridiculous tactics, and that real concessions cannot be won by a partial strike in such a poorly organized branch of the industry. They never agitated for linking up the forces of the partly organized sections of this industry in cities like Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, etc. For instance, in Philadelphia a strike in this identical branch of the industry was declared, a short time after the settlement of the strike in New York. The militants are still afflicted with the New York psychology, thinking that New York

is the whole works—except when they wish to point out the scabbing in other cities.

Not once did they make use of this golden opportunity to bring before the mass the issue of amalgamation. In this they have no excuse, as it is only by amalgamation that they will develop the solidarity which will enable them to escape these frantic periodic outbursts, largely manipulated by some self-seeking politician. The militants, to a great extent, contented themselves by calling the leaders names; but failed to point out the fact that these leaders had no clear-cut program, such as linking up the partial strike with the crisis in exactly the same branch of the industry in the cities above referred to. The latter policy would have had the effect of establishing a real spirit of solidarity amongst the workers in the industry. The militants did not rise above their immediate surroundings;

on the contrary, they were swept along in the maelstrom of emotion that always accompanies a strike of the needle trades workers. Emotion is the motive force that will drive toward success; but if the militants are to gain the confidence and take the leadership of the masses, they must become clearly conscious of the policies that will wring real concessions from the organized bosses. The militants in this case fought bravely alongside the strikers; but they fought with bows and arrows, while the bosses trained their heavy artillery on the 30,000 strikers.

The militants must not only participate in the every day struggles and fight alongside the worker masses, but they must also teach the use of the heavy artillery. And the biggest gun of all is one needle trades union for all needle trades workers—brought about by amalgamation.

## Reaction Losing Ground in Cleveland

By Elmer P. Boich

**L**IVELY discussion is going on throughout the ranks of the trade unions in Cleveland, about the subject of amalgamation. A lively campaign of education has been carried on, with result that the unions are stirring with new life. From union to union the message is being carried. Nowhere is there any intelligent opposition; everywhere the members are taking eagerly to amalgamation.

This is especially true where the full force of the "open shop" movement has been felt. In the railroad industry, hitherto most strongly organized conservatively, the discontent with craft unionism—recognized as responsible for the present sorry conditions—has grown to huge proportions. Large numbers of loyal union men have been deserting the organizations, through discontent with the old leadership. Where the amalgamation movement has shown hope for the future, this destructive tendency is being checked. The union members are now tuning their minds not toward quitting and disrupting but toward consolidation,—toward the amalgamation of all the railroad unions into one mighty unit covering the entire industry. As a constructive protest against the introduction of piece work, against the infamous "Baltimore agreement," and against the union-destroying "open shop" drive, amalgamation of all railroad unions has now become the slogan.

The great majority of honest-minded wage workers in all industries are realizing that the craft form of organization has outlived its usefulness. Their line of thought seems to run like

this: when we go into a battle we lose, not from lack of a militant spirit but from lack of unity of effort. The only road to unity and solidarity is through amalgamation of our organizations. The bosses are united upon a single program and purpose; we must obtain the same unity of program and purpose. To defeat our enemy we must establish a united front through amalgamation.

The wage-workers of Cleveland are learning this lesson. They are recognizing that amalgamation means stronger unions. Stronger unions will reach and gather in the unorganized millions and combine our divided and scattered forces. It will bring these closer together, thus developing class consciousness and the sense of power and responsibility. Above all, amalgamation will give greater power, through which will gradually be established workers' control of production and distribution, thus preparing the ground for working-class rule of society.

We in Cleveland are doing our best to hasten the day of amalgamation. Scores of local unions have adopted the plan, including eight railroad lodges. City amalgamation committees have been formed of delegates from the local unions, and are becoming active. The writer is chairman of the railroad amalgamation committee, which is steadily making progress. Cleveland is known as a conservative stronghold, but the new militant elements are swiftly putting it on the progressive map. Reaction is losing ground. And the future belongs to amalgamation.

# The T. U. E. L. and the Independent Unions

*Statement by National Committee, T. U. E. L.*

1. *Nuclei:* The Trade Union Educational League shall organize its nuclei in all labor unions, A. F. of L. and Independents alike. The system of nuclei shall be a unified whole and animated by a common policy. There shall be no separate general nuclei organization for the independent unions as such. The members of these unions shall participate directly in the general nuclei system of the League. The T. U. E. L. nuclei shall be organized on an industrial basis, with such craft subdivisions as may be rendered necessary by the size of the groups or by other special considerations.

2. *Council of Action:* In order that there may be harmony, co-ordination, and effective action by all affiliates to the R. I. L. U., there shall be periodic meetings between official representatives of the Trade Union Educational League and of such unions, A. F. of L. or Independent, as are now or later become affiliated to the R. I. L. U. These meetings shall not accept formal affiliations, issue charters, or accept per capita tax. They shall not take on the character of a separate labor movement, or be in any sense whatever a dual union.

3. *Dual Unionism:* The Trade Union Educational League is flatly opposed to dual unionism. It condemns categorically as most harmful the long-pursued policy of the militants withdrawing from the mass organizations and setting up rival unions to war upon the older bodies. Secession, expulsion, and dual unionism are weapons of the right-wing reactionaries, to isolate the militants from the organized masses. The left-wing revolutionaries must resist this isolation by preventing the splits forced upon them by the reactionaries. Their policy must be to remain intrenched among the organized masses, and to bring about the solidarity of Labor through the process of amalgamation.

4. *Expulsions:* Where individuals or local unions are expelled from the mass unions, A. F. of L. or Independent, in their industries, they shall not set themselves up as dual unions and begin to war against the parent bodies. Their policy, on the contrary, must be to fight their way back again into their old organizations. To this end they shall keep in close touch with the organized nuclei in their industries, so that their cases may be brought forcefully to the attention of the rank and file, and so that every pressure may be exerted to make the legal machinery of the unions function in behalf of the expelled members.

5. *Relations Between Rival Unions:* Where, because of voluntary withdrawals, mass expulsions, splits and secessions, or independent organization, certain unions exist separated from the main mass unions in their respective crafts or industries, the policy of the Trade Union Educational League is as follows:

(a), Where the independent unions are weak in numbers and influence, consisting chiefly of militants, they shall work for re-affiliation with the stronger organizations in their industries, either as groups or as individual members, and thus bring the militants into their proper position among the organized masses.

(b), Where the independent unions are strong numerically and actually function as mass organizations the League shall do its utmost to upbuild and maintain them. But such unions shall not war against the old organizations nor pull individual or local unions away from them. In cases where two or more mass unions exist in an industry in rivalry with each other, the League militants will remain in their respective organizations and work to put into effect the following general policies: (1), to bring about temporary adjustments of the jurisdictional disputes between the affected organizations and to turn their attention away from fighting each other and towards the organization of the unorganized, (2), to carry on an energetic and persistent campaign for amalgamation of all the rival unions, A. F. of L. and Independents, into one industrial body.

## CAMPAIGN OF NEEDLE TRADES SECTION

**R**EPRESENTING the Needle Trades Section of the Trade Union Educational League, Ida Rothstein of New York is making an organization tour of all the important centers of the clothing industry. Every adherent of the amalgamation program for one union in the needle industry should exert all efforts to make the trip a success. The dates are as follows:

Philadelphia, March 11 to 15.  
 Baltimore, March 16 to 18.  
 Pittsburgh, March 19 to 20.  
 Cincinnati, March 21 to 22.  
 Louisville, March 23 to 24.  
 Indianapolis, March 25 to 26.  
 Chicago, March 27 to April 4.  
 Cleveland, April 5 to 8.  
 Buffalo, April 9 to 10.  
 Toronto, April 11 to 12.  
 Rochester, April 13 to 15.  
 Montreal, April 16 to 18.  
 Boston, April 19 to 22.

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## Program of the Progressive International Committee of the United Mine Workers of America

AS an aftermath of the war, coal is an over-developed industry, capable of producing 800,000,000 tons annually, while only 500,000,000 tons are actually needed. Gigantic subsidiaries of railroad and steel corporations, operating as great coal syndicates, are found side by side with hordes of petty operators equipped with only insignificant capital. This situation has produced an orgy of political corruption, judicial usurpation, strikes, riots, bloodshed and general disorder, which has become the scandal of industrial America. Such an insane condition in the most basic industry of the country must not continue.

Under the guise of reorganizing the industry, the large scale operators see an opportunity to crush their weaker competitors on the one hand, and to wipe out the last vestige of unionism on the other, and thus, by trustification, create a great Feudalism of Coal. By this means they hope to render absolutely helpless both producers and consumers of coal.

Those who have lived in the shadow of the Feudalism of the U. S. Steel Corporation know what a nightmare such a system would mean for the miners. The crushing of the United Mine Workers of America, the only large industrial union in the United States, would be the greatest possible disaster to the workers of this country.

### Nationalization of Coal Mines

To meet this situation of demoralization a radical change must be made in the coal industry. There is only one solution at this moment that is possible, and that is NATIONALIZATION OF COAL MINES.

Against this plan will be marshalled all the forces and resources of plutocratic America. The capitalist press and its journalistic hirelings, together with an army of retainers composed of the intellectual and political prostitutes of Wall Street, are flooding the country with an avalanche of lies, slander and misrepresentation against NATIONALIZATION. Corrupt and reactionary labor leaders are also opposing the plan, and every honest trades unionist who espouses the cause is marked for persecution.

In advocating NATIONALIZATION OF COAL MINES, the Progressive Coal Miners mean the operation of the coal mines under the direction of competent union miners, and not under a commission composed of the usual lawyers, bankers and politicians. A political bureaucracy sitting at Washington as the directors of the coal industry would be a monstrosity worse even than the abortion known as the Railroad Labor Board and would never be tolerated by the rank and file of the United Mine Workers of America.

NATIONALIZATION OF COAL MINES, as a political program, will be a failure unless it includes genuine democratic management of the mines. Since the efficient operation of the coal mines is possible only by those who have had experience in digging coal, we demand that the program of NATIONALIZATION OF COAL MINES shall provide for the operation of the mines entirely under the direction of union miners, who alone are possessed of the

technical, mechanical and manual skill necessary to the successful operation of the mines.

### Need of a Labor Party

NATIONALIZATION OF COAL MINES can be accomplished only through political action. To suppose that such a change can be brought about by "friends of Labor" among the politicians of the Republican and Democrat parties is possible only to the mind of a Lewis. Such a possibility is too absurd for those who seriously consider the recent great events in the industrial and political life of the country.

Nor is it possible for the miners, as a group, to accomplish this great political change alone. The working class of America as a whole is the only group with sufficient interest, solidarity and numbers to make NATIONALIZATION a reality. Therefore the miners, in order to inaugurate NATIONALIZATION and to protect their political interests generally, will be compelled to join with the rest of the working class and launch a great Labor Party based upon the trades unions. Composed exclusively of workers and working farmers, and all working class parties without regard to political differences, such a political party would be able to fight the battles of Labor on the political field. The conduct of the Government in the recent strikes of the miners and railroad workers proves conclusively that the Government is under the complete domination of the plutocrats of Wall Street. A Labor Party worthy of the name will fight to put the Government in the hands of the workers, and thus end the exploitation of the producers by the parasites and profiteers.

### Aggressive Organization Campaign

Plans must be laid immediately to bring into the organization the great army of non-union miners. Over one-third of the miners in the United States are outside of the union.

A comparison of the ratio of the producing capacity of non-union mines to the total consumption of coal in the United States reveals a startling and dangerous situation. In 1921 the total non-union mine capacity was 295,000,000 tons yearly, while the total consumption of coal in the United States in the same year was only 407,000,000 tons. The situation is now worse. Due to the disastrous Cleveland agreement, much territory formerly union has been lost to the organization. It can be conservatively stated that in case of a general strike of the union miners of the country the non-union mines can now produce over three-fourths of the coal needed in the United States.

This situation threatens the U. M. W. of A. with disaster unless remedied immediately. During the war every miner in the country could have been organized, had the administration of the International put forth the proper efforts. But the international officials found it profitable to keep many districts in a demoralized condition. The representatives of such districts at the national convention seek to curry favor and support for their weak unions by voting as they are told, without regard to the issues or principles involved. The Progressive Miners demand that an aggressive organization

campaign be launched to the end that this condition be remedied and that an honest and sincere effort be put forth to enroll all non-union miners, under the banners of the U. M. W. of A.

#### **Alliance Between Miners and Railroad Workers**

There must be created a real fighting alliance between the men who dig coal and those who haul it. This must not be a weak affiliation such as exists at present, which produces merely an exchange of friendly telegrams of sympathy when either group are on strike. The miners and railroad workers must actually join forces for united action and fight side by side in times of strikes.

#### **Reinstatement of Howat and Other Kansas Miners**

Of all the crimes of the Lewis administration, none has been more flagrant and cowardly than the brutal expulsion of Alexander Howat and the fighting Kansas miners. While lying in jail battling against the Industrial Court slave law of Kansas, Howat and his fellow officers of District 14 were stabbed in the back by Lewis, who arbitrarily removed them from their official positions and expelled them for life from the organization. He neither preferred charges against them nor gave them a trial. The whole thing was in open violation of the International Constitution. Capitalism, at its worst, grants trials even to robbers and murderers. But Lewis, to the eternal shame of the labor movement, refuses to do as much for a man with the fighting record of Howat. We demand the immediate reinstatement of Howat and his fellow officers to their official positions, with all the rights and privileges they enjoyed prior to their expulsion. Every local union in the U. M. W. of A. should elect good, strong delegates to the next International Convention, with instructions to fight first, last and all the time for Howat and his co-workers who have been crucified by International President, John L. Lewis.

#### **National Agreements Only**

The Progressive Miners demand that the policy of National Agreements be established and adhered to. In the early days of the industry agreements were made between small individual operators and local unions, then by sub-districts, next by districts, later on by several districts together, and finally, as a result of the development of the industry and the appearance of great coal corporations operating in several states, national agreements were arrived at. This was accomplished only through years of suffering, privation and strikes, and is the priceless heritage of every union miner, bought with the blood and self-sacrifice of a great army of martyrs to Labor's Cause. It was a steady progress onward and upward. Yet in the 1922 strike, with victory in our grasp, Lewis, by signing the Bituminous and Anthracite agreements, reversed this tendency, and by splitting the ranks of the miners, pushed the organization back to where it was years ago.

#### **Direct Election of Organizers**

A most necessary reform in the U. M. W. of A. is to bring about the election of organizers by the rank and file. At present the big staff of International organizers are appointed by the Administration, with the result that they are largely an electioneering machine to keep the present officialdom in power. They spend most of their time running around the organized districts playing politics and seeking to

develop sentiment in support of the Administration. When the conventions assemble, they flock in and literally swamp them. The unorganized are entirely neglected. The only remedy for this state of affairs, which is extremely demoralizing to the union, is to amend the International Constitution to provide for the election, by the rank and file, of all organizers and traveling auditors. The "pay roll" vote must be abolished in the United Mine Workers of America.

#### **Amalgamation**

The Progressive Miners heartily endorse the movement to amalgamate all the craft unions of the country into a series of industrial unions. In its early days the coal mining industry was afflicted with craft unionism, but the miners saw fit to combine all their unions into one organization to cover the whole industry. In the great fights that have since occurred the industrial form of our union has stood us in good stead. Had we been so organized that one part of the working force remained at work while the rest were striking, we would have been defeated and our organization broken up long ago. Speaking from experience, we heartily recommend industrial unionism to the labor movement as a whole, and we pledge ourselves to do whatever we can to bring it about.

#### **Six Hour Day and Five Day Week**

The Progressive Miners demand the six hour day and the five day week. The sacrifice and devotion of the miners to their industry for the benefit of society has resulted in such rapid mechanical and organizational improvement that the average American miner produces  $3\frac{1}{2}$  times as much coal in an equal space of time as his English brother. Out of a total possible 300 eight-hour working days in a year, or 2400 hours, the average miner spends only one-third or 800 hours, at remunerative labor and loses 1600 hours. The operators and their henchmen would make the miners pay for their great efficiency in production by closing down the mines and throwing many thousands of miners entirely into the army of unemployed, there to engage in a desperate struggle for work, against the employed miners, and to serve as a reserve force of the employers in time of strikes. Meanwhile these same operators, in many parts of the country, are fighting to aggravate the situation by establishing a longer work day and by increasing the task of their men. As against this brutal alleged solution, the Progressive Miners urge and demand the application of the practical common-sense remedy, a substantial shortening of the working time. We demand unequivocally the six hour day and the five day week.

#### **Secession and Dual Unionism**

The Progressive Miners heartily condemn all secession and dual union movements. As a result of the "rule or ruin" policy of the Lewis administration, carrying with it all sorts of fraudulent elections and general betrayal of the miners' interests, intense bitterness and disillusionment has been caused among the rank and file of the organization. Under no circumstances should this discontent be allowed to break into secession movements. We must stay within the ranks of the United Mine Workers and settle our differences there in a practical and constructive manner. Experience teaches that secession leads inevitably to demoralization and defeat. It

weakens the organization and, by withdrawing many good men, leaves the reactionaries in undisputed control. Efforts of reactionary officials, such as John L. Lewis, to force secession movements among men they cannot whip into line, must be vigorously resisted. A pattern to go by are the Kansas miners, who, notwithstanding the bitterest provocation, loyally refused to split the union. From the beginning Alexander Howat has stood like a rock against starting a dual movement. Any stories in the press to the contrary, are simply propaganda of the employers. Howat has stated time and again that he will have absolutely nothing to do with secession movements. All Progressive Miners should take the same stand.

#### International Affiliation

Capitalism is international in scope, and the organization of the miners must be as wide as the world. In the great 1922 strike coal was shipped into the United States from various countries, which made our fight just that much harder. In the big British strike of 1921, the same experience was had, coal being sent in from many countries to break the strike. This proves conclusively the necessity for united action among the miners of all nations to prevent coal being shipped into countries where the miners are on strike. We demand the closest possible affiliation of The United Mine Workers of America with the organized miners of the world.

#### Lewis Violates Miners' Policies

The solemn duty of every official of a labor organization is to loyally endeavor to put into effect the policies laid down by his union. Lewis has violated this duty, times without number. Nationalization of coal mines, a basic policy, was endorsed by the Cleveland, 1919, Convention, and later a committee, consisting of John Brophy, Chris. Golden, and William Mitch, was appointed to work out the proposition. Then, when the committee reported, Lewis repudiated the whole project and thus brought about the resignation of Brophy and Golden, two sincere advocates of nationalization. Ellis Searles, Editor of the United Mine Workers Journal, a henchman of Lewis, who is not now and never has been a member of the U. M. W. of A., refused to permit the publication of the nationalization report, or any part of it, in the official journal of the organization.

The United Mine Workers of America are clearly on record for the formation of a Labor Party, having endorsed the proposition at the Indianapolis, 1921, convention. Yet, at the recent Conference for Progressive Political Action, in Cleveland, the delegation from the U. M. W. of A., who claimed they were acting upon the instructions of Lewis, failed to vote in favor of independent working class political action when that proposition was before the conference. Likewise, the U. M. W. of A. has unqualifiedly endorsed industrial unionism many times. It was the solemn obligation of the Lewis administration to see to it that the miners' delegates to the A. F. of L. 1922 convention, should fight for a definite program of industrializing the other unions represented in the A. F. of L. But when the Railway Clerks submitted a resolution to amalgamate all existing craft unions into industrial organizations the miners' delegates did not vote for the proposition.

Despite the bitter fight in the U. M. W. of A. convention, over the six hour day, in which Lewis

was decisively beaten, that official has never hesitated to belittle and neglect this demand of the miners. It is common talk in mining circles that it was not even mentioned in conference before the signing of the New York Agreement, January, 1923.

#### Corruption in Elections

The district and international elections at the present time in the U. M. W. of A. are a shame and disgrace to the cause of unionism. "Pay-roll" agents of the various administrations employ bribery with money and liquor and the most brutal forms of intimidation to accomplish their corruption of the ballot. They have so disgusted a large part of the membership that more and more the honest members are losing interest in the elections and fail to take part in them. It is the duty of all Progressives to arouse these members to a sense of their duty and to prove to them there is splendid opportunity right now to cleanse the organization of election frauds and to make it a union fit to lead the workers of America to victory and power.

#### Militant Leadership

The remedy for the disorganization existing in our union is, to replace our present timid and incompetent leaders with labor statesmen of broad vision; with men possessed of minds capable of thinking in terms as big as the mining industry of the entire world, and infused with courage which will enable them to stand in the front of the battle line and to fight for the interests of the miners against all enemies of union labor. There are many men in our own ranks capable of rendering this service, who have been tried in the fire of persecution and found worthy. Let us immediately organize to place this group in responsible control of the organization.

#### Plan of Action

In order that the foregoing plan of progressive action may become a reality, it is necessary that the Progressive Miners organize to carry on an aggressive campaign of education among the rank and file of the U. M. W. of A. It is only by spreading our literature and by waking up the rank and file to the necessity for organization, that real progress can be achieved in modernizing and strengthening our union. If you believe in this program, see to it that every member of your local is furnished with a copy of this leaflet. Then call together a district conference of the Progressive Miners and get in touch with the International Committee, so that all work can be carried on efficiently in the various districts at one time.

In the near future a National Progressive Conference of Miners will be called, at which a permanent Progressive movement will be launched in the U. M. W. of A. This will be the dawn of a new day for the oppressed miners of the American continent.

For further information write to

Thomas Myerscough, Sec'y-Treas.

Labor Lyceum, 35 Miller St., Pittsburgh, Pa.

**National Conference of the Progressive  
Miners has been called for**

**June 2 and 3, Pittsburgh, Pa.**

# A Russian Meeting

By J. W. Johnstone

I WAS at the opening of the Third International Congress at Petrograd, and it was some celebration. But it was surpassed by the one held in Moscow two days later. Over 250,000 took part in the Petrograd parade, and approximately 800,000 in the Moscow turnout. I have never seen anything like it in my life.

The first day in Petrograd they had arranged 95 factory meetings for the delegates. We went to the meetings in groups of four or five, generally a mixed group representing as many countries as there were delegates in the group. I was delegated to an ammunition factory some 30 miles north of Petrograd and not far from the Finnish frontier. In my group were Albert Rhy's Williams, Charles Ashleigh, two Turks, a Frenchman, and the inevitable interpreter.

We went by train part of the way, and the rest by sleigh. At the depot, as the honored guests, we were given the choice of a box car without seats and with lights, or one with seats and without lights. As all of us had had some experience in traveling in Russia and knew how uncertain such an experience is, we unanimously agreed to accept the car with the seats.

The train was crowded to the doors, but the time seemed to fly. It was a most interesting ride. The Russians are just craving for knowledge. Those with us wanted to know all about the movements in the different countries. They asked the most embarrassing and difficult questions. After we had got thoroughly acquainted they started to sing their revolutionary and folk songs: Somehow I cannot disassociate Russians from singing. It is part of their life, and they do it well. Everybody knows the songs and everybody sings them. The music is very pleasant and every song seems to contain a note of victory.

On the train with us was the commander of the crack Petrograd Communist troops. He looked like a boy of 17 years, but confessed to being 24. He had been through the entire revolution, and for his bravery and knowledge of military strategy had been promoted to the rank of commander. He was an experience in himself. We traveled quite a distance by sleigh. It was a thriller. It seemed the fastest ride I ever had. Ashleigh and I were lucky. We got the swiftest horse, and we passed everything on the way. I don't know of anything more enjoyable than that ride through the woods. It was a bright moonlight night; the snow hanging to the trees

glittered like crystals. They looked like huge Christmas trees. I was sorry when we reached our destination.

Sestrovich is a town of about 25,000 population. Its only industrial plant is the ammunition factory. The audience were waiting for us. We were only one hour late, which means nothing in Russia. First we were given a cup of tea, for you simply can't do anything in Russia unless you drink tea. One drinks it always. In fact every time you turn around somebody is handing you a cup of tea.

The entrance to the hall was lined by two rows of soldiers, giving us a salute and at the same time keeping back the crowd that seemed so anxious to get a look at us. The whole town was there. I tried to be dignified and look important, but every time I looked at Ashleigh I had to laugh. An ex-convict, an ex-preacher, a North Clark Street hobo—it was too much. Yet it was serious. We represented the revolutionary minority in our countries. They expected something from us, and if we were a poor-looking lot it could not be helped.

The presidium of the meeting were the veterans of the factory, the oldest workers, who were known to have fought for better conditions for at least 25 years. They it was, in reality, who were the honored guests. They each received a new suit of clothes in honor of their long fighting record. Only one of them was a member of the Communist Party.

The meeting went off with enthusiasm. Ashleigh got the floor first, and in his talk covered several points that I had in mind for my speech. Williams followed him and cleaned up a few more of my points. This left me almost nothing to say. But somehow or other I got through my 15 minutes on the platform. The meeting came to a close with rousing cheers for the revolution and international solidarity. We made our way back to Petrograd after one of the most enjoyable experiences of our lives.

## BUILDING TRADES MOVING

THE San Joaquin County Building Trades Council, with headquarters at Stockton, Calif., on Friday, March 9, passed a resolution calling upon the American Federation of Labor to "take the necessary steps to bring about the required solidarity within our ranks . . . by calling into a conference all international unions for the purpose of preparing for the amalgamation of all unions affiliated with the Building Trades into a single organization which shall cover the entire industry."



## THE LABOR HERALD

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Trade Union Magazine

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WM. Z. FOSTER, EDITOR

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### GOMPERS' SUPPORTERS EXPOSED

THE exposure of the \$10,000.00 bribe received by P. H. McCarthy of San Francisco, long an important cog in the Gompers' machine, recalls many another such incident. It is not long since Brindell of New York, an ardent Gompers henchman, began his sojourn in Sing Sing Prison as a consequence of his get-rich-quick propensities, which had accidentally fallen into disfavor with the powers that be. Another fighter for Gompers, Tim Murphy of Chicago, is spending a vacation in Leavenworth Prison for mixing post-office robbery with "labor leadership." P. H. McCarthy of San Francisco, with his \$10,000.00 "fee" from the Pacific Gas and Electric Co., completes the circuit from Atlantic to Pacific, of discredited supporters of the Gompers machine.

McCarthy has long been a powerful figure in the labor movement, not alone in San Francisco, but also nationally, in the Carpenters' Union and the A. F. of L. generally. Throwing his power in the labor movement toward everything reactionary, and in political life connected with the most corrupt capitalist circles, he was one of the principal factors in bringing the labor movement of the Pacific Coast to its present deplorable state. He grew rich and powerful through these connections, and thousands of honest rank-and-filers despaired of breaking his strangle-hold on the unions. But the day of reckoning came. A legislative committee, investigating the corruption used to defeat the Water and Power Act, in the interests of the great corporations, uncovered the \$10,000.00 bribe. McCarthy was forced to resign his position in the Building Trades Council, and is in deep disgrace with every honest union man.

Brindell, Murphy, and McCarthy are worthy of attention principally because they are prominent examples of a whole brood of lesser parasites of the same nature. One and all they suck a rich living out of the labor movement, while they pose as "safe and sane," conservative labor leaders. Always they are ardent supporters of the regime of Samuel Gompers; always they assist in blocking every progressive step proposed; always they are opposed to amalgamation and to a Labor Party. With the tacit or open consent of Gompers and his Executive Council they go their way, undisturbed and unashamed. To the disgrace of the labor movement

they are rarely exposed to the deserved contempt of the membership, except when they fall out with some of their capitalist masters. The time is coming when the labor movement will itself have to handle these parasites who are inside the unions, and no longer leave them with the free hand with which they now corrupt and discredit American trade unionism.

### AN OBJECT FOR EDUCATION

IN answer to a letter sent out by the International Committee for Amalgamation in the Metal Industry, the following letter was received from one of the local emulators of the Electrical Workers' Journal editor. Like his mentor, this local business agent relies entirely upon abuse and prejudice. He calls upon ignorance to rally to ignorance, to resist anything and everything not hallowed by the ages; as for amalgamationists, they should be "trown in the river." For the sake of posterity, we reproduce the letter without change:

Local 568

International Brotherhood of Electrical  
Workers.

Montreal, Feb. 16th, 1923.

Mr. John. Werlek.  
1426 S. Keeler Ave.,  
Chicago, Ill. U. S. A.  
Sir.

Yours of January 22sd 1923 at hand re Amalgamation or Annihilation.

First, let us tell you that your heading is wrong *Annihilation*.

Second, we have no faith in your statement that so many organizations have gone on record.

Third, our loyalty to our International is Unbrackble.

Fourth, your record is absolutely unknown and men of your caliber should be trown in the river, because you do not build but destroy, and you are not men enough to come uot in the open, but use and have used the most miserable methods in the world to come to your object.

So stop your foolishness and act like men.

(Signed) F. Griffard, Business Agent.

Did this Brother really bring the Amalgamation Plan before his union? We doubt it very much. Montreal happens to be one of the cities where the Amalgamation movement is very strong. Delegates from 13 of the railroad lodges there have endorsed the Plan unanimously, and have circularized all Canadian unions in favor of it. We are sure that, even behind this business agent, there stands a rank and file in favor of solidarity and amalgamation of the craft unions into powerful industrial organizations. How about it, Montreal?

### KAUFMAN VS. OLGIN

A controversy has arisen between Morris Kaufman, president of the Furriers' Union, and Moissaye Olgin, editor of the *Freiheit*, New York Jewish daily, which raises issues of interest to circles wider than those immediately involved in the controversy. The *Freiheit* published a letter from members of the Furriers' Union protesting against alleged activity of thugs, who were charged with beating up members of the local union in order to silence criticism of the officials. Kaufman, instead of starting an investigation through labor channels,

called upon the District Attorney to take action against the *Freiheit* for libel, and charged that paper with injuring the labor movement.

Olgin made answer to this action by addressing a letter to Kaufman, calling upon him to submit any grievance he might hold against the *Freiheit* to a court of labor representatives, formed in an impartial manner, before which the evidence on both sides could be heard. Olgin pledged himself to carry out the decisions of such a court, and called upon Kaufman to do the same. Kaufman replied by refusing point-blank to consider such a proposition, stating that Olgin was being "called to account" in a "place where irresponsibles get what they deserve."

The actions of Kaufman set a dangerous precedent for Labor. The proposition of labor bodies carrying their controversies to capitalist courts, can mean nothing but defeat for the labor movement itself. It is a well-known fact that in the clothing industry of New York the "rights," patterning after the Gompers reactionaries, are using force where they cannot win by reason. The question as to whether this was the case in the particularly Furriers' Union involved, is properly one for a labor court to decide. Olgin's position on this is unquestionably correct. That an International Union president should appear to believe that the interests of Labor could better be protected by a capitalist court than by a labor court is most astounding.

Kaufman's contention that the *Freiheit* is injuring the labor movement by publishing letters complaining of thugs and sluggers in the local unions, must be rejected. The pernicious practice does exist, and it must be stopped. This requires a campaign of publicity which will make it impossible for the practice to continue. By insisting upon this issue, the *Freiheit* has rendered a valuable service to the labor movement. If Kaufman wishes to have the confidence of the labor unionists, he will accept Olgin's offer to place the entire controversy where it belongs, in the hands of an impartial labor court.

**CLASS WAR PRISONERS**

THE treatment of political prisoners in America is brutal beyond the comprehension of the people of other countries. An illuminating example is the continued incarceration in Leavenworth prison of Edward Quigley and Caesar Tabib, two young members of the I. W. W., who are dying of tuberculosis as a consequence of such imprisonment. There is no one who even pretends to believe that these men would be the slightest menace to any person or thing if they were liberated. And continued imprisonment means their early death. The Government's own official investigator in this connection—Major Sidney Lanier, of the Military Intelligence Division—has honestly said: "If the people of the United States only knew the facts of the I. W. W. cases, they would demand in the name of fair-play that every one of these men be immediately released."

Then there is the case of Nicolo Sacco, sentenced to death, who at this time has been for thirty days on a hunger strike, as a protest against his unjust conviction and imprisonment. Sacco and Vanzetti have proved beyond question the frame-up against them, but to no avail. And news reports indicate that long before the time for re-trial of this case,

Sacco's name may be added to the long list of Labor's martyrs.

The immediate release of all these men should be demanded by every man and woman with a spark of humanity and common sense.

**THERE IS NO HALF-WAY HOUSE**

AN attempt is made in an editorial appearing in the *Headgear Worker*, organ of the Cap Makers' Union, of February 9th, to argue that the issue of "Alliance or Amalgamation" in the needle trades is not fundamental, and that there would be little difference between the two measures.

This is pure sophistry. There is no half-way house between a federation of autonomous bodies, on the one hand, and the unification of these bodies under one General Executive Board, on the other. There is either amalgamation or division. Nowhere in the world can any successful compromise be pointed out. The only road to solidarity for the needle trades workers is the road of amalgamation. One union for all needle workers is the supreme need.

**FINANCIAL STATEMENT**

**of the Trade Union Educational League**

Following is the financial statement for the quarter beginning December 1st, 1922, and ending February 28th, 1923, which is submitted to the Auditing Committee for their later report.

**Statement of Receipts and Expenditures:**

<b>RECEIPTS:</b>	
Subscriptions -----	\$ 797.75
Bundle Orders -----	2,045.07
Advertisements -----	169.50
Books and Pamphlets -----	478.35
Sustaining Fund -----	528.15
 Total -----	 \$4,018.82
Brought forward Dec. 1 -----	778.51
	\$4,797.33

**DISBURSEMENTS:**

Printing -----	\$1,758.95
Mailing -----	254.23
Cuts, etc. -----	130.58
Office Expense -----	311.58
Wages -----	1,569.78
Supplies -----	65.25
Sust. Fund Rebate -----	68.76
 Total -----	 \$4,159.13
Balance on hand -----	638.20

**Statement of Assets and Liabilities:**

<b>ASSETS:</b>	
Furniture -----	\$ 250.00
Books, etc. -----	150.00
Accounts Receivable (less reserve for bad accounts) -----	2,000.00
Cash -----	638.20
 Total -----	 \$3,038.20

<b>LIABILITIES:</b>	
Accounts Payable -----	\$ 703.75
Net Worth -----	2,334.45
 Total -----	 \$3,038.20

Fraternally submitted,  
Earl R. Browder, Managing Editor.

# THE INTERNATIONAL

**ITALY** THE Fascist Government, which is a naked dictatorship of the capitalist class, goes its way enslaving the workers of Italy. The past few months have developed a new offensive against the militant elements, among them, hundreds of Communists, Maximalists, and Anarchists being thrown into jail all over Italy. The pretended cause was a manifesto issued by the Third International calling upon the workers of the world to fight against Fascism. Mussolini immediately accepted the challenge, with the results noted. The arrested revolutionists are being submitted to the torture processes which are a part of the Fascist tactics.

The war against the workers' standards of life and liberty and their organizations goes ahead without pause. Over 50,000 railroad workers have been laid off and the rest have lost the eight hour day in Mussolini's "economy" campaign; civil service immunity from discharge has been abolished and all Socialists and Communists have been driven out of the public service; a 10% tax has been placed on wages and, to make things equal, all securities such as bank shares, etc., have been exempted from taxation; the Rent Act, which afforded the workers some protection against the voracious landlords, has been abolished; the Commission for Control of War Supplies, favored by Labor, has been disbanded.

The trade unions have suffered enormously under the Fascist pressure. The General Confederation of Labor, which had 2,000,000 members at the close of the war, now has only 200,000. The Railroad Union has lost over half its membership, and the Unione Sindicale, the Syndicalist One Big Union, has been almost wiped out of existence. Even the Catholic unions have been hard hit. Only the Fascist unions grow. One of the new terroristic means devised to accomplish this is through the control of the State employment service, which is entirely in the hands of the Fascisti. They refuse work to those who do not belong to their so-called unions. In these bodies the rank and file have no voice, all instructions coming straight from the Fascist party. In the face of this rout, the reformist leaders are trying to save the remnant of things by repudiating everything they ever stood for. D'Aragona, fawning for Fascist-mercy, even declared that there was nothing impatible between the ends of the Fascisti and those of the labor movement. A Committee for Trade Union Unity has been established. It is made up of such men as Rigola and Gaetana (reformists), Alceste d' Ambris (national syndicalist), and Ronzani (D'Annunzio syndicalist) and it is cringing before the Dictator, Mussolini.

Meanwhile, as Mussolini smashes proletarian resistance at home, he is undoubtedly preparing for foreign conquests. According to G. Aquila, in the International Press Correspondence, the army is being reorganized and increased to the extent of 164 Generals, 13,477 regular officers and 2,795 Surgeons. The period of service has been extended from 8 to 18 months, which raises the standing army to 350,000 men. All non-commissioned officers, now out of service, are being placed on the active list. Reserve officers are being made regular officers. Navy service is increased from 24 to 28 months.

Three light cruisers, 16 torpedo boats, and 16 submarines are being built. Increases are made in the budget because of "pressing repairs." Aviation stations are extended and 1000 new aeroplanes are being constructed. Reorganization of the Fascisti, police, detectives, etc., so that now the total standing army of Italy reaches the enormous figure of 580,000. Mussolini sees in himself the new Napoleon, the modern man on horseback. He is probably the one who will lead international capitalism into the final insane adventure which will culminate in its complete collapse. The world will do well to keep an eye closely on Mussolini.

**GERMANY** THE occupation of the Ruhr by French troops is stirring the German labor movement deeply. The usual division in the ranks of the workers betrays itself. The Communists, with a program of deposing the Cuno government and setting up a workers' government, with a probable alliance with Soviet Russia, proposed a united front of the workers' political parties for this end. But the Socialist reformists, whose policy is the fulfillment of the reparation terms and the rehabilitation of capitalism, curtly rejected the proposal. On the contrary, they gave Cuno a vote of confidence and have practically joined hands with the employers on the basis of a nationalistic resistance to France.

This policy of class collaboration, however, falls more and more into disrepute. The drift is towards the left and a revolutionary program. According to a report made at the recent congress of the Communist Party, the Social-Democratic Party has lost over 50,000 members, and, following the recent fusion of the two Socialist parties, only 50% of the Independents joined forces with the old party. On the other hand, the Communist party, so the report stated, is making tremendous gains. By September 30 it had 218,555 members (of whom 26,710 were women) and since then "new affiliations have arrived en masse." The falling off of the United Social Democratic Party and the increase of the Communist Party is considered all the more significant because the former charges only 100 marks dues, while the latter charges 600.

An interesting event, showing the drift of things in Germany, took place in the Diet of Saxony. The Communist, Boettcher, submitted a resolution condemning the Socialist Government. This was adopted by a vote of 55 to 39, whereupon the Government resigned. At last accounts the Communists were demanding the calling of a congress of factory councils, so that there could be instituted a genuine Workers' Government.

The Rote Fahne, the Berlin Communist daily, says that after the occupation of the Ruhr the heads of the German Trade Unions (reformist) asked the Amsterdam International to call the International General Strike which had been authorized by the recent conferences in Rome and The Hague. The request was refused, the leaders stating that the workers in England, France, Belgium, and other countries were not prepared to take such action. The appeal of the Red International of Labor Unions for a united front of all labor forces for a general strike against the imperialists was also refused.

**FRANCE** At last the General Confederation of Labor of France (C. G. T.) has held its long-awaited congress, the first since Lille in 1921. It was hoped that at this meeting some means would be found to heal the bleeding wound now cleaving the French labor movement into two warring sections, C. G. T. and C. G. T. U. To this end, the C. G. T. U. submitted a proposition asking that the C. G. T. join with it in reconstituting unity in the French labor movement. It proposed that a joint convention of the two organizations be called, based upon the actual membership of both on December 22, 1922. At this congress steps should be taken to unite Labor's scattered forces.

But the conservative chiefs of the reformist C. G. T. would have none of this. Realizing themselves in the minority and knowing that such a congress would inevitably result in their elimination, they repudiated the offer of consolidation by demanding that the C. G. T. U. members and organizations come back to the C. G. T. unconditionally. This sentences the French movement to a continuation of the bitter strife which has cursed it for the past three years. Immediately after the refusal of its unity proposal, the C. G. T. U. took its first measure against the C. G. T. leaders by calling a general unity congress itself, the same to take place in the near future. To this congress all organizations, C. G. T., C. G. T. U., and independents, will be invited, and efforts will be made to unite the movement in spite of the reactionary leaders of the old C. G. T.

Much interest was displayed by the labor movement at large to learn just how many members the C. G. T. had managed to hold onto after the big split. But the leaders were careful to disguise that. Their report showed 384,000, but it was based upon the average membership since the Lille congress. But between the two congresses the split took place, which took at least 370,000 out of the old organization. Bearing this in mind, statisticians of the C. G. T. U. place the total membership of the C. G. T. at not more than 275,000. Amsterdam makes the ridiculous claim of 1,500,000 members for the C. G. T. The C. G. T. U. is stated, by its officials, to have well over 300,000 members.

In the middle of February the French miners waged one of the greatest strikes in their history. With the importation of coal from the Ruhr at practically a standstill, the time was deemed opportune by the revolutionists to make demands. Finding stubborn resistance from the employers, the C. G. T. U. miners' union declared a general strike. Result, after about two weeks 200,000 miners were out. The C. G. T., or conservative, miners' union leadership not only refused to make common cause with the revolutionary wing, but they advised their men to stay at work. Notwithstanding this, however, a united front was secured in many districts and the mines tied up effectively. Finally, the employers were compelled to grant substantial increases to their men. But they were clever enough to do it through the instrumentality of the conservative union. Despite this trick, which forced a settlement of the strike, the miners generally understand that the increase was won, not through the negotiations of the conservative officials, but through the strike of the revolutionary union, and unquestionably they will build up a powerful organization under the banner of the C. G. T. U. In the affair

the conservative officials, in their eagerness to forestall the revolutionists, entirely discredited themselves by acting publicly as strike-breakers.

**RUSSIA** At the recent meeting in Moscow of the revolutionary miners of the world, the minutes of which are just at hand, the following general program was adopted: (1) Nationalization of the mines, with gradual socialization without compensation to the present owners, (2) Organization of Workers' Control Committees, (3) Six hour day for plain labor and four hour day for dangerous work, (4) Minimum wages, guaranteeing decent life to all workers, (5) Employers to pay for all insurance on their employees, old age, sick, death, etc., (6) Four weeks vacation each year, with full pay, (7) Workers' Inspection Committees, to have full right of taking all necessary measures for protection of miners, even to the use of compulsion, (8) Mine Committees to have full charge of all hiring and discharging of workers, (9) Complete liberty of strike and coalition rights, (10) Employers to be punished by lawful penalty where they fail to provide insurance for their employees, disobey Workers' Committees, etc., (11) Settlement of such cases in court within one week, (12) Support and acknowledgement of Soviet Russia, (13) Abolition of the Versailles Treaty. The International Propaganda Committee of the Mine Workers, the mining section of the R. I. L. U., does not seek to achieve its aims through starting a new miners' international, or by founding new unions in the various countries; its method is to work through the existing organizations and to revolutionize them.

**BELGIUM** IN The Labour Magazine for February, W. Eekelers, of Belgium, outlines the structure of the Belgian labor movement. The total trade union membership of the country is 700,000. This is concentrated into 28 unions, of which 15 contain 670,000, the other 13 being small craft organizations. The prevailing type is the industrial union, constructed through the process of amalgamation. The largest union is the Metal Workers, with 140,000 members. It includes every sort of workers in metal, such as ship-builders, automobile workers, blast furnace workers, steel workers, jewelers, clockmakers, blacksmiths, machinists, molders, plumbers, etc. The Building Trades Union is next in size, with 135,000 members. Before the war there were craft unions for carpenters, painters, masons, plasterers, woodworkers, stone cutters, upholsterers, etc., but now they have all been combined in one organization, called the Central Association of the Building Trades Workers, Wood Workers, and Sundry Industries.

The prevailing type of organization is the departmentalized industrial union. Eekelers declares that this form of union is much better able to take care of the interests of the several crafts than were their original craft organizations. Even the leaders recognize this. "They have at last realized that it is better to be a lieutenant in a great army than a general over a handful of men who have to yield at the first encounter with a well-organized employers' federation. The process of consolidating the unions goes steadily forward. It is hoped to reduce the number to 15 shortly. A new class feeling has developed with the formation of industrial unionism. The general movement owns 7 daily, and 25 weekly, fortnightly, and monthly journals."

## Canadian Machinists Favor Amalgamation

By H. M. Bartholomew

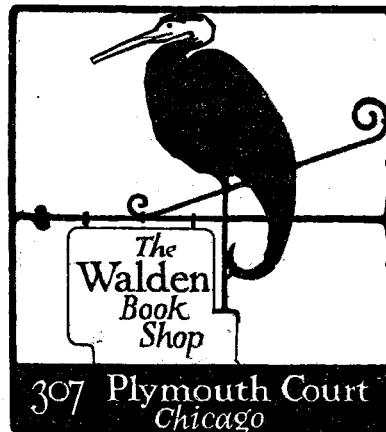
**F**IFTY delegates, representing Machinists' Unions of District 2, from all over Canada, met in convention at Winnipeg the first week in March. The program for amalgamation of the sixteen railroad unions into one industrial organization covering the entire industry, after a long fight as to the form of the resolution, was endorsed unanimously.

The convention marked a great forward step for the Machinists of Canada. It also gave a striking lesson in the folly of secession and dual unionism. A few years ago it was the West of Canada which furnished the fighting spirit and progressive ideas for labor conventions; the East was looked upon as the reactionary, pull-back section, and as a hard problem for the progressive forces to solve. But since then the West has had a spell of O. B. U. sickness, with the result that today it is the unions of the East that are progressive and revolutionary, while the West is in the grip of the reactionary bureaucracy. The fight for amalgamation was led by the great unions of Montreal and the Eastern Canadian cities; the reactionaries were led by the delegates from Winnipeg, home of O. B. U.-ism. The lesson for the militants is as flaming clear as a pillar of fire by night.

The Canadian Committee in Montreal, which is backing the Minnesota Plan, reported that 120 railroad lodges in Canada have adopted the plan during the last six weeks. Amalgamation literature is being widely distributed among those not yet reached, particularly the French-speaking railroaders of Quebec, among whom a widespread campaign has been planned. This work in Canada is closely linked up with the International Committee in St. Paul, making it truly a part of the international movement.

The Machinists' convention, which has just been held, demonstrates conclusively how much can be achieved by the militants if they abandon the old policy of secession and dualism. It is another vindication of the policies and tactics of the Trade Union Educational League.

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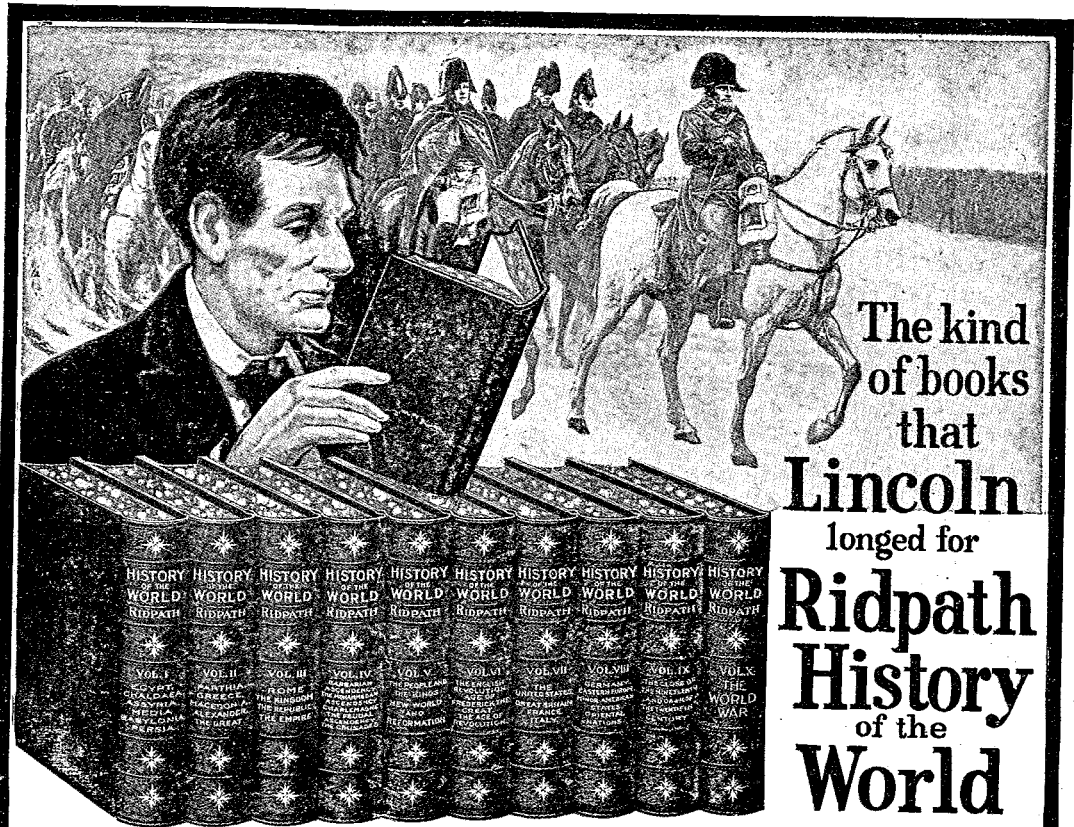
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# The Child of Today is the Citizen of Tomorrow

## 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.

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ADDRESS .....

CITY .....

Amount.....