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Shall the "Criminal Syndicalism" method of smashing labor organizations become established as an effective procedure of Labor's enemies?

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No. 5

The Progressive Miners' Conference

By Wm. Z. Foster

IN the development of the left wing in the American trade union movement two of the most important steps taken by the militants in the respective industries were the holding of the big national conferences in the railroad and clothing industries. But by far the most significant and promising move yet made was the conference of the Progressive International Committee of the United Mine Workers of America in Pittsburgh, Pa., June 2-3. This great gathering, made up of approximately 200 delegates from 12 districts of the U. M. W. A., including far off Alberta and Nova Scotia, Canada, launched the left-wing movement definitely in the heart of the most powerful and strategic union in this country. Time will show that it was an epoch-making meeting, the effects of which will soon be apparent not only in the U. M. W. A. but the entire American labor movement.

The Progressives Organize

The United Mine Workers offers a splendid opportunity for militant activity. It is ripe for real progress. It is one union that has largely escaped the ravages of dual unionism. This is chiefly because it is industrial in form. The revolutionary elements have remained within its ranks and have carried on work there to a considerable extent. Consequently the membership, which is at least 60% foreign born, is quite generally infused with a progressive if not revolutionary spirit, more so than almost any other union. But if dual unionism did not actually pull the militants out of the U. M. W. A. it did prevent them from organizing effectively to fight the reactionaries. Because the revolutionary movement until recently knew nothing of organization among the conservative unions, the struggle for progress in the U. M. W. A. has been a desultory and unsystematic guerrilla warfare, mostly upon a local or district basis and usually upon minor issues. Confronted with such a blind and disjointed opposition, it has been easy for the reactionaries, by playing off one section against the other, to maintain themselves in power. The U. M. W. A., although possessing a genuinely progressive membership, is in the anomalous position, because the

revolutionists are not organized, of being dominated by a typically reactionary officialdom.

It was to remedy this condition by giving the United Mine Workers policies and leadership in harmony with the wishes and interests of its radical rank and file that the militants began to organize upon an international scale, for Canada is comprised in the movement. The first important step was a small conference in Pittsburgh in February, at which the Progressive International Committee was formed upon a provisional basis. This Committee drafted a program covering the main features of the left-wing movement and sent it broadcast throughout the whole organization. The recent conference was the result of the Committee's call for the militants to come together and to organize upon a definite basis.

The conference was opened in the Labor Lyceum by Chairman Guiler of the International Committee. Brother McKay, delegate from the Nova Scotia Miners, was elected to act as Chairman of the conference. Then Secretary Myerscough outlined the history of the Committee and dwelt especially upon his recent trip with Alexander Howat through the mining districts, relating how they were both barred from entering into Canada. After this the writer was called upon to say a few words. I pointed out the weakness of the militants at the present time and the only reason why the reactionaries could dominate such a progressive body as the miners was the fact that the revolutionary elements have lacked both a program and an effective organization. I stated that above all the conference must accomplish these two things: (1) work out a clear-cut program which would unite all the progressive causes in the various districts into one uniform movement, and (2) lay plans for the setting up of an organization capable of putting that program into effect, such an organization involving the formation of committees in all the districts, sub-districts, and local unions in the entire jurisdiction of the U. M. W. of A.

The Speech of Howat

Alexander Howat, who was next called upon to speak, made a splendid address. He heartily

endorsed every plank of the progressive platform and stressed the necessity for compact and thorough organization of the militant elements everywhere. He declared the formation of the Labor Party to be a prime essential to future progress of the working class. He briefly outlined the Kansas situation, showing that he and Dorchy were expelled from the union and, although 21 months have passed, they had not yet had any charge preferred against them or been given a chance to defend themselves. They were brutally and illegally expelled while they were in jail fighting against the notorious Industrial Court Law. Howat declared that he was being victimized because he refused to become a cog in the corrupt administration and to do Lewis' bidding. He reasserted his determination to fight his way back into the union and said that sentiment for his reinstatement is already overwhelming among the rank and file. He declared that the Progressive movement now being launched was of historic importance and that it would result eventually in cleaning out the crooks and reactionaries not only of the Miners' Union but also of the whole American Labor movement. The conference adopted a strong resolution demanding Howat's and Dorchy's reinstatement.

Manley and Dorchy Speak

In the two days' session the conference did a tremendous amount of work. There were resolutions on many subjects dealing with nearly every phase of the militant cause. The Progressive Miners' Program was endorsed as a whole and separate resolutions were adopted touching upon most of its planks, such as nationalization of the coal mines, the formation of the Labor Party, the Howat case, industrial unionism through amalgamation, etc. A special resolution was adopted condemning the 12-hour day in the steel industry and another condemning the Ward Baking Trust for its war against the Bakers' Union. The criminal indifference of the union officials, as well as the Allegheny County officials, in the case of Fannie Sellins, the woman U. M. W. A. organizer who was murdered by steel trust gunmen in 1919, was sharply condemned. Although four years had elapsed practically nothing had been done to bring the murderers to justice. By a coincidence the long-delayed and much-sabotaged trial of the gunmen was scheduled to begin in Pittsburgh on the day following the adjournment of the conference. It, of course, resulted in an acquittal. The revolutionary miners of Nova Scotia were supported in their fight against persecution because of their stand in favor of the Red International of Labor Unions. A demand was formulated for a general international wage scale.

On the morning of the second day Organizer Manley arrived with a delegation from the anthracite fields. He spoke on the situation in these districts, detailing the fight being made by Capellini for President of District No. 1. Capellini, Manley declared, is a militant rank and filer. He was largely instrumental in building the organization from 12,000 to 70,000 members. The reactionary officials tried to get rid of him by ousting him from office and then offering him a job in another district. He refused to go and began his fight to defeat the present President Brennan. The Progressives are supporting him and if a fair count of the votes can be had he will be overwhelmingly elected. Manley stated that a district Progressive committee had been launched in District No. 1. He also outlined the recent difficulty over the reorganization of the "town" and "language" locals into colliery locals where, had it not been for the efforts of the militants, a split would have developed that might have cost the U. M. W. A. 40,000 members and ruined the organization in the anthracite districts.

After Manley, August Dorchy, expelled vice-President of the Kansas Miners, addressed the conference. He was elected as a delegate by a meeting of 1,700 Kansas miners, held despite the menaces of the carpet-bagger Lewis officials of the District. Dorchy supported the whole Progressive program and declared that the time has now come when the honest elements in the union must take charge. He said that in his experience it was hard to tell the difference between the union officials and the mine operators, either in their makeup or point of view. He declared that often the employers show more sympathy for the miners' cause than do the latter's own officials.

Conference Against Dual Unionism

The conference sharply condemned dual unionism. Where two years ago at such a meeting the sentiment would have been almost unanimous for a split, such a change of opinion has now taken place that at this conference not a single voice was raised for secession. The conference repudiated "all dual union attempts, whether these are brought about by the Lewis administration striving to drive Progressive elements out of the union, or whether they come from mistaken zealots who believe that the way to strengthen the labor movement is by destroying the old trade unions and starting the whole movement over again on a new basis." In this connection Delegate McDonald of Alberta explained how the Miners' Union in District No. 18 had been practically wrecked and thrown entirely into the hands of the reactionaries by the O. B. U. 1919 secession movement, and how, following the tactics of the T. U. E. L., the militants have returned

again and are now in a controlling position. Delegate from District No. 5 (Pittsburgh) told of the desperate efforts of the reactionaries to force them into a dual movement and how they had successfully defeated them.

In a ringing resolution the Lewis administration was condemned for betraying the striking miners of Somerset and Fayette Counties, Pennsylvania. In the great strike of last year these men, hitherto unorganized and holding the key to the whole situation, struck in splendid fashion. This won the national strike, in so far as it was won. But in the settlements Lewis left these workers entirely out of calculation, great numbers of them still being on strike after 14 months of struggle. One means used to betray them was to sign up operators for only those of their mines that were in recognized union territory, leaving them to operate their others "open shop." This crime was committed against Somerset and Fayette strikers alike and ruined their strike. The conference commended President Brophy of District No. 2 for refusing to be a party to such treachery, the settlement leaving out the Somerset miners in his District having been brought about over his protest by International President Lewis. The conference also demanded that the Fayette miners be given a charter and recognized as District No. 4. The miners of District No. 5 were commended for the splendid fight they made on behalf of the Fayette men.

Lewis' Dis-organizers Repudiated

The conference struck sharply at one of the worst abuses in the Miners' Union, the question of appointed organizers. The International President has the power to appoint organizers and he exercises it liberally. But instead of sending these men to such unorganized territory as Alabama, West Virginia, Colorado, Pennsylvania, etc., where they might be of some real service, he sends them into the various organized districts to play his politics against his enemies. In Illinois, a great district that is 100% organized, he has 50 of such "organizers" solely to fight his arch-enemy, Frank Farrington, President of District No. 12. In District No. 2 he has nine more. They make no effort whatever to help with the Somerset strike, but confine themselves solely to fighting President Brophy in the organized sections of the district. Delegates Hapgood, Foster, and others from District No. 2 outlined the shameful situation. The conference condemned Lewis for these methods and demanded that he either put his disruptive organizers under the control of Brophy or pull them out of the district altogether. As a final remedy for this evil, which is eating at the vitals of the whole organization, the conference proposed that

the appointing of organizers be stopped and that they be made elective by the rank and file.

The miners showed that they were in accord with the general militant movement by adopting a series of resolutions covering many of its phases. Recognition of Soviet Russia was heartily endorsed and demands were made upon the International Union to give this movement its full support. The work of the Friends of Soviet Russia and the Russian-American Industrial Corporation were also endorsed as tending to strengthen the first Workers' Republic. Mother Bloor spoke for the Labor Defense Council. This body was endorsed and a resolution was adopted pledging support to Tom Mooney, Warren K. Billings, Jacob Dolla, Sacco and Vanzetti, Kaplan, Schmidt, and McNamara, the I. W. W. prisoners, and political prisoners generally. The conference condemned the recent raid in which Fred. Merrick and many others were arrested in Pittsburgh and charged with sedition, it being recognized that these men were victimized for their work on behalf of the striking miners.

One of the great problems confronting the conference was to organize the Progressive forces throughout the union, and this was gone into fundamentally. The Illinois delegation submitted a proposition calling for the organization of Progressive committees in all the districts, sub-districts, and local unions. This was adopted, many districts reporting that they had already formed their committees. The International Committee was reconstructed to consist of a Chairman, vice-Chairman, and Secretary-Treasurer to be located in District No. 5 (Pittsburgh), and one national committeeman in each district of the whole organization. Bros. Guiler, Ray and Myerscough were elected to fill the executive positions. Provisions were made to put an organizer in the field as soon as possible to set up the committees in the various localities. In addition an international bulletin will be published in six languages as soon as possible and a wide circulation secured for it. The whole movement will be financed by voluntary contributions of individuals and organizations. Pledges of liberal support were given by the assembled delegates.

The Struggle Ahead

The first conference of the Progressive International Committee of the United Mine Workers of America was a tremendous success. Everybody present recognized that. Now the big job is to carry the message of progress to the broad rank and file. Although this can and will be done successfully the reactionaries will not give up without a bitter fight. Already they are tightening up their lines. President Lewis himself has condemned the movement, saying it was without

the pale of the organization. The hand-picked Lewis officials now at the head of the Kansas miners has expelled several who took part in the Progressive conference that elected Dorchy a delegate to the Pittsburgh gathering. The Ohio District officials have denounced the movement in bitterest terms, calling it an attempt of the Communists to wreck the U. M. W. A. But by far the most unscrupulous thing that has been done was the contemptible frame-up against Alexander Howat. Everybody expected that something would be done to stop his great campaign for reinstatement, and guesses were that anything might be done to him, from murder to kidnapping.

Electrical Workers, Unite!

By Jack Burton

THERE are well over 1,000,000 workers employed in connection with the electrical industry in the United States. In the employ of the commercial and private telegraph companies, according to the *Commercial Telegraphers Journal*, November 1921, there are 350,000. More than 500,000 workers are engaged in operating the telephone and telegraph corporations. There are 250,000 employed in the electrical factories, principally the Bell and General Electric Companies, not included in the previous figures. There are hundreds of thousands engaged in maintenance work in industrial establishments; and in addition are the electrical workers in the building industry, theatrical industry, and mining and steel industries. All sections of this great body of workers, scattered over many industries, are vitally interested in the problems affecting electrical workers as a whole.

The bringing together of the now organized electrical workers is highly necessary if this great field is ever to be unionized. Why is it that today no effective work is being done to organize the workers of the Bell Company, the telegraph companies, the light and power plants, and the big electrical shops, when labor is so scarce and the industry is busy and growing? Overnight a new industry has sprung up, outside the folds of labor organization, the radio industry. In two years over 4,000,000 radio sets have been installed, valued at something more than \$200,000,000. The Bell Company, in changing to the automatic system, is spending millions of dollars and working its factories night and day. Under the Federal Power Act—pet bill of the corporations—construction work on hydro- and super-power plants is being pushed. The time was never so favorable for the building up of a great and powerful union.

But little or nothing is being done. It is ques-

Now the expected frame-up has come to pass and our old friend Aleck has been charged with committing an unnameable statutory offense.

But all such contemptible methods will come to naught. Frame-ups, expulsions, and terrorism cannot stop the progress of the great movement set afoot by the Pittsburgh conference. The progressive rank and file of the miners are sick to death of the corruption and treachery of their reactionary leaders. They are going to clean the organization from top to bottom. The first conference of the Progressive International Committee of the United Mine Workers of America began a new era in the Miners' Union.

tionable if the officers now directing our union could have done a better job toward keeping the workers divided and unorganized if they had tried to do so.

In all the unions containing electrical workers, there is not more than 10% of the number that could and should be organized. This small minority that is in the unions is split up in an illogical and confusing manner that brings no order or strength into the situation. In addition to the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, there are the Commercial Telegraphers, Railway Telegraphers, Railway Signalmen, Theatrical Stage Employees, Electrical Railways, Miners, Butcher Workmen, Engineers, Elevator Constructors, and others, which are in whole or in part composed of electrical workers. Inside the I. B. E. W. there is no system that brings out our potential power.

The biggest problem of organization is, how to get all the electrical workers organized and working together, at the same time that they are united in close solidarity with the other workers in their particular industry. This double solidarity—between all electrical workers of all industries, and between the electrical and other workers in the same industry—demands the formation, through amalgamation and reorganization, of one union for all electrical workers, which is subdivided into *industrial departments* affiliated to the other unions in each industry.

There is no desire to interfere, in proposing to unite all electrical workers in this manner, with the development of industrial unions which include the electrical workers in the different industries. Thus in the railroad industry, where the demand for amalgamation of all the railroad unions into one body covering the entire industry has won over the vast majority of the workers, the electrical workers would go along just the

same as the other unions in the railroad field. Within our Electrical Workers' Union we would have a *railroad industrial department* which would also be affiliated to the amalgamated railroad union. In such a case the dues would be split two ways, and the strike actions would be controlled by the railroad industrial union. But at the same time these electrical workers would be in the closest relation with the electrical workers in the other industries through our Electrical Workers' Union.

The same process would be followed in the other industries. There would thus be a telephone and telegraph department, light and power department, steel industry department, packing-house department, and so on. Each department would be manned by officials elected by and responsible to the electrical workers in that particular industry. This will make it possible to develop a national program, and will prevent officials from playing the corporation game in which, in the past, small groups of organized workers have been used as buffers to prevent effective organization of the unorganized. Each department would have autonomy within the electrical workers' union, for the purpose of working in the closest connection with other unions in the same industry and, when possible, uniting with them in forming industrial unions therein.

In each important industrial center there should also be formed District Councils, composed of all locals of electrical workers in all industries in that District. This will serve to bring about solidarity between sister locals, and prevent members from going from one industry to another and scabbing upon one another. Today electricians are working on jobs vacated by their striking brothers in the railroad industry. Such outrageous conditions must be eliminated; and the District Councils are the best means.

Along with these organizational measures of reconstructing our union, we electrical workers must fight for the establishment of a universal card and initiation fee. This will aid in ousting the dishonest officials who peddle permits and cards, for their own personal gain. Such peddling is often done while members of sister locals are on strike or out of work. An international officer of the I. B. E. W. is now serving a prison sentence for grand larceny, for appropriating funds in connection with such permits and insurance.

Progressive and energetic leadership is required to put these reforms into effect. We are now burdened with many officials who go along with the outgrown and obsolete policies, and even actually work along the lines of the employers. In the building trades of Chicago, for example, the Building Trades' Council is split. The ma-

jority of the workers are opposing the Citizens' Committee, which is trying to make Chicago an "open shop" town, and which is made up of the chief labor baiters of the city. Meanwhile a group of unions is going along with the Citizens' Committee and have their members working under police and gunmen protection—under the leadership of the chief official of Electrical Workers' Local No. 134. And in the service of the big telephone and telegraph corporations, where thousands of workers are looking for a chance to organize, the union is actually standing in the way and by its inaction preventing anything from being done. This reactionary officialdom has assistance from high places; the indictment against some of them, growing out of the exposures before the Dailey Commission, have all been quashed. In another case an official was able to secure two 30-day reprieves on a sentence, to carry him over his convention and re-election, and then receive a pardon after serving four months. Such flagrant connivance with the employers must be rooted out of our Union.

The United Brotherhood of Electrical Workers will soon hold an International Convention. Every militant electrical worker should get busy and raise these issues in his local union. Each union should go on record for the establishment of industrial departments, for district councils, for a universal card and initiation fee, for organization of the unorganized, and for amalgamation with the other trades in the various industries. And then delegates should be elected who are pledged to fight for these vital and necessary measures. A united and militant campaign for these progressive proposals will put them into effect in our organization, and at the same time will bring out the fighting leadership which our union must have if it is to go forward. Against the "open shop" drive of the employers we must, on pain of destruction, reorganize our forces and increase our power. These are the measures that will do the trick. Let every electrical worker get busy at once.

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Otto H. Wangerin, Editor

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Build the Labor Party

THE time is certainly more than ripe for the workers to move forward politically. The non-policy of the Gompers bureaucrats, which for a generation has disfranchised the workers, has proven to the entire labor world its complete bankruptcy; the pussy-footing and side-stepping tactics of the Johnston-Keating-O'Neal group, demonstrated at the Cleveland Conference, has disgusted every red-blooded worker who can see little difference between them and Gompers; nothing now stands in the way of a strong advance of the hundreds of thousands of militants who are demanding the building up of a strong and powerful Labor Party. The hesitant and vacillating elements, the natural saboteurs of such a movement, will go with Gompers and his crew; and, relieved of its excess baggage, the Labor Party can move forward to new conquests, gathering the rank and file of the working class as it goes.

Every progressive and militant union man is glad to know that the political forces of Labor are gradually being brought together. The Convention called by the Farmer-Labor Party for Chicago, July 27-29, to which have been invited all unions, farmers' groups, and workers' political parties, is one sign of the extent to which the idea of unity has developed. It is another promise that the end is in sight of Gompersism; it is a token that the workers are preparing for independent class action in the field of politics.

Just as the method of attaining solidarity in the industrial field is the amalgamation of the existing organizations, and not their destruction in favor of something new, in the same manner the road to political unity of the working class lies in the direction of bringing together the various political groups and labor organizations that now exist. In order for the Labor Party to develop its real power, its doors must be open for all workers to come in. The moment any arbitrary exclusion rule is set up, that

moment solidarity of the workers is denied, and one group is set against the other. A united front of all must be the slogan.

The necessity for building up the Labor Party is a crying one. It has become a matter of life-and-death for the labor movement. The railroad unions, with their ranks decimated and treasuries emptied by the attack of last year in which the powers of Government were thrown against them, can testify to that need of a strong Labor Party. The miners, with the Coronado Case still fresh as part of a generation of legal and illegal suppression, can swell the chorus. The building trades, under the pressure of "open shop" associations combined with local and State Governments, know much about the necessity of political power for the workers. The metal workers, with their unions stamped out through the use of the military and private gunmen, know the benefits to be achieved through political strength. And all down the line, the workers everywhere have been taught bitter lessons by the capitalists, and in every trade union in almost every State in the country, the demand has been growing, and the cry has been swellings "We want the Labor Party!"

An unexampled opportunity is now presented to crystallize and unify all this growing sentiment, to bind it together into an effective fighting force against the exploiters of America. The Trade Union Educational League calls upon every worker and every progressive and revolutionary labor organization, to do all in their power to help build up the Labor Party. Let every one participate in the political deliberations of the workers with the determination to proceed with the up-building of a Party which we can be confident will fight the battles of the workers, a Party in deed as well as name a Labor Party, free from all alliances with the capitalists and fighting for the interests of the working class at every point.

A United Economic Front

By Scott Nearing

THE economic world is so completely out of joint that the producers of food and of manufactured products are not keeping step. Between them, too, there is an ever increasing parasitic army of middlemen who, as salesmen, advertisers, bankers, cost-keepers, speculators, and the like, must be fed, clothed, and housed by the farmers and the industrial workers.

Every civilization has met this same problem, and thus far, none has solved it.

Herders, farmers and artisans have been the back-bone of most great civilizations. Certainly this was true in the United States. It is but a few years since the American people were frontiersmen, farmers and mechanics, living in small towns and working at their trades from day to day. (As lately as 1820 there were only thirteen towns in the United States with a population of 8,000 or more; in 1850 there were but 85 such towns, while in 1920 there were 924).

The last few decades have witnessed a great change from the country to the city. The hard times, beginning with 1920, have hastened the movement until, in 1922, the estimates of the Department of Agriculture show that two millions of people left the farms for the cities.

The population of the United States is growing rapidly, and the number of things that people demand is growing even faster than the population. Between 1850 and 1880, the population doubled. It doubled again between 1880 and 1920. (It was 23 millions in 1850, 50 millions in 1880 and 106 millions in 1920.) There is no practicable way in which to measure the increase of wants, but a study of a grocery store or a hardware store or of the advertising section in a general magazine and a comparison with the situation of a few years ago gives a clue to the present status.

How are these increasing millions to be fed and clothed? How are these growing wants to be supplied? In large measure the materials must originate on the farms. Yet despite this obvious fact, the Department of Agriculture, after a study of the accounts of 6,000 farms for 1922, reports that the average cash return was \$717 per farm for the use of the farm property and for the labor of the farmers and the members of his family. The average investment in these farms was \$16,400. If the farmers had demanded even a modest 5 per cent on their investment (\$820 in this case) the cash return would be wiped out and a deficit created. If they had charged up only three dollars per working

day for their own time (making no mention of the work of wife and children) the cash return would be a minus quantity of \$183. These farms were well above the average. They represent the class of farmers who are relatively well off.

The farmer works hard for his crops, and the manifest inadequacy of the returns is having its effect upon the essentials that the American farmers produce. Take farm animals, for example. The number of milk cows has been increasing slowly—about forty per cent in the past twenty years. But the number of cattle is actually less by three millions than it was in 1903. There were 63 millions of sheep in the United States in 1903. There are 36 millions at the present time. The number of hogs has increased from 47 millions to 57 millions. But during these twenty years there has been an increase of thirty per cent in the population.

The same thing holds true for farm crops. There is less wool clipped now than there was twenty years ago. The wheat yield has increased only slightly. The corn crop is larger, but the cotton crop is smaller.

There, indeed is a short-sighted economy. Since the wealth of a people comes in large part from the land, it is to the land that all must turn for the raw materials upon which life depends. Yet, in the United States, the returns to the farmers are so low that they are shutting up shop, being sold out by the sheriff, losing their land for taxes, deserting their farms and moving to town, where, as artisans they can get at least a living wage, while as traders or speculators they may make a princely income.

The city workers depend upon the supplies that come in daily from the farms. The farmers need the products of factory and mill. The balance between the two must be struck so that each will receive a return that is somewhat commensurate with the energy he devotes to his tasks, and the two cannot fail to agree on the necessity for eliminating the parasitic elements from society.

Here, then, is a real basis for a united economic front. The producers of the United States, whether on the farms or in the shops are all interested in two things—the first is getting a living; the second is getting a better living. In order to achieve this result, there must be, on each side, a thorough understanding of the problems that beset the other side. Furthermore, there must come the recognition of John Smith's old maxim: "If you would have a thing done well, do it yourself."

Metal Trades Amalgamation in Great Britain

By Wm. Ross Knudsen

WHILE recently in England I found it interesting to compare the labor movement and leadership there with our American product. On this side of the water we suffer a tribe of "labor leaders" who lead only in reaction and know little of labor except as the source of their salaries. The British labor leader, on the other hand, while conservative and capitalistic, is of another type altogether—the kind that we submit to in America is totally unknown there and would not be tolerated for a moment.

The metal trades unions of the two countries show this difference clearly. In America it is only the occasional and exceptional official "leader" that advocates amalgamation; while in Great Britain almost all the officials are working to bring about this measure of solidarity. In this country we are struggling hard with a purely rank-and-file movement to get amalgamation adopted in principle by the metal trades; in England the process of actually fusing the unions together is going on and has made great headway.

The Amalgamated Engineering Union is the name of the industrial union of the metal trades in Great Britain. It was formed by an amalgamation of the craft unions of brass finishers, coppersmiths, fitters and millwrights, turners and roll turners, patternmakers, blacksmiths and helpers, machinists, machine joiners, electrical workers and engineers, scientific instrument makers, draftsmen, drop hammerers and forgers, etc. The names of the craft unions that united to form the Amalgamated Engineering Union of 500,000 members are:

Amalgamated Society of Engineers,
 United Machine Workers Association,
 United Patternmakers Association,
 United Kingdom Society of Amalgamated Smiths and Strikers,
 Amalgamated Society of General Toolmakers, Engineers and Mechanics,
 Steam Engine Makers' Society,
 Electrical Trades Union,
 Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draftsmen,
 North of England Brass Molders' Trades and Benefit Society,
 East of Scotland Brassfounders' Society,
 National Society of Brass Workers and Metal Mechanics,
 Associated Brass Founders, Turners, Fitters, Finishers, and Coppersmiths' Society,
 Amalgamated Instrument Makers' Society,

North of England Brass Turners, Fitters, and Finishers' Society,
 Amalgamated Society of Scale, Beam, and Weighing Machine Makers,
 Dublin Brass Founders and Finishers' Society,
 London United Brass Founders' Society.

There are still a number of fairly large organizations that are still outside, of which the following are some of the most important:

Associated Blacksmiths and Iron Workers, 22,000 members,
 Boilermakers and Iron and Steel Shipbuilders' Society, 100,000 members,
 National Union of Foundry Workers, 55,000 members.

One organization of blacksmiths has joined the Amalgamated Union; all of the brass molders are in. There are several small unions of a local scope that are still outside.

The proportion of trade unionists to the number of workers employed is high. Among the skilled trades a non-unionist is a rarity. The innumerable divisions into crafts, skilled, and unskilled, and overlapping unions, which still exists in America, are in Britain either gone or fast being wiped out.

Perhaps the principal obstacle to the completion of the British amalgamation in the metal industry is the law regulating such matters. Passed in 1876, this antiquated measure is designed to prevent the workers from getting together. It provides that half of the members of the union must vote and the amalgamation project must receive a majority of 20% or more. When we remember that the most popular balloting in American unions rarely exceed 12 or 15% of the membership, it will be understood what a handicap the English law is to the amalgamationists.

In spite of this tremendous obstacle of the British law, the metal trades workers are surely achieving unity. If they can be so successful, surely we in America can succeed when our principal opposition is the windy bellowing of Gompers and the echo from the other bureaucrats.

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

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

Organize the Unorganized

By Wm. Z. Foster

THE greatest and most pressing task now confronting the working class of America is the organization of the many millions of unorganized toilers in the industries. As things now stand the unions, A. F. of L. and independents together, comprise not more than 3,500,000 members out of a total of at least 25,000,000 eligible to join. Organized Labor controls only the barest fringe of the working class, the rest are helpless in the grasp of the exploiters. The great steel, textile, automobile, meat packing, rubber, metal mining, lumber, and general manufacturing industries are either completely unorganized or possess only the weakest and most fragmentary unions. Even in those industries where Labor has some strength, such as coal mining, printing, building, railroading, general transport, clothing, leather, amusements, etc., the degree of unionism in no case exceeds 50%, and in most instances it is far less. This is an impossible situation. The handful of organized workers cannot accomplish anything substantial with such a gigantic army of unorganized arrayed against them. The further progress of the American working class, politically as well as industrially, depends upon the organization of the vast masses of unorganized workers into the trade unions.

An Opportunity and a Warning

The present time presents an exceptionally favorable opportunity to accomplish this great and indispensable task of organization. Labor is in big demand in nearly all the industries. The workers are in a militant mood and, if approached right, will organize readily. A well-organized campaign would sweep millions of them into the unions. But the present situation is not only a golden opportunity; it is also a warning. If Labor neglects this splendid chance to organize the unorganized it will pay dearly for it in the near future. Our prevailing prosperity is only a passing thing. It cannot last long. A year or two at the utmost is its limit. Then, as sure as fate, will come one of the worst periods of depression that this or any country has ever seen. All signs are pointing that way. And when the inevitable industrial breakdown comes woe betide Labor if it has not had the intelligence and initiative to strengthen its lines by organizing the unorganized. The unions will be crushed. The employers, balked for the moment in their "open shop"

drive by the wave of "prosperity," will renew their offensive with redoubled vigor and will not rest content until they have smashed the backbone of the trade union movement. At its peril will Organized Labor neglect the present opportunity to organize the unorganized.

In this critical situation what are the trade union leaders doing to solve the great problem of organization? Practically nothing. They are drifting with the stream, little reckoning of the cataract ahead. As for the general officers of the American Federation of Labor, the ones who should take the lead in this situation, they exhibit their usual somnolent, paralytic front of stupid indifference. They let slip the golden opportunity of the war time without developing a general plan of organization or even coming to realize that one was necessary, so naturally nothing may be expected from them now. They and their alleged organizers are too busy playing politics and fighting "reds." They are worrying more about disciplining the Seattle Central Labor Council for its progressive stand than they are about organizing the oppressed slaves of the Steel Trust.

The Official Disorganizers

In the various industries the situation is not much better. With the exception of the clothing trades unions and the independents, little is being done. The leaders quite generally share the inertia and indifference characteristic of the A. F. of L. general office. In the coal mining industry the best use John L. Lewis can find for his organizers is to send them into the organized districts to play politics against officials who refuse to do his autocratic bidding. Ignoring the fact that the miners will surely have to make a desperate fight, nationally, within the next year or two to preserve their union and the advantages they have won through years of bitter struggle, he completely neglects the urgent task of organizing the hundreds of thousands of unorganized miners in the Alabama, Colorado, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and other districts. In the steel industry the situation is even worse. There is the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, with only 8,000 members out of some 500,000 in the industry. At its head stands "Grandma" Mike Tighe. So incapable and timid that he could not keep the steel workers organized even if a 100% organization were presented to him on a silver platter,

all he can do in the present situation is to cringe before the autocratic steel barons to assure and re-assure the world that his organization is the most conservative and respectable in the United States. Not a hand does he turn to organize the unorganized. Meanwhile the 12-hour day prevails, to the eternal disgrace of Organized Labor. On the railroads the same stagnation exists. Demoralized by the fatal shopmen's strike, the leaders, instead of trying militantly to recover the lost ground, are busy violating their union constitutions and employing all sorts of desperate schemes to block the movement to amalgamate all the unions into one industrial body. In the other industries similar conditions prevail. The leaders are doing nothing to organize the workers.

There must be an end put to this situation. The labor movement must be roused to a realization of its duty and opportunity in the present period of "prosperity." This means that the militants must become active everywhere. They must build fires under the reactionary leaders and insist that a great campaign of organization be started. If left to their own devices these leaders will do nothing. They are hopelessly lost in the enervating swamp of Gompersism. There is not a breath of life or progress in them. They must be shocked into action. "Organize the unorganized," should be the slogan of every militant. The question should be raised in every local union, central body, state federation, and international union. Only in this way can some headway be made. Our leaders must be compelled to organize the masses. The compulsion must come from the militants, and if it is not forthcoming nothing will be accomplished.

There Must Be a New Deal

To build up the unions more is necessary than simply to whip up the unorganized masses to the tune of the old slogans. This is because the army of non-union workers have lost faith in craft unionism. They can see no sense in joining organizations which have proved incapable of withstanding the "open shop" drive. The railroad shopmen, for example, will never come back to their old unions, isolated as they are, since they have seen these organizations topple like a house of cards even though they were practically 100% organized. They have no desire to repeat such an experience. And the same thing holds true in most of the industries. Craft unionism has lost prestige irretrievably. It can never again rally the workers. There must be a new deal all around. Something has to be done

to re-awaken the workers' hope and enthusiasm, killed by craft union failures. This means that we must raise the banner of industrial unionism, to be achieved through amalgamation. We must approach the workers with a newer and more powerful form of organization. Then, with hope revived, they will come to us in masses. Seeing another chance to effectively combat their oppressors, they will rally again. And they never will rally unless the newer form of organization is offered them. "Amalgamation and an organization drive," that is the slogan that fits our present needs. The whole labor movement should proceed on that basis: on the one hand to re-organize the craft unions into industrial organizations, and on the other, to sweep the masses into the re-organized unions.

"Amalgamation and an Organization Campaign"

Considering the reactionary type of our trade union leadership, it seems a far-fetched and impossible proposal to change the craft unions into industrial organizations and to put on a vigorous organization drive. Yet every intelligent worker knows that this is what must be done if the problem of organizing the unorganized is to be solved. In fact, it is exactly the plan that is being followed in England. In that country the leaders are conservative enough, God knows, but they have at least enough gumption to make some pretense of meeting the situation. The General Council of the Trade Union Congress (which is roughly equivalent to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.) is conducting a double campaign of amalgamation and organization. It is at once holding amalgamation conferences between the unions in all the important industries and it is carrying on a nation-wide "Back to the Unions" drive in all the big industrial centers. Much progress is being achieved in both directions. It is exactly this kind of movement that is needed in America, only prosecuted more vigorously. What we need and must have is, on the one hand, amalgamation, and on the other hand, a great organization drive in all the industries. When will our reactionary leaders realize this patent fact? To wake them up and to stimulate organized Labor into undertaking this indispensable double campaign of amalgamation and organization is now the greatest task confronting the militants. The organization of the unorganized is the supreme problem of our times. Upon its solution depends the welfare, if not the actual life of the whole labor movement.

Unemployment and the Coal Miners

By Freeman Thompson

DURING the war period this country saw the number of coal mines doubled, with an enormous increase in the number of miners. Today there are approximately 11,200 mines and 1,000,000 miners, capable of producing 850,000,000 tons of coal annually. The normal demand for coal ranges from 300,000,000 to 500,000,000 tons per year, according to industrial conditions. The result of this lop-sided condition of the industry is unemployment or partial unemployment for hundreds of thousands of miners.

Is there any likelihood of the industries of America increasing their demand for coal enough to put our miners back to work on the regular 8-hour day, 300 days per year, or 2,400 working hours, which is now necessary to get a decent livelihood? Will the growing demands of transportation and machinery get us back to work again?

No. For each year the demand for new sources of power is being met, not with coal, but with oil, gasoline, and hydro-electric plants. These relatively new drivers of American machinery are slowly eating the heart out of the coal industry. And the latter is burdened with exorbitant freight rates, profit-grabbing coal barons, and profiteers, exploiting the miners and fleecing the public.

Turn your eyes to the great Keokuk dam, witness the high tension wires carrying the electric power hundreds of miles, where it drives the great slave of tomorrow, the "Machine," tirelessly and without ceasing. Turn your eyes to Niagara Falls, with only a portion of that great power harnessed, and see the marvels accomplished there. Write to Henry Ford and ask how the new-found force is revolutionizing his industry. See Steinmetz, the great electrical wizard, and get his ideas of the future of this great revolutionary power in modern life. Then look about you at the tractors, trucks, automobiles, flying machines, and the innumerable machines which feed upon gas and oil. See the greatest locomotives and steamships—"oil burners!"

Do we want to destroy this achievement? No! But it is creating a problem of life-and-death for the coal miners. What are we going to do with employment for little more than half of our numbers? It has been said by Ellis Searles, editor of the Mine Workers Journal, Frank Farrington of the Illinois Miners, and Mr. Peabody, conspicuous Coal Operator, operating 36 mines with annual capacity of 18,000,000 tons, among others, that we have fifty per cent too many coal mines and coal miners.

What solution do these men suggest? Editor Searles suggests that the surplus miners go back to the farm. With the farming industry bankrupt and hundreds of thousands of farmers deserting to the cities each year because they cannot make a living though already established on the land, this is indeed an astonishing suggestion. And even if the farming conditions were favorable, which they are not, how many miners could find a farm to go to?

In reply to a letter asking what could be done to get an equal division of work among the miners of Illinois, Frank Farrington said: "For the life of me I have nothing to offer." This means only to let the operators continue the present game, closing down mines and laying off men to suit their whim.

Mr. Peabody said let the big corporations compete the little ones out of business. Well, no miner will weep any tears about what happens to the little labor skinnners, but we are deeply concerned about what will happen to the fifty per cent of the coal miners who will lose their jobs when the fifty per cent of the mining companies go into bankruptcy. So that is no solution to our problem.

But if the eminent Searles, Farrington, Peabody, et al, are dumbfounded by the problem, that does not mean there is no way out. The members of the United Mine Workers must and will tackle it, and solve it. You, the coal miner, do you know that if the work were properly and equally divided among all the miners, there would be about 16 hours work per week for each? And do you know further, that you produce nearly four times as much as any other coal miners in the world in the same working time, so that 16 hours per week should be the basis of the work day and should pay a living wage? And is it not as plain as day that the only way we can escape unemployment, starvation, competition for jobs, and eventual destruction of our organization, is to force this equal division of work and keep the earnings of the miners up to at least the present level?

There are obstacles to overcome before we can accomplish this task. We must complete the organization of the miners, and we must hook up closer with the rest of the labor movement, particularly with the railroad workers. Today when we confront a struggle with the coal barons we find they have 120,000,000 tons of coal piled up on the surface; and in addition 290,000 miners still unorganized, capable of producing 275,000,-

000 tons of coal per year. This vast tonnage constitutes four-fifths of the nation's needs for a whole year. The partially organized miners, standing alone, find this a most difficult and perplexing situation.

Organization of the unorganized miners is the first step to meet the need. All the so-called 'organizers' who today spend their time running around the well-organized fields building political fences, if put to work on a real organizing campaign and told to deliver the goods or get off the pay-roll, could soon solve this part of the problem. To get this done demands new blood in our district and national administrations.

The second step is alliance with the railroad workers. If the miners and railroaders would only get together and talk it over, they would immediately understand how to enor-

mously increase the power of each. A fighting alliance would be set up, in which the miner would pledge; "Not a pound of union-mined coal to make scab steam while the railroad companies refuse to settle satisfactorily with the railroad workers;" and the railroad workers would say: "We will not haul a single scab into a coal mine, nor a pound of coal to market, while the coal operators refuse to meet the demands of the miners."

What do you think the results of this would be? There can be no doubt that this is the course to take, if we want to cure the evils in the mining industry. The conditions now stifling the mine workers and stunting the generations that are to follow should swing all miners into a great movement for these measures, which lead directly to social ownership and workers' control of the mining industry.

Another "Red Plot" Exposed

By M. P. Bales

WILLY, wicked, and vicious, the plotters of destruction of our capitalist system, inscrutably insinuating their damnable doctrines of barbaric bolshevism through the very fabric of American life, have finally extended the ramifications of their subtle sedition into the most sacred institutions and high places. With devilish deception they have decoyed prominent figures in the Church into actually standing for free speech for revolutionists. Their cunning concoctions have corrupted some of our leading politicians, so much so that there is a demand in Congress for the recognition of Soviet Russia. All of this is well known, and has been publicly stated time and again by our official saviour and Red-hound, William J. Burns.

If it were but to re-state such orthodox matters, however, this would not be written. We must go farther than Mr. Burns. Indeed, although it sears our soul to say it, we must charge Mr. Burns with gross neglect of duty, not only in failing to uncover the most insidious and dangerous plot of all, but in himself falling victim to fiendish snares laid by the agents of Lenin.

This is a serious charge and must be backed up with the most responsible witnesses and irrefutable evidence. We propose to substantiate the charge in the most complete manner possible. Here is the indictment:

1. We charge that the "reds" have already captured the labor movement and placed their "master-mind" at the head of it.

2. That this *coup d'etat* was carried out with the active assistance of Wm. J. Burns, the De-

partment of Justice, and the forces of Government generally.

3. That this was made possible by the most cleverly conceived campaign of camouflaged communism ever concocted.

Let us waste no time. Without further ado we pull back the curtain and expose to public view the leader of the "reds" in America. It is none other than Samuel Gompers!

Softly, softly! Don't get excited! We ask no credence for our word in this matter. The credit for exposing this astounding condition belongs not to us, but to a most estimable and respectable gentleman, whose word none can doubt, William English Walling. Here is the evidence as published by that unquestioned authority in the New York Evening Post:

"Gompers rejects theoretical radicalism, but he scarcely assigns a conservative role to organized labor. He says: "The true object of the labor movement is the seeking of a rational method by which these (social) wrongs may be righted.

. . . Moving step by step, trade unionism contains within itself, as a movement and as a mechanism, the possibilities for establishing whatever social institutions the future shall develop for the workers as the predestined universal element in control of society" (Soviets).

"The so-called conservative labor leader is more advanced than the radical intellectual in his conception of "the class struggle."

"Because the workers are determined to demand a greater and ever greater share in the general product, the economic interests of these

two are not harmonious," says Gompers. Not only is labor's share to become constantly greater and the employer's share constantly smaller, but Gompers is ready for the day when profits will be "entirely eliminated." Gompers and Woll have recently stated their belief that if thwarted along a conservative course, labor would take the revolutionary. "If business and industry do not collaborate with Labor they will drive Labor to wrest from them, by revolutionary methods, a new order in industry."

This confession from one who has, in the past, been a member of the "inner circle" establishes the first point in our indictment. By direct quotation from Mr. Gompers' writings and speeches, Walling has displayed the true character as a blazing torch of revolution of this heretofore loved and respected companion of the gentlemen of the Civic Federation.

Point two of our indictment, that Burns and the Government were hoodwinked into assisting this flaming firebrand to consolidate his power in the labor movement, scarcely needs documentation. But to complete the record we will cite the statement made by Wm. J. Burns in the Atlantic City Convention of bankers and business men, to effect that he and Mr. Gompers, although not yet sleeping upon the same pillow, were co-operating very closely. He said that Gompers was "all right." On the strength of such recommendation as this the great daily press of the country has been thrown wide open to Gompers for the broadcasting of all the propaganda which that worthy wishes to put forth. Thousands of our best militant capitalists have been fooled in the same manner, so we cannot be too hard on Mr. Burns for falling a victim. Even Judge Gary, the high-priest of the "open shop," has dined amicably with Gompers, never suspecting the true nature of that incendiary apostle of chaos.

After this startling revelation of the true inwardness of things, an exposure more far-reaching and world-shaking than even that of the great Whitney, every intelligent reader will have anticipated the details of Point three of the indictment. Gompers, as exposed by Walling, is shown to have been one of the original reds. While he and Foster were serving together on the Steel Committee, Gompers and his trusted lieutenant concocted the scheme to establish a Soviet Government in America. Foster was to go to Moscow and secure the co-operation of Lenin, while Gompers was to seduce Burns, Borah, and Lafollette in Washington. To lend verisimilitude to the camouflaged sedition, Foster and Gompers were to stage a great sham-battle. Immediately Burns

and Gary, and all they stand for, would rally to Gompers and throw immense power into the hands of that sly subverter of civilization. The plot calculated that by July 4th, 1923, the situation would be ripe for Mr. Gompers to throw off his cloak, issue a manifesto to an unexpectant world, call a general strike, and move into the White House, deposing President Harding, and installing the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in the place of the Cabinet, calling for the assembling of the first congress of the American Soviets for Labor Day.

Who can doubt that but for the timely and courageous revelations of William English Walling, this greatest conspiracy in the history of the world would have been successful? Even now the danger is not entirely over. Now that they stand revealed to the world, the conspirators may deny the plot and postpone its execution. But every red-blooded, 100% American will grasp his rifle and stand guard over the precious institutions of capitalism on this Fourth of July and be prepared to resist to the bitter end should Gompers attempt to carry out his compact with Lenin.

In the meantime I have written to Walling, proposing that he join me in establishing an American Defense Society and solicit membership of all the millionaires in America at a fee of \$100,000. each. There is no need for any zealous plutocrat to await the formal announcement of our organization. Send in your check today.

THE GOVERNMENT-STRIKEBREAKER*

HERE is a book which fills a gap in the literature of the labor movement. Dealing entirely with the American situation, it takes up, phase after phase, the role of the Government in the struggle between the workers and their exploiters. The too-familiar style of pamphleteering, consisting of generalizations and sentimentalities, is entirely absent in Lovestone's work. Concisely, and step by step, he has built up his argument and exposition from official documents and authoritative statements. No point is left unsupported by citation to original sources, and the whole is brought together into the most complete picture yet drawn of the Government in its classic role of Strikebreaker. Lovestone has made a permanent contribution to the library of the student of the trade union movement.

Wm. Z. Foster.

* The Government-Strikebreaker, by Jay Lovestone, published by the Workers Party of America, New York. Cloth, 368 pages, \$1.50.

Lessons of the Marine Strike

By George Hardy

MILITANCY of the workers is an accelerating force. The recent marine strike of the I. W. W. shows this clearly. The ship-owners partly conceded the strikers demands because they felt that the national strike and mass-tactics used might take definite root in the minds of marine workers. Also an increase in wages and better working conditions were long overdue. Hence the concession of a 15% increase, the three-watch system at sea, and the 8-hour day in port. The release of political prisoners, though a proper demand, was not obtained.

The strike was marked with the confusion existing in the industry. Andy Fureseth, president of the International Seamen's Union, split his organization in two by his twaddle to the United States Shipping Board urging "an all-American marine." This disgusted the foreign-born workers who make up the bulk of the industry. They quit the union. Fureseth also depended upon the Seamen's Bill, and tried to use the capitalist courts to enforce it instead of depending upon economic power and organization, and thus developing the fighting spirit of the seamen. The I. W. W. strike had its aggressive features. Public mass meetings were held in defiance of the authorities, and mass-picketing resulted in hundreds of arrests. The Seamen signed on as potential scabs, but never sailed in the ships. These facts made a national issue of the strike.

The utter lack of machinery to handle the strike was one of the outstanding failures. There was no national strike committee, but the local committees were left to settle at the various ports as best they could. This prevented a national settlement. Strikes of seafarers must be settled nationally, for ships of all companies are in many different ports when national strikes occur. The International Seamen's Union did not call a strike. Instead they opened up negotiations with the United States Shipping Board, stealing the thunder of the I. W. W., and by seeking to discredit the radicals in the eyes of the Shipping Board thus regain lost prestige. However, these "good-boy" tactics were of no avail, for the shipowners recognized only power.

Longshoremen's Convention and Amalgamation

At the Boston Convention of the International Longshoremen's Association, which was convened before the end of the Seamen's strike, no action was taken to prevent their members handling

cargoes at the many ports affected. The rank and file in San Pedro, however, showed their class-solidarity by refusing to scab upon their fellow workers even though they might not agree with them in principle. The united front of all the marine workers of this port was an example to be emulated throughout the industry.

An amalgamation resolution which was submitted to the I. L. A. Convention by a few progressive delegates, was carefully pigeonholed by the resolutions committee which recommended turning the matter over for settlement to the incoming Executive Committee. President Chlopek had written into his report a recommendation for a working agreement with the other marine unions, qualifying his desire with the words "or amalgamation." But when he learned the interpretation that was put upon this term he immediately rose and withdrew his "radical statement." To hear that amalgamation meant one industrial union for all workers in the industry, one set of officials, one constitution, one journal, one treasury, one convention, and one point of view for the whole industry, was too much for him. For a moment, due to his ignorance, he almost placed himself in the camp of those who are the most energetic opponents of Samuel Gompers, and the hope of the American labor movement. Such an attitude would not coincide with the welcome given the convention by the capitalist Governor of the State, the Mayor of Boston, and the Assistant Warden of the Deer Island Prison. So the Convention closed without any real progress being made, for the recommendation for a Marine Trades Department, within the A. F. of L., will not help marine workers a particle.

The Power of the Ship Owners

Against our disjointed craft unions and sectarian industrial unions stand the most closely allied group of employers in America. They represent the greatest industrial magnates in the world. The American International Corporation operates 125 ships. On its directory are the Armours of the Meat Trust, Rockefellers of the Oil Trust, Stillman of the Financial Trust, Coffin of the Electrical Trust, and various representatives of the Steel Trust, and many other equally powerful groups that dominate the economic and political life of the whole nation. This corporation holds 20% of the securities of the International Mercantile Marine Co., which operates 118 ships. They also control the American In-

ternational Shipbuilding Corporation, which was many times charged with grafting enormous sums of the \$200,000,000. they extorted from the Government to build the Hog Island Shipyards. They also own shares in the United Fruit Co., and are deeply interested in the Pacific Mail Steamship Co., and the Grace and Dollar Lines, as well as being allied with some of the largest foreign steamship lines in the world. The United States Shipping Board, according to recent figures, employs approximately 35,000 workers. And the American Steamship Owners Association—the one big industrial union of ship owners—unites all ship owners against our fragmentary and divided unions. To win against this powerful and unscrupulous combination of Capital cannot be done unless we unite our forces.

Let Experience be our Teacher

Out of the folly of divisions has arisen a new movement. The strike brought out prominently the need for a rank and file organization, so a group of militants came together from the various marine organizations and formed the International Marine Workers Amalgamation Committee. They saw that unless we unite our divided forces, that the slogan "a strike is never lost" cannot be applied even to the recent struggle, even though we have gained a little more wages and shorter hours, for which the I. W. W. can be given the credit due for precipitating the action. But we must not forget that high wages ashore had more to do with changed ratings and changed conditions than did the strike itself. Therefore we must recognize that if we do not get more solidarity by building up a powerful industrial union of the Marine Workers, it will be impossible to hold the concessions granted.

The old slogan "we learn by doing" must be made a reality. We must prepare to combat the formation of a Marine Trades Department in favor of an amalgamated marine workers union, which will take in all the existing organizations, independent and A. F. of L. Experience has shown us that the metal, building, railroad, and printing trades federations along similar lines, have not stopped the workers from scabbing upon each other. The employers can play one craft against another just as they did before departments existed, because all the crafts retain their autonomy to settle their own grievances irrespective of their sister unions. Only in an amalgamated union can we secure the necessary united and centralized organization. Through amalgamation we will have a solid front of the marine workers facing the employers. Loyalty to all workers in the industry, no matter to what section they belong, would thus be achieved. This is the only way to organize against the shipping

trust as we have learned through bitter experience.

International Unionism Our Aim

The necessity for solidarity among marine workers is not only national but international in scope. Our industrial union must stretch all over the world so as to be able to combat Organized Capital in every port. Until within the past few years the organization that attempted to fulfill this mission was the International Transport Workers' Federation of Amsterdam. But it was cursed with the weakness and conservatism of the Amsterdammers generally. Hence with the organization of the Transport Section of the Red International of Labor Unions, one organization after another quit the I. T. F. and joined the R. I. L. U. Transport Section, until now the latter body is almost numerically equal to the I. T. F. The latest evidence of its strength was given at the Conference in Berlin, May 23-24, when the stiff-necked leaders of the I. T. F. were finally brought to agree to set up a worldwide united front of transport workers against war and fascism. This Conference may blaze the way for a united front all along the line between the revolutionary workers united in the R. I. L. U. and the conservative organizations of the Amsterdam International.

The R. I. L. U. Transport Section is a militant fighting body. It proposes to unite internationally all marine workers on an industrial scale. Once it gains control there will be an end put to international scabbing. It takes up every fight of the workers, no matter how small or in what country. It carries on revolutionary propaganda and mobilizes the workers for the final struggle. Its aim is an International Union of Seamen, within an all-inclusive United Transport Workers' International. Amalgamation of our unions, abandoning divisions and secessions as part of the past history of Labor, must be our objective locally, nationally, and internationally, for defeat lies in division and success in solidarity.

THE LABOR HERALD for August will carry a report and analysis of the July 3rd Convention called by the Farmer-Labor Party to consider the problem of unifying the political forces of the working-class.

Another feature will be the story of the "Metallarbeiterverband," the great Industrial Union of Metal Workers of Germany written by Paul Hoyer of Berlin.

Live and important articles will cover the latest developments in the ever-growing Left Wing of the American Labor Movement.

Through the Russian Clothing Factories

By Rose Wortis

WE saw the clothing factories of the Workers' Republic during the time of the Second World Congress of the Red International. Our group consisted of clothing workers from all over the world. With us was the secretary of the clothing workers' union of France (C. G. T. U.), the secretary of the Lithuanian clothing workers, one delegate each from Germany, Jugoslavia, Bulgaria, Java, the T. U. E. L. of America, and the secretary of the All-Russian Union of Needle Workers.

Our tour began with the Aboromiaya, an old-fashioned military factory, which evidently had been built without any concern for the health of the workers that were to spend the best part of their lives there. It is old-fashioned in structure as well as equipment. The ceiling is low, ventilation and light very poor. Cutting of heavy material for military clothing is being done by hand. Special machines are not to be found. Pressing is being done by iron heated on a large stove, etc. By comparing this factory to the new ones organized since the revolution, the workers measure progress they have made in reorganizing the industry. How is it that this factory, which is admitted by all to be unfit as a factory, is operated at full speed in a country, where the government is in the hands of the workers and is greatly concerned about their welfare? The answer is simple. A building could be found easily enough, but the transfer of the old worn out machinery to a new building would result in a great loss of machinery which can not be substituted at the present time in Russia.

In spite of the oldness of the factory the new spirit has penetrated even these thick walls. The house which in the days of old, had been occupied by the director of the factory, has now been converted into a club house where the workers gather during lunch hour to read news papers and discuss the events of the day.

After work hours the club house is used for educational purposes such as reading, dramatic and music circles, etc. A great deal of attention is being devoted to the liquidation of illiteracy amongst the workers of this factory, many of whom are village women, who had been drawn into industry during the war. The educational director who is at the same time a member of the shop committee, related with pride that during the last six months almost every worker in the factory has learned how to read.

Another part of the building was occupied by a nursery organized and supported by the factory

administration; such nurseries are to be found in every factory where women workers are employed. It is difficult to describe the feelings that surged through me as I watched the little tots joyfully running about under the tender care of a nurse and smiling doctor. The latter, a man of about forty, had for years been active in the revolutionary movement, and is now devoting special care to these nurseries. He seemed to take extreme joy in explaining the diet of the children. It was touching indeed to see little babes bubbling with new life, almost in the very midst of these dreary factory walls.

When leaving this nursery, I thought of the many mothers in "The Land of the Free" who are compelled to leave their infants under the care of a younger child, or in one of the charitable nurseries, where both mother and child are held in contempt. I also thought of the almost divine courage and idealism of the Russian people, who in the midst of such great difficulties as they are now confronted with in trying to rebuild the shattered structure of their economic life, never fail to turn their eyes to the future. If they had been able to accomplish so much while being compelled to fight the whole world single handed, how much more would they have accomplished, had they been given a helping hand by other nations, or at least left in peace to build their new life as they best saw fit.

From the Aboromiaya, we went to factory No. 16, a large building occupying a square block. It looked more like an office building than a factory. It was a white goods and ladies dress factory now running at full speed. To a person not acquainted with the needle industry, it might have made the impression of a fully equipped factory, but the trained eye of a needle worker would immediately notice that in this factory too-thick flannel was being cut with great difficulty by hand. The sewing machines, though in running order, are all in need of repairs which can not be done in Russia as yet.

The manager, a young woman of about thirty, slender, with bright dark eyes that seemed to look nowhere and see everything, took us through the factory. This young woman the same as many other workers of the trade had known other service. During the height of the civil war many of these young women forgot their sex and fought side by side with their men comrades, to drive back the white guards supported by the reactionaries of the world. She explained the difficulties under which they had worked to raise

the factory to its present condition. In parting she said "comrades we shall not reproach you for the little help you have given us in the past, but we appeal to you to do your best in helping us to build our industry, so that we may not be compelled to sew clothing for our great nation with our bare fingers."

The next factory we visited was the Orituaya, or Experimental factory, under the directorship of Comrade Bograchoff, who had worked in the mens' clothing industry in Cleveland and is very well known amongst the workers of that city. Having been a political exile from Russia he returned at the first news of the revolution and has been in active service since. He is a man of short stature, black smiling eyes that express both intelligence and good humor. He more than any other comrade is responsible for the organizing of the clothing trust, which is considered one of the best industrial institutions amongst the government trusts.

Beginning his work in Petrograd, he has now been transferred to Moscow where he is serving as chairman of the trust as well as director of the Orituaya factory. The factory is fully equipped with modern machinery, thanks to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, who have presented it with a set of gas irons and other machines. It is a modern factory in the real sense of the word. The building had been intended as a store house, but had never been used at all until taken possession of by the Clothing Trust. It is spacious, light, clean and generally very pleasant. Many of our American workers would consider themselves fortunate to secure employment in a factory with such pleasant surroundings. It is the direct antithesis of the Aboromiaya.

This factory is attempting to establish the industry on a scientific basis. They produce models (samples), figure out the amount of material necessary for every style of garment, the amount of labor, the intensity of labor, the arrangement of the pattern, etc. The results obtained are printed in diagram and circulated through every government factory in the country.

We came to the factory unexpectedly at closing time. However, in Russia the workers do not consider the factory a prison in which they are compelled to spend 8 hours daily to earn their means of existence. Neither is there any need for imposing fines on the workers for not attending shop meetings, since all take a lively interest in the affairs of the administration which reports regularly on the conditions of the factory as well as the affairs of the workers. It is interesting indeed for an American worker to listen to a report of a manager to a shop meeting and to the discussion which follows, the workers in

many instances expressing severe criticism about the inefficiency of the management.

The large hall, which during lunch hour is used as a restaurant, and under the able management of Bograchoff can afford to sell the workers a good meal at a quarter of the regular price, is arranged as an auditorium, where this particular evening some lecture on history was to take place. The main office was now occupied by the dramatic club rehearsing one of Ostrowskys plays under the direction of one of the best artists of the Moscow Art Theatre. From a distant corner where the show room is situated could be heard the voices of singing men and women of the music club. When all available rooms had been occupied the education member of the shop committee politely asked us to vacate the room where we had been received by the director, for the Marxian Club was scheduled to meet in that room, the comrades had already been waiting for about 15 minutes. In addition to all these activities there is also a class in physical training. The Russians have learned to appreciate the value of physical strength. They attribute a great part of their ability to survive the terrible famine, to their sound physical make up. They are by no means one sided in their cultural development.

My visits through the clothing and other factories has convinced me that the Russian workers have seriously taken up the work of reconstruction. It is true there is still a great deal of inefficiency, but they are learning gradually, painful though it may be. It is true the conditions of the workers are as yet far from ideal, but there is one difference between the Russian and other European workers. They are now looking forward to better times. The improvement gained during the last year justifies such optimism.

The Russians have worked and are working under unprecedented difficulties. Are we, the Needle Workers of America going to remain indifferent to their hardship? The best way of assisting the reconstruction of the Russian Clothing Industry, is to support the Russian-American Industrial Corporation. Not a single worker to whom the Russian revolution is dear and who sees in Russia the hope of a better world to come, must remain without a bond from the Russian-American Industrial Corporation.

Particularly is this appeal addressed to the workers of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. We must exert ourselves to the utmost to redeem the promises made and broken by our former President to the Russian Needle Workers during the period of their greatest distress. We can do this by giving enthusiastic and effective support to the Russian-American Industrial Corporation.

What About Rubber?

By H. E. Keas

THESE are stirring times in the rubber industry, times of rapid progress and change calling for initiative, imagination, foresight, knowledge, judgment and poise on the part of all engaged in it. Conditions and methods no sooner become established than they are revolutionized by altered conditions of supply and demand, improved processes and machinery, and the application of rubber to new uses." So reads the opening statement on the "publicity page" of the *India Rubber World*, for May, 1923. And the rubber barons, for whom this journal speaks, may well call these stirring times, especially as regards the profit side of the ledger. The golden pots at the end of the rubber rainbow are open for them. But what this means for the thousands of workers employed in the "gum shops" is a vastly different story.

A billion dollar industry! So reports A. L. Viles, General Manager of the Rubber Association of America, Inc., the "One Big Union" of the rubber barons, in a statement to the trade issued from New York, April 2:

"Statistics based upon reports to the Rubber Association from manufacturers in this country show that the sales value of rubber products in 1922 amounted to \$906,178,000. This volume of business indicates not only the remarkable recuperation of the rubber industry since the nation-wide depression of 1920-1921 but further the great development and importance of the industry today."

Rubber Barons' Strong Organization

In line with the general upward curve of business conditions, a comparison of the two six months' periods of 1922 shows an increase in the number of workers employed in this industry from 110,104 to 146,330 and an increase in sales of approximately \$90,000,000. And then, with unprecedented profits in sight, living in the luxury the ancient kings of Babylon, Greece or Rome never knew, these rubber barons in their West Hill palaces in Akron, Ohio and other rubber centers have not only the unmitigated gall to cut the wage rates of the workers slaving for them, but threaten further cuts and offer them — a bonus! Speed, evermore speed! For more production and greater profits! Speed-up until the workers break under the terrific strain—to fill the coffers of their masters.

These rubber barons are no pikers when it comes to organization. Their "Rubber Association of America" is so highly departmentalized

and so efficiently supplied with committees that it would warm the heart of the most enthusiastic industrial unionist who ever drew a breath, could he turn such organization over to the workers who made it possible—but the rubber barons beat him to it, for under the inevitable pressure of economic evolution and through fear of the rising power of the working class, capital usually takes the first step. But this, in turn, will compel the workers to organize likewise.

Sweating the Rubber Workers

Although there are hundreds of rubber plants making different products located in various parts of the country, the chief rubber center of the United States is Akron, Ohio, where there is produced 60 per cent of the rubber goods of the country. In this city of 208,000 people, there are approximately 40,000 workers engaged in thirteen rubber manufactories. The census of the Akron Chamber of Commerce for 1922 gives the total number of workers employed in Akron factories as 49,708. One can easily understand the reasons why this northeastern Ohio city gained the appellations "Rubber City" and "one industry town" when one compares the figures cited above.

Among the big companies located here are the Firestone, the Goodrich, the Goodyear and the Miller; one of them, the Goodyear, alone employs 15,000 workers. This latter company is the headliner when it comes to speeding up the workers. On one day in April, the Goodyear Akron plant turned out 48,592 automobile tires. The previous Akron record had been 35,780 tires on April 1, 1920. The 1920 record was made by 31,000 employes, while it took the work of only 14,950 to set the 1923 mark. These figures need no further comment!

While it is true that the Akron rubber workers can earn as much as \$7.00 per day in some departments, it is only by working at nerve-racking pace that they can do it. Formerly two-men machines were used but at the present time machines manned by only one operative are doing the work which used to require the attention of two. Under the speed-up system now in use, seven men are now compelled to do the work that nine men did but a short time ago. Wage cuts have been made in several departments, but a bonus of 10%, out of the goodness of heart of the fatherly rubber barons, have been given the poor deluded workers instead. It is required of them that they must increase the number of pieces

on production in ever-multiplying ratio to get that 10% bonus "lolly-pop." Meanwhile the dear rubber barons are advertising widely in small-town newspapers all over the land for young girls, who when they arrive will take the places of the suckers who are smacking their lips over that 10% "lolly-pop."

How They Fight the Unions

Another scheme put over on the workers is the "pooling system." Workers are occasionally started in different departments at the lowest rate as inexperienced employes, then worked up as they gain more experience to where they can earn about \$6.50 to \$7.00 per day. When they reach this point they are transferred to another department, under the subterfuge that there is a slackening up in demand for the work they had been doing, and must again start at the lowest rate in the new department as an inexperienced operative on that particular task. Verily, Machiavelli had nothing on his modern counterpart, the rubber baron!

Chloroform! This one word aptly expresses why the rubber workers are as yet practically unorganized, why they are misled by bonus and speed-up systems with hardly a vestige of class-consciousness as a wage-earning group, producing untold profits for their employers while they accept the crumbs. One of the many subtle schemes engineered by the rubber companies to keep their workers from organizing labor unions and trying to do things for themselves, is the "Industrial Representation Plan" of the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company, its chief exponent being Paul W. Litchfield, Vice President and Factory Manager for this concern. Established in March of 1919, it was hoped such a plan would forever sidetrack the attempts which their employes might make toward real workers' organization. The "Industrians" are those employes who have reached 18 years, are American citizens, understand the English language and have had a six months' continuous service record in the Goodyear factory immediately prior to election. Note the subtly-injected division of native worker as against foreign-born so carefully fostered by the American employing class and "open shoppers" who hope that such artificial devices will keep their wage-workers divided.

Within the scope of this article it is impossible to go into details regarding the various ramifications of this company union. Suffice it to say that the rubber barons in the Goodyear keep it well oiled and working so smoothly that the worker has no real voice as to the conditions

under which he works. The court of last resort is the management and above them the arbitrary will of the owners. Lolly-pops! The word is more apt the further one analyzes the various smooth schemes of these West Hill parasites and their menials who carry them out.

The rubber barons learned a lesson from the Akron strike of 1913. Although short in duration it was bitterly fought out by the workers and for a considerable time seriously crippled production in the rubber industry. And what did these students of "hocus pocus" devise to prevent a possible second occurrence? Nothing less than a "Flying Squadron!" In a Goodyear pamphlet under date of March 1, 1913, they briefly survey the extent of the strike and issue an appeal for the support of their "loyal" employes to again build up their personnel. Under date of April 15, 1913, less than two months after the termination of the strike, there appeared in a small paper published for the employes in the plant, an editorial notifying their employes of the formation of an organization of specially skilled workers who were to be trained to do work in any of the departments so as to "balance up the production" and keep it "uniform." Only the so-called "best" men were to be taken into the "Flying Squadron," a strike-breaking force which is available at all times and for any department. From a few hundreds when it was first organized, this squadron now comprises several thousands of "loyal" workers ready to do the bosses' bidding in case of trouble.

Rubber Workers Must Organize

The Akron rubber workers have little or no organization worthy the name. Although a few hundreds joined the A. F. of L. in an organization drive conducted during the walkout of the Goodrich workers in the cord tire department in January of this year and who have been given a Federal charter and an additional few scattered workers organized in the machinists' union, electrical workers, stationary fireman and oilers, etc., there is absolutely no organization in the shops.

Of late, the Akron workers have become discouraged and disgusted with the methods of the leaders in the Central Labor Union and the special A. F. of L. organizer stationed there, so it is said, "to keep the radicals from getting control," and they are beginning to demand action toward efficient organization for the rubber workers and an immediate breaking away from the pussyfoot policy of the reactionary leadership now in control. What the developments will be will depend upon the courage and energy of the rank and file and their determination to fight it through.

Amalgamation in the Food Industry

By D. E. Earley

AN outstanding feature of modern Capitalism is the concentration of capital. From its first beginning the tendency has been to unite the small industries into ever larger ones. It is this fact that has furnished the economic basis for the growth of the amalgamation movement among the workers. From this point of view it is worth while to study the food industry.

The general industry of the production and preparation of food is rapidly being trustified to a high degree. The concentration of capital proceeds with the development of the machine process of production. In those branches most highly mechanized, the monopoly of the giant combinations is most complete. A sensational example of the degree to which such combination has gone is the Armour-Morris meat-packing merger, but recently completed, which brought over half-a-billion dollars and 65,000 workers under the direct control of three men.

The first stages of combination in industry are brought about by the industrial capitalists, that is, by those who have their main interests directly in the industry and who, therefore, are highly concerned with its healthy and normal growth according to the laws of capitalist economics. But when the degree of combination reaches the stage of monopoly, which is that now reached in the meat slaughtering industry, the control passes out of the hands of the industrialists into the hands of the financial capitalists, the great bankers. This is what happened in the Armour-Morris combine. And the financial capitalists, in monopolistic control of an industry, are an even graver menace to the workers' conditions of life than were the former masters.

It is exactly in the meat packing branch of the food industry where the workers have been the hardest hit by the campaign to smash the unions. The great strike of 1922, in spite of the heroic battle put up by the rank and file, was doomed from the first because of the antiquated craft divisions in the union structure, and the fossilized and reactionary leadership in charge. The workers were going up against the modern heavy artillery of the Meat Trust, armed with nothing but the pop-gun of a type of union that was out of date 20 years ago.

In the other branches of the industry the same process is going on. As capital concentrates, as the machine system of large scale production reaches out to include fresh fields, to the same extent the old unions with their half-dead officialdom are pushed from the scene with little cere-

mony. We can watch it happen today in the bread-baking section. The production of bread is being trustified rapidly. A few large corporations dominate the field, and grow continually in size and power. The most militant of these is the Ward Baking Company.

This, the largest bakery trust in the country, operates giant plants in Chicago, New York, Brooklyn, Boston, Cleveland, Baltimore, Providence, Syracuse, Pittsburgh, Newark, Youngstown, Kansas City, and many other points. It now feels itself strong enough to defy the Bakers' Union, and is launching a campaign to break that organization. That the Bakers will put up a good fight is certain, but it is just as certain that the day is coming when Labor in the baking branch of the industry will have to combine its forces with Labor in the rest of the food industry, to have strength enough to combat the growing monster of Capital.

In the hotel and restaurant branch the same process is going on. Gigantic corporations are gathering hotels in chains across the country. The Childs and Thompsons restaurants are becoming ubiquitous. Capital is organizing so swiftly that before statistics can be gathered on the situation, they are already out of date. Meanwhile the mass of workers in the industry as a whole are largely unorganized; those that have unions are divided up into many crafts; and in addition to the craft divisions we have the independent unions competing with the old unions in the A. F. of L. What can be the answer to all this?

Amalgamation or annihilation! All of the organized groups and crafts in the food industry must come together, must forget their ancient and petty prejudices and quarrels, and must unite their meagre forces under progressive leadership, in an industrial union which will be able to bring into the fold every worker connected with the preparation and distribution of food, and give them a fighting program fitted to meet and overcome the monster combinations of the masters of food. This can be done, not by running away from our present organizations to chase the will-of-the-wisp of new and ideal ones, but by combining the existing unions, and remodeling them to our bitter need. Industrial unions, not through secession and separation, but through amalgamation—that is the slogan for Labor in the food industry.

The Textile Program

Submitted by the General Amalgamation Committee of the Textile Industry

NOWHERE are workers more ruthlessly exploited than in the textile industry. Our wages are at a starvation level; upon the slim pay we get, it is utterly impossible to feed, clothe and shelter our families properly, or to give our children the necessary education. Our hours are long and exhausting. Our working conditions are severe and unhealthy. We have little or nothing to say in regulating the human side of the industry. In short, while the employers revel in luxury upon the fruits of our toil, we lead lives of hardship and bitter privation.

The reason for this deplorable situation is to be found in our unorganized condition. Of the 1,000,000 textile workers, only 100,000 are at present organized. And these are split up into a score of unions, many of which are squabbling with each other. Under such a demoralized state of affairs, with little or no real power developed on our side, we are practically helpless in the face of the rich and powerfully organized employers. They are able to force us downward to slavery conditions.

This intolerable situation has to be remedied at all costs. The vast army of textile workers must be organized. This will give us such mighty power that we can not only resist our employers, but also make gigantic strides towards our ultimate goal of emancipation. But before complete organization can be brought about, the many unions now in the field must be united. As it is now, the great rank and file, although ripe for organization, are confused by the conflicting claims of the various unions. They do not know which way to turn, so remain helpless in the clutches of the bosses. A solid front on the part of all the existing unions is the first essential to the organization of the textile industry.

This indispensable unity can be achieved only by thoroughgoing amalgamation. The formation, recently, of the Federated Textile Unions of America was a step in advance, as it serves to bring many of the unions into closer relationship. But we must go much farther; we must actually fuse all the unions into one body. Every textile organization, radical and conservative, A. F. of L. and Independent, must be drawn into a general amalgamation under progressive leadership. Not one should be left out. Dual unionism must be altogether eliminated. Only the complete merger of all the unions in the textile industry into one mighty organization can meet the situation.

Amalgamation is now the slogan of the labor movement. As never before, the workers are realizing the folly of having a lot of unions in single industries, divided upon lines of craft and opinion. A great wave of combination, which spells disaster to the bosses, is sweeping over the country. During the past few months, eleven state federations of labor have declared for the complete amalgamation of all craft bodies into a series of industrial unions. Many other organizations have done likewise. The railroad workers, printing trades men, clothing workers, etc., are all alive over the matter and are fast preparing to combine all the unions in their respective industries. It is high time that we textile workers joined this great amalgamation movement by merging together all our unions into one invincible organization.

The prime purpose of the General Amalgamation Committee of the textile industry is to help bring about this all-inclusive combination. The General Amalgamation Committee is not another dual movement. It condemns dual unionism as a great weakening of the workers' strength, and proposes to eliminate it by amalgamation. Nor is the General Amalgamation Committee a branch of one union and seeking to further the latter's interests at the expense of the other organizations. It is a rank and file committee, made up of members of all the unions, and its sole aim is to combine these unions into one. Its policy is to unite the unions, not still further to divide them.

The general union of all textile workers, which will eventually come through amalgamation, must not be a confused conglomeration. It must be so organized that the interests of the many trades and crafts in the textile industry can be successfully protected. This can be accomplished by establishing departments in the organization to correspond to the main sections of the industry, such as wool, cotton, silk, carpets, knitgoods, etc., and by further specializing these departments into sub-departments to correspond with the various trades and callings. Roughly, the organization would compare to an army, with its distinct branches of infantry, cavalry, artillery, air forces, etc., but all working together as wheels in one great mechanism. Departmentalized industrial unionism, brought about by amalgamation, is the only form of labor organization fitted for modern industry.

Tremendous advantages would result from a general amalgamation of all textile unions. Chief

of these would be, of course, a great increase in our economic power. It would at once do away with the present jurisdictional fights between the unions in the industry. Important financial economies would also be brought about. The many headquarters, journals, conventions, etc., would be combined. Likewise, endless duplication of work by officials would be eliminated by joining our official staffs. In consequence, great financial and other resources would be provided to unionize the enormous army of unorganized textile workers. There are a thousand reasons in favor of a general amalgamation, and not one against it.

The General Amalgamation Committee aims to carry on intensive educational work until every union in the textile industry is won over to the program of amalgamation. To this end it proposes to set up local amalgamation committees in all the important textile centers of the country—Fall River, Lawrence, New Bedford, Paterson, Philadelphia, New York, Manchester, etc. These local committees, which are to be made up of members of all textile unions, A. F. of L. and Independent, shall work to get their organizations to endorse amalgamation. The final goal of the campaign will be to bring all the unions together in a general convention, where the needed amalgamation can be effected.

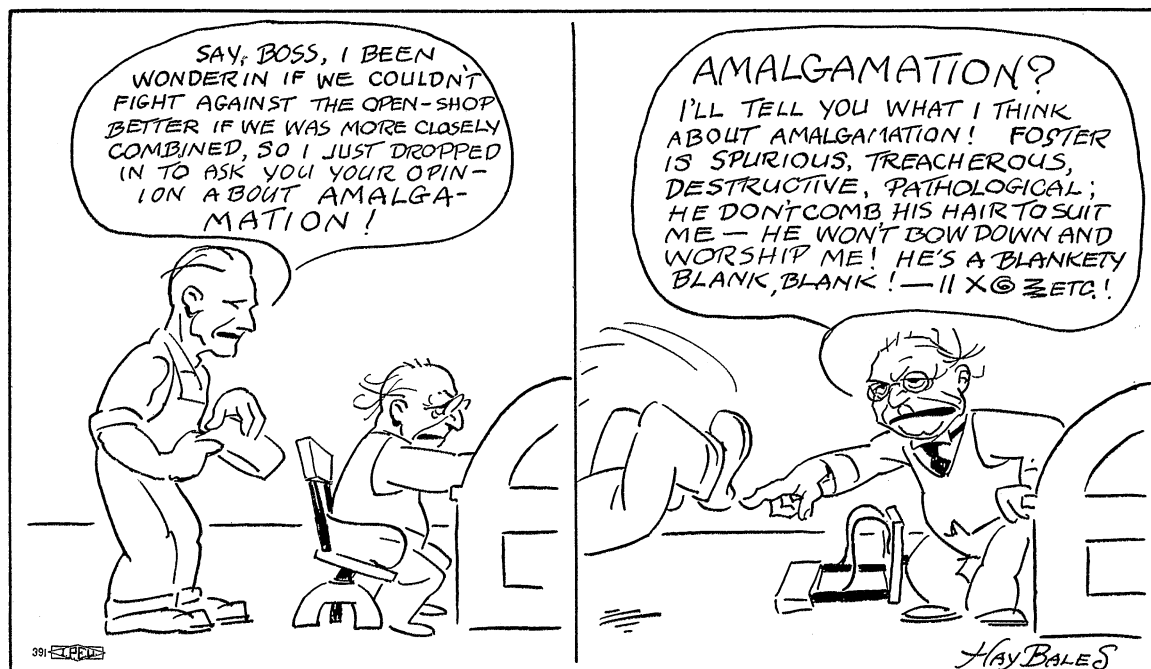
Fellow Textile Unionists: The great mass in our industry is ready to organize. But not as our unions stand now. The unorganized are repelled by our union differences and bickerings,

which they neither understand nor sympathize with. Before we can organize the mass we must organize ourselves. This is fundamental. Once we consolidate our scattered forces into one body, the great rank and file, with a clear way open before them, will come streaming to us. Amalgamation is the key to the situation; it is the first and indispensable step to the organization of the textile industry.

Every progressive textile worker, every amalgamationist, is earnestly urged to do the following: (1) Have your local union adopt the amalgamation resolution, which should then be forwarded to us; (2) Organize a local amalgamation committee in your city, of A. F. of L. and Independent textile union members alike; (3) See to it that every textile worker in your vicinity is furnished with a copy of this Plan, which can be secured from us at the rate of \$1.00 per hundred; (4) Let us hear from you at once.

CANADIAN T. U. E. L. CONFERENCE

THE League is making big strides forward in organization throughout Canada. Announcement has now been made by Tim Buck, Canadian District Organizer of the T. U. E. L., that two conferences will be held, one in the East and the other in the West, for the purpose of definitely establishing the Canadian District. The first one will be in Toronto, Ontario, Saturday and Sunday, August 4th and 5th, while the other will be in Edmonton, Alberta, toward the end of August. Every city and town in Canada should make arrangements to be represented at one or the other of these important gatherings.



BUT BROTHER GOMPERS, WHAT HAS ALL THAT TO DO WITH AMALGAMATION?

The Anti-Labor Courts

By Clarissa S. Ware

NAPOLEON one said: "God is on the side of the strongest battalions." Whether this be so or not, it can certainly be said with truth that Justice is on the side of the class which controls the state. We may place a statue of Liberty with a flaming torch at the entrance to New York harbor to flash forth its greeting of hypocrisy, but the new-comers soon learn what the native workers now know, that the law of the land is against them. The scales of Justice are not equally balanced.

In 1916 the effort to regulate and ameliorate the crying abuses of child labor resulted in the passage by Congress of an act forbidding the movement in interstate commerce of the products of a child under 16 years of age. This law was bitterly opposed by the employers of child labor. Early in 1918, the "impartial" courts declared it unconstitutional.

"Justice" Prevents Child Protection

A year later, in a further effort to limit the exploitation of children which had been sanctioned by the Supreme Court, the Child Labor Tax Law was passed as part of the revenue act of February 24, 1919. This placed a tax of 10% on the net profits of any employer using the labor of children otherwise than according to certain standards, similar to those of the act of 1916. But the wisdom of the blind justices was again called upon. The scales dipped again in favor of the exploiters and against the children. "A court must be blind," said the decision, "not to see that the so-called tax is imposed to stop the employment of children." Such encroachment upon the privileges of profit-making is not within the power of the law-making body, the court decided, and in 1922, the act was declared unconstitutional.

With unfailing regularity, constitutional provisions are applied one way for the employing class and another way for the workers. Regulations established by law, prohibiting the employment of aliens on public works, have been upheld; while regulations prohibiting the employment of non-union labor is found unconstitutional. The difference between the two cases is, that the first breaks up the solidarity of the workers, and is therefore permitted; the second assists in organizing the workers, and is therefore not permitted. The Supreme Court writes the law, through its interpretations, and writes

it in the interests of the capitalist class, the masters of the State.

The law is very severe with workers who are guilty of misrepresentation or false pretences against the employers. But when an act was passed in Illinois, which declared it unlawful for an employer to transport workmen from another State or locality under misrepresentation or false pretenses as to kind and character of the work, failure to give notice of a labor dispute being declared to be misrepresentation, it was short-lived. The employers' interests were threatened. The Supreme Court of the State wiped it off the books by declaring it unconstitutional.

Railroad Labor and Court-Made Law

The history of unionism on the railroads is replete with instances of the use of the courts against the workers. In connection with the Pullman strike in 1895, Eugene V. Debs and others were enjoined from doing anything calculated to interfere with the carrying of the mails or with the movement of interstate commerce. Under this sweeping injunction all labor union activity was prohibited. Because Debs and his associates would not abandon their struggle for the workers, the Court ordered them to jail for "contempt." The Supreme Court was called upon to rule on the right to issue such an order. The ruling was in favor of the employers. The *American Federationist* said of it (Vol. II, p. 68): "The decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Debs case is the worst ever made by such a court, so far as the interests of Labor are concerned."

The Debs case, which set the pace in the application of injunction law to the workers, has been followed by a long series of similar ones. Today the subject of the injunctions in labor disputes is a specialized branch of law, with a whole library of books about it. In the Erdman Act, for example, passed in 1898, a section prohibited the discharge of an employee on account of union membership. The case of one Copping, discharged by the L. & N. Railway, was taken to the Supreme Court, which ruled the law unconstitutional. The *Railroad Trainman*, March, 1908, said of this decision: "Another stunning decision has been given by the Supreme Court . . . Just what law intended to take care of the people against the unfairness of their employers that is not 'repugnant to the constitution' remains to be discovered. . . . The employee must abandon his only way of protecting him-

(Continued on page 32)

Striking Miners and Craft Unionism

By Jay Fox

TWO thousand coal miners are struggling in the state of Washington against a cut of \$1.25 a day in their wages. This in spite of the fact that the cost of living is steadily rising. As a matter of fact the men should get a \$1.25 raise, if justice and fairness ruled in this country instead of big business. The mine bosses say they want to give us cheaper coal. They lie. What they want to give us is the open shop. They want to introduce the "American plan" of exploiting Labor. They want to fix the wages and hours and general conditions under which the miners shall work. For a generation the miners have had something to say about the conditions under which they risked their lives in the dark caverns of the earth. It has been discovered that that is not the American idea, therefore it must be discarded as a foreign importation. The American plan is that the workers shall have absolutely nothing to say in relation to their employment. And in order to successfully carry out this idea, as they have other big jobs, the patriotic employers are systematically destroying the unions by forcing them to strike, one at a time, and then wearing them out and compelling them to return beaten by hunger after months of suffering.

This wonderful plan has already been adopted in part of the Washington mines. A year ago the workers in those mines were compelled to strike in defense of humane working conditions. For months the miners held out valiantly and the farmers and industrial workers displayed a splendid spirit of solidarity by the manner in which they supplied the strikers with food and clothing. But the ultimate defeat of the strikers was inevitable. Scabs were found ready to take the jobs of the strikers and eventually coal began to issue from the mines. It cost the mine owners some money to beat the union, but that is all in the game, and the game is to destroy District No. 10 of the United Mineworkers, as fine a bunch of union men as ever handled a pick. And once this noble work is accomplished, America will come into its own in the mines of Washington.

Here we have more proof to offer in support of our oft-repeated warning that the American capitalists have a definite program, determined upon while the war was still on, to crush out the unions or make them so impotent they will be no more dangerous than Sunday school classes. Having entered upon its career of world conquest, American capitalism will stop at nothing.

They declared war on Germany when they saw their French and English investments withering away, and grabbed two million workers and slammed them into the slimy trenches to be gassed and blown to pieces by shrapnel. When they could put a tremendous job like that over with such ease, is it any wonder that they should decree the death of unionism, the only real enemy they have left in the country?

It is not what unionism *is today* that bothers them. Craft unionism under the tutelage of "the grand old man" is a grand old farce. But these craft unions contain the ingredients of great power. They are the nuclei around which can be built an organization of Labor that the capitalists cannot lick. These ducks are wise. They know the influence of the grand old guy is waning; and they see rising on the economic horizon the Sun of a new set of leaders who possess the honesty, courage and ability to lash these craft unions together with the thongs of industrial solidarity and inject into them the spirit of the social revolution. The wise men of Wall street have already spotted a number of these potential future leaders of the workers, and will send them to jail for a term of years if they can persuade backwoods jurymen to help them. But even backwoods jurymen and women seem to be developing the spirit of justice in spite of the Wall street intense propaganda, as the verdict in the case of Brother Foster shows. Half of that jury possessed the old American idea that people have a right to freely discuss questions of future policy contrary to the wishes of Wall Street industrial pirates. If a few of these good old backwoods Americans get on the jury that will try Brother Ruthenberg, the whole case of the prosecution will have collapsed and they will be compelled to start all over again, framing anew. But the people pay the bill, so Wall Street should worry.

To return to the miner's strike: If the mine owners are really bent upon defeating the miners they can do so. All that is necessary is to get a sufficient number of scabs. That is not always an easy job. They will get some miners and a lot of men willing to take the risk of learning the craft. Some of them will get killed in the process. But that doesn't matter. They don't cost anything, men are free. Mine owners are never held responsible for mine accidents. The mining of the coal is the master's only problem. That should not be—his trouble should not end there. His big trouble should come after the

coal is out of the pit. What happens? Union men haul it to the city. Union men put it into the bunkers. Union men deliver it to the consumer, who is often also a union man.

That sort of unionism is not going to win strikes in this age of big business. That's the unionism of fifty years ago, yet the grand old gink and his satellites say, "No. Any change is Bolshevism." And we are all supposed to take to the tall timber when that terrible epithet is flung at us. Still we insist upon our point that real unionism demands that scab coal should not be touched by union men. It should be shunned like a scourge, which it really is. To bring about such a desired condition, is the mission of the militants who subscribe to this magazine and its policies.

The miners should not be isolated in the Labor movement. When the capitalists single them out for defeat it is high treason to the principles of unionism for union men to assist the capitalists, which they actually do when they handle the scab coal. This thing has been going on for years, in fact since unionism began, and nothing has been done about it by the swivel-chair salary drawers, misnamed Labor leaders.

These gentry tell us it has been impossible to do anything in the past, due to the way the unions are built. But why do they now attack those who are endeavoring to bring about a reorganization of Labor on a basis of industrial units? The truth is they don't want anything done; but things are doing just the same.

One thing is certain: Passing out alms to strikers is not the best way to help them win strikes. Strikers must eat, to be sure, and the carrying of food to them cannot be lauded too highly; it stands out as one of the highest expressions of solidarity. But while we are passing a loaf to the strikers with one hand, let us not, with the other hand, slip a cake to the boss.

The railroad men were most liberal in their support of the striking miners of a year ago. That would have been fine if they had not at the same time given the mine bosses most important help, that no other body of men could render. If the bosses knew at the start that these railroad men would not haul their scab coal there wouldn't have been any strike, because the bosses case would be hopeless without the help of the trainmen.

The teamsters were most generous in their aid to the strikers. Besides giving food and other necessities they furnished caravans of motor trucks on the several occasions that food was sent to the strikers by the farmers and city workers. But these teamsters also delivered help to the bosses, six days a week, by distributing their

scab-mined coal. That's the sorry condition of our unionism; and the damnable part of it is that these trainmen and teamsters could not have done otherwise than they did and get the support of their unions, which would be absolutely necessary. Had they refused to handle scab coal they would have been held in contempt of their agreements by their union officials. And if they persisted they would be fired and other union men put in their places.

What's the remedy for this cursed condition of unionism? That's a longer story and I will have to refer the readers to the new pamphlet on Amalgamation. I will, however, pass on this suggestion: If the railroad men had one union instead of sixteen they could easily afford to tell all concerned that they would not haul scab coal. And the miners in return, strengthened by their new support, would say: "No good union coal shall be contaminated by the touch of scab railroad men—we refuse to mine it."

SECOND LEAGUE CONFERENCE

*I*N last month's LABOR HERALD was printed the official call for the Second General Conference of the Trade Union Educational League, to take place in Chicago, September 1-2. It is to be hoped that the militants everywhere will give this proposition their immediate and earnest consideration. In order that the work of the League may go forward successfully, it is important that the Conference represent all localities and all industries. This means that each local general group should get busy at once to make all the necessary arrangements so that it can be fully represented by an adequate quota of delegates. Time is short and the expense of sending delegates is heavy. Therefore each local general group should make the question of the General Conference one of its first orders of business. Methods of raising money to finance the various delegations should be worked out at once.

Great tasks confront the militants in our work of rejuvenating the American labor movement. We must redouble our efforts to win the organizations to the amalgamation program; we must carry on with renewed vigor the campaign to organize the unorganized; we must intensify still more the propaganda for a great Party of Labor. A successful General Conference of the League will do much to further all these movements. Let us therefore make of the September 1-2, meeting an historic gathering.

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BANKRUPT LEADERSHIP OF THE MINERS

THE old officialdom of the Miners' Union displays its bankrupt condition more openly each day. To meet the pressing problems before the workers in the mines, it has nothing whatever to offer. Before the employers it is meek and subservient, whining and wheedling for a few crumbs but giving in always to the owners' wishes; but against the militant progressives in the ranks, it is bold, treacherous, and uncompromising. In its hands the interests of the mine workers of America are made the plaything of "leaders" and employers.

On May 15th, the officials of the U. M. W. A. sent a communication to the United States Coal Commission, which reeks with toadyism towards the capitalists and contempt for the workers. Dealing with the problem of unemployment it calls upon the employers to sacrifice 200,000 miners to restore the industry to normal! It says:

Never was there a greater opportunity for a set of employers to perform a real service to the American public than that which now presents itself to the coal operators. If they will close down 4,000 of the unnecessary coal mines that are now open and operating spasmodically they will reduce the number of surplus miners proportionately and, thus, reduce the production cost of coal. This, in turn, would mean cheaper coal to the consumer. That's what the consumer is interested in. The United Mine Workers of America cannot close down these mines, because it has no such right, power or authority. Nor can it, for the same reason, put 200,000 miners out of the industry. But the operators can do it if they will. We challenge them to make the start.

The Lewis machine shamelessly calls upon the coal operators to throw 200,000 miners out of the industry, to solve a problem for them which should be handled by the shorter work-day, a demand already presented by the rank and file in the Conventions. When the rank and file rebels against such open betrayal, the Lewis machine threatens to throw them out of the union. Thus the Pittsburg, Kansas, *Headlight*, on June 2nd, reports the Lewis' district board as having ordered the suspension of all who participated in a meeting of the Progressive Miners that elected a delegate to the national conference.

These threats of suspension against the Progressives are based on the pretext that the Progressive Miners' Committee is a dual union. In spite of the fact that the Progressives have really killed dual unionism among the miners, while Lewis and his henchmen, with their

ruthless expulsions and cynical betrayals are provoking it, still the discredited charge is again made to do duty. The evidence cited by Burr, secretary of the Lewis carpet-baggers in Kansas, to support the charge of dualism, is so utterly ridiculous that it is hard to deal with it seriously.

In the newspaper before mentioned, Burr is quoted as reading from Foster's *Bankruptcy of the American Labor Movement*, pages 46-47, the statements "The American Federation of Labor is not now and never can become a labor movement," and "The United Mine Workers is a capitalist organization, just as much as the standing army of the United States." He further quoted, "The 28,000 local unions of the A. F. of L. are 28,000 agencies of the capitalist class," and declared that, as this book was sold in the Progressive meeting it proved that a dual union movement.

Now for the facts about these quotations. The first one is by Vincent St. John, the second by J. P. Thompson, and the third by Wm. D. Haywood, and are so stated in the book. Foster cited them to condemn them, in one of his characteristic attacks upon the whole philosophy and viewpoint of dual unionism contained therein. The chapter from which these quotations were taken is one of the strongest attacks upon dual unionism that has been written. Yet these officials in Kansas have the gall to try to twist it into a defense of dual unionism. Such a miserable subterfuge on their part can only react against them.

The reactionary officialdom which is thus trying to strangle the United Mine Workers of America will not find such easy sailing today, however, as they have heretofore. The Progressive Miners' International Committee is organizing the forces of the militant rank and file in every district and sub-district of the Union. Where before the Lewis machine defeated one after another of the local movements for progress, because they were alone and isolated, it now faces a different situation. With organization, the Progressives are finding power, and before long the bankrupt leaders will find themselves discarded by the membership before which they are already discredited.

STILL THE TWELVE-HOUR DAY

ELBERT H. GARY appointed himself as judge to inquire into the question of abolishing the 12-hour day in the steel industry. The verdict, accompanied by much sickening Christian hypocrisy which was recommended as a "paying proposition," was against the workers. They were sentenced to continue the barbaric 12-hour shift which has been abolished in every country but our own.

Commissions, scientists, philanthropists, churches, and committees galore, have investigated, talked, written, and reported on the subject. Presidents have dined with steel kings to politely mention the subject. The 12-hour day is a glowing inferno which burns under the feet of these estimable people, making them nervous and pricking their "consciences." But "it don't mean anything." The law of profits rules the steel industry without respite. The workers are unorganized. Gary speaks, and his word is law.

But Gary should not get the full blame for the 12-hour day's continuance. The greatest guilt rests upon the incompetents and misfits who, posing as "labor leaders" and wearing out the cushions of comfortable chairs, choke and strangle the organization of the steel workers. More than Gary, Mike Tighe, Samuel Gompers, and the whole anachronistic official family at the head of the labor unions are responsible for the terrible weakness that delivers Labor body and soul over to the tender mercies of their exploiters. The 12-hour day will

be abolished only when the rank and file of the labor movement turns out these miserable mis-leaders and reorganizes the trade unions into powerful industrial bodies.

WELCOME THE ANTI-FASCIST ALLIANCE

FASCISM, the murderous reactionary movement which holds Italy in its grip, is finding strenuous opposition in attempting to find a foothold in this country. Against the menace of the blackshirts has been formed the Anti-Fascist Alliance, with headquarters in New York, which is rallying the labor movement generally and the Italian workers in particular. This organization, pushed vigorously by revolutionary groups, has also been heartily endorsed by the Central Labor Union of New York, the International Ladies' Garment Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and hundreds of other labor unions.

"In Italy the Fascisti have made it a crime to belong to a real labor union," an officer of the Alliance is quoted as stating. "Hundreds of Labor Temples are in ashes. Thousands of our best fighters in Labor's battles have been murdered. Tens of thousands have been imprisoned and mistreated. Shall we wait until they are strong enough to do likewise in America, or shall we organize against them now?"

The danger to Labor from Fascism is real and pressing. It is not confined, by any means, to the propaganda of Mussolini's agents in America—Fascism is an international menace and must be fought on a worldwide scale. In every gathering of Labor in Europe today, both revolutionary and conservative, the struggle against Fascism occupies a prominent place. It is therefore of great importance that the Anti-Fascist Alliance should receive the complete co-operation and support of every militant unionist. Those desiring to assist in the work of preventing the Fascisti from getting a foothold in America, and to help combat the blackshirts generally, should communicate with the Anti-Fascist Alliance, 231 East 14th St., New York City.

FAREWELL TO THE W. E. B.

WHEN the Workers' Educational Bureau was formed somewhat more than a year ago, it was regarded by progressive unionists as a very promising step forward in its field. It immediately showed signs of vitality which indicated a need for such an organization. But those who predicted a bright future for the new body reckoned without Gompers and Woll. The W. E. B. had a field which had been open to the bureaucrats at the head of the A. F. of L. for a generation, but they had made not the slightest move to cultivate it. When someone did go to work energetically there, the reactionary officials bestirred themselves to head off the lively youngster.

With the news that the A. F. of L. has sponsored the W. E. B. we can take it for granted that Gompers has worked his will with it. Seldom, indeed, has the old fox endorsed anything that was not safely in his vest pocket. All new ventures find him cold, until he has his clutches securely fixed, until there is no possible chance of any new life for the labor movement coming out of it. In all the uncultivated fields of the labor movement he stakes out his claims, or takes over the beginnings of others, merely for the purpose of preventing anything from being done there. Then when earnest workers come forward, eager for the advancement of the interests of the movement, he commands them to bow to his yoke and join the lock-step of the bureaucratic family, or be branded as dualists and disruptors. Unfortunately it seems that the W. E. B. is

going the road to Gompersian stagnation, and progressive union men will probably have to say good bye to the Workers' Education Bureau.

MOLDERS HONOR MOONEY

TOM MOONEY has been elected delegate to the Molders' Union Convention in Cleveland, to be held in September, by his local union, No. 164 of San Francisco. This recognition of the sterling unionism of Mooney is well merited, and will be appreciated by militants all over the country. His union could not have demonstrated its faith in him in a more convincing manner.

It is too bad that Mooney cannot attend the Convention to which he has been elected. It is certain that if he were present he would be another powerful factor in waking the union from its present lethargy. His influence, added to the progressive forces already at work, would insure that something would happen. The Molders, as much as the other metal unions, needs a thorough overhauling and rejuvenation before it can protect its members as it should. Mooney's voice in favor of the measures of progress that will be presented would be heard throughout the union.

But Mooney is still in prison on as rank a frame-up as was ever seen. The labor movement has not yet succeeded in releasing him, even after the strongest protests and most complete exposure of the perjury that convicted him. This is a standing shame to the labor movement. The trade unions owe it to themselves to see that when Tom Mooney is elected to its conventions he is free to attend and give his services, which have always been at the disposal of Labor. So long as Tom Mooney is in prison the labor movement is under a cloud.

AMALGAMATION EVERYWHERE—BUT IN THE UNIONS

NEWS dispatches from Canada state that the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregational Churches of that country are in conference to work out plans of amalgamation into one body. On June 12th, it is reported that the Presbyterians voted three to one for union with the other two bodies, which had previously endorsed the measure. The vote means an organic union, a complete amalgamation, with one body controlling the affairs of all.

In almost every field of human endeavor the trend of the day is toward ever larger and more unified organization. The capitalists are amalgamating on every hand, uniting their organizations into ever more powerful bodies, both for industrial purposes and to fight the unions. Even the churches are getting together, not in weak and powerless federations, but in organic amalgamations. Only the unions lag behind and, held back by a reactionary and timid officialdom, drag along in the ruts of twenty years ago.

This is another call to the militant rank and file to renew their work of education and organization, to push with greater vigor than ever the program of amalgamation of our weak and divided craft unions into powerful industrial bodies, capable of forceful action in the interests of the workers. If we do not change the present stagnant condition of our organizations we will soon find even the churches laughing at the backwardness of the labor movement.

A CORRECTION

LAST month in this space it was reported that the Longshoremen's Convention had adopted the amalgamation program. The action that was taken, however, was to refer the proposal to the Executive Board.

THE INTERNATIONAL

GREAT BRITAIN THE British section of the R. I. L. U. is carrying on a strong agitation for an "All-In Workers' National Convention."

Stating that the regular congresses of the general trade union movement are made up of bureaucrats and are therefore dead and unresponsive, they demand the calling, by the General Council of the Trade Unions, a general convention of working class elements, including local unions, district councils, local central bodies, national unions, local and national working class political bodies, unemployed organizations, co-operative guilds, and even workmen's clubs. Such a general working class convention, according to "All Power," British official organ of the R. I. L. U., should make a general survey of the movement. It should deal with such questions as the relationship of the trade union movement with the workers' political and co-operative movements, the relationship of the workers' political movement, particularly the Labor Party, with the labor movement as a whole, the relationship of the co-operative movement with the labor movement as a whole, the unification of the local forces of the working class in the trades councils and the formation of factory, works, pit, and shop committees, the re-organization of the trade union movement on an industrial basis, the elimination of jurisdictional disputes, the establishment of one general working card for all unions, the development of the labor press, etc., etc. Much support for such a convention is being developed in the various organizations.

During the period of unemployment, which is now slowly being relieved in Britain, the labor movement lost heavily in membership. To regain this lost ground a general organization campaign, with the slogan "Back to the Unions," has been organized. The movement is under the direction of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress. Many organizations are giving it their active support. Great mass meetings are being held in all the principal industrial centers, the same being addressed by the best known leaders. Besides this torchlight processions are being held, and house to house canvasses of the unorganized carried on, and great quantities of literature distributed. The campaign is expected to last three months. The unions participating have pooled their organizing funds and field men. The General Council has issued a uniform membership application for all trades. Although British workers are badly disillusioned by the timid and reactionary course of the trade union leaders in the bitter struggles of the past three years, still it is hoped to accomplish much towards re-organizing them through this general campaign.

The epidemic of strikes in Great Britain continues. The great offensive of the employers has not yet spent its force. One of the most important struggles recently was that of the agricultural workers. It was finally settled upon the basis of a 25-shilling wage for a guaranteed 50-hour week. Much discontent is expressed at this settlement, which was engineered largely by Ramsay MacDonald. The building trades narrowly escaped a national general strike that would have involved some 500,000 workers. Their case was referred to arbitration. Now it is the railroad workers who have to face the music. The companies, according to C. T. Cramp, Industrial Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, are demanding revisions of conditions which are tantamount to wage reductions of 10 shillings per week, discontinuance of over-time pay, and the

compounding of Sunday into the regular working week. The unions are all resisting the cuts. Other important movements have taken place recently in various industries. But the most spectacular was the strike of the employees of the Co-operative Wholesale Society. The strike involved 800 men in the Pelaw and Silvertown factories. It was caused by an attempt of the Co-operative to cut wages. Much bitterness has been created by the struggle. The *Daily Herald* has been full of advertisements in which both sides sought to win the sympathy of the labor movement. At last account it was not settled.

GERMANY DURING the past few weeks Germany has been the scene of two very important gatherings. The first of these was the Congress at Hamburg, where the Second and Two-and-one-half Internationals were amalgamated. The Two-and-one-half-International was an outgrowth of the war situation. The movement for it began in Germany. Disgusted because of the traitorous course of the old Social Democracy, backbone of the Second International, the more radical elements withdrew from that organization and formed the Independent Social Democratic Party. For similar reasons the same split occurred in most of the countries. Finally these radical elements who, however, were not revolutionary enough to join the Third International, constructed their Two-and-one-half International. As the first split occurred in Germany, so the first get together movement took place there also. But a few months ago the Social Democratic Party and the Independent Social Democratic Party buried the hatchet and became one organization. This forecasted a general amalgamation internationally, and now this has come to pass. A curious feature of the situation is that it illustrates that the German movement still retains the leadership of the world Socialist movement that it held before the war.

The congress, which was made up of 600 delegates from 30 countries, took the usual reformist position on the issues confronting it. Although a demand was made for the recognition of Russia by the various governments, the proletarian dictatorship was roundly condemned and the establishment of a "democratic" form of government insisted upon. Abramovich, a Russian Menshevik, who has fought the Soviet Government bitterly ever since its formation and lined up with every counter-revolutionary group, was given an ovation when he assailed the first Workers' Republic with his usual torrent of misrepresentation and abuse. The congress endorsed the universal 8-hour day and demanded the release of all political prisoners, the safeguarding of the rights of racial and national minorities, abandonment of financial control as practiced by the League of Nations in Austria, and resistance of the workers against the measures taken in the Ruhr by France and Belgium. The new organization is called the Labor and Socialist International and will have headquarters in London. Tom Shaw and Victor Adler are its joint secretaries.

The congress was bitterly hostile to the Communists. One of the principal tasks of the new International will be to intensify the fight against the left wing. As a starter it turned down flat the proposition of the Third International that a united front of all the forces of labor be established. The leaders of the Third International look with scorn upon the forma-

tion of the new petty bourgeois reformist International, which stretches from Adler to Noske. But they see some good in it. Says a manifesto of the Executive Committee: "And yet the Hamburg congress marks an advance. It will clear the air. The Center is dissolved; pseudo radicalism is removed. The proletariat is gathering in two large camps. The chasm that divides revolution and reformism, which appeared to have been bridged by the reformists, is now seen by all. It is now a question of *on which side?* In this the most favorable conditions have been created for the fight for the proletarian united front."

The other important gathering in Germany, held simultaneously with the Hamburg congress, was the conference of the world's organized transport workers in Berlin. Action of tremendous significance was taken at this meeting. A united front was set up between the transport workers affiliated with the Amsterdam international and those affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions. The transport workers of all countries have declared for a militant war against war and Fascism. For this purpose a joint Council of Action has been set up. Among others, Edo Fimmen represented the Amsterdam transport workers, and A. Lovovsky those affiliated with Moscow.

The great importance of this new transport alliance lies in the fact that it marks the first break in the ruinous policy of exclusion exercised by the Socialist leaders of the Amsterdam International against the Communists. For several months past Fimmen, Secretary of the Amsterdam International, has been complaining of the weakness and stagnation of that organization and showing signs of yielding to the militant demand of the Red International for a united front. This attitude on his part has been frowned upon by the big reformist labor bishops, and when he sent out his call for the Berlin joint conference they sabotaged it in their papers, especially in Germany. But the conference was a big success, nevertheless. Further similar conferences of the international metal workers and others are expected in the near future. The situation is at a turning point. One of two things is bound to happen. Either the new attitude of Fimmen will cause a split in the Amsterdam International, or it will result in setting up a united front all along the line industrially and thus put an end to the right-wing policy of splitting the unions to get rid of the Communists, a policy which has just about ruined the labor movement in France, Checko-Slovakia, and other countries. The developments of the next few months in this movement for a united front, which originated with the R. I. L. U., will be of historic consequence to the world's working class.

FRANCE ON May 15th, after a struggle of 14 weeks, the strike of the Saar miners came to an end. Originally the Saar was German territory, but under the Versailles Treaty it was practically handed over to France. The mines were actually given to that country, and the territory itself virtually so; for France maintains a standing army of 10,000 therein and controls the commission set up by the League of Nations, which is supposed to govern the country. About 75,000 miners are employed in the district. Of these some 35,000 are in the German Socialist Union, 33,000 in the Christian Miners' Union and the rest in Liberal and Syndicalist organizations. The strike began on February 4th and was general in character. Wage increases were the principal demand, the Saar miners being almost at a starvation level. The French Government, acting through its lick-spittle agent,

the League of Nations Governing Commission, did its utmost to break the strike. Peaceful picketing was abolished and the right of assembly prohibited. A company union, officered by French officials, was organized and 3,000 miners were discharged. Terrorism of every sort was practiced. But despite all the strike was effective. The men, notwithstanding the usual brand of yellow leadership, stood their ground magnificently in the face of a desperate situation. Finally the Government was forced to settle on the basis of an increase of 3-5 francs per day, and to reinstate the 3,000 discharged men. In the battle the League of Nations discredited itself once again, this time more glaringly than ever, by forbidding the workers, under penalty of severe fines and imprisonment, to in any way cast odium on the Versailles Peace Treaty or "to insult or traduce the League of Nations, its members, or the state signatories of the Treaty of Peace, or the Governing Commission, its members, organizations or the officials responsible for the conduct of its administration." It proved itself to all the world to be the most contemptible servant of the most ruthless capitalism.

The case against Cachin, Communist deputy, Monnosseau, Secretary of the C. G. T. U., and many other revolutionaries, which was made so much of in the capitalist press of the world, seems about to collapse. These men were arrested in connection with the conference of Essen, called to protest against and prevent the occupation of the Ruhr. Taken into custody on January 10th, they were held in *La Sante* prison until May 8th, when of a sudden all but four of them were given liberty provisionally. Then occurred the unusual scene of the released men refusing to accept their freedom until the rest had been liberated also. Finally, however, they were actually forced out of jail. This wholesale release gave the case a sad blow, but Premier Poincare, who is primarily responsible for the Ruhr adventure, was determined to carry it through nevertheless. He insisted that the Senate, acting as the High Court, should try the men. So, on May 24th, an indictment was read to that august body charging 34 militants with conspiring to sabotage the occupation of the Ruhr, to destroy the Versailles Treaty, and to overturn the foundations of French society in behalf of Soviet Russia. But after a long and tumultuous session the High Court refused to take jurisdiction over the case and referred it to the lower courts. This was such a slap at Poincare that he immediately turned in the resignation of himself and his whole cabinet. President Millerand refused, however, to accept it, leaving the loyal servant of French Imperialism, Poincare, in office. Now all France is waiting to see how the powers-that-be will let go of the famous Communist case, which has proved so hot to handle.

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