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THE LABOR HERALD

Official Organ of The Trade Union Educational League



391 

AUGUST 1923

 99

15 CENTS

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DANGER!!!

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Has Caused a Great**

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ADDRESS:

2003 N. California Ave., Chicago, Ill.



CONVENTION WHICH FORMED THE FEDERATED FARMER-LABOR PARTY, CHICAGO, JULY 3-4-5, 1923

THE LABOR HERALD

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

Vol. II.

AUGUST, 1923



No. 6

The Federated Farmer-Labor Party

By Wm. Z. Foster

EVERY decade or so there occurs some labor event so striking and inspiring in character that it stands out as a landmark in the history of the working class. Such was the great national convention held in Chicago, July 3-4-5, to create a labor party. Marked by a tremendous outburst of militancy and enthusiasm, it was a vibrant, thrilling, overwhelming demand by the rank and file of agricultural and industrial labor for the formation of a powerful political party of the toilers. Nobody who attended its sessions will ever forget them.

This revolutionary convention, called under the auspices of the Farmer-Labor Party, gave birth to a new organization, the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. It was the inevitable culmination of a long train of circumstances. For many years past the workers, betrayed and misled by the trade union bureaucracy, had been gradually awakening to the fact that the old Gompersian political policy of "rewarding" their friends and "punishing" their enemies was fatal to their interests. It had disfranchised the working class and had turned the entire governmental machinery, lock, stock and barrel, over to the exploiting class. More and more the rank and file began to demand the formation of a workers' political party. Local labor parties sprang up here and there, east and west. John Fitzpatrick, President of the Chicago Federation of Labor, placed himself at the head of this rank and file revolt in 1919 by forming the Labor Party, which a year later became the Farmer-Labor Party. A wave of hope spread throughout the labor movement. At last, it was thought, the workers were about to set themselves free from the political thralldom fastened upon them by the Gompers' clique and would organize a party of their own. But the hope soon died. Through lack of militancy the Farmer-Labor Party failed to crystallize the labor party sentiment. It simmered along and frittered away its great opportunity.

The Progressive Conference

Then the movement for a labor party took a new turn. Wm. H. Johnston, President of the International Association of Machinists, came

forward as the great champion of the idea. During late 1921 and early 1922 one big international union after another declared in favor of independent working class political action. Again hope revived, and many looked towards Johnston as the Moses who would lead the workers out of the political wilderness. It almost seemed as though, under his leadership, even the higher union officials had begun to realize the necessity for a labor party and were willing to brave the opposition of the old autocrat, Gompers, in order to achieve it. The movement came to a head in February, 1922, when the first Conference for Progressive Political Action was held in Chicago. There was present an imposing show of proletarian strength, including the sixteen railroad organizations, the United Mine Workers of America, the International Typographical Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, several smaller internationals, two dozen state federations of labor, scores of central labor councils, the Non-Partisan League and a great number of other farmer organizations, the Farmer-Labor Party, the Socialist Party, etc., etc. A conservative figure for those represented would be 2,500,000. And the whole lot were following the lead of Johnston.

The Johnston Betrayal

It was a golden opportunity to form the labor party. Just a little leadership and courage on the part of Johnston and the thing would have been done. But he lacked both. Although he hated Gompers bitterly and had the forces with which to overthrow him and his reactionary political policy he did not dare to undertake the job. The Chicago conference did nothing practical. After adopting a sickly parody on the Declaration of Independence, it adjourned to meet again in Cleveland in December of the same year. Everybody with a bit of sand in him was disgusted. But still a ray of hope lingered. Those who did not know the weak Johnston felt that perhaps he wanted further time to build up more troops for the final assault on the Gompers stronghold. Then came the Cleveland fiasco, which ended by Johnston and his lieutenants

timidly endorsing the threadbare Gompers policy. Thus that promising movement blew up. It was the old story of the fabled general who, with a lot of horses and men, marched them up the hill and marched them down again.

At this critical juncture the Farmer-Labor Party again came strongly to the fore. Denouncing the Conference for Progressive Political Action as a scab outfit, its leaders pulled their party out of that sickly body. Almost immediately everyone who believed sincerely in the formation of a labor party turned his attention again to the Farmer-Labor Party. Meanwhile the Workers' Party and the Trade Union Educational League had been carrying on a militant and widespread campaign in the unions for independent working class political action. Great numbers of local unions, city centrals, state federations of labor, and international unions were won over to the cause. Particularly effective in developing this sentiment was the great national labor party referendum sent out by the Trade Union Educational League to 35,000 local unions. In fact, it was very largely because of the success of this referendum that the officials of the Farmer-Labor Party moved to crystallize the rapidly spreading movement for a labor party. They issued their call for a "monster political convention" to which all "labor, farm, and political groups," both local and national, were invited to send delegates "for the purpose of devising means for knitting together the many organizations in this country in such a manner as will enable the workers to really function politically."

The Farmer-Labor Party Revives

This was an inspiring gesture. Hope for a labor party, long deferred, revived again. Apparently the Farmer-Labor Party, freeing itself from the lassitude that had crippled it from its birth, had finally come to realize that the labor party issue, like amalgamation, was purely a rank and file question and had determined to make a bold fight for it among the broad masses in the unions. Many circumstances had conspired to make this conclusion seem plausible. Years ago the Farmer-Labor Party had broken with the Gompers clique of officials, and after the Cleveland conference it parted company with the remainder of the higher officialdom, the Johnston group. This should have convinced it that there was nothing to be looked for from the bureaucracy of the trade unions and that the only thing left for it was to make a militant appeal to the great rank and file. Its logical role was to lead a vigorous labor party struggle in all the organizations and to put across the pro-

gram of independent working class political action in spite of the opposition of the entire official family. It was a splendid opportunity and a solemn responsibility, demanding foresight, initiative, and daring. But events proved that the national leadership of the Farmer-Labor Party failed completely to understand the situation or to live up to its requirements.

The Farmer-Labor Party Weakens

The militant and revolutionary elements in the labor movement took seriously the Farmer-Labor Party's gesture of revolt. They thought that body was in earnest and prepared to accept the consequences of its acts when it boldly denounced the Cleveland Conference for not forming a labor party and then called together a great rank and file convention to create such a party. So these militants worked vigorously and effectively to make the convention a success. On the other hand, the Farmer-Labor Party leaders, with few exceptions, never entered into the spirit of the convention. They did practically nothing to build it up. Many even sabotaged it outright. Their trouble was that ideologically they belonged in the left wing of the Johnston Conference for Progressive Political Action. Although the whole higher officialdom of our labor movement had declared against forming a labor party, the Farmer-Labor Party leaders could not quite give up the hope that this officialdom, in some way or other, would finally organize the party. They did not want to sever connections with that leadership. They were afraid of losing caste in the labor movement if they placed themselves at the head of a real rank and file movement. Consequently their course was one of vacillation and uncertainty. As the convention date approached their discontent and alarm increased. The thing was taking on entirely too much of a rank and file and revolutionary character to suit them. Soon it became evident that few or none of the big international unions and state federations would participate. But the worst blow came when the Socialist Party, true to its role of toady to the trade union bureaucracy, refused to sit into the convention. This robbed the convention of almost its last shred of "respectability," and made the situation practically impossible for the Farmer-Labor Party leaders. It forced upon them the alternative of either going along with a fighting rank and file movement, tintured with "red," to establish the labor party in the face of a united opposition by the trade union bureaucracy, a course naturally repugnant to them, or of practically repeating the Cleveland fiasco by doing nothing to form the proposed federated party.

It was under such circumstances that the memorable convention came together in the big Carmen's Auditorium. The number of delegates has been variously estimated from 600 to 800. They represented at least 600,000 workers, members of all sorts of agricultural and industrial organizations. High international officials of the unions were conspicuous by their absence, most of the labor representation coming from local unions and central labor councils. From the beginning it was manifest that the delegation, disillusioned by the Cleveland failure, was determined that a real start should be made towards the foundation of a genuine federated labor party, to which all working class political and industrial groups might affiliate.

The First Day

In this situation the cue was for the Farmer-Labor Party leaders, despite the rank and file character of the Convention, to place themselves boldly at the head of the movement by forming immediately the all-inclusive federated party, and by launching a militant campaign to win affiliations for it. Although the big unions were not represented, the delegation was heavy enough to guarantee the success of such a drive. Had they done this at least 95% of the delegates would have acclaimed and followed their leadership enthusiastically. But they failed to rise to the occasion. The Cook County (Illinois) group, entirely dominated by John Fitzpatrick, simply could not reconcile themselves to a rank and file struggle to establish the labor party, and particularly not as that struggle would have to be fought out shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionary Workers' Party. They had no constructive policy, but quibbled, hemmed and hawed about, hesitant and undecided. The only thing they were sure of was, that under the circumstances they could not go along profitably in a combination including the Workers' Party, although they themselves had invited that organization to the Convention. The result of their idea would be to detach the one group which, as experience had shown, was willing to fight for a federated party.

Manouvers to oust the Workers' Party began on the first day of the Convention. Departing from the original call sent out (which provided simply that all the organizations were to sit into a general convention of the F.-L. P.), the national leaders of the F.-L. P. proposed that first their organization would hold its convention, after which the invited unaffiliated organizations would be asked to attend, not a general convention as originally proposed, but merely a conference. The first difficulty arose over the seating

of delegates to the F.-L. P. Convention, July 3rd. Fearing that an attempt would be made to discriminate against them and to isolate them at that stage, the W. P. on July 2nd, wrote a letter to the F.-L. P. National Committee, proposing that no delegates be seated at the F.-L. P. Convention except those coming from regularly affiliated, per-capita-paying organizations. This the F.-L. P. National Committee definitely agreed to do. But to the great surprise of the W. P., on July 3rd, the F.-L. P. proposed that all delegates, unaffiliated as well as affiliated, be seated, with the exception of those coming from national organizations. The effect of this was to practically isolate the W. P., so the latter appealed to the Convention against such discrimination and asked that they be seated also. This was done by an almost unanimous vote. The F.-L. P. national leaders lost tremendously in prestige by this incident.

After the seating of the W. P., the day having come to an end, the convention adjourned to reconvene the following day, July 4th, as the general conference. Some have said that by insisting upon seats in the F.-L. P. Convention, the W. P. illegally invaded that body and hampered its action. But such an argument is nonsense. The W. P. simply insisted that it, as an invited organization, be granted the same rights as the great mass of other unaffiliated bodies that the F.-L. P., in violation of its agreement with the W. P., was about to seat. In any event, little serious business of the F.-L. P. was disturbed because, as it was officially stated, all that Party's Convention had proposed to do was to adopt a brief set of rules for the general conference.

The Second Day

Immediately the conference opened on July 4th, the situation heated up. Delegate Zeuch, of the Wisconsin Non-Partisan League, submitted a proposition for the formation of a permanent conference for independent working-class political action. Thereupon Delegate Manley, of Local 40, Structural Ironworkers of New York, moved as an amendment a resolution endorsing the formation of a Federated Farmer-Labor Party, and providing for an Organization Committee, composed of representatives of the principal groups present, which should submit to the assembled delegates a practical plan of procedure. For some inscrutable reason the chairman ruled this amendment out of order, whereupon it was re-submitted and made to stick by C. E. Ruthenberg, delegate of the W. P.

This was the time when the national officers of the F.-L. P., as conveners of the assembly, should have presented their plan of action. But

not a line did they submit. They contented themselves with filibustering against the Ruthenberg amendment. They did not openly declare that they were against forming a federated party. They asked that the conference, or more properly the Convention, take no stand on the proposition, but refer the whole matter to the Organization Committee. This evasion made still greater inroads on their prestige. The great bulk of the delegates, in the course of the long debate, became convinced that the F.-L. P. leaders did not want a federated party. Finally the Ruthenberg amendment was adopted with a roar. Except for a handful of delegates rallying around the Cook County group of the F.-L. P., the Convention went on record unanimously in favor of forming the Federated Farmer-Labor Party immediately.

That night the Organization Committee met. Out of 29 members on the Committee, 26 declared for the party as proposed. So they went ahead and mapped out a program and constitution. The dissident F.-L. P. delegates on the Committee submitted no plan. They merely declared that their organizations would not accept the federated party as outlined.

The Third Day

On July 5th, the last day of the Convention, the Organization Committee reported in favor of launching the Federated Farmer-Labor Party at once. This received a tremendous ovation from the Convention. There was no detailed minority report. Robert M. Buck, an F.-L. P. member of the Committee, who said he was speaking on behalf of the F.-L. P., stated in effect that his organization could not and would not abide by the report of the Organization Committee if it were adopted. He submitted no alternative plan. Delegate Buck's report provoked a storm of opposition. F.-L. P. delegates all over the hall declared that he did not voice their sentiments; they were ready for the federated party. Kennedy of Washington, McDonald of Illinois, Haering and Feldhaus of Ohio, and other pioneers of the F.-L. P. in Kentucky, California, Minnesota, and other states, so expressed themselves. It soon became evident that the resistance to the federated party comprised chiefly the Cook County F.-L. P. delegation, with a baker's dozen from outlying points.

After this the Convention rolled on, with speaker after speaker intoning the necessity for a federated party. Especially insistent were the farmers that the party be launched. The day wore on and a delegate, anxious to finish with the work, moved the previous question. But the majority group, hoping that some agreement

might yet be arrived at that would bring Fitzpatrick and his followers into harmony with the Convention, voted to continue debate. It was a most remarkable situation. Here was the Convention deep into the afternoon of its last day, almost at the point of adjournment in fact. Yet the F.-L. P. officials, the very ones responsible for the gathering, had not presented it the least semblance of a plan, either orally or in writing, regarding what they wanted it to do. Up to this point not a speech had they made nor a document had they submitted outlining a program of any kind. Finally, Delegate Ruthenberg mounted the platform and stated, as he had done times without number before to the F.-L. P. leaders, that in coming to the Convention the W. P. had in mind only one thing, to fight for the formation of a federated party. As a basis of that organization, he said, they would be glad to accept the F.-L. P. He demanded that Fitzpatrick and confreres should take charge of the movement, asking only a small minority representation for the W. P. on the National Executive Committee. He chided the F.-L. P. leaders for having submitted nothing concrete for the Convention to act upon.

This speech brought home to the F.-L. P. leaders the impossible position they were in. They asked time to caucus, and the Convention adjourned to give them the necessary opportunity. At 8:30 o'clock that night they brought in their answer to Ruthenberg's proposal. It was the first document they had submitted to the Convention. With its reading came the great revelation. No wonder the F.-L. P. leaders had hesitated so long in presenting their program. It was the plan of the most chauvinistic element in the F.-L. P. It proposed to affiliate all the groups present to the existing F.-L. P. on an autonomous basis, with the exception of the revolutionary elements (in this case chiefly the W. P.) which were to be excluded. Consider the contradiction of this. At the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action the F.-L. P. delegation voted to seat the W. P. delegates; then they invited them to attend the F.-L. P. Convention; and when the W. P. accepted the invitation in good faith, the F.-L. P. proposed to unseat them upon exactly the same legalistic grounds as those urged against them by Johnston in Cleveland. Let us quote here one paragraph of the F.-L. P. proposal:

We feel, however, that it would be suicide for us and the various organizations seeking together with us the unification on the political field of all of the forces with the same object in view for which we are striving, to undertake to bring into such affiliation any organization which advocates other than lawful means to bring about political changes or is affiliated with or

which accepts the leadership of either national or international political organizations whose propaganda and doctrines advocate the overthrow of the government of the United States by other than legal and constitutional methods, such as the Third International.

The Convention made short work of this belated program by laying it on the table. Then it adopted the Organization Committee's report almost unanimously. After that the National Executive Committee was elected and the Convention adjourned. The Federated Farmer-Labor Party was born.

The Fight Ahead

The advent of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party marks an epoch in American labor history. A mass party, led by militants, embodying the vital idea of a united political organization of workers and farmers, and operating in the midst of the present industrial and agricultural discontent, it is full of dynamic possibilities. Capitalistic interests realize this full well, and have already launched into a vicious journalistic attack upon it. In this work of destruction they are ably aided by reactionary labor sheets of every shade. Lies about the convention are being broadcasted wholesale.

For one thing there is the myth about the Communists packing and capturing the Convention. The fact is the W. P. elements were very much in a minority. Their strength was not in their numbers but in their program. They wanted a federated party and they fought consistently for it. The Convention, also wanting a federated party, followed their lead from first to last, as it recognized they were the outstanding group with a constructive plan. The whole affair was striking proof of the vital fact that American workers will follow revolutionary leaders, even as their forbears did in 1886, once these leaders participate in the mass organizations and supply them with practical proposals.

Another lie being widely spread relates to the supposed Farmer-Labor Party bolt. The fact is that the most militant elements in the F.-L. P., carrying with them the bulk of the organization, have declared for the new party. But the most absurd story of all is to the effect that the farmers would have none of the federated party. In reality, however, they were among its strongest advocates. The Chairman and the two Vice-Chairmen of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party are all farmers. Of the executive officers, only Joseph Manley, the Secretary-Treasurer, is an industrial worker. A sufficient refutation of the yarn about there being no one but Communists in the new party is had by simply reading the names of its National Executive Committee, and the organizations they represent. And these in-

clude only a small portion of the wide diversity of farm and industrial bodies in attendance at the Convention.

The following were elected to the National Executive Committee: S. Alenna, Co-operative organizations; E. Backus, Non-Partisan League of California; Anna M. Brady, Non-Partisan League of South Dakota; Wm. Bouck, Western Progressive Farmers' League; Mary B. Brite, Farmer-Labor Party of Ohio; Alexander Boyd, Fairmont (W. Va.) Central Labor Council; Anthony Capraro, local unions and joint boards, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; James Campbell, Buffalo Trades and Labor Council; I. L. Davidson, local unions International Ladies' Garment Workers; Wm. Z. Foster, local unions Brotherhood Railway Carmen; H. L. Franklin, West Va. State Federation of Labor; David A. Gorman, Labor Party of Los Angeles; W. H. Green, Progressive Party of Nebraska; C. E. Hoebel, Wisc. Women's Progressive Association; C. A. Hathaway, local unions Int. Association of Machinists; M. Jenkins, Independent Workmen's Circle; John C. Kennedy, Farmer-Labor Party of Washington; M. J. Loeb, miscellaneous trades; Ludwig Lore, Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Societies; Noah London, Workmen's Circle; Joseph Manley, Workers' Party of America; F. W. McKee, local unions Bro. of Locomotive Engineers; James McCullen, local unions United Mine Workers; Thomas Myerscough, local unions United Mine Workers; C. E. Ruthenberg, Workers Party; J. W. Rasmiller, local unions Order of Railway Conductors; Richard Swift; Farmer-Labor Party of Illinois; I. G. Scott, Socialist Party of Minnesota; Franklin Shoemaker, Farmer-Labor Publishing Co.; C. J. Stevens, Farmer-Labor Party of Kentucky; Geo. M. Tries, Detroit Federation of Labor; O. H. Wangerin, Minnesota Shop Crafts Legislative Committee; Harold M. Ware, United Farmers' Educational League; W. E. Zeuch, Non-Partisan League of Wisconsin.

The Federated Farmer-Labor Party is a militant organization. Fight is its middle name. Its membership is tired of pussyfooting with the labor party idea. It is out to make a vigorous campaign to establish a real political organization of the workers. One of its first moves will be the big Unity Convention, to be held in Chicago in mid-winter. This will be one of the greatest political gatherings in the history of America. It will make independent working-class political action an issue as never before. The Federated Farmer-Labor Party will break the chains with which the Gompers bureaucracy keeps the workers of this country bound to the political chariots of their industrial masters.

The Farmers in the New Party

By Hal M. Ware

THE whole system of American agriculture and land tenure is bankrupt. During the last census period the farm mortgage debt increased more than it had in 130 years before 1910. It jumped from a little more than \$1,500,000,000 in 1910, to nearly \$8,000,000,000 in 1920, and has increased more rapidly since. To this figure add chattel mortgages, taxes, interest, promissory notes, and store debts, and you get a staggering total, with about the same chance of being paid as has the German war debt.

Throughout the country these cold statistics are reflected in the tragic human dramas of foreclosures, tax sales, child slavery, increasing tenantry, and suicides. This is the story the farmers brought to the July 3rd Convention. For the farmer there is nothing left but a new deal. He has reached the primitive necessity to fight for his land.

The usual farm mis-leaders were noticeably absent. But the militants were there. Wm. Bouck, for instance; any one who has followed the National Grange movement knows of his courageous struggle out in Washington. Appreciation of his type of leadership was shown when he was elected permanent chairman of the Convention. And these farmers had come to cement an alliance with the industrial workers, through a Federated Party. Every time a pussyfooter spoke for "postponement," a militant farmer rose up and demanded the immediate formation of the Party they came to create.

"Dad" Walker, a vigorous, white-haired pioneer member of the North Dakota legislature, voiced the imperative demands from the soil. He had left his farm work piling up, and come 1,000 miles in a Ford with four other delegates, in order to get something done. He wanted no pussyfooting, and said so. He demanded the formation of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

Another militant farmer was Brother Bowles, a cherry farmer from Washington, who represented the Farmer-Labor Party. He stated his determination to go with the rest of the farmers in insisting upon the formation of the new party. The Non-Partisan League delegate from California came late, but he soon dispelled all doubt of his position. "I don't know what you've done," he said, "but I do know that a group of farmers back in California will skin me alive if I go back without a Labor Party. Those fellows dug up \$10 apiece to send me here to get it. Our motto is 'We'll stick,' and you can count on it."

W. H. Green, another farmer from Nebraska, and Brother Fedje, member of the North Dakota legislature, were active. A committee of nine was elected by the farmer caucus to draw up the agrarian demands of the Party. It represented a cross-section of the farmers present. Besides Bouck and Bowles from Washington, Walker of North Dakota, Mrs. Hanson of Wisconsin, a dirt farmer's wife, and just plain farmers, there was also Lieutenant-Governor of Wisconsin, Comings, and H. Samuels who ran for Governor of Idaho on a farm mortgage moratorium plank. The latter is also on the National Committee of the Non-Partisan League.

The demands of the farmers were drawn up in five points, as follows:

1. The land was created for all people and we demand a system of land tenure that will eliminate landlordism and tenantry and will secure the land to the users of the land.
2. Public ownership of all means of transportation, communication, natural resources, and public utilities, to be operated by and for the people.
3. The issue and control of all money and credit by the Government, for use instead of profit.
4. All war debts to be paid by a tax on excess profits.
5. A moratorium for all working farmers on their farm mortgages for a period of five years.

Here is the voice of the farmers who have their feet on the soil. Significant above all is the fact that these demands were made in a convention dominated by the industrial workers, and passed unanimously. The alliance between workshop and farm has been cemented. Unlike other political revolts of the farmers, this one has its roots in their economic organizations. It was delegates from farm organizations that joined hands with the rank and file of Labor.

The farmers have no illusions about the new Party. They know it will not have the mushroom growth of the Non-Partisan League, nor will it be a Party dominated by the agricultural elements, as was the Populist revolt. They have learned the futility of "farmer friends" and "farm bloc," with their miserable patchwork legislation. They have joined the Federated Farmer-Labor Party knowing that it is but the beginning of a long, hard struggle by the workers and working farmers for control of the Government. They know that only through such a coalition, and such a struggle, can they achieve their end—the land.

The Struggle in the Maritime Provinces

By Tim Buck

THE British Empire Steel Company, master of the coal mines and steel mills of Nova Scotia, has determined to destroy the unions in their territory and bring the workers again under the complete slavery which existed until a few years ago. After receiving a temporary check, in their failure to convict Malcolm Bruce of sedition a few weeks ago, they have now forced a giant industrial struggle which is going on as this is written. It is but the latest battle in a struggle which has not let up for two years. This is the story of that struggle and the background of misery and oppression out of which it grew.

The United Mine Workers in Nova Scotia was established in 1916. Although a courageous group attempted to organize it in 1909, the combined opposition of the coal companies, the Provincial Workmen's Association, troops, gunmen, and the blacklist in a strike of 17 months' duration, succeeded in crushing it out and driving most of the militants out of Nova Scotia to Alberta and the metal mines of Northern Ontario, or into semi-starvation for those, like old Jim McLachlan, who remained.

Taking advantage of the enormous demand for coal in 1916, and wave of organization in that period, the militants reorganized under the U. M. W. A. This time they succeeded so well that a government commission, appointed to examine the unrest in Nova Scotia, recommended that the Provincial Workmen's Association amalgamate with the U. M. W. A., which was done. From that time onward the U. M. W. A. has maintained its power.

These early struggles developed men of courage and of confidence in the rank and file. Rather than yield to the coal operators, they had peddled milk for a living, taken a bag of potatoes for their pay, and had still retained their spirit of revolt. Such men do not consider the pleasure of corporation representatives, or the ambitions of a union president, as of much account as compared with the welfare and desires of the workers they represent.

United Bosses Intensify the Fight

In 1921, all the coal companies in Nova Scotia were merged in the British Empire Steel Company, known as the "beastly Besco," which brought the miners face to face with a completely unified enemy. Faced with a period of depression right at this time, the steel mills and shipyards closed down. The Besco, burdened

with an outrageously inflated capitalization and drunk with its strength, saw one hope for its current profits—smash the miners' union, organized 12,000 strong, and make the profits from coal.

As a preliminary to destroying the union and reducing the miners to starvation, an intensive newspaper campaign was launched regarding the high price of coal. The Besco contracted to deliver millions of tons of iron ore from their iron mines at Wabania, Newfoundland, to Germany for Hugo Stinnes. Then with 2,500 steel workers on the streets, with 12,000 coal miners working less than half time, while cheap German labor and coal converted Newfoundland ore into steel, Besco struck the deadly blow which had been in preparation. On January 1st, 1922, wages, already among the lowest on the continent, were reduced 35%.

It was here that the training of the early struggles stood the miners in good stead. Although the District Executive, dominated by henchmen of the Lewis International administration, yielded with but a miserable protest, the rank and file waged a determined struggle against the reduction. Jim McLachlan, secretary of the district, issued a letter to all locals urging them to work only according to their pay. The campaign was so effective that, in one particular mine where they were anxious to maintain production, the underground force was increased from 65 to 97 gangs. A delegation of mayors from Nova Scotia waited upon the Minister of Labor and secured the appointment of a second conciliation board.

Class Collaboration Repudiated

The opinion of the miners concerning the board can best be judged from their own resolution on the subject. Meeting in convention in Truro, they adopted a resolution which said, in part:

As a settlement of this vexed question the Scott Board is proposed. Scott and his award are hardly worth a minute's consideration by this convention when the manner of his appointment, the attitude of the minister who appointed him, and Scott's own prejudiced statement in the opening session of the Board in Sydney are remembered. Like a vaudeville actor he was sent among us with his part in the show cut out for him, among us he went through his little stunts, made his bow, and like a vaudeville actor left us. The Scott award ought to be rejected by this convention.

Another resolution of this convention read in part as follows:

That the executive officers who supported the operators in their wage-slashing proposals, and who have shown the white feather in facing the employers, be

severely censured for their cowardice, and that they be declared not fit to represent neither the spirit, the will, nor the aspirations of the miners of Nova Scotia.

The Truro convention resulted in the election of a complete new District Executive Board. Marking as it did the repudiation by the miners of the policy of class collaboration, of delivering themselves to the mercy of capitalist "conciliators," it was the turning point in the struggle. From the defensive stand hitherto adopted, the miners immediately swung into vigorous attack, culminating in the strike of August, 1922.

The struggle now took on a political aspect, and clearly demonstrated the close connection between the Government and Besco. At the request of the Department of Justice, the Minister of Militia and Defense poured troops into Nova Scotia as though to oppose an invading army; machine guns, barbed wire entanglements, and other paraphernalia of war, were literally strewn about the coal fields, and troops were brought from points as far away as London, Ontario.

With all the provocation there was no disorder and no arrests. The miners withdrew the pumpmen. Strikers were enrolled as special police, enforced prohibition, and 2,000 native sons who had fought for their masters in the World War, organized into platoons, companies, and battalions, hurled defiance at the hirelings of Besco and the capitalist Government. In their determination to keep scabs and rum out of Nova Scotia, the miners searched automobiles and trains, stopping a military train by the simple expedient of barricading the track with the bodies of themselves, wives, and children.

Battling Against Treachery

Faced by 12,000 miners prepared to fight, and whose leadership displayed such forethought and audacity as to make the outcome problematical, the Besco hesitated and changed its tactics. These wily capitalists, seeing that it was the combination of solidarity with militant leadership which gave the miners their strength, laid their plans to destroy these two things which are the heart and soul of every labor organization that is worth while.

The bosses quickly found a tool ready to hand, in the person of Van Bitner, henchman of John L. Lewis and infamous for his part in disrupting District 14, in Kansas. He is of that slimy brood that goes hither and thither, playing the bosses' game, splitting and disrupting organizations to which thousands of honest men have given their lives. Under the cloak of constitutionalism, this creature came into Nova Scotia to cement a shameful alliance between his chief, Lewis, and the British Empire Steel Company, to whip the militant miners into submission.

Alexander Howat, who had been especially invited to address several meetings in Nova Scotia, was on the same train that bore Van Bitner into Canada. The true meaning of these two men to the labor movement is written in letters of fire in the different reception given them by the Government. When the train crossed the border at McAdam Junction, N. B., Howat was arrested and turned back by the Department of Justice, headed by Lomer Gouin, who is director in nine of the most powerful corporations in Canada. Van Bitner was received with honors, stamped as the representative of plutocracy and endorsed by Besco, the Government, and all the powers that be.

But Van Bitner, with all the powers of the Lewis machine behind him, with the support of the capitalist press and the poor tools of reaction within the ranks of the miners, like Silby Barrett, found the ranks of District 26 closed solidly against him. The District Executive, to remove the slightest excuse for disruptive action from the lieutenants of Lewis, withdrew the application for affiliation to the R. I. L. U., which had been made an issue. The miners then stood pat behind their militant leaders, and all the efforts of Van Bitner have had the one paltry accomplishment of influencing one little local to quit paying its per capita. Once more the militants demonstrated their ability and determination to protect the interests of the membership of District 26.

Smashing the Frame-Up

Outgeneraled at every turn, unable to smash the solidarity of the miners even with the willing aid of Lewis, Van Bitner, and Barrett, the British Empire Steel Company tried another card. They resorted to the frame-up to get the other end of the miners' winning combination, the leaders.

Their problem was where to begin; to start with members of the District Board, known and honored by all the workers of the district, would be dangerous. Therefore when Malcolm Bruce, editor of *The Worker*, was announced to speak on May Day, the word went out: "Get Bruce; he is an outsider and will be easy." It was hoped to thereby establish the precedent on which to hang a campaign of terrorism.

Again they failed. Detained by floods, Bruce arrived too late for the May Day celebrations. When he later addressed strring meetings throughout the district, the frame-up was sprung but it had gone wrong in the meantime. He was arrested, charged with seditious utterances as reported in the *Sydney Record*, a local kept sheet. Midnight raids were conducted on the homes and office of the district officials, to create

the proper "atmosphere." But at the trial all their elaborate preparations fell to pieces. In some way the keystone had fallen from the arch of the Besco plot, and the whole thing collapsed when the reporter for the *Sydney Record*, star witness for the prosecution, denied having telephoned in the story which had been printed and stated that Bruce had not uttered the words attributed to him.

As this is being written District 26 is meeting in convention. John L. Lewis again joined in the attack upon these militants, by sending that gathering a telegram demanding new elections and the ruling out as candidates of all who believe in the Red International of Labor Unions. The convention replied by a wire which reads, in part, as follows:

This convention declares that it shall firmly stand by the principle that in District 26 we shall defend freedom of thought, whether expressed by tongue or pen, and cannot consent to enact special rules to debar any member running in election in this District because of

Lewis and Farrington Unite

By Earl R. Browder

THE most striking illustration yet given of the growing power of the Progressive International Committee of the U. M. W. A., was the sudden coming together of John L. Lewis and Frank Farrington, president of the U. M. W. A. and president of District 12 respectively. For years these two officials have been at each others throats, denouncing one another as first-class crooks and betrayers of the organization. But in the face of the expanding organization of the militants, they, realizing that both were equally threatened, laid aside their struggle for the great prize of the presidency of the U. M. W. A. and joined forces against the "red menace." For a time Frank Farrington, following his usual course of employing any club to beat Lewis, thought that he could make use of the Progressive movement. This is shown by the following letter, sent to an Illinois union man, whose name, for obvious reasons, must be suppressed:

Springfield, Ill., May 5, 1923.

Dear Sir and Bro:

I am returning herewith the circular letter which accompanied your letter of May 3rd. I do not think the men who are behind the so-called progressive movement have any intentions whatever of establishing a dual organization of Mine Workers, instead their activities, I think, are due entirely to their determination to clean up some of the corruption that is going on in our International Union.

I think they are making a mistake by terming themselves the progressive members of the United Mine

Workers of America, but I am quite certain they have no intentions of trying to establish a Dual Organization. Instead of trying to establish a dual organization I think they are trying to mobilize those who are opposed to corruption in the U. M. W. of A., so that an effective protest may be made.

Alex Howat has repeatedly declared that he will have nothing to do with the establishment of a dual organization of mine workers and I am satisfied that he meant just what he said. I do think, however, that Howat has much reason for complaint and he will no doubt identify himself with this element in our union because he believes that is the only way he can secure justice for himself and the Kansas Mine Workers.

Yours truly,
F. Farrington, President.

But Farrington soon saw his mistake. It quickly became evident to him that the Progressive movement was one of principle, and that it could not be used as a catspaw by him. He came to realize that it was directed as much against his own incompetency, autocracy, and corruption as that of Lewis. Then, without wasting time upon formalities, he put on the shelf his supposed fight to the death with Lewis, and wrote the latter the following interesting and instructive letter:

Springfield, Ill., May 21, 1923.

Mr. John L. Lewis, President
United Mine Workers of America,
Indianapolis, Ind.

Dear Sir and Brother:

I have been observing with considerable concern the activities of the various elements that are working to destroy the long standing, sane, constructive and effect-

ive principles of the United Mine Workers of America. These elements are becoming greater in number and stronger in influence and the result of their work is becoming more obvious every day and cannot but fill with concern progressive and conservative men who have the interest of the United Mine Workers of America at heart, and my belief is that if the men who believe in the principles and policies of the United Mine Workers of America do not soon get together and fight shoulder to shoulder in combating these destructive elements, it is only a matter of time until they will gain control of our Union and the red flag will be our standard, or else demoralization and division in the ranks of the Mine Workers will prevail and the effectiveness of our Union will be destroyed.

I have no political ambition to gratify, neither have I any selfish ends to serve and I have no fear of any personal consequences. As for myself I am confident that I would be able to get along nicely and with more peace of mind regardless of what might happen to our Union, but I do have a deep concern over what may happen to the United Mine Workers of America, and I feel that those who believe in constructive thought and action should get together if the Mine Workers of the Country are to get the best results and those who are actuated by a desire to destroy are to be defeated.

I feel that the interests of our Union are far superior to any personal interests I could possibly have and that any personal interest I may have should be submerged in the interest of the United Mine Workers of America. Therefore, I write to suggest, and I do so on my own initiative, that you and I have a conference to see if we can find some honorable, common ground upon which we may stand so that instead of fighting each other we may get together and fight those who are vigorously trying to destroy the United Mine Workers of America. This letter is not written in a spirit of submission nor in personal interest, but because of the belief, as already stated, that the time is not far distant when those who believe in sane and constructive progress must get together if those who advocate the impossible are to be defeated and our Union is to continue to protect and promote the interests of our membership.

If you feel the same way as I have expressed myself, herein, I shall be glad to hear from you as to whether or not my suggestion, as to the conference, is acceptable to you.

Yours truly,
F. Farrington, President.

Panicky himself over the rising tide of rank and file protest, Lewis quickly forgot his animosity toward Farrington, and wrote him the following letter:

Raleigh Hotel,
Washington, D. C.,
May 25th, 1923.

Mr. Frank Farrington, President
District 12, U. M. W. of A.,
Springfield, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Your letter of May 21st was forwarded to me here. I have no objections to your suggestion for a personal conference. When I return to Indianapolis or Springfield, which I expect will be in the course of a week or ten days, I will communicate with you so that we can arrange the time and place of meeting.

Yours truly,
John L. Lewis, President.

The proposed conference was duly held. The two arch-reactionaries of the miners' union, Lewis and Farrington, buried the hatchet and united their forces for a general war against the progressive elements. Here is the way Farrington describes the meeting:

Springfield, Ill., June 10, 1923.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Enclosed herewith is copy of letter written by me under date of May 21, 1923, and addressed to President John L. Lewis. Enclosed also is a copy of his reply to my letter.

As a result of this correspondence, President Lewis called at my office on June 6th and we had a conference lasting several hours. As a result of this conference I feel that from now on there will be co-operation instead of antagonism between the International and District Unions and that a more harmonious relationship will exist.

No doubt stories will be circulated, many of which will be false, as to why the old antagonism no longer exists between President Lewis and myself; therefore, my reason for sending you the enclosed subject matter, which will enable you to know how and why the change was accomplished.

President Lewis seemed to be in accord with my opinion as to the dangers and difficulties that are confronting the United Mine Workers of America and readily agreed that if we were to get the best results for the mine workers of the country there must be closer co-operation between men who believe in constructive progress.

In this whole matter I have no personal interests to serve, no selfish ambition to satisfy and I do not fear the antagonism of any man. My only desire is to do that which my conscience tells me is necessary to promote the interests of the United Mine Workers of America.

Yours truly,
F. Farrington, President.

One of the first fruits of the unholy alliance between Lewis and Farrington is a renewed attempt to strangle Alexander Howat. Lewis hates Howat with a burning bitterness. He knows that Howat is honest and courageous and that if he succeeds in reinstating himself in the organization he will never rest content until the edifice of autocracy and corruption, built up by Lewis, has been destroyed. Therefore, it is now known that one of the first conditions of peace laid down by Lewis to Farrington was that the latter should stop supporting Howat in his battle for a square deal in the miners' union. Farrington, like all others of his kind, never looked upon the Howat case as anything more than a convenient weapon to use against Lewis, so he readily agreed to knife Howat. Disregarding completely the statements in his letter of May 5th, which is quoted above, he unhesitatingly condemned the Progressive movement and Howat, breaking completely with the latter. The following letter tells its own tale of hypocrisy:

Springfield, Ill., June 29th, 1923.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Replying to your letter of recent date I advise that

I assume that the case of Alexander Howat will be an issue in our next International Convention and that a decision will be rendered by that body. I have done everything in my power to get him reinstated to membership in our union as a matter of fact. I led his fight from the very beginning and I not only gave him my moral support but I recommended that he be given the financial support of District No. 12 and financial support was given him and the Kansas Miners without stint.

However, recently he has aligned himself with Wm. Z. Foster and other well known leaders in the I. W. W., all of whom are working to destroy the United Mine Workers of America. Under the circumstances I cannot longer identify myself with Howat and I have written him to that effect. When he identifies himself with men whom he knows are enemies of the United Mine Workers of America, then I am done and I refuse to identify myself with men of that calibre.

It was a great disappointment to me to learn that Alex had lined up with the enemies of our union. He surely could not do his own case any good by following that course while on the other hand he has done his case irreparable harm.

I shall continue to do everything I can for the Kansas Miners but now that Alex has joined forces with the enemies of our Union he will have to make this own fight in his own way. Under the circumstances I can do no more for him.

Yours truly,
F. Farrington, President.

With their forces thoroughly united, the reactionaries have declared open war upon the Progressives. The International Executive Board of the U. M. W. A., in a wild manifesto, which is appended to this article, have denounced the rank and file movement as a dual organization. One of the first acts in the campaign of repression was the villainous attack upon Joseph Manley, J. P. McCarthy, A. Wagenknecht, and Ida G. McCarthy, at the Scranton Tri-District Convention of the anthracite miners. This was one of the most outrageous affairs in the history of the American labor movement. Denouncing these four, who were visitors in the gallery, in the bitterest terms and giving them absolutely no chance to say a word in their own defense, Lewis then had his retainers and sluggers eject them from the hall. Never has a similar mobbing taken place in a trade union convention.

But the Progressive forces are undismayed by the attacks of the united Lewis-Farrington machine. They know that the great rank and file are seething with discontent at the constant mismanagement and betrayal that has marked the administration of the miners' union in recent years. They know that their program meets the needs of the great mass membership, and that once the latter come to be acquainted with it they will accept it with enthusiasm. The very desperation of the reactionaries' resistance encourages them to go on with their work. It is safe to say that the Progressive International Committee will bring about a revolution in the leadership, tactics,

and policies of the miners' union within the next couple of years.

The following document is the statement of the International Executive Board relative to the Progressive Miners' movement. We include it to show the desperate and unprincipled character of the present administration:

UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA
1102-14 Merchants' Bank Bldg.
Indianapolis

Action of the International Executive Board of the United Mine Workers of America on Dual Organizations

The International Executive Board views with great concern the activities of certain individuals who, in various sections and under divers circumstances, are obviously attempting to create discord and confusion within the United Mine Workers. These individuals, many of whom are without trade union standing and some of whom are of questionable character, seem to derive their energy from the same general source and are apparently actuated by similar motives and work for the same objective.

We have witnessed the formation and temporary existence of the "Working Class Union" in the southwestern coal fields and the trail of confusion and trouble which it left in its wake; we have witnessed the organization of the "One Big Union" in the northwestern provinces of Canada and its later annihilation by the diligent efforts of the loyal trade unionists in the mining industry of those fields; we have observed the almost continuous activities of the birds of passage, who for years past have sown broadcast the malignant germs of industrial hatred which have marked the history of the "Industrial Workers of the World"; we have in comparatively recent times been obliged to openly oppose and strike down the propaganda of the "Red Trade Union International of Moscow," which openly reared its serpent head in the maritime provinces of Canada.

All of these organizations, drawing to themselves the worst elements in industrial America, were dual organizations to the United Mine Workers, having for their purpose; first, the control, and later, the destruction of our trade union organization, committed as it is to the principles of collective bargaining and the perpetuity of governmental institutions.

With the lapse of time evidence has appeared to definitely indicate a visible bond of affinity between these several aggregations of malcontents. Various individuals active in one of these so-called organizations and driven by the extremity of circumstance to other fields have appeared as the proponents of others of the above named dual movements. A common inspiration and a common objective unite them, and it has at various times required great diligence to combat their intrigue and render futile their machinations. In every instance, however, the United Mine Workers has emerged from the conflict with their philosophy with an enhanced prestige and great loyalty among its members, which vividly depicts the triumph of truth over sophistry and the worth of true industrial service as against the false vaporings of industrial zealots.

The material accomplishments of the United Mine Workers, committed as it is to recognized trade union principles, commend it as an organization to the minds of thoughtful men, and its marvelous growth and expansion in influence is a tribute to its founders and its

(Continued on Page 32)

What I Did Not See in Russia

By Robert W. Dunn

Acting Director Civil Liberties Union, formerly with Friends Relief in Russia

EUGENE V. DEBS, in his speeches throughout the country, has been getting his biggest "hand" when he mentions Soviet Russia. In order to be quite fair and make all due allowances for the many prejudices that have been produced in the minds of the American people by a lying press he says, in the course of his addresses, "You tell me about Russia. I'll tell you about West Virginia."

Just so—and there are one or two other things he could tell them about, things that have not been observed in Soviet Russia,—features of our "civilized" American order of life which must shock even the most mature and sophisticated radical on returning from Russia. For in spite of the N. E. P. (new economic policy) and the much heralded "return to capitalism" there are some evidences of our western civilization which have not happened in Russia. For example, there are in Russia today no wage cutting, union smashing, "open-shop" campaigns, no Palmer, Daugherty, or Burns raids on meetings, or on striking and picketing workmen, no frame-ups and dynamite plantings by private spy agencies and fake "industrial strike bureaus," no injunctions, anti-strike laws and Coronado decisions. There are no one hundred or one thousand per cent dividends to absentee stock-holders, no labor-hating and labor baiting employers' associations, no Rotary and Kiwanas Clubs, Boosters' Associations and National Civic Federations devoted to 100-per centing the population and miscellaneous mob violence.

Moreover, there are no mobs lynching members of another race because their color is different, Ku Klux Klan Kleagles and Imperial Wizards running amuck in night shirts, enforcing the "laws of God," no company-owned villages, priests, schools and deputy sheriffs, mine guards and yeggmen. Nor are there college "hero" strikebreakers living in country clubs and on "gold coasts," or tent colonies of workmen evicted for striking for a living wage, or housing conditions as bad as you see in the Rhode Island textile villages.

Finally, and most important of all, I saw no government power in the hands of private bankers, directors of trust companies, coal operators, steel barons, oil kings, bond brokers and insurance speculators. The government was clearly and unmistakably in the hands of the working class and peasantry led by a revolutionary party.

That is the important fact and the one that needs to be repeated again and again until it sinks into the brains of the working class the world over. And with this fact the corollary—the government does not act as a strike-breaking agency.

This leads us to an observation on certain things one *does* see in Russia. One sees among other encouraging things industrial unions of workers. About these unions certain facts should be noted, as they may have been already by others who have returned from Russia:

1. The unions are not compulsory. The positive advantages of membership, however, are so attractive that in all industries from 90 to 100 per cent of the workers are in the union ranks.

2. These unions are industrial—exclusively so. They admit no craft divisions or distinctions. This condition was not produced immediately upon the outbreak of the revolution but came about by a series of experiments and consolidations. In 1917, for example, there were 100 separate unions. By January 1918, 57, by 1919, 32. Now there are 23 with possibilities of one or two more consolidations in the interest of further solidarity.

3. The trade-union cultural and educational work is certainly the most interesting and comprehensive work of its kind anywhere in the world. Not only is this evident in the hundreds and thousands of factory circles, groups, classes, libraries and meetings. Judged merely by its periodical and statistical literature the Russian Unions are foremost, considering the ignorance and illiteracy that prevailed among the masses prior to the revolution.

Over 150 periodical publications are put out by the Culture Department of the different unions and 85 regular journals are published by the Administrative Departments of the unions. The Railroad Workers' Union, for example, publishes a daily called "The Whistle." Nine out of every ten members read it. The metal workers have two weekly papers and a page in the railroad workers' daily. The Leather Workers run an excellent weekly, and the "Voice of the Textile Workers" is far ahead of any textile union journal I have seen in any country.

This extra-ordinary educational work is not stimulated or imposed from above. For nowhere is there such genuine hunger for education, nowhere are the workers so deeply and intensely interested in cultural questions. Having wiped

out illiteracy in the Red Army, the next drive is on the trade unions. There will be no illiteracy in the trade unions by January 1924.

4. The unions play a most important role co-operating with Government departments in drawing up plans for the industries, in appointing directors of the many State Trusts, in preparing projects for city housing, and in working out solution to dozens of other social problems. In short, the Russian Unions hold much the same relation to the Workers' Government of Russia as the Garys and the Morgans hold toward the captain-of-industry dictatorship on this side of the Atlantic.

Perhaps this picture is a little too good to be true, but I note that even the latest reports of F. A. Mackenzie of the "Globe" (he crossed the border on the same train with me) contradict little that I have said above.

There are certain things to be admitted and the leaders of Russia have themselves been proclaiming them in and out of Russia for years:

There is some bribery ("that truly Russian phenomena" as Lenin, displaying a rather profound ignorance of American life, once called it) and graft and corruption, especially on the railroads. There was much more of this before the revolution; there is much of it today, for example, on the Polish railroads. But the Soviet government is waging an active and apparently increasingly successful struggle against these survivals of Tsarist times—inefficiency, delay, bureaucracy.

Also, there are some local politicians in the villages, in the Samara government, for instance, and in the customs offices in Moscow, who are not the sort of people one expects to find in Utopia. Foreign relief workers have been thrown in contact with some of these small officials and their impressions of Russia have been considerably darkened because of the fact. The "Special Commission to Combat Bribery and Corruption" is dealing with these officials as fast as they can be discovered. That is more than can be said about French-favored Poland, for example, where graft is still widespread among the local *storostas* and the heads of *poviets* and *geminas*.

Lacking the necessary big credits and co-operation from abroad the Russian industries are picking up only gradually. This fact cannot be denied. But they are gaining ground and going ahead in spite of mistakes in some branches and inefficiency in others. All the material factors and the psychological factors, too, point toward continued improvement. Among the reasons for this steady advance toward recovery are:

1. The devotion and tireless zeal of the workers who are loyal to their government and who

are fighting vigorously on the "economic front."

2. The fact that Russia has no debt to pay to the past, no overburdening war debt. All she produces and raises is her own. There are no native or foreign exploiters or creditors to be bought off with the major part of the goods produced.

3. The recuperative power and vitality of the Russian people seems to be greater than that of most other European people. There is definitely more hope and courage and interest in upbuilding than anywhere else. Real wages are constantly rising (they more than doubled last year over the year before) and some are now above pre-war levels.

When I was in Moscow I saw some statistics fresh from the hand of F. D. Markuzon, the wizard of the Labor Statistical Bureau, showing pretty clearly and convincingly that the *real* wage income of workers in certain industries—even in the Moscow machine trade, were from three to four times higher than those of workers in Germany! I found comparable condition in textiles where the workers are today certainly as well off as they are in Lodz or Leipzig. Wages are of course not so adequate in the provinces and are very low indeed in the Urals and in Siberia.

The most dissatisfied worker, however, will tell you in response to your inquiry as to his condition: "No, *teper jivjom*" (Well, now we live)—or the inevitable "*nechevo*" which has a score of different meanings, but one of them is "not so bad" or still more freely translated, "Well, pretty good, considering what we've been up against." Considering the wars with the Allies, the Whites, the whole world, the blockade, famine and the rest . . . not so badly.

I asked one tireless Bolshevik woman who worked a fourteen-hour day organizing the lecture course and dramatic work of a provincial textile union, what she thought of the conditions of the Russian workers as compared with the workers elsewhere. She answered: "Oh, much worse, it seems to me, for here we have the *responsibility*. It's all ours to do, it's all on our hands. We can't delay or shirk the job. No one will solve our production problems for us. They're ours; they belong to the workers, the victors in the revolution, but also the burden bearers of the new Russia." From the purely selfish view-point of plugging work plus responsibility the Russian might be considered in a "worse" condition than others; but from the standpoint of the revolutionary struggle for power and freedom, they are now, and promise to be for some time to come, the happiest and most fortunate working people on God's earth.

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This extra-ordinary educational work is not stimulated or imposed from above. For nowhere is there such genuine hunger for education, nowhere are the workers so deeply and intensely interested in cultural questions. Having wiped

out illiteracy in the Red Army, the next drive is on the trade unions. There will be no illiteracy in the trade unions by January 1924.

4. The unions play a most important role co-operating with Government departments in drawing up plans for the industries, in appointing directors of the many State Trusts, in preparing projects for city housing, and in working out solution to dozens of other social problems. In short, the Russian Unions hold much the same relation to the Workers' Government of Russia as the Garys and the Morgans hold toward the captain-of-industry dictatorship on this side of the Atlantic.

Perhaps this picture is a little too good to be true, but I note that even the latest reports of F. A. Mackenzie of the "Globe" (he crossed the border on the same train with me) contradict little that I have said above.

There are certain things to be admitted and the leaders of Russia have themselves been proclaiming them in and out of Russia for years:

There is some bribery ("that truly Russian phenomena" as Lenin, displaying a rather profound ignorance of American life, once called it) and graft and corruption, especially on the railroads. There was much more of this before the revolution; there is much of it today, for example, on the Polish railroads. But the Soviet government is waging an active and apparently increasingly successful struggle against these survivals of Tsarist times—inefficiency, delay, bureaucracy.

Also, there are some local politicians in the villages, in the Samara government, for instance, and in the customs offices in Moscow, who are not the sort of people one expects to find in Utopia. Foreign relief workers have been thrown in contact with some of these small officials and their impressions of Russia have been considerably darkened because of the fact. The "Special Commission to Combat Bribery and Corruption" is dealing with these officials as fast as they can be discovered. That is more than can be said about French-favored Poland, for example, where graft is still widespread among the local *storostas* and the heads of *poviets* and *geminas*.

Lacking the necessary big credits and co-operation from abroad the Russian industries are picking up only gradually. This fact cannot be denied. But they are gaining ground and going ahead in spite of mistakes in some branches and inefficiency in others. All the material factors and the psychological factors, too, point toward continued improvement. Among the reasons for this steady advance toward recovery are:

1. The devotion and tireless zeal of the workers who are loyal to their government and who

are fighting vigorously on the "economic front."

2. The fact that Russia has no debt to pay to the past, no overburdening war debt. All she produces and raises is her own. There are no native or foreign exploiters or creditors to be bought off with the major part of the goods produced.

3. The recuperative power and vitality of the Russian people seems to be greater than that of most other European people. There is definitely more hope and courage and interest in upbuilding than anywhere else. Real wages are constantly rising (they more than doubled last year over the year before) and some are now above pre-war levels.

When I was in Moscow I saw some statistics fresh from the hand of F. D. Markuzon, the wizard of the Labor Statistical Bureau, showing pretty clearly and convincingly that the *real* wage income of workers in certain industries—even in the Moscow machine trade, were from three to four times higher than those of workers in Germany! I found comparable condition in textiles where the workers are today certainly as well off as they are in Lodz or Leipzig. Wages are of course not so adequate in the provinces and are very low indeed in the Urals and in Siberia.

The most dissatisfied worker, however, will tell you in response to your inquiry as to his condition: "No, *teper jivyom*" (Well, now we live)—or the inevitable "nechevo" which has a score of different meanings, but one of them is "not so bad" or still more freely translated, "Well, pretty good, considering what we've been up against." Considering the wars with the Allies, the Whites, the whole world, the blockade, famine and the rest . . . not so badly.

I asked one tireless Bolshevik woman who worked a fourteen-hour day organizing the lecture course and dramatic work of a provincial textile union, what she thought of the conditions of the Russian workers as compared with the workers elsewhere. She answered: "Oh, much worse, it seems to me, for here we have the *responsibility*. It's all ours to do, it's all on our hands. We can't delay or shirk the job. No one will solve our production problems for us. They're ours; they belong to the workers, the victors in the revolution, but also the burden bearers of the new Russia." From the purely selfish view-point of plugging work plus responsibility the Russian might be considered in a "worse" condition than others; but from the standpoint of the revolutionary struggle for power and freedom, they are now, and promise to be for some time to come, the happiest and most fortunate working people on God's earth.

T. U. E. L. Progress in the Needle Trades

By Joseph Zack, Secretary of the Needle Trades Section

THAT the Trade Union Educational League should be making great progress in the needle trades is not surprising. The conditions in that industry were probably more favorable than in most others for the new program. Even in the years before the World War there had been organized left-wing groups in the clothing industry, inspired by various radical elements such as Socialists, Syndicalists, Anarchists, and others. It is true that until the T. U. E. L. came into the field such movements were mainly confined to local issues, and often developed bitter struggles usually without raising national issues. The result was, however, that the needle workers were higher developed than most others in tactics and policies.

Fortunately none of the past movements in the needle trades led to dual unionism, the scourge of many industries in the labor movement. The single exception to this statement might be said to be the case of the United Garment Workers, a reactionary organization, which has performed in a dual capacity to the bona fide union in the men's garment industry, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. But here, instead of the radicals being the ones outside the mass union, it was the conservatives and reactionaries who placed themselves in that position. In the needle industry the radicals have always had the established policy of staying with the masses.

When the slogans of the Trade Union Educational League went forth to all the militants in the labor movement, the task of the needle trades workers was, therefore, not to bring the militants into the unions, for they were already there and to some extent active and organized. The task was rather to unify all the existing left-wing groups upon a common national program and stir them into concerted activity. In this the success of the League has been very heartening. A solid and healthy movement has been established.

Today, after a year of intensive work, the militants in the needle trades are organized, several thousand strong, in almost every clothing center in the United States and Canada. There is hardly a local union in which the T. U. E. L. has not established a nucleus, varying in membership from 5 to 100. The bulk of the militant rank and file membership is today enrolled in the League.

At the recent national conference of the Needle Trades Section of the League, the large attend-

ance and the reports there made revealed the great organizational strength that had been developed in less than two years of work. This has found expression not only in League groups, but also in the adoption of our program by local unions, executive boards, joint boards, etc. Most of this progress was made before the establishment of a national basis of trade issues. With the formulation of our concrete national organization with dynamic trade issues as a basis, there is no doubt that the progress of the coming year is going to exceed greatly our past achievements.

As an example of the extent to which the League program has been established in the ranks of the membership, may be cited the issue of amalgamation. The program of the League, containing specific plans of amalgamation of all clothing unions, has been endorsed by 76 local unions and nine joint boards. With a unified effort of the militants this fall and winter, there is no reason why the 1924 Conventions of the big Internationals should not be carried overwhelmingly. The needle trades unions should be the first big group of unions to amalgamate under the T. U. E. L. plan.

The Shop Delegates system of organization is, after amalgamation, the big issue of the militant clothing workers. This aims to revive the unions from within, changing the union machinery so as to draw the workers of the shops into the life of the union. This progressive step is absolutely necessary to combat the strangling effects of bureaucracy and to allow the mass of the membership to influence and control the policies of the union.

Although little known as yet to the militants in other industries, the Shop Delegate system has long been a vital issue in the clothing industry. It was not until the national conference of the T. U. E. L., however, that practical steps to put it into effect were laid down. The immediate step being pushed forward everywhere is the introduction and development of monthly meetings of shop chairmen. Many militants believe that the field is so ripe for this reform that the needle trades workers will take hold of it even more rapidly than they have the more important issue—amalgamation.

Just now the needle trades unions are at bat with the bosses in a strong effort to regain the ground lost during the "open shop" drive. This movement is being supported and pushed by the militants wholeheartedly, and will surely result in many gains. The League is also making

strong efforts to reach into the great mass of unorganized by having the unions launch great organization campaigns.

Before the national conference of the needle trades, the greatest obstacle to our work was the confusion on tactics that prevailed in our ranks. The conference clarified this considerably. We have established the tactic that our work within the unions is to avoid friction in carrying on the daily routine of the organizations. Especially in weak locals we must submerge our differences so far as is consistent with our main issues, in order to make a common front to organize the unorganized against the bosses.

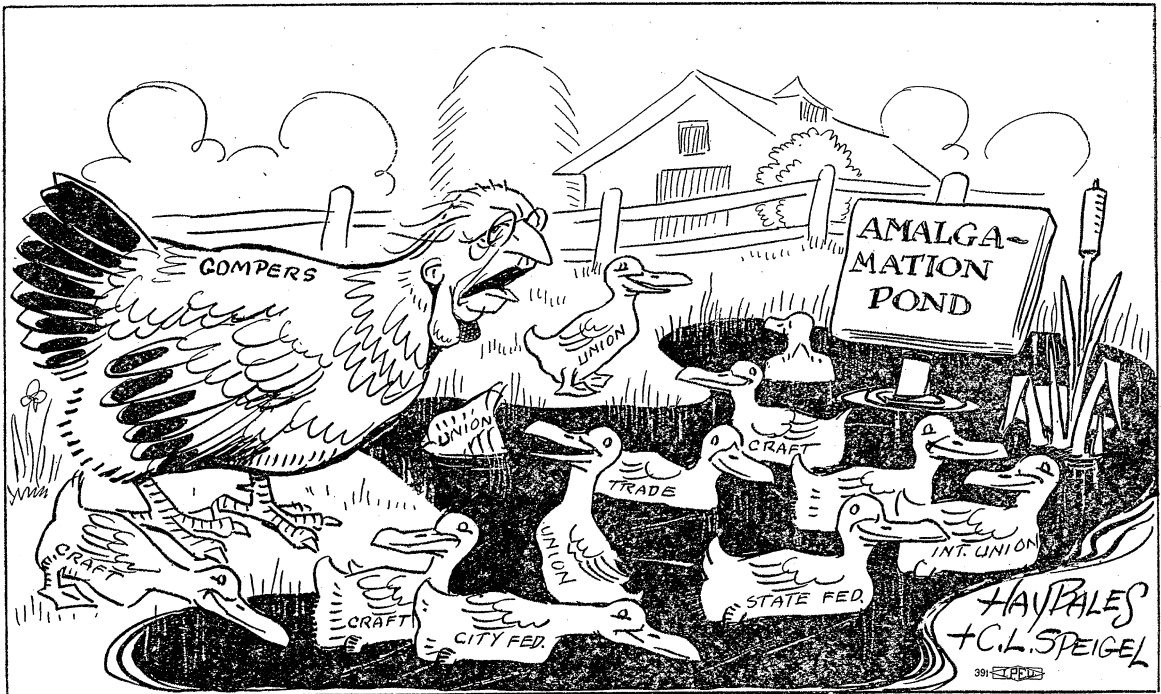
Another important tactic established for the needle trades militants is the use of the regular union machinery for propagating our ideas, rather than any outside or extra-union methods. We are now in a position to influence a considerable portion of the union machinery, sufficient to carry the union for our policies or to educate the rank and file. In the past too many of our comrades had the habit of running away from the real fight by carrying on work in the League groups which should have been taken directly into the union meetings. Particularly in such matters as arranging protest meetings, mass

meetings, issuing leaflets, etc., the work should, wherever possible, be done through the regular union machinery.

With the organizational strength which the T. U. E. L. has developed in the needle trades unions, it has already established itself as a first rate factor in the life of the industry. With our national program and dynamic trade issues as a basis for our future activities, we can look forward to yet greater achievements. When all our members realize the opportunity and get busy behind this program we will have one of the best sections of the T. U. E. L. and will be well on the way to putting the policies of the League into effect in the life of our unions.

SECOND GENERAL CONFERENCE, T. U. E. L.

EACH local general group of the T. U. E. L. should make the question of the Second General Conference, Chicago, Sept. 1-2, a first order of business. Particularly should efforts be made to get militant delegates to attend from cities hitherto unorganized. 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.



LITTLE DUCKS

"My dears what are you up to now?
You ought to be at home;
I told you not to wet your feet,
I told you not to roam.

"Oh, dear! I'm sure you will be drowned;
I never saw such tricks;
Come home at once and go to bed.
You naughty, naughty chicks!"

Now most of them were five days old.
But one whose age was six,
"Please Ma'm," said he, "I think we're ducks;
I don't believe we're chicks."

Rob't. Mack, in Howell Second Reader.

The Red International Committee

IN order that the revolutionary movement may prosper and develop, it is absolutely essential that there be no dualism in our ranks. Wherever supporters of the Red International of Labor Unions are found, in the A. F. of L. or independent unions, they must have a uniform policy and program. Recognizing this fact, which applies everywhere, the Second Congress of the R. I. L. U. decided that councils or committees should be established in the various countries through which the revolutionaries in all organizations could come to a common understanding and co-operation in carrying out the program of the R. I. L. U. In accordance with this decision, representatives of the T. U. E. L. met in New York, June 6th, with representatives of the various unions affiliated to the R. I. L. U. The conference adopted the following tentative proposition, which has been submitted to the several organizations for ratification:

Statement

The prime essentials for achieving unification of the American labor movement are a mutual understanding between the militant groups in the many varied types of trade union organization, a clear insight into the causes for their being, and a recognition of the fact that while each group or type of organization plays its relative part in Labor's struggles the activity of each should be directed along lines of a common policy mutually agreed upon. These essentials can be arrived at only when the various militant groups have an organic medium through which they can all secure expression.

Heretofore such a point of general contact has not existed. Although in the main guided by a common ideology, the militant groups, because of their isolation from each other, have tended to developed policies and activities with little regard for one another. The consequence has been many misunderstandings and much working at cross purposes, to the detriment of all. The Red International Committee has been formed to correct this evil by furnishing the center through which the revolutionary groups can come to the necessary understanding and thus bring about the unification of their policies.

The Red International Committee will not be an organization exercising arbitrary pressure upon its component bodies and seeking to compel them to accept preconceived plans. On the contrary, recognizing that the existence of the various forms of militant organizations is evidence of the underlying forces that have produced them and proof positive that they cannot arbitrarily be swept aside, the Committee will give full weight to the various organizations and tendencies represented and will develop policies in accord therewith. It is with this aim in mind,

to develop uniform policies for its various affiliates, that the Red International Committee is organized under the following rules:

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Building Trades Move for Amalgamation

By J. W. Johnstone

THE International Committee for Amalgamation of the Building Trades is gradually establishing its connections all over the country. It is lining up a well-organized minority that will, in the very near future, be able to galvanize the various International Unions into life with its well-defined plan of action.

The issue of amalgamation has found a fertile field in the building industry. It is here that federation has been developed to its fullest and yet, as a means to real solidarity, it has proved a complete failure. More and more of the rank and file are waking up to this fact.

The building trades in Chicago have been able to resist the "open shop" drive better, probably, than most other cities in the country. Yet there is no room for boasting there. The Chicago Building Trades Council, in accepting the Landis "open shop" agreement, set a precedent that badly demoralized our forces and strengthened the hands of the employers throughout the entire industry.

The Landis decision became the model agreement, the club in the hands of the employers throughout the country. Its slashing wage-cuts formed the basis for a nation-wide reduction. Ostensibly it affected only Chicago, but actually it was a disastrous defeat for all workers in the industry.

The building boom that started shortly after the Landis decision saved the unions from sure defeat if not annihilation. But we have failed to take advantage of the splendid opportunity that it gave us to reorganize our forces. We are still in a chaotic state that leaves us an easy prey for the "open shoppers" as soon as the bottom falls out of the present boom.

In April of this year, many of the Chicago building tradesmen received a boost to the pre-Landis wage scale, but the "open shop" policy is still in effect. On June 1st the Landis agreement expired and a new agreement was entered into which is an exact duplicate of the Landis agreement, and which runs for three years. The wage agreement lasts one year. Only the so-called "outlaw" unions refuse to work with "fink" labor. Although there are rumblings of discontent among the rank and file of the organizations that have signed this new scab agreement, still the official attitude dominates.

Never in the history of the industry has such a golden opportunity presented itself for real gains for the workers. No building worker needs to be unemployed. Now is the time when we

could close up our ranks. We could make great gains now, if we would unite our forces, and prepare, when the inevitable slump comes, to meet the employers with a united front. But our International officials refuse to move. They seem to be willing to leave all to chance.

The time has come for the militant members to get busy. We face the loss of millions of dollars through wage cuts, the loss of working conditions gained through years of effort, the almost complete annihilation of some unions in the smaller towns, and the demoralization of labor's forces generally in the building industry. That is what the contractors, directed by the financial interests and "Citizens' Committees," have put over on us in the "open shop" drive. We are headed for further defeat unless the militants do something constructive to unite our forces, and do it quickly.

The amalgamation of our divided unions into large and powerful organizations is the only remedy. Federation has failed to give us the necessary solidarity. The present condition of the industry is the best argument for amalgamation. In order to get amalgamation we must carry the issue to the rank and file, and be prepared to battle against the opposition of the officialdom. It is a fight between the old order and the new, a determined struggle to place organized labor on its proper class basis. It is a challenge to the outworn methods of the past.

Building trades workers, now is the time to act! We must take full advantage of the present favorable conditions to put our unions on the path of progress. The amalgamation program, issued by the Building Trades Committee, should be placed in the hands of every building trades worker. Every local union, district council, state conference, and international convention, should be asked to adopt the resolution endorsing the plan, which reads:

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Scrambled Reactionaries

By James Harris

THE Bryan who led the recent publicity campaign against evolution bears the Christian names of William Jennings. This story has nothing to do with him. Our "hero" is also named Bryan, however, and he also fights against evolution. But the prefix to his cognomen is W. E., instead of W. J., and he occupies the exalted post of general president of the United Leather Workers' Union.

Notwithstanding the similarity between the names of these two gentlemen, and their common opposition to the ideas of progress, the Bryans under discussion may be easily distinguished one from the other. W. J. seems to be interested only from the religious or philosophical point of view; W. E., on the other hand, is a very practical man who will concede the principle while he opposes the practice. W. E. Bryan's claim to fame rests upon his recently launched crusade against the amalgamation movement in the Leather Industry, the next step forward in the practical evolution of the labor movement in that field.

Reactionary trade union officials are having a strenuous time nowadays. For the first time in their hitherto peaceful lives, they feel the heavings of a rank and file movement beneath them. But they have been trained in the school of sloth and poker. In their present difficulties they get excited; and in panicky efforts to head off progress they are getting all mixed up.

Mr. Bryan has made the same mistake, in his fight against amalgamation, that the clergy of a few generations ago made in their fight against sin. Our clerical forefathers painted the way of transgression as alluringly delightful, and thundered threats of eternal hell against those who went the primrose path of sin. But the sermons aroused more interest in sin than fear of damnation. Rev. Bryan likewise thunders against the iniquity of the amalgamationists, but the net effect upon the reader is the desire to get hold of one of the amalgamation programs and see what could cause such an outburst. The general president is helping to contaminate his own flock. In fact, it is known that several unions, now staunch amalgamationists, received their first connection with the movement from a circular sent out by Bryan condemning it.

With all their stupidity, our reactionary officials would retain their prestige better if they would caucus among themselves. They have no intellectual solidarity in their ranks. One says one thing, a second another. Not content with

stepping on his own toes, Mr. Bryan, for example, proceeds to step on the neck of Mr. Lewis of the miners. After spending 1,200 words damning the Progressives in his own ranks Mr. Bryan, in an official circular, quotes with approval the action of the progressives in the miners' union. He says:

In connection with the above we submit the following resolution by the Progressive Miners' Conference which speaks for itself. This expresses our sentiments, instead of dividing your forces build up your present organization.

RESOLVED, that the Progressive Miners' Conference condemns all dual union attempts, whether these are brought about by the Lewis administration, 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 all over again on a new basis.

All that now remains for the scrambling of the reactionaries to be artistically complete, is for John L. Lewis to find a resolution by the Amalgamation Committee of the Shoe and Leather Industry, and quote it against the progressive miners, like this:

The progressive miners are against me, therefore they are a dual union movement. Instead of pursuing their present course, they should follow the example of the Shoe and Leather Industry Amalgamation Committee, which adopted the following resolution, which expresses my sentiments:

RESOLVED, that the Shoe and Leather Workers' Conference condemns all dual union attempts, whether these are brought about by the Bryan administration in its frantic fight against amalgamation, or whether they come from mistaken zealots, etc.

Yes, unfortunately for Mr. Bryan and his reputation for intelligence, the Amalgamation Committee of the Shoe and Leather Industry is emphatically against dual unionism, and has condemned it in almost the same terms as the Progressive Miners used. Mr. Bryan condemns the one movement and praises the other. He does not know that his brother-in-arms, Lewis, is attacking the Progressive Miners even more bitterly than Bryan attacks the Amalgamationists.

Always and forever the bureaucrats are in favor of progress—but not here, or not now. Progress is for the other fellow or for another time. Bryan endorses the progressives—when they are in the miners' union. Lewis supports the radicals—when they are in China or Mesopotamia. But with touching unanimity they are, one and all, solidly against any change that might cause them to lose their soft jobs. And in their frantic struggle to hold on to the swivel chairs they seem not to care that they are becoming hopelessly scrambled.

The German Metal Workers' Union

By Paul Hoyer

Editor's Note: The immense organization described below is still dominated by the conservative Socialist elements, and follows their general policies. This leaves its potential strength largely undeveloped. The left-wing forces are constantly increasing their strength within it, however, and promise soon to make of it a most powerful and militant weapon of the workers. The point of this article is to indicate the structure and workability of industrial unionism.

THE metal workers of Germany justly lay claim to being the greatest industrial union in the world. Consisting of 1,600,000 organized toilers, and representing 35 major crafts or trades in the metal industry, it is proud of several other things besides the fact that it brought virtually a whole industry under its jurisdiction. Among these are the following:

1. No trade that has given up its independent organization and amalgamated with the *Deutscher Metallarbeiterverband* has ever withdrawn, or even threatened to withdraw. No matter how large or small the trade, it has found that its interests were better taken care of in the large industrial organization than they were in the independent craft union.

2. Thanks to the strength that comes from union and numbers, the *Deutscher Metallarbeiterverband* is able to furnish to its members special facilities—legal aid, library service, special courses for works council delegates, unemployment, strike and death benefits, and a research bureau—such as no other union in Germany or perhaps in Europe can supply.

3. Though Germany is not a Soviet state, yet the beginnings of the Soviet idea have been put into effect, in some faint degree at least, in all the plants controlled by the union through the application of the works councils law.

4. While amalgamating practically all the numerous trades that enter into the metal industry into one big union* every possible concession is made to the craft feeling and to the desire for local autonomy in that all the trades still hold their craft meetings, both local and national, and discuss their individual problems.

Structure of the National Body

Let us trace the structure of the union from the top down through the smallest local and see just how it works organizationally:

The highest legislative body is the national convention which meets at least every two years, and which is composed of delegates chosen by

* Only two trades still remain outside the organization—the coppersmiths and the machinists and firemen. These two bodies, numbering respectively 7,000 and 90,000, will probably join the larger unit shortly.

referendum on the basis of one delegate for each 4,000 members. Only members who have been in the organization for three or more years can be elected as delegates.

To conduct the work of the organization, this national convention elects a general executive board of 22 members, consisting of 4 presidents, 2 treasurers, 5 secretaries, and 11 associates. The 11 associates must live at the seat of the national body (Stuttgart), and must be men *active in their trade*—in other words, actual metal workers. (The annual meeting also elects two editors of the national organ, the "*Metallarbeiterzeitung*," but these men have only an advisory voice in the General Executive Board.)

A second body chosen by the national convention is the Control Commission of 5 members, which has its seat at some city other than that of the national offices, and which acts as a sort of watchdog of the treasury and of the General Executive Board.

The Advisory Boards

But, though the G. E. B. is the main executive branch of the national union, it is not supposed to venture upon important situations without consultation. The constitution provides for two consultative bodies, the so-called Narrower Advisory Board (*Engerer Beirat*), and the Extended Advisory Board (*Erweiterter Beirat*). On less important matters, and whenever in its opinion such advice is necessary, the G. E. B. calls together the smaller board, which is made up of the various district organizers, of the two presidents of Local Berlin (which because of its size occupies a special position in the organization) of the first editor of the *Metallarbeiterzeitung* and of the chairman of the Control Commission.

More important is the Extended Advisory Board. It is called together on all important occasions. It decides upon programs of action and questions of tactics, attends to the re-districting of the membership geographically, and approves of collective agreements. It is composed as is the Narrower Advisory Board, but in addition the various districts (see below) in the country elect one member each to this Extended Advisory Board for every 50,000 members, with

a limit of 3 members for any one district. The Extended Advisory Board must be called whenever the Control Commission so desires, or whenever one-half of the representatives of the districts so demand.

The above are the various bodies with national jurisdiction that deal with affairs of the whole industrial union. Membership in any of these bodies is dependent, not upon the particular trade of the individual, but upon his record as a worker in the metal industry. The trade or craft feature is taken care of in another way: the various trades as such also hold their national conventions and maintain national and local organizations for purely professional reasons. Once a year, as a rule, each of the 35 trades amalgamated in the *Metallarbeiterverband* holds a national convention and, as such questions as wage agreements, working conditions, social policy and the like are taken off its shoulders through the larger body of which it is a part, each trade can devote the national conventions to intensive discussion of professional problems. Thus, the argument of people who object to the industrial union idea on the ground that the feeling of trade solidarity is weakened falls to the ground: on the contrary, professional interests receive even more attention in the large industrial union than they do in the purely craft union. And even the smallest trade can afford to hold such a convention, as the *Metallarbeiterverband* as such foots the bills.

Subdivisions of the National

We now come to the subdivision of the amalgamated national body. The G. E. B. and the Extended Advisory Board together divide up the country into districts, of which there are now 17. At the head of each district the G. E. B. places a *Bezirksleiter*, or district organizer, who might be compared to an A. F. of L. national organizer stationed in a given locality. The G. E. B. cannot, however, simply put any favorite it wants into such a place. It must choose him from a list of candidates selected on a competitive basis and certified to, with recommendations, by the Extended District Commission, a body whose relation to the district administration is similar to that of the Extended Advisory Board to the G. E. B.

The district organizer with his assistants has two consultative bodies placed over or beside him,—the Narrower District Commission of 4 members (whose principal function is that of checking up on the finances), and the Extended District Commission of 11 members (which checks up chiefly on the business efficiency of the district organizer). These district commission

members are chosen by a body whose relation to the district administration is parallel to the relation of the national convention to the G. E. B.—namely, the district conference.

The district conference, like the national convention, is a delegate meeting. There is one delegate for every 1,000 members in the component locals, with the proviso, however, that no local can have more than three delegates. The district conference meets at least once a year, and voting is done on the basis of the number of members represented. In other words, if a delegate represents 1,025 workers, he casts 1,025 votes. Thus no large local suffers from the fact that it can have only three delegates.

The district conference, as already alluded to, elects the district commissions that act as checks and balances upon the district organizer. They also choose the district representatives on the Extended Advisory Board of the national organization.

The Locals

We come now to the locals, from which are chosen the delegates to the national convention, and from which are elected the delegates to the district conferences. It is in the locals that one sees best the grouping according to trades, and that one learns to understand the relationship of the works councils to the organization as such. As an example I take the largest of the locals, Berlin, with a membership of 150,000, or about one-tenth of the entire membership.

In the local, the members are divided in two ways—according to trades and according to the shop or subdivision of industry in which they work. Of the trades within the federation, there are, as already stated, 35. To mention but a few of them: enamellers, locksmiths, plumbers, engravers, mechanics, smiths and tool makers. The members in each of these trades elect their own *Branchenleiter*—branch or trade organizer (administrator).

Secondly, the members are classified according to the shop in which they work. The whole industrial area of Berlin is divided into 25 districts, with a district organizer in charge of each district. This organizer is chosen in the following manner: in each plant the workers are organized in a works council. These works council choose from their midst certain delegates (*Betriebsrate*), or shop stewards, who represent the workers in their dealings with the bosses. These delegates also select the district organizers, the works council delegates in each district choosing the organizer for that district.

Thus there is a sort of dual organization: the branch or craft administrations, of which there are 35 in Berlin, and which function as profes-

sional organizations irrespective of where the man works; and the district administrations, of which there are 25 in Berlin, in which people are grouped together by whole industries in the different sections of Greater Berlin.

The dual character appears in connection with the general meeting of the local: both the districts—that is, the industrial units—and the branches—that is, the craft units—send delegates to the general meeting on the basis of 3 delegates for each branch and district, plus the branch and district organizers. In addition, a general meeting of all works councils delegates is held, from which delegates not exceeding 50 in number are sent to the general meeting. In other words, not only are delegates chosen by crafts and geographical location, but also by virtue of their being in a particular shop or plant. And finally, the numbers at large, irrespective of trade or shop, choose a delegate-at-large in the general meeting on the basis of one delegate for every 300 members.

The general meeting in turn elects the Narrower, or Inner Administration, consisting of 2 chairmen with equal powers, 2 treasurers, 5 "revisors" and 3 associates. The latter eight work without pay. The general meeting also elects such employes as secretaries, editors, etc.

Finally, besides the Inner Administration there is a *Mittlere Verwaltung* or Middle Administration, composed as follows: the members of the Inner Administration, the secretaries, the 25 district and 35 branch organizers, and one representative each of the 7 main industrial groups into which the work councils delegates are classified for this purpose (foundries, vehicle industry, machinery construction, metal manufacture, electro-industry, delicate mechanisms industry, small trades). This Middle Administration, it will be observed, combines all the features of the metal workers' union-industrial, trade, and geographical organization.

Wage Agreements Concluded by Industry

One of the most obvious manifestations of the power inherent in the industrial union idea comes in connection with the conclusion of wage agreements. There the union functions as a whole. Wage agreements are made, not for this or that trade, but for the entire industry. No matter how small or weak the group, it has the combined strength of the entire organization behind it.

The union deals with the industrials by cities and localities, and not as a national unit. This is due to the fact that living conditions, conditions of work, etc., are different in a city like Berlin than they are in a much smaller city like Halle, or in the country districts. Union leaders

explained to me that if a national wage scale were to be adopted, this would naturally have to be in the nature of a compromise, and many cities where living costs are exceptionally high would fare badly. Under the present arrangement, every district concludes its own agreements, with the result that local conditions can be duly observed.

Within the locality, however, the agreements are uniform for the entire city and for all workers in the industry. All workers, of whatever trade, are divided into five groups, depending upon length of service, ability, technical skill required, etc. The union speaks of three kinds of workers—skilled workers (*Gelernte*), workers who came from another trade into their present trade and are now doing skilled work in it (*Angelernete*), and unskilled workers (*Ungelernte*). The *Gelernte* and the *Angelernete* usually fall within the first three classes, and the *Ungelernte*—unskilled—within classes IV and V. The works council in each plant decides into which of the five wage categories the member is to be put, and when he is to be advanced from a lower to a higher class.

The wage agreement, then, that is made with the bosses collectively calls for such and such wages for all workers in Class I, such and such for workers in Class II, etc. The bosses accept the classification into which the works council puts each worker, or else refer the case to arbitration.

Other Advantages of Industrial Unionism

One reason why the *Metallarbeiterverband* has been so eminently successful in conducting its wage negotiations is the fact that so large an organization can afford to maintain an adequate staff of statisticians and economic experts who can match the experts of the employers. The union experts obtain mastery of all details of the trade, and it is next to impossible to "put anything over" on them. Supposing an employers' representative argues that his firm cannot give higher wages because of such and such adverse conditions: the experts of the metal workers' union are in a position immediately to analyze the facts and figures upon which this assertion is based, with the result that the bluff is usually called.

The strong financial condition of the large union further makes it possible to conduct a regular school, or college, for works council delegates. The delegates are sent there at the expense of the union, and they learn cost accounting, analysis of balance sheets, labor legislation, and a thousand and one other things.

Just as the wages are divided into five classes, so also are dues and insurance benefits. Here.

again, a uniform basis obtains for all the trades within the *Verband*. Thus a worker's dues are assessed, not upon the basis of what particular trade he belongs to, but rather what class of worker he is (I-V), irrespective of the trade.

On the question of strikes, the greatest possible autonomy is provided for the individual localities and crafts. According to the constitution, strikes must be sanctioned by the G. E. B. But the constitution also provides that "the authority to call strikes may be delegated to locals of more than 3,000 members." In practice, the G. E. B. has acted largely in an advisory capacity in purely local strikes, and has reserved its energies for the fights of state or national scope. Likewise the greatest possible freedom is left to a craft to conduct a local strike. The industrial unit takes a hand only when other interests beside the one craft are involved.

Historical Retrospect

In conclusion, a few words about the history of the union, especially as concerns the gradual amalgamation into one organization of all the trades in the metal industry.

Before the advent of Bismarck's notorious anti-Socialist law of 1878, Germany witnessed the usual guerilla warfare between the various groups of theoreticians in the labor movement, with the result that the organized workers, instead of advancing by a united front against the common enemy, capital, preferred to waste their strength in internal rows. But after Bismarck had put all organized workers under the ban, these bethought themselves of their folly and worked together more harmoniously.

Among the first to realize the necessity of organizing the whole industry were the metal workers. By 1888 the *Allgemeine Metallarbei-*

terverband Berlins und Umgegend was formed, despite the fact that a number of the older officials of the craft unions opposed the idea. It led a struggling existence, however, and embraced only relatively few trades and few members within these trades. Constant knocks by the bosses then drove home to the metal workers with ever greater emphasis that they could never succeed if they remained mere craft unions. Some form of amalgamation seemed imperative.

There were two currents of thought as to how to bring this about. One group believed that it was sufficient to bring all the trades in the metal industry together into one federation, much as all the internationals in the United States are brought together in one A. F. of L. The others argued that this was not enough—that in modern industry all the various trades work together under a common boss in one industry, and that therefore the worker, too, must be organized according to industry. Therefore, while the various trades might still maintain their professional organizations, yet they must give up to the larger unit certain prerogatives, such as concluding wage agreements, determining social policy, calling strikes, etc. Twelve trades were ready to take this step, and together they founded the *Metallarbeiterverband* of Berlin in 1897 on its present basis.

Meanwhile nationally, too, the same idea had been gaining ground, and during the same year the powerful Berlin organization joined the *Deutscher Metallarbeiterverband*.

After that progress was rapid. Slowly but surely the *Metallarbeiterverband* swallowed up the smaller trades in the metal industry until today, as stated at the beginning, but two trades remain outside the fold.

A Review of "The Fifth Year"

By Joseph Manley

TO one "fed up" on the average American movie, the new Russian 10-reel motion picture, "The Fifth Year," comes as a welcome relief. The advance showing at which I was present lasted a full two hours, in which the 9,000 feet of film displays a panorama of Russian life in all its phases, military, industrial, and social, in a most refreshing manner.

The startling change that has come in the social life of the Russian workers is displayed in the views of the workers in the recreational life, sailing beautiful yachts, in horse races, bicycle races, boat races, and a myriad other sports. Former palaces of the nobility, with magnificent grounds decorated with statuary, are shown being used as homes and playgrounds for workers disabled in industry and for those suffering from the effects of the famine.

To those who think of Russia in terms of snow and ice, the scenes from the tropical Caucasus, with its brilliant sunshine and the workers' children learning

to swim on its silvery shores, is a revelation. Of the many glimpses of Russian industry, the most impressive and symbolical is that of the Kashira Electrical Power Station, one of the most modern in the world, with immense up-to-date buildings and enormous smokestacks. The F. S. R. Tractor Unit, gift from the workers of America, is shown in operation; as well as the great captured war tanks, pulling monster gang plows, and clearly demonstrating the strides forward being made by Russian agriculture.

The various congresses, the Soviets, the Third International, the trade unions, the R. I. L. U., etc., are a feature of the long list of attractions. To one who has heard so much of Lenin, a real thrill is felt to suddenly see flashed on the screen an intimate picture of the "old man" sitting in the background of a meeting, making notes that may some day alter the destinies of nations. Altogether this new motion picture is one that will not soon be excelled.

The Problem of the Auto Workers

By Oscar Preedin

THE automobile industry is at once among the most advanced and the most backward in America. In point of growth and development, in volume and technique of production, it leads the field, having in 20 years developed from almost nothing to one of the country's major industries. But as regards the organization of the workers it is perhaps the most undeveloped of all the industries, for automobile factories are "open shop" to an extent hardly known in other fields. According to the dogmas of some doctrinaires, who maintain that prosperous industrial conditions are always favorable to labor organization, this is a contradiction—but if so, it is one based in the history and growth of the industry, and to be resolved only by a knowledge thereof.

Failure of Past Efforts

If the auto workers have not been organized let us say at once that it is not because they are material inferior to the workers in organized industries. It is true that "organizers" galore have come to them with wonderful plans, sometimes backed up with elaborate charts. These have all been very good on paper, and even showed some skill in drawing. That the auto workers have ignored them, however, and remained unorganized, is due to the combination of extremely powerful employers, fighting against organization of the workers, and very complex technical conditions in the industry which these plans ignored, ever-changing and cutting across all the traditional lines of labor organization. Efforts to unionize the auto workers have failed largely because they have neither been based upon actual conditions nor used modern methods.

A first step toward effective organization is to learn something about the industry, its relation to the present industrial life of the country, and the process of change going on. For this purpose we will leave aside the field of "automobile accessories," and examine the automobile industry proper, the manufacture of bodies and parts, and the numerous and rapidly-growing repair shops.

Of prime importance is the fact that the automobile industry developed out of the machine industry and of the old carriage and wagon industry. When the "horseless carriages" began to appear in large numbers and their production was advanced through technical improvements, then both of the parent industries were profoundly affected—but in different ways. For

the machine industry a new field was opened and it received an important enlargement; but the carriage and wagon industry found the ground being cut from under it; horse-drawn vehicles soon became old fashioned.

How the old vehicles trade is dying can be seen clearly from the U. S. census figures. The break in the line of development is in 1904, when auto production started on a large scale. From that year, the high peak of the carriage and wagon business, the number of establishments decreased from 5,588, to 2,286 in 1919; the number of workers engaged decreased in the same period from 77,882 to 18,173; the percentage of all workers engaged in manufacture dropped from 1.42 to 0.20; while the percentage of production values of all manufactures fell from 1.24 to 0.17. Thus in 15 years the position of the horsevehicle industry in relation to industry as a whole dropped to one-seventh of its former standing. This mother of the auto industry is dying.

Building a New Industry

The shops and workers that have gone from the horse vehicle industry have largely been transformed into auto body building or auto repair shops. The skilled mechanics—woodworkers, painters, blacksmiths—have been forced to adapt themselves to the new line. From this source the body building and repair branches have been recruited. The shops are mostly small with obsolete machinery. They are able to prolong their existence, first, because their strategic locations for horse vehicle transportation are now of equal strategic value for automobile transportation; and, second, because the decline in their own proper trade forces them to work so cheaply that erection of modern factories is prevented even where the new industry is sufficient to support the latter.

The problem of unionizing the workers in these two branches, body building and repairs, is very difficult. Already large numbers of workers are engaged in them, and both will increase for some time in even higher proportion than the automobile factories proper. The field is new and but temporarily filled with the junk carried over from the past. There is no doubt that eventually these branches will be "standardized" and unified, though the process will be slow in the repair branch.

The relative importance and growth of the three main branches of the auto industry are

shown in the following table, built up from the U. S. Census figures:

	Number of Establishments		Number of Wage Earners		Value Added in Mfg. in \$1,000	
	1914	1919	1914	1919	1914	1919
Auto repairs	3,273	15,507	12,562	55,061	20,766	137,003
Bodies and parts.....	971	2,515	47,785	132,556	65,911	330,143
Auto manufacturing.	300	315	79,307	210,559	210,633	809,252
Total.....	4,544	18,337	139,654	398,176	279,310	1,276,398
Per cent of total of all manufactures	1.6	6.3	2.0	4.4	3.0	5.1

The problem of unionizing the workers in the repair shops is one of finding ways and means of bringing together widely scattered, skilled workers, of varied training and from widely differing backgrounds. Part of the workers come from the expiring carriage and wagon industry; others have grown up in the new industry, starting as helpers; while a distinct group is seen in the auto mechanics (iron workers). Only a small part of the latter come from the old skilled machinists. Most of them are young men, educated for just this particular kind of work. All over the country has grown up a network of "auto schools," most of them controlled or subsidized by the manufacturers, for training such men.

The Lesson of Unionism

A part of the program of these "auto schools" is to teach the young mechanics that they are on the way to becoming Schwabs or Garys. They are taught to consider their dirty jobs in the repair shops as but the first rungs of the ladder towards high positions in the industry. The result is that they are meek, submissive, and yielding to the demands of their employers. Such illusions are so wide-spread that they constitute a serious obstacle to organization.

There are already many thousands, however, of these auto mechanics who have waited for the promised rewards for many years, but who still continue to work long hours at inadequate wages. They are being forced to look to organization as the only possible means to secure better conditions. They are bound to the shops by their specialized training, which has prepared them for no work outside; they cannot go away to other industries, they cannot rise where they are, and the grim logic of their position is making them ready for the union.

In the auto body branch the shops are larger than the average factory, and the concentration is increasing; where in 1914, the average number of workers to the shop was 49.2, in 1919 this had increased to 52.7. Some of them are the

stronger of the former horse vehicle shops, which landed in the auto body industry during the landslide in their old trade. The workers here are more accessible to organization work. Among them are many old members of the craft unions. The craft union lines are here wider than in the repair branch or auto industry proper. The failure of labor organization among these workers is largely but the failure of craft unionism in general. But here also intense concentration is going on. For example, a big plant in Philadelphia has lately equipped itself to fill orders for 500,000 bodies during the next two years, and is now filling orders which in 1914 required 972 factories to handle. This means that very soon the auto body branch will be "fordized" in the same manner as the automobile manufacturing proper.

Industrial Unionism Necessary

Here we find the controlling condition of the automobile industry as a whole; namely, the final and complete elimination of all craft distinctions. Division of labor, simplification, and mechanization in the factories has wiped out the need of much skilled labor. In many places it is even found that cripples are as good as sound men; that some "hands" can even be without both hands; that others may lack a leg and still perform their functions; and sometimes blind men without special training are just as good as men with their sight. The old skill, the old craft lines, no longer have meaning. This new type of worker, unskilled and but a cog in a machine, already represents the majority of those engaged in the automobile industry.

Thus, while the industry is not yet entirely uniform, while many old forms and conditions are still inherited from the past, yet the main branches are already a very close unit and are almost completely dominated by the new methods of production. The old craft unionism is as little fitted to battle with these conditions as an old farm wagon for trans-ocean shipping. Only an industrial union, in the clearest sense of the word, can rescue the auto workers from their present slavery. The material conditions of the industry are ripe for true industrial organization. To find the dynamic forces and the proper methods to bring this about—that is the next question, which it was the purpose of this article but to introduce.

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

The Tacoma Conference

ON July 7-8, the Railroad Amalgamation Conference for the states of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Montana, met in Tacoma with 24 delegates. Letters and telegrams from points through all four states were received stating that local unions very desirous of sending delegates could not do so on account of their financial condition. This condition had been anticipated, and the delegates who came found a better attendance than they had expected. They were a bunch of wide-awake fellows, live wires every one, fully aware of the fact that they have a gigantic job on their hands, and are not a bit awed by the obstacles to be overcome.

The Minnesota Plan of Amalgamation was unanimously adopted as the most practical plan for consolidating the 16 railroad unions. A strong resolution against dual unionism was adopted pointing out the demoralizing effects of secession movements, and calling on all railroad workers who had quit their old trade unions to return to them and help the amalgamationists to re-shape and modernize them. to the end that they will become fighting instruments to protect our interests. A resolution indorsing the Amalgamation Advocate as the official organ of the amalgamation movement was adopted. It requests all railroad locals to subscribe for bundle orders to circulate among the unorganized, and requests all railroad workers to subscribe as individuals. The formation of an independent working-class political party was endorsed in a resolution pointing out the necessity of this much needed change in the political life of the worker. In a statement to the Metal Tradesmen we declared our loyalty to them and repudiated the false arguments put forth by some Grand Lodge officers that the Minnesota Plan of Amalgamation would disrupt the organizations composing the Metal Trades. We urged them to support the International Committee for Amalgamation in the Metal Industry, and requested their co-operation so that we could both work together to amalgamate our respective industries. A resolution regarding the neutral attitude of salaried officers with reference to amalgamation, pointing out that there was no middle ground involved in this movement, was adopted. This same resolution challenges the open hostility of other salaried officers and advises the workers to make a concerted move to rid our organization of these reactionaries.

The Amalgamation Fund created by the National Conference, at Chicago, was heartily endorsed and all railroad organizations urged to support this Fund so that the International Committee can carry on the necessary educational work to put our plan into effect. The imprisonment of our militant comrades was denounced and their continued incarceration vigorously protested. Following this, a resolution unanimously endorsing the Labor Defense Council was passed. It called upon all railroad workers to support the Council both morally and financially. Action was taken to send petitions to all railroad lodges in the Northwest District asking the members to sign same and return to the Committee here in Tacoma. These petitions contain a provision that the signers favor amalgamating the 16 railroad unions and requests that a convention of the Grand Lodges be called for the purpose of effecting this consolidation.

LOS ANGELES ELECTIONS

THE strength of the militant movement in this haven of "open shoppers" was illustrated by the recent election in the Central Labor Council. The vote follows:

PROGRESSIVE TICKET	ADMINISTRATION TICKET
President:	President:
E. Brown101	A. B. Hassel.....113
Vice-President:	Vice-President:
E. L. Berry100	H. E. Garman114
Sec'y-Treas.:	Sec'y-Treas.:
M. A. Trummer.... 84	J. S. Horn134
Executive Board:	Executive Board:
D. Gorman104	J. W. Buzzell107
B. Gibson101	C. E. Davis110
C. X. Lentz 96	G. Keller112
D. Z. McClure..... 97	F. Marsh113
H. Bloomington ...101	C. L. McMillan....105
S. A. Super 96	F. J. Miller108
E. W. Jackson 98	G. Rainey103
B. Tumber116	G. A. Wright104
Trustees:	Trustees:
W. E. Kent103	G. Deveraux118
S. P. Anderson ... 93	V. Locke108
F. Bartholomew ...110	W. Walls110
Board of Publishers:	Board of Publishers:
P. D. Noel132	J. F. Maloney 84
Sergt.-at-Arms:	Sergt.-at-Arms:
B. Maliner 95	A. Jones117
Conductor:	Conductor:
B. Garrow 94	G. P. Healey118

FOSTER TOUR

SPEAKING on behalf of the Labor Defense Council, Wm. Z. Foster will make the following dates:

Sept. 16,	Belleville, Ill.
" 17,	Kansas City, Mo.
" 18,	Omaha, Nebr.
" 19,	Denver, Colo.
" 20,	Hanna, Wyo.
" 22,	Ogden, Utah.
" 23,	Salt Lake City, Utah.
" 25-27,	Los Angeles, Calif.
" 28-30,	San Francisco, Calif.
Oct. 2-13,	Portland, Ore.
" 14-15,	Seattle, Wash.
" 16,	Tacoma, Wash.
" 17,	Vancouver, B. C.
" 19,	Spokane, Wash.
" 21-22,	Butte, Mont.
" 23-27,	Montana points.
" 28-29,	St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minn.
" 30,	Milwaukee, Wis.

ON DUAL UNIONISM

In the course of a previous article I have explained that trade union division cannot, in any circumstance, be a revolutionary tactic, and that it can only, on the contrary, hinder the development of the working-class forces. It is easy to prove that splitting is a weapon in the hands of the reformists; it is for them the surest means of stopping the progress of revolutionary tendencies in the midst of the labor movement, and to avoid the collapse of the advocates of class co-operation. In a revolutionary period splitting the unions is a reformist tactic of first rank.

G. Monmousseau, Secretary, C. G. T. U.
La Vie Ouvriere, June 1st, 1923.

THE LABOR HERALD

A Militant, Constructive Monthly
Trade Union Magazine

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

Subscription price, \$1.50 per year

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

Member of The Federated Press

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THE ELECTION OF MAGNUS JOHNSON

WHEN the workers and farmers of Minnesota voted to send Magnus Johnson to the United States Senate they struck a powerful blow in behalf of the labor party idea. On the one hand they smashed to smithereens the argument of the Gompers clique that an independent party of producers is not possible, and on the other hand they overwhelmed the element who deny the practicability of a fighting political alliance between farmers and city workers. The election, first of Shipstead and now of Johnson, proves beyond all cavil that a great effective labor party is now possible in this country.

It is significant that the industrial center of Minneapolis voted against Johnson, and he carried St. Paul by but a small majority. The meaning of this is that where the workers were organized and exposed for years to the poisonous propaganda emanating from Gompers' office they were largely demoralized and kept in the train of the old parties. On the contrary, where the workers were unorganized they voted overwhelmingly for Johnson. Along the Mesaba iron range they carried the district for him by a 4 to 1 vote. Mr. Paul Smith, A. F. of L. organizer, was on the ground lending fake support to Johnson. Therefore we may expect that Gompers will claim Johnson's election, even as he did Shipstead's, as a justification of his worm-eaten policy of rewarding Labor's friends and punishing its enemies. Let us hope, however, that the progressive Minnesota workers who won these victories through the Farmer-Labor Party (which is unconnected with the Chicago F-L. P.) will not let him get away with such misrepresentation, but will tell the labor world that they were won through independent working-class political action. Minnesota should drive home the labor party idea in the next A. F. of L. Convention. The Gompers political policy has about run its course. One good smash and the rotten structure will collapse. Minnesota should deliver the blow.

KANSAS COURT LEGALLY BURIED

WHEN the United States Supreme Court declared the Kansas Industrial Court Law unconstitutional it was a signal for all the "Main Street" type of reformers to burst with the glad tidings that the traditional spirit of American liberty, after its long eclipse, was manifesting itself again. But it was nothing of the sort. The affair was only one more illustration of how our highest court responds to economic pressure. We have grown accustomed to seeing the Supreme Court doing the bidding of the great employing interests, un-

der pressure from them, by legitimatizing their schemes of exploitation and by wiping out uncomfortable labor legislation. We have also seen certain memorable occasions when the workers, by a powerful demonstration of solidarity, have been able to compel the Supreme Court to rule in their behalf. Of such cases was the famous decision calling the Adamson Law constitutional, a decision which was wrung from the Supreme Court by the four Brotherhoods' threat of a national general strike. The Kansas Industrial Court decision was in the same category. Had the Industrial Court proved workable in practice, depend upon it the Supreme Court would have given it full legal sanction. But the fact was Alexander Howat and his brave followers killed the Court as dead as a doornail by flagrantly disobeying it. Now all the Supreme Court does is to legally bury the corpse. Thus the majesty of the law is preserved.

VICTORIOUS "OPEN SHOPPERS"

THE advocates of the "open shop" are gloating publicly over the defeat of Organized Labor. And well they may. In the *Chicago Journal of Commerce* of June 18th, there appears a survey of the progress of the "open shop" campaign. It is an appalling picture, even after we make heavy discount for the evident bias of the writer. City after city is considered and the smashing of the unions is stated in detail. About the only group of unions holding their head against the storm are the building trades, and even these have been badly weakened. Unless a halt is called undoubtedly the union movement will be obliterated.

What are our leaders doing in this crisis? Absolutely nothing of consequence. Led by the old reactionary, Gompers, they are desperately blocking every reform in our industrial and political methods and tactics that would make an effective fighting force of our movement. A sample of their generalship is to be seen in the weak efforts now being made to reorganize the shattered railroad shopmen. Instead of yielding to the wishes of the men by amalgamating the unions and thus giving them a real structure, they are trying to rebuild the old organization upon the basis of insurance features. Instead of building an industrial union, for which the situation is crying aloud, they are trying to degenerate what few rags of unions we have left into "coffin societies." Or consider the childish attempt of Samuel Gompers, in the July number of the *American Federationist*, with a many page article to refute the boasts of the "open shop" employers of Indianapolis and to kid the labor movement into believing that that notorious scab town is a trade union stronghold. Such blind and stupid leadership is fatal. Either Labor must find means to get rid of it shortly or be entirely crushed.

CLASS-WAR PRISONERS

THE infamous Espionage Act was repealed, but 37 "wobblies" still remain in Leavenworth. Daugherty continues his dirty work by operating through "criminal syndicalism laws" of various states, forced through in war time and threatening every interest of labor organization by duplicating the Espionage Act's most vicious provisions. Massachusetts again has tried to outdo California's damnable treatment of Tom Mooney, as it did in the Sacco-Vanzetti case, by a real, old-fashioned "dynamite plot" against a young shoe worker, John E. Merrick at Haverhill. The courts continue to be filled with labor men, imprisoned through frame-up or "syndicalism" laws to stop their agitation against capitalist oppression.

A new wrinkle is the action of Harding offering commutation to 27 "wobblies" in Leavenworth, conditional upon their being "law-abiding and loyal, of which the President shall be the sole judge," just two weeks before another 27 at Los Angeles were convicted of "criminal syndicalism." And as Dave Caplan comes out of California's prison, after doing ten years, Illinois is preparing to send Theodore J. Vind, one of Chicago's best unionists, to the penitentiary because of a boycott growing out of a big strike. Thus the powers that be keep the balance, and keep the prisons full.

We are glad to see that those who accepted Harding's release, without asking for or approving of it, are calling his bluff by taking the platform in behalf of the other prisoners. That is a revolutionary position. And while we do not deny the right of anyone to be a Christian or a "turn-the-other-cheek," still it is rather astonishing that some of the "wobblies," who refused to come outside to join the fight, show more concern about the U. S. Constitution and the Sermon on the Mount than about industrial unionism and the class struggle. Jesus was a good guy, but an old sinner named Marx offers rebels better leadership. We welcome back Ralph Chaplin and Forrest Edwards as fighters, not as pacifists.

YOUNG WORKERS TALK WITH GOMPERS

REPORTS of a conference between a committee of the Young Workers' League and Samuel Gompers, in the *Young Worker* for July, arouse interesting speculations. Is Gompers trying to corrupt the youngsters and win them for the bureaucracy, or are the latter attempting to rejuvenate the old man? Either task would be an impossible one. It is hardly necessary to warn the youngsters against Gompers, and he has certainly been warned against that bundle of live wires.

It is, however, a very serious and constructive proposal that the Young Workers' League made to Samuel Gompers, for the establishment of a bureau in the A. F. of L. to systematically win the youth to the trade union movement. That is a work that has been shamefully neglected. Although there is hardly a chance that anything will be done by the official family, yet the Y. W. L. has rendered a distinct service by raising the issue. They have also helped to win the young trade unionists to their own organization, by showing that it is practical, energetic, intelligent, and on the job. More power to the Young Workers' League.

SEND IT IN!

FULLY half the problem of organization is the full and prompt exchange of vital information. The T. U. E. L. is a living force in the unions largely because it sends THE LABOR HERALD out every month full of the most important developments of the movement. But the collection and exchange of the news of progress in the labor movement is only beginning to be organized. Not until every member of the T. U. E. L. and every reader of THE LABOR HERALD feels it to be a personal responsibility to keep this office informed of the events of his union and of his city, will we be able to develop the maximum power of our movement.

If your local union adopts a resolution for amalgamation, that is news. Send it in! Whenever there is a struggle between the progressives and reactionaries, the result is important. Send it in! If your union or city central body endorsed the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, the whole country wants to know about it. Send it in! Every time anything happens that is of interest

to the progressives and revolutionaries in your local union or city, then it is also important to the movement as a whole. Send it in! If you see an interesting item in your local paper, clip it for us. Send it in! Everything you send may not be published at once, but depend upon it that it will be of tremendous assistance to some one else who is making the same kind of a fight in another place. If every reader will paste this motto, "Send it in," in his hat, and fix it in his habits, we will soon stimulate the movement to threefold activity. Send it in!

THE BROCKTON SHOE WORKERS

FOR several weeks the shoe workers of Brockton, Mass., have been on strike in a desperate attempt to win a few elementary rights of organization. The Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, with its attention fixed entirely upon peddling its label and entirely ignoring the interests of the workers in the shops, proved but another source of discontent. It signed non-strike agreements over the heads of its members, reducing them to a state of peonage. The present struggle is the inevitable result.

The strikers have no resources to back them in their fight. They have only their own determination to win decent conditions and the support that can come to them through voluntary contributions. Every one wishing to help these battling trade unionists, or desiring information, should write to D. E. MacCarthy, secretary, Brockton District Shoe Workers' Union, Eagle Hall, Brockton, Mass.

THE LEAGUE CONFERENCE

THE Second General Conference of the Trade Union Educational League, which meets in Chicago Sept. 1-2, will review one of the most eventful years in American labor history. In the progress that has been made the T. U. E. L., due to the fruitful results of the First Conference one year ago, has played a decisive part. This year's gathering will be of ten-fold importance. In addition to the general deliberations there will be meetings of the delegates from each industrial group. It is of prime importance that each city elect its full quota of 8 delegates, representing if possible as many sub-divisions of the organization. Not the least value of the Conference will be the educational benefits to the individual delegates. Most of the militants from all over the country will be in attendance. See that your city is represented.

THE daily press announces that Gompers is launching a campaign to organize the steel workers, but that the "reds" will not have anything to do with it this time. If we should be asked to hazard a guess, we would prophesy that the steel workers will have even less to do with Gompers' "campaign" than the reds.

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?

THE INTERNATIONAL

ENGLAND ON June 28th, after a bitter struggle which began on April 9th, the strike and boycott against the Co-operative Wholesale Society came to an end. The strike started in the C. W. S. factories in Pelaw and Silvertown, where the co-operative directors, claiming the right to introduce without further ado the decisions of the various Industrial Courts and Trade Boards in the several industries, undertook to cut the wages of their employees, abolish their sick pay, etc., without consulting the unions. They forced the workers to sign individual agreements embodying the new conditions, on pain of dismissal. The National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers objected strenuously to these high-handed measures and called a strike. The C. W. S. put up a great cry that the N. U. D. A. W. was victimizing them by demanding better conditions from them than they were able to get from other employees. The N. U. D. A. W. replied that in many instances their members enjoyed far better terms than those established by the Trade Boards, and that under no circumstances would they permit wage conditions to be altered without the union's consent. They offered to arbitrate the whole matter, but to this the C. W. S. demurred, being willing to submit only a minor part of the dispute to arbitration. Things went from bad to worse, all attempts at settlement proving unavailing. Finally, on June 12th, the N. U. D. A. W. called a general strike of its 15,000 members employed in the soap, rope, tea, flour, canning, and other factories of the C. W. S. Moreover, it ordered its 75,000 members working in 18,000 retail co-operative stores throughout Great Britain to boycott the products of the C. W. S. Other unions, feeling that a vital principle of trade unionism was at stake and believing that if they allowed the C. W. S. to ignore it their whole cause would be jeopardized, rallied to the support of the N. U. D. A. W. by striking or extending moral support as the case might be. The C. W. S. was quite generally condemned in trade union circles for its autocratic stand. A. E. Holmes, head of the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation, denounced the tyranny of the C. W. S., declaring that his organization "has taken part in no more unsatisfactory negotiations for the past ten years than it experienced with the directors of the Co-operative Wholesale Society." Finally, with sentiment very much against them, the heads of the C. W. S. were compelled to submit the proposition to arbitration by the Joint Committee of Trade Unionists and Co-operators, whereupon the strike was called off. Thus ended the greatest clash that has ever taken place in Great Britain between the trade union and co-operative movements.

During the last week in June the Labor Party held its national conference in the Queen's Hall, London. Optimism prevailed among the conservative delegates, who see the political control of the British Empire about to pass into the hands of their party. Zest was lent to the gathering by the recent election to Parliament of Robert Smillie, formerly head of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, by a vote of 20,053 to 13,085 for the combined opposition. The party reaffirmed its stand for a levy on capital and a raft of palliative measures. But the outstanding feature of the conference was the refusal to extend the Party Whips to Newbold, the only Communist M. P. This was tantamount to refusing affiliation to the Communist Party. Ramsay MacDonald led the fight against Newbold. He declared that Newbold was denied not be-

cause he was Left, but because he did not believe in the Labor Party or its principles. The vote was 2,227,000 to 219,000 against Newbold. Though Newbold was defeated, the Communist leaders point out that the vote for him was 105,000 greater than last year, and that the discriminatory clause, adopted by the Party at its Edinburgh conference, was deleted. In this respect they say, "Comrades, you have done well this year in compelling your leaders to wipe out the blunder of the Edinburgh conference. We are confident that you will seal that with the affiliation of the Communist Party next year."

Progress is being made in the negotiations for the amalgamation of the many postal workers' unions, as conducted by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress. Representatives of the 12 unions concerned, with a membership of about 150,000, met to appoint a committee to work out a definite scheme and to report back to a future meeting. Similar steps have been taken to amalgamate all unions covering insurance workers. Representatives of these workers recently selected a committee to explore the ground and to formulate definite proposals for consideration by the several executives. The Amalgamated Engineering Union and the National Union of Foundry Workers have completed a working agreement to bring about a more harmonious co-operation. Efforts continue to amalgamate these two bodies.

GERMANY THE officials of the German Metal Workers' Union are launching into a new campaign of expulsion against the Communists, seizing upon the flimsiest of pretexts to get rid of men who have been in the movement for many years. A recent case that is attracting wide attention was the exclusion of 14 members in Berlin by the Ziska bureaucracy. These 14 workers totalled 310 years in the organization, or an average membership of more than 22 years. Yet they were driven from the union simply because they refused to renounce their political party.

AUSTRALIA AMONG the militant elements widespread discontent is developing because of the reluctance of the controlling officialdom to bring to completion the One Big Union plan of organization adopted two years ago. Says the *Common Cause*, official organ of the Mining Department of the Australasian Workers' Union:

The rank and file of the A. W. U. want the One Big Union. For two years clamored for a ballot on the question and were treated by most of the A. W. U. officials as if they were children instead of grown men. Their demands for a ballot—demands in a constitutional manner—were contemptuously ignored until a big section, filled with disgust at the unfairness and corruption of some of their officials, refused to pay their dues. This move, which encompassed thousands of members, brought the officials to their senses, and a ballot was taken, which resulted in a vote of 18,000 to 4,000 in favor of the O. B. U. Given a chance to make their voices heard; the rank and file showed that they treated the two years' anti-O. B. U. campaign of the officials and the two *Workers* with a contempt which must have bitten into the very flesh. But the rank and file demand for the O. B. U. was treated

almost in the same manner as their demand for a ballot. They were not given it.

What is the way out? It seems that so long as silence is maintained the A. W. U. officials concerned will sabotage it. The officials concerned succeeded in their sabotage in 1921. They succeeded in 1922. They have succeeded thus far in 1923. The problem is one which can be dealt with only by the A. W. U. members. This does not mean that the One Big Union movement should be split. Nor does it mean that another union should be formed; nor even that members of the A. W. U. should refuse to pay dues. **THIS MUST NOT BE.** No matter how great the disgust, no matter how seemingly hopeless the situation, A. W. U. MEMBERS MUST STAY WITHIN THEIR UNION. Any move to organize against paying dues is not only bad tactics but **TREACHERY TO THE SLOW-MOVING MASS.** The rank and file forced the officials to take a ballot on the O. B. U. They now have to support the honest officials and clean out those officials who have been playing the part of saboteurs for so long.

HOLLAND THE action of the transport section of the Amsterdam International in setting up a united front with the Russian unions affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions is provoking widespread discussion and action. At a recent meeting the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions, composed of Jouhaux, Mertens, Leipart, Oudegeest, Fimmen, Sassenbach, Brown, and Thomas, sharply condemned the secretary, Fimmen, for having entered into the arrangement and signed the resultant manifesto. They see in this get-together movement of the transport workers the beginning of the end of their rule and are alarmed to their depths. Despite this official opposition, however, representatives of the International Federation of Metal Workers met a few days later with representatives of the Russian Metal Workers' Union in Friedrichshafen, Germany, and went on record in favor of a united front similar to that set up by the Transport Workers. The matter will be definitely settled at the next general international congress of metal workers.

Doubtless other international federations will soon follow the lead of the transport workers and metal workers and thus finally abandon the embargo that has prevailed so long against the Russian unions. In the *London Daily Herald*, James O'Grady, President of the International Federation of Factory Employees, said: "I have been saddened at the attitude of the Amsterdam International towards our Russian trade union brothers, because, although our Russian Brethren are affiliated to the Red International, there is very sincere desire on their part—without ulterior motive—to be connected direct with Western European Trade Unionism. My complaint against the Amsterdam International is that they are prejudiced, and that is why I welcome the resolution of the General Council of the Transport Workers' International Federation. Comrades, think out the situation, and express your opinion in your branches, and get your executives to act on the lines of the International Transport Workers. I am profoundly convinced that in that way lies the economic and political salvation of the workers of the world."

In the *Kommunistische Gewerkschafter*, trades union organ of the German Communist Party, is contained extensive extracts of the now famous speech delivered by Fimmen, May 25, at the congress of the Tschecho-

Slovak railroad workers, in which Fimmen practically announced his conviction of the necessity for a united front as proposed by the Red International of Labor Unions. Among other things, he said: "Now the world exploiters will smash Russia. In spite of all errors which Russia has committed against the labor movement, we must never for a moment forget that Soviet Russia is the backbone of the entire labor movement of the world. Should Soviet Russia be overthrown, so would the labor movement of Europe be destroyed. . . . If we do not succeed in realizing the united front of the proletariat, then is Socialism, then is the progress of humnaity, then is the entire working class lost."

FRANCE AS foretold in a recent number of the *LABOR HERALD*, the famous case against the French Communists has blown up. The charges against Cachin, Monmousseau, Treint, Marrane, Hoellein, and many other active militants have been dismissed. This action was practically certain once the Senate refused to sit as the high court to try the cases. Bearing in mind the trials of Monatte and the other militants in 1921, which resulted so disastrously for the State, the powers-that-be refused to take any chances with Cachin and the others before the lower courts. However, Vandeputte, Peri, Laporte, Sellier, Bunet, and members of the Communist Youth are still being held. This is probably because the authorities, in a last ditch effort to save their face, do not want to turn everybody loose at once.

Following the action of the International Transport Workers in declaring for the united front, the Secretary of the Unity Federation of Railroad Workers issued an invitation to all the transport unions of France, C. G. T. and C. G. T. U., to send representatives to a general meeting so that a united front might be established and a start made to end the dualism that has so badly wrecked the labor movement. But in accordance with their usual disruptive tactics, the reformist C. G. T. unions have refused the invitation, pretending they had had no word from Amsterdam authorizing such joint action, and quibbling otherwise. The C. G. T. U. unions are inviting the rank and file of the other unions notwithstanding.

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LEWIS AND FARRINGTON UNITE*(Continued from Page 13)*

members who have governed and regulated its affairs. In virtue of these facts, it is, therefore, entirely proper that the United Mine Workers should give attention to the latest of the adversaries which has issued a challenge to its integrity. This band of self-styled industrial crusaders have classified themselves under the high-sounding title of the "Progressive International Committee of the United Mine Workers of America." These men, without warrant for their acts, have undertaken from time to time to meet in secret conclave and there, amid the enthusiasm which always prevails in the adoption of resolutions, have highly resolved to assume control of the United Mine Workers and thenceforth direct its affairs along the lines conceived by their deranged mental faculties.

Crowding for position in the front ranks of these doughty warriors appear many faces known of yore as enemies of the American Federation of Labor and its allied international unions.

At a recent conference held in Pittsburgh, Pa., assembled under call from this aggregation, appeared William Z. Foster, the moving spirit and councillor of the "Trade Union Educational League" known and recognized as an adjunct of the Communist Party in America. From the prolific mind and facile pen of Foster came the various resolutions antagonistic to the United Mine Workers and the American labor movement which were adopted at the Pittsburgh meeting of these irreconcilables. Cheek by jowl with Foster appeared one Howat, an expelled member of the United Mine Workers, and responsible for a trail of misery and confusion following in the wake of his unhappy career. Associated with this group was also one Merrick, for some time an inmate of a penitentiary in the State of Pennsylvania. Listed among the faithful is the name of Caleb Harrison, for many years an organizer of the Industrial Workers of the World; J. A. Hamilton, a renegade school teacher without trade union affiliations; Jos. Manley, son-in-law of Foster, and many others of their ilk. These individuals, with ample funds coming through Communist channels from foreign shores, have undertaken a campaign of vilification and misrepresentation of reputable leaders of the organization and the established tribunals of the union for the purpose of undermining the confidence of its members and setting up their own dictatorship within its ranks.

In consideration of these facts, the International Executive Board feels warranted in warning the members of the United Mine Workers and other trade unions in the organized labor movement against giving aid or

comfort in any form to the promoters of this dual union. The Constitution of the United Mine Workers definitely classifies such organizations as the Progressive International Committee as being dual in purpose and membership in dual organizations is expressly prohibited.

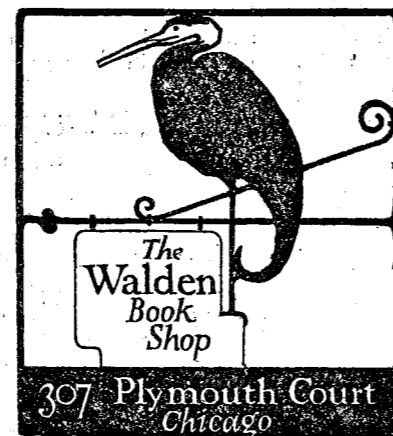
The International Executive Board through the adoption and issuance of this authoritative document definitely places the so-called Progressive International Committee as being within the scope of the Constitutional provisions of the United Mine Workers with respect to dual unions. Instruction is hereby given to the officers of all subordinate districts of the United Mine Workers and to the officers and members of all affiliated local unions to apply the provisions of the International Constitution to all members affiliated with this dual movement or giving aid and comfort thereto. Charges should be filed against such members and trials legally held in conformity with the provisions of the International Constitution governing such matters.

The United Mine Workers of America must purge itself of its secret enemies who draw substance from its bosom, as well as contest with its avowed enemies who openly prate of its future destruction. Our officers and our membership must awaken to a proper appreciation of this sordid industrial menace and loyalty to our laws and support to our ideals must be given by all.

Adopted by the International Executive Board at Indianapolis, Indiana, June 20, 1923.

(Signed) John L. Lewis, President,
Philip Murray, Vice-President,
Wm. Green, Secretary-Treasurer,
United Mine Workers of America.

(Seal)



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