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Official Organ of The Trade Union Educational League



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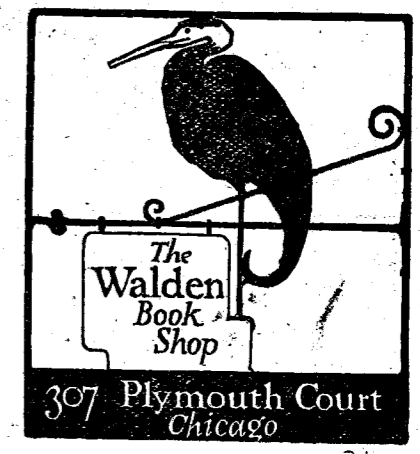


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Published monthly at 106 N. La Salle St. Subscription price \$1.50 per year. The Trade Union Educational League, Publishers.
"Entered as second class matter March 23, 1922, at the postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879."

Vol. II.

NOVEMBER, 1923



No. 9

Labor's Chamber of Commerce

By Wm. F. Dunne

IF the convention of the American Federation of Labor was a workingclass gathering the result of its deliberations at Portland could arouse nothing but black despair on the part of the left-wing elements in the American labor movement. It was not a convention of workers, however, but a gathering of professional labor leaders whose interest in the labor movement is exactly the same as the heads of any other well-paying business.

For weeks before the convention it was evident that the red menace of Communism was to be made the issue at the Portland meet. The series of articles sponsored by the officials of the United Mine Workers containing an invitation to the employers to join hands with the labor leaders in stamping out radicalism sounded the key-note of the convention and outlined the policy of the Gompers machine.

The Portland convention spent its time in hunting heretics and in unseating the writer, who acknowledged without equivocation his disbelief in the divine character of the officialdom of the American labor movement. This proceeding took up almost a whole day of the convention and was the feature of its sessions.

It was no spontaneous outburst of indignation on the part of the delegates, but a carefully prepared climax to an official scheme which had for its object the defeat of all resolutions dealing with amalgamation, a labor party, and the recognition of Soviet Russia. I was unseated on the second Monday of the convention but as early as the preceding Tuesday the reporters of the capitalist press had been told by the A. F. of L. publicity agents that I would be unseated; the information was not given, however, to the correspondent of the Federated Press.

Two days before the proceedings against me were started John J. O'Leary, personal press agent for Gompers and "labor expert" of the *New York World*, in a special article in the *Portland Oregonian* predicted my unseating.

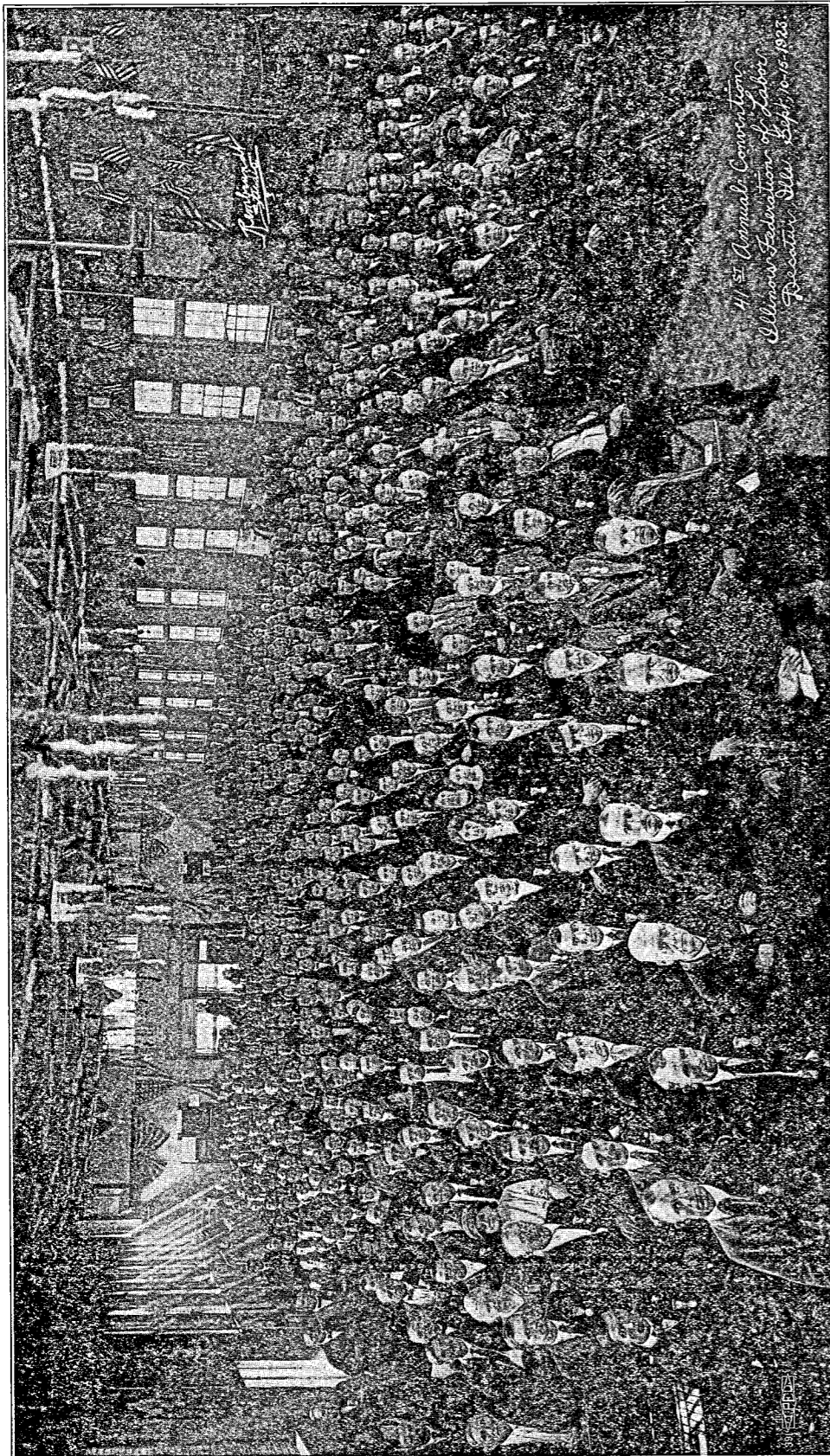
Never at any convention of the Federation has there been such close co-operation between the capitalist press and the officialdom of the A. F.

of L. Unlimited space was at the disposal of the reactionaries, and in not a single instance did a word of criticism of A. F. of L. officials or policies creep into the four employer-owned Portland sheets. The convention responded to this, and from beginning to end everything of a working-class character was carefully eliminated from the proceedings. So strong was this complex that two workingmen, who were one day watching Gompers get into his limousine after adjournment, were seized, searched, and man handled by the police lieutenant in plain clothes who drove his car; they were suspicious characters, you understand, because they did not fit into the picture.

There can be no doubt that the machine was frightened at the resolutions for amalgamation, the labor party, and recognition of Russia, that cropped up from unexpected places. The convention of the Molders' Union, whose president, Joseph Valentine, is a member of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., had endorsed the labor party and Russian recognition just as the A. F. of L. went into session. Something like 13 big International Unions had expressed themselves in favor of one or all of the three propositions at conventions, to say nothing of the State Federations and city central bodies who had taken similar action. The situation was full of dynamite for an officialdom which is trying to prove that it loves the wage-system more ardently than the employers themselves.

The high-salaried businessmen who speak for Labor did not give one moment's consideration to the idea that fighting against progress is the job of employers. They hold the same views as do the capitalists who employ the dues-paying workers in the unions, and acted accordingly as one knew they would do. Employers are more inclined to deal with organizations that have the viewpoint of the masters, so every effort was made to convince the employers that Labor hates anyone who advances the idea that the present system is not all it should be, and that labor organizations can never achieve power by catering to the employers' love of the capitalist system.

This was the strategy of the convention—to outdo chambers of commerce, commercial clubs,



SCENE OF THE BATTLE AT DECATUR
The Largest Convention of a State Federation of Labor Ever Held

advertising associations, Rotary and Kiwanis clubs, and the bar association, in denunciation of anything that could be interpreted as un-American, and into this category were placed recognition of Soviet Russia, amalgamation, and the labor party.

Bureaucrats Squirm Under Criticism

To attain this objective the full strength of the Gompers machine was mobilized. The first days of the session were taken up with religious and patriotic speeches in which radicals were flayed. Frank Hodges, whose name will be mentioned with a curse by the British workers for many a long day to come in connection with Black Friday, warned the convention against the "borers from within"; Mayor Baker, elected by the Klan, and various ministers and relief workers, all sounded the same note; the local press played up every such denunciation, and the not too courageous delegates were duly impressed.

Thus the stage was all set by Monday, Oct. 8. In the report of the educational committee the Federated Press was scored as an agency for the dissemination of Communist propaganda. Matthew Woll, heir apparent to the throne, speaking for the committee recommendation, urged the convention to unseat me. Bill Green, secretary of the United Mine Workers, was recognized and opened the case for the prosecution without any motion being made, the report of the educational committee on the Federated Press being forgotten in the excitement. The evidence of the inquisitors consisted of articles, headlines, and editorials in one issue of the *Butte Bulletin* in which charges of bribery made by Lewis and Farrington against each other were published. In an editorial I had referred to Lewis in connection with his Herrin publicity as trying "to turn members of his union over to the hangman after they had been acquitted by a jury," and while these excerpts were being read I heard more than one grunt of approval from the delegates in my vicinity, nor were there any expressions of disapproval or anger such as the reactionaries expected; on the contrary, the convention was extremely silent and attentive.

Green ended his indictment by stating that a precedent for the proceedings could be found in the scriptures as Lucifer had been expelled from Heaven. I could not keep from laughing as I thought of the tremendous wing-surface that would be required for some of these Poland-China-swine-built labor leaders to play the part of angels. Green also read letters seized by the Department of Justice raid on the office of Fred Merrick in Pittsburgh, which showed that I was in that district during the 1922 strike of the coal miners. Phillip Murray, vice-president of the

U. M. W. A., made the motion for my expulsion after Green had finished his exhortation, and it was only then that it was remembered that the report of the educational committee had not yet been put before the convention. That matter was hurriedly disposed of and real business resumed.

Murray denounced me as a Communist and a bitter opponent of the officialdom of the United Mine Workers and of the A. F. of L. Green had read extracts from a speech I made at an open meeting the night before, in which I referred to the officialdom as "fat boys" and had stated that "I did not know it would be necessary to throw anyone out to prove their respectability," and further that "these people were more conservative than the employers." These statements were supposed to prove that I was not a good trade unionist and should be cast into outer darkness.

Dunne Lashes the "Fat Boys"

I secured the floor and spoke for about 40 minutes. I think in justice to myself it is fair to say that never before at an A. F. of L. convention have the bureaucrats of the labor movement heard the truth about themselves worded in so clear a manner. I mentioned the fact that Labor is only about one-seventh organized in the United States, "and yet," I said, "you strut around as though you had capitalism by the throat." I told them that I had heard much boasting of the revocation of charters but nothing about the spread of organization. I told them that the scriptural precedent discovered by Green "gave the proceedings a religious atmosphere that was quite in keeping with the heresy-hunting proclivities of the A. F. of L. officials." I mentioned the fear for their good jobs that was expressed in their hostility to amalgamation and the labor party, and told them that I did not consider them workers; that they were as far removed from the struggles of the rank and file as were the employers they sought to placate. I told them that it was not the first time I had faced a white-collared mob bent upon my destruction and that I had no intention of defending anything I had said or done; in a capitalist court I would defend myself but not before the lackeys of the capitalist class; any statement I might make would be for the purpose of making my position clear and not to apologize for it.

Adjournment was had before the discussion was finished and upon convening in the afternoon there occurred what was, to me, the most pitiful spectacle of the whole convention. Fred Mooney, of West Virginia, one of the U. M. W. A. delegates, was forced by the Lewis machine to support Murray's motion and attack me. He was placed in the position of doing the bidding of the machine or of being deprived of all financial as-

sistance in his coming trial growing out of the march of the miners three years ago. He based his attack upon my speech and said that, only for that, he would have opposed the motion; he stated that I was being framed in Michigan just as he was in West Virginia, but that I had no place in the convention because of my beliefs; he became hysterical and incoherent many times during his speech, his voice rising to a scream in which no words could be discerned. I felt genuinely sorry for him, but he is only another fighter in the ranks of labor that is ruined to serve the ambitions of cowardly and dishonest officialdom.

Tracy, of the Brick and Clay Workers, took umbrage at my blue shirt, and used most of his time in denouncing Foster. Greenstein, of the Jewelry Workers, resurrected the exploded canard about my alleged Ku Klux Klan affiliation but I was given no opportunity to reply. I trust that Greenstein has been repaid for his services and is now in good standing with the Gompers machine after having been out of the A. F. of L. for two years.

The vote was overwhelmingly in favor of unseating me, but it was not unanimous although every effort was made to have it so. The few who braved the machine will undoubtedly suffer for their temerity. Among them were Sillinsky and Soderberg of the Tailors' International, Ed. Launer of the Paper and Sulphite Workers, Ohls of the Wisconsin Federation of Labor, Burns of the Tacoma Central Labor Council, Duncan of Seattle, and Stevens of Minneapolis.

Progressive Measures Strangled

Following my unseating the work of railroad amalgamation, the labor party, and recognition of Soviet Russia began. The amalgamation resolutions were lumped together, the report of the committee denounced them as communistic, no discussion was permitted, and no roll-call obtained.

The labor party resolutions met almost the same fate, although a number of delegates supported them; they, too, were denounced as un-American and against the interests of the labor movement, but a roll-call was secured nevertheless, and a surprising sentiment in their behalf was disclosed in spite of the intimidation of the machine. One vote out of every 13 was cast for the labor party.

Recognition of Russia also commanded support that surprised the administration after the anti-offensive was supposed to have terrorized every delegate. Gompers and Woll were the only ones who took the floor against the resolution.

Hays of the Typographical, Healy of the Stationary Engineers, Smart of the Switchmen, and Johnston of the Machinists, all spoke for it.

It can be said, I think, that the offensive against the left wing reached its height in Portland. Another period of industrial depression is just around the corner and the A. F. of L. now has less than 3,000,000 members; the militants have brought their program on the convention floor and it was necessary to expel one of them to prevent the machine from being challenged on all fronts. Nothing was done that could possibly strengthen Labor, except perhaps to endorse the Workers' Educational Bureau and that is now safely under the patronage of the bureaucracy. Trying times are ahead of American Labor and in throttling proposals advocated by the militants the A. F. of L. dynasty has done the one thing necessary to convince the intelligent trade unionists that the only hope for American Labor lies in the program of the Trade Union Educational League and in the rallying of the rank and file of the unions around that program for a merciless fight against any and all officials who oppose it.

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THE LABOR HERALD IN JAPAN

Cover of a Tokio labor paper, showing how wide-spread has grown the influence of the T. U. E. L. Design taken from the January 1923, issue of the LABOR HERALD.

The Decatur Battle

By Wm. Z. Foster

THE convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, held in Decatur, Sept. 10-16, was one of the sharpest and bitterest clashes that have yet taken place between revolutionaries and reactionaries in the American labor movement. The latter won heavily. They were well prepared for the fight. For months previous to the convention they had been drumming up their forces, with the result that when the gathering assembled it was by far the largest convention ever held by any State Federation. Almost 700 delegates were in attendance, of whom at least 300 were paid officials. The Milk Wagon Drivers of Chicago, for example, sent 43 delegates, their full quota, at \$25.00 per day per man. The whole delegation of Chicago teamsters numbered 120, who voted as a unit against every progressive proposition. The reactionaries were determined to beat the revolutionaries at all costs.

The Labor Party Fight

The first big battle and the decisive one for the whole convention occurred on a resolution calling upon the American Federation of Labor to change its constitution so as to permit the organization of a labor party. This resolution, with small changes, had been earlier submitted to the Chicago Federation of Labor and passed unanimously by it at the instance of left wing delegates and then sent on to the Illinois Federation of Labor. The resolution committee recommended non-concurrence and the fight was on. Various reactionaries put forth the usual twaddle which passes for argument with them. Then John H. Walker, long known as an advocate of independent working class political action and formerly National Chairman of the Farmer Labor Party, shocked the convention by arguing in principle against the labor party. He urged that all parties and groups in the United States vigorously apply the Gompers policy of rewarding friends and punishing enemies. He declared that it was by this method that the British Labor Party had been built and that by it also the labor party would come in this country. After him, I got the floor and spoke. Then the crash came. For three days the convention had been under the utmost tension expecting the great battle against the "reds." The newspapers were full of stories about it and much excitement prevailed. The speaker following me, Oscar Nelson, Vice-President of the Chicago Federation of Labor and a confirmed reactionary, released this tension and gave the keynote to the whole convention. A powerful speaker, he stirred

up a wild anti-red hysteria. He made a bitter attack upon me and everything "red" and swept the convention with him. All the bitterness and hatred of the reactionaries for revolutionary ideas burst forth during his talk. A wave of terrorism spread through the convention. The merits of the resolution were lost sight of. The issue was Communism versus Capitalism. Denying me the right to reply to Nelson's slanderous statements, the stampeded convention was rushed to a vote on the labor party proposition, which was lost by a vote announced to be 456 against 65.

The Amalgamation Fight

Encouraged by their success with the labor party issue, the reactionaries determined to finish the "reds" forthwith. They reported next on the amalgamation resolution, not to concur. This provoked the bitterest fight of the convention. This measure was the one above all that the reactionaries were determined to defeat. They had made elaborate preparations. First, there was the great gathering together of delegates to jam the convention. Then, a letter was got from Mr. Gompers in which the latter, in diplomatic language, practically told the State Federation to keep its hands off such broad issues as amalgamation as they were outside its jurisdiction, a hint which the committee followed in recommending non-concurrence. Besides, Mr. Gompers sent the Crown Prince, Matthew Woll, to attack amalgamation in person at the convention. In addition, the flamboyant series of six articles issued by the Mine Workers' Union had been timed to appear just at this strategic convention and all the reactionary officials had copies of them. But the most effective of all their weapons was an anti-amalgamation statement issued by John Fitzpatrick and Edward Nockels of the Chicago Federation of Labor. Reactionaries all through the labor movement have greeted this statement with great joy, and well they may for it is no less than a repudiation of amalgamation by these two men who were supposed to be its champions. The statement was carefully timed to do all possible damage to the amalgamation fight. It appeared in the current issue of the official organ of the Illinois Federation of Labor and was distributed to the delegates at the very instant that the resolutions committee was reporting on the amalgamation proposition. By their early support of amalgamation Fitzpatrick and Nockels helped the cause greatly. But that sin is now off their heads. Their recent statement was a dagger in the back

of amalgamation and it did more to injure that movement at Decatur than any other weapon of the reactionaries.

In their fight against amalgamation the reactionaries used the same general method, to stir up "red" hysteria. The merits of the proposition were lost sight of altogether. Matthew Woll made a bitter attack against me. I replied with a lengthy speech, which was well-received by the delegation. Then Victor Olander, Secretary of the State Federation, made a two hours' speech. By the clock he devoted a full hour and a half to a personal attack on me. The rest was slobber. Olander is a cunning politician and he utilized his wits to the utmost in assailing me. Character assassination was his method. He built up the most elaborate frame-work of falsehoods about my activities that it has ever been my doubtful pleasure to listen to. I let him go ahead uninterrupted. The night before John H. Walker had promised me, with much emotion, that he realized I was up against a hard fight and that he, as Chairman, would give me ample opportunity to reply to my detractors. So, foolishly, I believed he would keep his word and give me a chance to reply to Olander. But when the latter finished his mass of lies and I demanded my undoubted right to answer them, Walker denied me that right and he took the floor himself. It was a good illustration of his sense of honor and fairness. Walker spoke for half an hour, combatting amalgamation in principle. As he talked tears streamed down his face and his voice was broken. Though what he was crying about few could figure out, except it was that in this convention the pressure from the Gompers machine had forced him publicly to repudiate practically every principle he had ever stood for. When Walker finished at least forty delegates rose to speak, but right in their teeth the debate was cut off and the amalgamation resolution rushed to a vote. It lost by 313 to 80. Great resentment was expressed by many delegates at these shameless steam-roller tactics.

Soviet Russia — American Legion

In several previous conventions the Illinois Federation of Labor endorsed the recognition of Soviet Russia. But this ultra reactionary convention repudiated it. Victorious, the old guard overwhelmed this proposal along with all the other hated "red" measures. And worse yet, many progressive delegates in the convention, firm believers in Soviet Russia but disgruntled at the fiasco made by their Farmer-Labor Party at the famous July conference and eager to get revenge, were weak enough to vote with the reactionaries. Not only did the convention vote against recognizing Russia, but it also took a

direct slap at that country by amending a resolution demanding the release of political prisoners in this country to the effect that those in Russia should be released also.

Part of the program of the A. F. of L. is to go along in alliance with the strike-breaking American Legion. John H. Walker, President of the Illinois Federation of Labor showed himself more than willing to co-operate in this anti-progressive work. In his annual report he devoted 12 closely printed pages to lauding the work of the Legion. He wound up by saying:

I therefore recommend that this convention go on record as recommending that our members who are eligible to membership in this organization, join it and where, in communities that have sufficient numbers to be able to maintain such a post, that they apply for charters for trade union posts.

To grease the skids for this reactionary proposition the Commander of the Illinois branch of the American Legion was invited to speak. As soon as he had finished a delegate hopped up and moved that the work of the Legion be endorsed. This created a furor. Instantly a dozen delegates took the floor in opposition. Among them was a miner who declared that in his town at that very minute the American Legion was breaking a strike. Seeing the opposition, Walker asked that the whole matter be held in abeyance until the convention came to consider his report later on. This was done. But when in due time the committee reported about the Legion it ducked the issue by first praising the Legion and then advocating that trade union ex-soldiers join *some* ex-service men's organization. Denouncing this evasion as hypocritical, a delegate moved an amendment to carry a straight endorsement of the Legion. This was tabled and the motion carried as proposed by the committee. Walker, the so-called progressive, was badly compromised in this affair. Not even the ultra reactionary convention would go as far as he in setting up an organic alliance with the anti-Labor American Legion.

State Political Action

The question of independent working class political action in Illinois came up under two heads. The first was in the form of a resolution demanding that the Illinois Federation organize a state labor party under its jurisdiction. This had the backing of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. It was beaten by the usual vote. The next was a recommendation by Walker that the Joint Legislative Board (the typical Gompers machine for lobbying and rewarding political friends) be continued and financed afresh. Lillian Herstein opened a vigorous battle against this. She was one of the very few members of the Farmer-Labor Party at the convention who stood by the principles of progress and did not allow

herself to be driven into the camp of the reactionaries. She nearly wrecked Walker's project. When the viva voce vote was taken the volume of "noes" was so heavy that even the reactionary Chairman, who would have been glad to call the thing carried if he had dared, had to announce himself in doubt as to the result. He called for a rising vote. When this was taken a remarkable illustration was given of the state of mental terrorism prevailing in the convention. Only 83 delegates actually ventured to stand up to be counted, although at least 300 must have voted "no" in the vocal vote.

A Few of the Lessons

In many respects the convention was a wonderful gathering. For one thing it was a striking illustration of the great fear in which the reactionaries hold the Trade Union Educational League, which means the vital policies that our organization advocates. The tremendous preparations they made to fill up the convention, and the frantic efforts they made to terrorize the delegates by stirring up "red" hysteria were eloquent proofs of that. Matthew Woll tipped off the hand of the reactionaries when he referred to the article recently appearing in the LABOR HERALD, entitled "Gompers Faces Triple Revolt" and pointing the mass character of the present movement for amalgamation, the labor party, and recognition of Soviet Russia. He admitted the validity of our claims that these are the three measures most threatening to Gompersism by demanding an overwhelming defeat of them at the convention. The direct and terrific opposition of the reactionaries was a tremendous tribute to the power and influence of the Trade Union Educational League.

Another striking and instructive feature of the convention was the attitude of the so-called progressive elements, mostly affiliated with or sympathetic to the Farmer-Labor Party. They were sore because, due to their own stupidity, their party was wrecked at the July conference. Hence they were determined to get even with the hated "reds" whom they blame for their discomfiture. So they plumped right into the arms of Gompers. They would not vote for amalgamation, the labor party, or recognition of Russia (though they believe in all three) simply because the "reds" proposed the resolutions or identified themselves with them. What a silly attitude, what an ostrich policy. Such pseudo progressives do not realize the patent fact that these great measures correspond to the most urgent needs of the working class and that the latter must adopt them whether they are proposed by respectables or not. Do the progressives believe that because of their frowns the despised radicals will abandon the advocacy of

these vital measures? If so they are in for a rude awakening. The only effect of their defection will be to practically give the revolutionaries a monopoly on these great and burning issues, it will merely strengthen our grip inevitably among the rank and file. Our progressive friends may recover as quickly as they please from their present acute attack of respectability, which expresses itself by a shameful surrender to Gompers. Whether they like it or not the revolutionary minority, in the future as in the past, will be found in every trade union convention identifying themselves with and fighting valiantly for amalgamation, the labor party, and recognition of Soviet Russia. At the present time the only element in the United State that is making a real fight for these measures is exactly this revolutionary minority. And it will continue to be so. The progressives will eventually be compelled to go along with that fight. By trotting back to Gompers and allowing themselves to be made tools of by his reactionary machine, as they did at Decatur, they are not only rendering themselves ridiculous but are also betraying the most sacred interests of the working class.

Many reactionaries believe that they decisively beat the League militants at Decatur. This is nonsense. The Decatur convention was only one round in a long fight that must go on until the labor movement is revolutionized. The workers in Illinois, particularly the 100,000 coal miners, are largely tinged with radicalism. They will not accept the verdict of Decatur. They will gird their loins for a fresh struggle next year against the reactionaries. Although the Decatur convention was an historic one, that next year in Peoria will be even more epoch-making. The militants will assemble there in larger numbers and more determined than ever to put the Illinois labor movement upon a constructive and progressive basis.

A most vital task in forwarding the T. U. E. L. program is to establish the League finances. This is easily done through the sale of Sustaining Fund Certificates to members and sympathizers. Every group secretary and League correspondent can assist mightily in this work by making the Sustaining Fund a regular order of business. Certificates that have been sent out should be sold. New supplies can be obtained upon request. The League depends upon every member to do his part.

Molders' Union for Progress

By D. B. Roberts

THE 26th Convention of the International Molders' Union, held in Cleveland the last weeks of September and the first week in October, marked a distinct break of this old organization with its conservative past, and set its feet on the road of progress. Feeling the determined character of the delegates present, the old officials yielded after a fight and, by allowing the measures presented by the revolutionists to pass, they managed to stave off an upheaval that would have lost them their jobs. Practically the entire program of the T. U. E. L. was endorsed by the actions of the Convention, including amalgamation, the Labor Party, organize the unorganized, recognition of Soviet Russia, and other measures relating to the Molders.

Amalgamation was attacked viciously by the reactionaries early in the Convention. They introduced a resolution *against* amalgamation, but it was voted down unanimously. So the officials, afraid to report out the amalgamation resolution presented from St. Louis, brought in one of their own which put the Convention "on record as favoring a more progressive movement towards amalgamation of all metal trades," and providing that other metal trades should equalize their dues with the Molders. The militants pointed out the underhanded attempt to sabotage amalgamation by making "provisos" but the reactionaries, by yielding to the principle of amalgamation which was thus unanimously adopted, succeeded in getting their resolution passed.

Fifty-six years ago the Molders stood for the Labor Party idea; since that time until the Cleveland Convention they have been solid against it. The resolution for a national Labor Party was discussed for a whole day, with the officialdom fighting it viciously. On a roll-call vote it was carried by a vote of 185 against 158, a majority of 27 for the Labor Party. This was a bitter pill for Frey, chief spokesman for Gompers in the Convention. A resolution for "organizing the unorganized" was carried without opposition; the old guard seemed to feel that if they could keep the offices they could interpret the resolution to suit themselves. They will find, however, that resolutions of this kind which are being adopted all through the labor movement, will force them into action before long.

Recognition of Soviet Russia was adopted by a strong vote, over the bitter opposition of John P. Frey. Again the old guard saw defeat staring

them in the face, and bowed to the inevitable, trying to save their faces with an amendment. But the Convention had clearly registered its opinion on this vital matter. A resolution against Fascism was adopted unanimously.

Support of the Mooney-Billings Defense was voted unanimously. Tom Mooney had been elected as a delegate to this Convention by his Local, San Francisco, by a vote of 555 out of a total 601. The Convention, reversing the former reactionary stand of the Union, voted Mooney full confidence and \$1,000 donation to the Mooney Defense. Then, to put their final seal of approval upon Mooney, they elected him their delegate to the A. F. of L. Convention. It was a great demonstration of solidarity and revolutionary spirit, and will be a help in the fight for Mooney's release from San Quentin Prison.

The climax to the struggle between reactionaries and the militants fighting for the program of the Trade Union Educational League, came in a proposal from the officials to amend the constitution so that they could bring charges against any member and try him before the *executive board*. The purpose was to obtain the power to throw out the militants, as the Ladies' Garment Workers' officials are attempting to do. But the Convention would have nothing of this disruptive design. They turned the proposition down, and by an overwhelming majority adopted the proposition made by Delegate Blome, of St. Louis, placing the power of discipline over individual members entirely in the hands of the *local unions*. The rank and file must vigilantly defend this victory, and immediately stop any disruptive moves from the officials now that the Convention is over.

The tremendous progress of the past year among the rank and file, brought about by the militants and revolutionists working in harmony with the T. U. E. L., was thus registered in a great victory in the Molders' Convention. But this is only a beginning. If it is not to be lost again, and the Union fall once more into a slough of reaction, the militants must now work harder than ever. So long as the reactionaries control the administrative machinery of the Union, just so long is there a constant menace to all progressive policies. Now is the time to prepare for the next Convention, where the Molders can be brought into the very forefront of the fight for trade union progress.

Revolutionary Unionism in Germany

By Fritz Heckert

SYSTEMATIC work towards revolutionizing the German trade union movement is of recent growth. Before the war, a little was done in this direction, but it was planless. Only at the end of the year 1919 did we come to fully appreciate the importance of the trade unions in the revolutionary movement. The way to go at the task was only slowly worked out. For a long time there was much doubt whether the attempt to conquer the trade unions for revolutionary principles and tactics was not an effort to accomplish the impossible. But finally, through the many defeats of the German workers, caused by the betrayal of the reformist trade union leaders, we came to understand that the unions had to be conquered if the victory of the revolution was to be achieved. But still it was a long while before a uniform conception developed as to how this could be done. Even now, some mistakes are made and hinder systematic progress. And so it is in all countries, so it is in all groups which acknowledge the Red International of Labor Unions. At the session of the Enlarged Executive of the R. I. L. U. in June of this year, the principle of winning the trade unions was strongly endorsed, the experiences of many countries, particularly Germany, being cited in support of it.

Election to Metal Workers' Convention

The Metal Workers' Union is the largest labor organization in the world, with 1,600,000 members. Including almost one-fourth of all members in the German Federation of Trade Unions and comprising a very intelligent body of workers, it is a most important factor for the German revolution. No wonder that the reformists use every effort to hold this union fast and do all possible to defeat the revolutionists, who also realize the importance of the union and do all they can to win it for their cause. In September, the Convention of the Metal Workers took place. This gathering decided not only the policy of the Metal Workers for two years, but also, to a great extent, that of other organizations. If the revolutionary opposition could carry the Metal Workers' Union, that meant a turning point in the whole German labor movement. This opinion prevailed in the elections. Both sides, the revolutionary minority and the bureaucratic machine, made the utmost efforts to elect delegates.

At present writing the full results of the election are not yet in. Of 402 mandates, however, the Communists have won 145 while the reformists got 247. The Communists have not captured the majority, but a greater number of votes

were cast for their candidates than for the 247 of the reformists. This is made clear by the election method. There is no proportional election. In several ways the entrenched majority have the best of it. In many places the reformists, despite small majorities, captured the whole delegation. The election showed, however, that in those centers where the Communists were victorious they had heavy majorities over the reformists. In Berlin the Communist ticket got 54,000 votes as against 22,000 for the reformists. In Aue, 4,700 revolutionaries against 1,200 reformists. In Essen, the same condition prevailed. On the other hand, the reformists in Chemnitz got 10 delegates with only 8,500 against 7,900, in Dresden 12 delegates with 10,300 against 7,500, and in Leipzig 9 delegates with 8,200 against 7,600. The general result shows that the Communists cast a majority of votes and received a minority of delegates.

The reformists tried to make this into a big victory for Amsterdam over Moscow. But the capitalists see quite clearly the tremendous growth of revolutionary influence and say "that the day is not far off when the German Metal Workers' Union will fall into the hands of the Communists." An important feature was that whereas in previous elections only a small section of the workers took part in the elections, this time an extra-ordinarily large figure was reached. Formerly, if 10% of the members participated in the election it was considered a good average. But now, 40%, 50%, 60%, and even 70% participated. In many places the elections took on the character of parliamentary elections, big meetings being held and every effort made to bring out the voters.

The election would have had a much more favorable outcome for the Communists had the latter had a better organization, as compared to the established machine of the reformists. With equal conditions prevailing in this respect, the reformists would have suffered an overwhelming defeat. Another disadvantage was that in many centers numbers of metal workers are no longer members of the union, because they have organized in separate unions, believing they can thus fight better for the revolution.

Although the reformists have the majority, still they will have no opportunity to push through their reactionary policies. No longer can they change the Union laws in their favor, since they lack the necessary two-thirds of the delegates. They will be compelled to make concessions to

the opposition. The election law, which this time worked out to the disadvantage of the revolutionary members, will, the next time, reduce the influence of the reformists to nothing, because it will turn the preponderance of the revolutionary votes overwhelmingly against the reformists. The proportional election system, which we have long fought for and which brings democracy into the union, the reformists can no longer oppose, but must champion unless they are to be defeated altogether.

Election to Textile Workers' Convention

If the bourgeoisie were disturbed at the election in the Metal Workers' Union, they were horrified by that among the Textile Workers. They expected that the Metal Workers' would show a radical result, but they considered these workers an exception. But now there is the result of the Textile Workers' Convention election. And Stinnes' organ, the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, says, "The Textile Workers' Union has been conquered by the Communists with a crushing majority." Then follow alarm cries. That paper believes that all will be lost unless repressive measures are taken against the Communists at once. The faith in reformism as a dam against the revolutionary flood has collapsed.

We have not as yet definite results about the entire election. The Textile Workers' election is more overwhelming than in the Metal Workers' Union. Moreover, in that organization we had a much weaker revolutionary apparatus and were not in position to carry on so great and widespread an election propaganda as among the Metal Workers. Which makes the result all the more surprising. In this union, as in the Metal Workers, great numbers took part in the election. The reformist leaders realized early that the votes of the workers would be unfavorable to the officials of the organization. Therefore, they got most of their candidates out of the shops in order to create a better situation for themselves. But this helped them in only a few cases. Wherever the Communists nominated candidates they were elected by overwhelming majorities. There are places in which the revolutionary majority was five times or more as great as the reformist minority. Especially crushing were the defeats for a number of union officials, which, in many places, often received 5% or less of the total number of votes cast. The weakness of the revolutionary fractions in a number of textile centers made it impossible for these to nominate candidates or to carry on propaganda. Only this fact will give the administration of the Textile Union the possibility of still being able to control a small majority, but not the possibility to use this majority to

the continuation of their contemptible anti-Communist campaign.

The Factory Councils

Do the elections in the Metal and Textile Unions merely indicate that the revolutionists have succeeded in these organizations because of exceptional conditions? We answer a vigorous "No." This is proved by a third example, the factory councils as leaders in the general strike movement.

Several times the factory councils in Germany have tried to organize the will of the workers for a common struggle and against the will of the trade union bureaucracy. Until now all these efforts have failed. Always the bureaucrats have sought to choke the factory councils and to stop their movement. According to them, the factory councils were only tools in the hands of the Communists wherewith to throw the workers into misery. Unfortunately, the bureaucracy, in this respect, were almost completely successful, including the last time in the Fall of 1922, to sabotage the factory council movement, and to condemn the factory council congress as a wild attempt to organize a Communist *putsch*. The bureaucracy followed up these attacks by having the employers discipline the workers, especially the revolutionary militants. It appeared as if the trade union bureaucrats would succeed permanently in isolating the revolutionary advance guard from the working masses.

But the great strike movement, which began on Friday, August 10th, ended with a complete bankruptcy of the reformist tactic. Then the Amsterdam bureaucrats saw their following desert them wholesale. They tried to find one consolation, that the Communists could not get control of the masses. They said, "We know that we no longer have the masses in hand. We know that this movement has escaped our control. But we also know that you Communists have been shoved on one side just as we have been and that Syndicalistic and Kappistic elements have become the leaders of the masses in this wild and senseless movement. But before one week has passed, we will see that you Communists are not only settled but also that the movement ends in a blind alley. Then our hour will come, then the masses will realize that we were right and that you Communists, once again in a most difficult hour, have criminally betrayed the working people." Upon our demands that the reformist leaders should place themselves at the head of the movement for the overthrow of the Cuno government and the accomplishment of an existence minimum for the working class, instead of deserting the workers as they were, they answered only with insulting attacks.

In spite of the monster difficulties which we encountered, we did not become discouraged in the least by the attitude of the reformists. Determinedly we set ourselves at the head of the movement, giving it voice and expression. In one gigantic meeting of 12,000 factory councils of greater Berlin, of which at last one-half were Social-Democrats, the spontaneous movement was organized and placed under the control of a central strike committee. The bureaucracy were so overwhelmed by the growth of the movement and by the submission of the fighting masses of workers to the direction of this central strike committee, that they abandoned the effort to save the Cuno government. They sought to save what they could. Cuno fell, and with him the Minister of Transport, General Groener, the man who in the great January strike of 1918 called the striking workers "dog food," and whom not even the storm waves of the revolution could drive from his office. The economic demands of the workers were no longer repudiated with contempt, but great concessions were made. This first success of the mass movement made it possible once again for the bureaucracy to pull the most backward elements of the workers away from the fighting front. Seeing the danger, and in order to preserve the unity of the workers for future struggles, and to make it impossible for the reformist bureaucracy to bring about further division in the ranks of the workers, the central strike committee called off the strike. In this respect must be noted the great confidence which the revolutionary functionaries of the Ger-

man proletariat have won in the struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Again 13,000 factory councils gathered. Raging with anger, they condemned the new treason of the trade union bureaucracy. But they endorsed unanimously the proposals of the strike committee. Only a few votes were cast against its dissolution. In earlier movements, each time the betrayed workers answered by tearing up their trade union books and by deserting their organizations, because the deceived workers, after such struggles, lent willing ears to the promises of dual organizations, which finally got the blame for the destroyed trade unions. In this movement, nothing of the kind took place. The preachers of dual unions were this time simply silenced and the slogan of the strike commission, to save the trade unions from the hands of the reformist bureaucracy and to strengthen them for better struggles against the employing class, was adopted without opposition.

Already in many parts of the country, in which the workers carried on the fight, the news comes that a big increase in the trade union membership has taken place. In this, however, the reformist bureaucracy finds no pleasure, for out of millions of throats comes the cry, "Clean the trades unions of all treasonable functionaries." The German workers are determined to win their trade unions for the revolutionary struggle. And they will prove that the way which the Red International of Labor Unions recommends to its followers is not only possible but leads quicker to the end sought than the boldest dared believe.

Join the "Daily Worker Boosters"

THE proposed publication of THE DAILY WORKER in Chicago, pledged to fight for the program of the Trade Union Educational League, was greeted by a resolution at the Second General Conference, Sept. 1-2, which pledged our "undivided support of the Daily Worker Campaign Committee in its efforts to raise a \$100,000. fund to establish THE DAILY WORKER."

It is now the task of all members and sympathizers of the League to put this resolution into effect. This can best be done through the following methods.

(1) Each member of the League should subscribe to at least one share of stock.

(2) Each local general group and indus-

trial group of the League should send delegates to the City Committee in each center which has charge of the campaign.

(3) League delegates to DAILY WORKER city committees should assist in forming a trade union sub-committee, the duty of which shall be to make a survey of the trade unions in their locality, to organize an intensive campaign to sell stock to all sympathizers, and to prepare a general campaign to sell stock to the unions themselves.

We issue this statement in the full confidence that every member of the League will work with unceasing energy and determination to make the DAILY WORKER campaign a complete success and, especially to develop the full support of friendly trade unions.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Reactionaries Smashing Ladies Garment Workers

By Earl R. Browder

CYNICALLY and cold-bloodedly, the reactionary officialdom of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union have engaged in a campaign of expulsions, disfranchisements, and czaristic dictatorship, which threatens the very life of that great organization. Under the direct leadership of Abe Cahan, of the *Jewish Daily Forward*, and in close co-operation with Gompers, this conspiracy has reached its height in the expulsion of 11 old-time members of the Chicago unions, the forcible removal of 19 out of 25 officers of Local 22, New York, expulsions and suspensions in Boston, Philadelphia, Cleveland, and other places, the use of thugs and gunmen, the breaking up of local union meetings, denial of the right to talk, to read, to think, and even to work. Along with this has gone the most vicious newspaper campaign of lies, slander, intimidation, and intellectual prostitution that has ever been witnessed in the American labor movement.

Beginning the Expulsions

The reactionaries felt around in New York and Philadelphia to find the most favorable place to start their expulsions. But the workers in those cities were on their guard, owing to previous attacks by the right-wing elements. So Mayer Perlstein, vice-president, was sent to Chicago to begin the war. There he found the Unions running along in comparative harmony, organizational work being carried on, and the left-wing militants taking a most active part in the work of the union, devoting their efforts outside of shop-hours to the union without pay. Perlstein is on record himself to this effect. He is also on record that he came to Chicago for the specific purpose of starting expulsions of these same workers. He called an organization campaign, and the left-wing elements immediately took him at his word and intensified the campaign to bring the unorganized into the union. But this manoeuvre of Perlstein's was only a means of putting the workers off their guard.

In the midst of the organization campaign, elections occurred. The left-wing advocates of amalgamation and the labor party, were elected in a majority of the offices, all of them members of years' standing and trusted in the work of the union. Perlstein immediately began his disruption. He brought charges against I. L. Davidson and Alex Kanevsky, and had a trial committee appointed. In the proceedings that followed, Perlstein violated every safeguard thrown up for protection of the membership by the Laws

of the Union. In spite of his threats and violations of the law, the Committee returned a verdict in favor of the left-wing militants by a vote of 5 to 1. But by disfranchising 16 out of 35 members of the Joint Board, Perlstein succeeded, through coercion and corruption, in getting 11 of the remaining 19 to overthrow the decision of the trial committee. Then he expelled the members by executive order. Immediately after he expelled 9 more, including Dora Lipshutz, I. Litvinsky, J. Terry, J. Goldman, Jennie Schwartz, Clara Gabin, Sam Cohen, Nathan Bosen, and Hymen Fogel, all of them without trial or even pretence of trial.

This opening gun in the war against progress was quickly followed by a general letter from the International Executive Board, signed by Sigman and Baroff, president and secretary, calling upon all locals to expel members of the Trade Union Educational League. But everywhere the rank and file refused to follow the reactionaries. In not a single instance did any local union take action against the left-wingers—and a logical thing that is, because in the local unions the left wing is respected and trusted. So the bureaucracy swung into action again. In New York they arbitrarily removed Rose Wolkowitz from the Joint Board. In Boston, Cleveland, and Philadelphia, they rushed about cooking up charges to place against the advocates of amalgamation. The whole union was thrown into a turmoil of protest.

Carmen's Hall Shooting

The expelled members in Chicago appealed to their local unions to enter protest against Perlstein's strong-arm methods. His answer was the appointment of a "Committee of Ten" to prevent all discussion of his czarist rule. His agents broke up the local union meetings to prevent motions of protest from being adopted. As a final recourse to bring their case before the membership, the expelled members called a mass meeting in Ashland Auditorium, also known as Carmen's Hall.

The meeting in Carmen's Hall was an historic one. Those in charge had not expected more than 400 or 500 members, about the number of regular attendants at local meetings. Instead of that, and in spite of an exceedingly stormy night, fully half the membership of Chicago appeared, and the committee had to hastily arrange to open the great Auditorium to accommodate the crowd. The officials had their "Committee of Ten" on hand, together with a collection of Chicago's

notorious gunmen. These endeavored to break up the meeting by interruptions and disturbances, and kept matters in a turmoil of noise and confusion for over an hour, until the manager of the hall threatened to call the police if they were not quiet. The meeting proceeded under difficulties, with great demonstrations from the 2,000 people present.

Late in the evening Wm. Z. Foster was called upon to speak, inasmuch as the reactionaries had publicly connected his name with the expulsions. Foster had just named Abe Cahan as the "man behind" the expulsions, when a door at the side of the hall was thrown open and three shots were fired at the platform in rapid succession. The gunmen instantly fled. The committee and Foster upon the platform, and the floor committee, by presence of mind and quick action, averted a stampede which would surely have resulted in the loss of many lives. It was a criminal act beyond the expectations of anyone. It betrayed the desperation with which the reactionaries had determined to go any length to crush the left-wing.

But if Sigman, Perlstein & Co. expected to intimidate the amalgamationists by their rough-stuff, they were sorely disappointed. Great mass meetings of protests were held in every needle

trades center. The one in New York City, held in Rutgers Square, Sept. 8, was attended by 10,000 workers. The reactionaries had overplayed their hand, and the rank and file were united into a great demonstration against the Fascist-like tactics and against the expulsions. The officialdom was immediately placed on the defensive. They disavowed the shooting. They got Ed. Nockels of the Chicago Federation, who was sore over the formation of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, to say the shots were blanks, although Nockels never made an investigation and refused an offer to present him with the evidence in the case. Then, when they could not stick to that story in the face of statements from the Chicago police, they said that Foster had arranged for the shots to be fired at himself for publicity purposes.

In *Justice*, official organ of the I. L. G. W. U. administration, appeared a 3,000 word editorial on Sept. 7, by S. Yanovsky, editor, making this charge, and asking Foster a list of questions. The first and chief question was a charge that Foster had given the I. L. G. W. U. a testimonial for \$65,000 donation to the Steel Strike in 1919 when but \$60,000 had been given, indicating that Foster's accounts had been irregular. The truth of the matter was, that the donation had been made



Great protest mass meeting of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union members, Rutgers Square, New York City, Sept. 8, addressed by Wm. Z. Foster

through the A. F. of L. and Foster, as secretary-treasurer of the Strike Committee, in making out the testimonial, in 1920, had been forced to write to Baroff, of the I. L. G. W. U., asking him the amount of their donation, to which Baroff had replied that it was \$65,000. These facts were well known to the I. L. G. W. U. officials, and the error on their part in 1920 had never been corrected by them in spite of Foster's requests. Now they thought they could use it to cast doubt upon Foster.

Luckily, Foster is a foresighted person, and he had taken care to preserve Baroff's original letter, especially as the "error" had been of a nature not easily explained. A photograph of the letter was published in the *Freiheit* and the *Worker*, together with Foster's complete answer to Yanovsky challenging the officials to (1) participate in a committee to investigate the shooting, (2) acknowledge the truth about the \$65,000 testimonial, and (3) accept a mutual investigation of the financial accounts of the organizations.

Yanovsky Confesses

Four weeks later, Oct. 5, *Justice* carried a "personal statement" from Yanovsky about the challenge. The first point is ignored entirely—they want to forget the shooting. On the second, he makes a cringing confession, forced by the reproduction of the letter from Baroff, that "I admit that on this point I was under an entirely wrong impression," and pleading that he had depended upon ex-President Schlesinger's word in the matter. On the third point, he says, "even if he had not placed that condition (a mutual investigation) we would have now declined to look into his books." It is a complete confession of bad faith and gross dishonesty in the entire attack, and the membership of the I. L. G. W. U. has understood it as such.

In the meantime, notwithstanding the growing storm of resentment in the membership and their own public discredit, the bureaucrats continue the war against the militant rank and file. The local unions have stood solid against the wrecking tactics, and refused to approve them. Meeting after meeting has been broken up by the officials to prevent the passage of motions of protest. In Local 22, New York, the president Sigman, himself attending to obtain approval for his course, the membership voted him down overwhelmingly. In Philadelphia the dressmakers voted 3 to 1 to repudiate his demands. In Cleveland the Joint Board laid his communication on the table.

But with arbitrary ruling, disregarding all constitutional limitations on their power, the administration continues to lay charges against members, deprive them of office, rule them off the

union floor, place fines of \$25 to \$100 against them, and terrorize them in every conceivable way. In Local 18 of Chicago, J. Gerber was fined \$50 by ruling of Perlstein for signing a petition for reinstatement of the expelled, and M. Kreindell was fined \$25 for handing out a circular. Both were deprived of the floor and privilege of holding office for 2 years. This is but a sample of a thousand happenings of a similar nature, unexampled in their audacity and cynicism, occurring throughout the I. L. G. W. U. In Local 22, New York, 19 out of 25 members of the Joint Board recently elected, have been removed by executive order.

Out-Czaring the Czar

Probably the most outrageous proceeding of all, however, has been the suppression of the right to petition the General Executive Board. Even the Czar of Russia allowed his miserable serfs to petition for redress of grievances. But not so Sigman, Perlstein & Co. When friends of the expelled members in Chicago, denied all democratic procedure in the unions, began to circulate petitions for their re-instatement, the first move to stop it was the publication in the *Forward*, reactionary Jewish daily, a "warning" that agents of the manufacturers were endeavoring to procure an injunction by getting signatures from the shops and that no one should sign anything as it would probably be for that purpose but disguised as a petition for the expelled members. Next Perlstein published an advertisement over his name, ordering all shop-chairmen to prevent the circulation of petitions, leaflets, etc., and sale of tickets or solicitation of subscriptions for the *Freiheit*, and to stop from work any one violating the order. He also prohibited all members from reading, talking, or in any way acting in regard to the expulsions, on pain of dismissal from the shops. He backed this order up by placing fines against some members who disobeyed the instructions.

From the local unions the fight is now being carried into the shops. The union officials declare that they are going to push through their arbitrary policy even if it is necessary to smash the union in so doing. All shop meetings are now broken up if the officials are questioned in any way or called to account on their wild issuance of "orders" and "rulings." Threats are freely strewn about that soon will begin wholesale discharges from employment unless the orders are obeyed unquestioningly. An open alliance with the employers is in preparation for the purpose of carrying out this disgraceful program.

On Oct. 2, the G. E. B. removed 19 members of the executive board of Local 22, New York.

Those removed were Bessie Berlin, Jennie Davis, Mrs. Giterman, Lena Klein, Jos Weisberg, D. Marasov, Ida Padger, Mile Rosen, Sam Warens, Rose Wolkowitz, Sam Weiner, Aaron Steinberg, Bella Ratford, Harry Osofsky, Sarah Derner, and Sonia Scheikin. One of the six who were not expelled, Sonia Blum, immediately resigned, refusing to serve on the board which was appointed by the G. E. B., which was not elected and did not have the confidence of the membership.

The 19 expelled executive board members called a meeting of the rank and file in Webster Hall. The membership responded *en masse* and filled every available space in the large hall. The meeting was a great demonstration against the reactionaries, and unanimously adopted a resolution protesting against the expulsions and calling for the reinstatement of the expelled executive board members.

Two members have been driven from their jobs by the officials. Harry Brevin in New York was thrown out by a business agent, because he took up a collection for the *Freiheit*. J. Gerber in Chicago was forced out of the shop because he

signed a petition for the reinstatement of the expelled.

In this crisis in the I. L. G. W. U., the honest workers are joining hands together in a great movement under the slogan, "For the Unity of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union." Against expulsions and disruption, and for defeat of the union-wrecking officialdom, there is arising a powerful movement of the rank and file. Soon no man or woman will be able to be elected to any position of trust in the I. L. G. W. U. until he or she has repudiated the policy of expulsions and disfranchisements. The union-wreckers will be swept into oblivion by the righteous wrath and overwhelming votes of an outraged rank and file. The officers of the I. L. G. W. U. will be brought down from their high seats of Czarist rulership, and will either be made again the servants of the garment workers and not their masters, or will be sent to join their aristocratic prototypes who once arrogantly ruled over the workers of Europe as Sigman, Perlstein, Baroff & Co. now seek to rule over the I. L. G. W. U.

Lewis "Settles"

By Thomas Myerscough

WHEN the Tri-District Convention, comprising Districts 1, 7, and 9, was reconvened at Scranton, September 17th, to pass upon the negotiations that had been carried on with the mine operators, and the agreement reached through the mediation of Governor Pinchot, the United Mine Workers of America was faced with another betrayal. In spite of the smoke-screens thrown out by Lewis and his cohorts, in spite of their efforts to sugarcoat the bitter pill, and in spite of their success in befuddling the minds of a majority of the delegates at Scranton, still the big facts of the settlement stand out so that every miner is beginning to see that, instead of a victory, they were handed a settlement which meant defeat.

The terms of the settlement are clear only on the major points decided against the miners. It is definitely decided that the anthracite miners do not establish the check-off. There is no doubt that the demand for \$2. per day flat increase for day workers was lost. It is glaringly apparent that the splitting up of the forces of the hard and soft coal miners, through the signing of contracts for different periods, has been again continued. Lewis told the Scranton Convention that this was the best agreement ever obtained in that field. Under the influence of his representations it was

approved, but hardly were the men back in the mines before local strikes began against the application of the "best" agreement. The settlement did not even gain for the miners those things that it promised them; Lewis had fooled the men.

Lewis told the miners that the Union has been "recognized through collective bargaining," although the check-off had been lost. What that recognition means, a recognition for the purpose of getting the men back to work but giving them nothing in return, is seen in the inability of the Union to enforce a uniform application of the settlement. Each company is giving its own interpretation to the contract and the result is chaos.

In the matter of the wage increase, again Lewis compromised for less than the demands and the men get less than the settlement promised them. Instead of \$2. per day flat increase for day men, the settlement calls for 10% or 25c to 50c per day. In the application of this increase it is reported that some of the companies are, first, reducing the former wage for 12 hours by one-third, to pro rate for the new 8 hour schedule, and then adding the 10% only to that reduced wage, so that some of the day men have actually had their earnings reduced. This is the great wage "victory," which Lewis put over on the anthracite miners.

The 8-hour day was supposed to have been won. But in many instances reports show that the 8-hour day is being applied on the split-shift basis, four hours work, four hours lay-off, and then four hours work again, forcing the miner to actually spend the same 12-hours as he formerly did. The "best" settlement was so unclear on this point that strikes are still reported in the endeavors of the local unions to get what they "won."

The 1922 strike found the hard and soft coal miners standing together for the first time, as their contracts had expired together. It was the solidarity brought about by this situation that enabled the U. M. W. A. to wage such a magnificent battle and force a truce upon the mine operators. But the settlements which were made then, under the direction of John L. Lewis, allowed this solidarity to be broken up by overlapping the time of the contracts for the anthracite and bituminous fields. This defeat for the solidarity of the miners was continued in this newest "best" settlement made by John L. Lewis.

One of the crying evils in the anthracite fields has been the irregular conditions and wage scales. There has never been a serious effort at equalization of conditions in this branch of the industry, and the consequences have been very detrimental to the miners. The new settlement does nothing to remedy this. There is such irregularity that practically every company has its own scale of wages. In the district from Pittston to Schickshinny, for example, particularly in the mines of the Pennsylvania Coal Co., the men are getting about \$2. per ton besides having check-weighmen on the tipples to guarantee honest weights; but in the other sections the scale runs from \$1.90 to \$2.25 for 3-ton cars.

This lack of equalization is most demoralizing. Rinaldo Capellini, president of District 1, knows this problem well, and he should have been the very last man in the world to agree to a settlement which did not even tackle this problem. Capellini spoke out strongly against this evil, during the period when the Lewis administration was calling him a "disgruntled, deposed organizer." He surely could not have forgotten it during the negotiations with the operators in which he took part. And while many anthracite miners believe that the compromises made at their expense were delayed by opposition from Capellini, and that he went along with Lewis under protest, yet on this question of the equalization of conditions they see that nothing whatever was done. Capellini was compromised by going with Lewis, and by abandoning this issue he doubly compromised himself.

There was not the slightest reason for the United Mine Workers of America to thus give in to the coal operators on these most vital issues. The anthracite miners could have won all their demands if their leadership had been determined. John L. Lewis has admitted this himself. He brazenly stated, when invited by Governor Pinchot to supplement the latter's announcement of the settlement, that he had sacrificed the demands of the coal miners in order to gain the good will of the mythical "public."

The anthracite settlement is in line with the settled policy of the Lewis administration, which is to form a united front with the employers and with the capitalist Government against the rank and file of the United Mine Workers of America. Because the progressive forces within the Union are fighting against this policy of betrayal, the Lewis administration is engaged in war against the Progressive International Committee. It fights the progressives for the same reason that it abandoned the anthracite miners' justified and reasonable demands—for the reason that it has entered into a definite and open alliance with the employing class and against the working class.

A united front of the "labor leaders" with the employers and Government, against the rank and file of labor and to destroy the effectiveness of the labor unions, that is what has now come into existence openly and boldly. That is the meaning of the persecution of Alex Howat, of the betrayal of the Coke Region and Somerset County miners, of the overlapping contracts for anthracite and bituminous fields, of the alliance between Lewis and Farrington, of the suspension of Dist. 26, of the "Red Scare" series of articles by Searles, and of the thousand and one other outrages perpetrated by Lewis and his henchmen, and which now finds expression in the anthracite settlement.

The progressive miners must fight against this unholy alliance of union officialdom with Civic Federation, capitalist press, "open shop" forces, and capitalist Government. We must stir ever wider ranks of the U. M. W. A. to revolt against this miserable coalition. We must elect men from the rank and file to overthrow this oligarchy, based upon the "pay roll" vote, and install an administration at the head of our Union that will fight, fearlessly and continuously, for the improved conditions demanded by the members of the U. M. W. A., for the nationalization of the mines, for the Labor Party, and for the power of the working class against all the predatory interests of the capitalist mine owners and exploiters.

The British Unions at Plymouth

By Harry Pollitt

THE 55th British Trades Union Congress opened at Plymouth on September 3rd. It had to reveal a decrease in membership as compared with the Southport Congress, last year, of 759,380; the 702 delegates representing 4,369,268 organized workers. The congress was the poorest that has been held for many years. The left-wing group numbered 13 delegates and, although very small, accomplished much good work on the floor of the Congress and inside the meetings of the various delegations. The machinery of the Congress militates against any length of time being given to debates on the important resolutions, as the agenda is full of routine matters that automatically recur every year and take up most of the time. In spite of all these limiting factors, some progress could be noted.

The General Council

What should have been the chief question before the Congress was a resolution, in the name of the Building Trades Workers, giving the General Council of the Trades Congress increased powers, so that a measure of unity might be achieved in disputes, and also that the Council should have powers to impose a levy on affiliated unions in the event of a serious struggle.

This is the first need of the British Trade Union Movement, the need of a General Staff to co-ordinate and direct the activity of the whole movement. George Hicks, of the Building Trades Workers, and J. Walker, of the Iron and Steel confederation, moved and seconded the resolution.

Opposition to the measure came chiefly from the Miners. The basis of their objection is a jealousy of the autonomy of their Union, and they have opposed such resolutions particularly since the failure of the other unions to help the Miners on Black Friday.

Mr. Clynes, M. P., President of the General Workers' Union, also opposed the resolution, as did many other leaders who represent the conservative sections of the trade unions. It was, however, encouraging to note that a very substantial vote was recorded in its favor. Although the resolution was defeated, the issue has now come to stay, and with a vigorous campaign during the next year, a majority may be secured at the next Congress on this vital issue. The votes cast on the proposition were: In favor, 1,225,000; against, 2,847,000. This is the first vote on the issue, and shows clearly the tendency rapidly developing toward making the General

Council a body with powers for some kind of action, limited as that may be.

Back to the Unions

During the past year a "back to the unions" campaign was conducted. Much money was spent and all available speakers engaged in the campaign to make it a success. It is generally admitted, however, that little was accomplished. Ellen Wilkinson, representing the Distributive Workers' Union and a prominent Communist, showed very clearly that the failure was due, not to lack of money or energy, but to the absence of a definite program which offered something concrete for which the workers should re-join the unions, some opportunity to, at least, struggle for better conditions. Others pointed out various difficulties, particularly the conflicting unions, competing for members in the same field of industry, a condition which is baffling to the workers. Sometimes as many as four or five unions compete for members in the same shops, like, as Mr. Bevin described it, "rotten insurance companies."

In the debate that followed the basic weakness of the British labor movement was exposed. One union leader after another launched into bitter attacks upon the rival unions. It was a display of personalities and disunity not soon to be forgotten. Nor will it be lost on the rank and file, who are disgusted with this sort of thing, and are demanding that it shall cease. The left-wing groups are exposing this destructive sectionalism and jealousy of the "leaders," and the public display at the Congress will assist greatly to develop a well-organized opposition within the unions based upon a common program to overcome the disease.

The future of the *Daily Herald* was a problem occupying much time of the Congress. The General Council had recommended that, owing to lack of finances, publication be discontinued on September 30th. Many big unions supported the proposal on the grounds of their depleted treasuries. A large number of delegates wanted to save the *Herald*, yet were anxious to see the present editorial control changed, and its policies brought into accord with the crying needs of the workers. They did not succeed, however, in bringing the discussion down to questions of policy. The Congress finally decided to assume responsibility for continuing publication of the *Herald* to the end of the present year, with the provision that a special Congress shall be called

in December if the financial situation is again acute.

The question of the 6-hour workday was raised in a resolution from the National Union of Railwaymen. It was moved by C. T. Cramp, secretary of that organization, who, by the way, will be the fraternal delegate to the next A. F. of L. Convention. It was supported by Mr. Swales of the Engineers (metal workers). Opposition was voiced by Textile Union delegates, who argued that the 6-hour day would increase cost of production and result in unemployment. This reactionary argument was received very coldly, and the Congress endorsed the demand for the 6-hour day.

International Questions

Three resolutions on foreign policy were adopted, first on the Italo-Grecian crisis, second on the Ruhr situation, and third on the recognition of Soviet Russia. The Ruhr resolution appealed to the French and Belgian workers to bring pressure against their Governments to reverse their policy. On the recognition of Soviet Russia, Robert Williams in seconding the resolution, reminded the Congress that it could not expect to force the British Government to recognize the Soviets while the British Labor Unions decline to recognize the Russian labor movement—a very effective point that scored heavily in the Congress.

The outstanding feature of the Congress was a speech by Edo Fimmen, Secretary of the Amsterdam International. Fimmen is not a Communist; indeed, in speaking of the division of the working class in Europe, he failed to show that in every case the Communists have striven for the united front, which has been explicitly refused by the reformists. Nevertheless, he told the Congress the plain facts of the European situation, and his simple, inescapable statement of the revolutionary issue facing Europe created a tremendous impression. Fimmen, for his honesty, is likely to be hounded out of his post of Secretary for the Amsterdam International. In his speech he declared: "This may be the last Congress I shall attend in my present capacity."

"I am sorry I cannot bring you good tidings," said Fimmen. "I might, in addressing Congress on behalf of the international Labor movement, use some pleasant phrases, convey fraternal greetings from the Continent, extend best wishes for the future development of the British Labor movement, thank you for your kind reception, and then sit down.

"But you do not want me to do that. You prefer to hear the truth in preference to pleasant phrases. Therefore I declare, as the official rep-

resentative of the I. F. T. U., that everywhere things are very bad.

"The workers of the world were hounded into the late war by all sorts of attractive slogans. They know now that they have been swindled and betrayed. The war has produced only one winner: the capitalists of all countries, and one loser: the proletarians of all countries, including those who thought they were victorious. The workers have been murdering each other for the profit and benefit of the capitalist class of their own and other countries.

"What was won or received by the workers immediately after the war, has now been lost. Working and living conditions are worse than before the war. The 8-hour day is going to blazes. In several countries it is already lost; in others the workers are still fighting for its maintenance with no great hope of success. Hours of labor can only be maintained internationally. Apart from that, reaction is growing stronger everywhere, aiming at the smashing of all independent labor movements. This state of affairs finds a weakened labor movement in all countries. Unemployment is heavy everywhere, the funds of the unions are gone, the membership is constantly decreasing.

"In the Balkan States, Greece, Roumania, Belgium, Yugo-Slavia, the workers are severely persecuted. All real trade unionism is impossible. The prisons are full of workers.

"In Hungary the same condition exists. The trade unions are only allowed to meet by police permission and under police control.

"In Italy immediately after the war there were 2,500,000 trade unionists wishing affiliation to Moscow because Amsterdam was too yellow. The unions have been split, and since the reign of the Fascisti workers have been murdered, trade union buildings burned down, and now things are so bad the leaders of the Italian trade union movement have been trying to come to an understanding with Mussolini to defend their very existence.

"In France after the war there were 2,000,000 trade unionists. The movement split over a quarrel between Left and Right. Both sides now number only 700,000. They are not even forming a united front to fight the capitalists, but are fighting each other, and by doing so allowing Poincaré and his 'National Bloc' to continue their criminal policy resulting in the slavery of both the French and German working class.

"In Germany the state of affairs is appalling. There we have 12,000,000 organized workers, representing the strongest trade union force in the world (so far as numbers are concerned). The position is infinitely worse than it was last year

when I appealed to the British Trades Union Congress to stand by their German comrades. The German workers are on the border of sheer starvation, and their exploitation by the capitalists is keener than it has ever been before.

"I was in Germany during the recent general strike and met workers from all quarters. I know their spirit and realize their sufferings. One week's wages for skilled workers, working 48 hours per week, was in many cases only enough to buy the equivalent of 3 pounds of margarine. *The position of the German workers is infinitely worse than that of the Russian workers.*

"This situation must lead to a new revolution as the workers are being driven into it by the persecution and provocation from the reactionaries and monarchists, and by their appalling misery.

"The situation is most dangerous. Only a miracle can prevent Germany from going through another revolution. The people have been starved during four years of war, and starved even more during five years of peace. They are at the limit of endurance. I do not know in what way the Ruhr question will be settled, but it is certain that when it is settled there will no longer be any semblance of unity between the German workers and the capitalists. The capitalists will take out of the workers what is still left to them. Then will come the stabilization of the mark, and Germany will be stricken with unemployment more severe than the unemployment in this country. A starving working class seeing its women and children dying for want of food, will take it, and when the German working class is driven to revolt, the employing class, which is still armed, will turn their weapons against the workers.

"I appealed to the British workers last year to stand by the German workers in their need, and again repeat my appeal in the most emphatic way. Revolution must come. So stand by the German workers.

"Do not ask whether the methods will be democratic or not, as the conditions will not permit a consideration of democracy. The exploiting class has never cared a farthing for democracy, as may be seen in Italy and Hungary. They still possess arms, rifles, machine guns, etc., and they will show the German workers the meaning of national unity by asking for help from France, Britain, Turkey, and Poland, to assist them in crushing the German workers' movement. The bloodshed will be terrible then, and at that time the international must stand by the German work-

ers, and I hope that the British workers will do their duty.

"One thing more. This may be the last Congress I shall attend in my present capacity. I want to say with all the earnestness of my heart: British workers, keep together; Right and Left wings, keep together; as this is the only possibility of fighting capitalism nationally and internationally.

"Take care that the fear of Red dictatorship will not compel you to accept White, Yellow, or Black dictatorship."

This frank and honest speech by Fimmen was easily the most important event in the Congress. What effect it will have still remains to be seen. Certainly it will help the left-wing to arouse the unions to the seriousness of the international situation. In sharp contrast were the speeches of the two American fraternal delegates, P. S. Shaunessy and A. J. Chlopek, who droned out the same speeches that A. F. of L. fraternal delegates have made for years and which mean nothing. The Congress will some day give a hearty welcome to the A. F. of L. delegate if a miracle should happen, and he should present a real picture of the American movement.

In practical achievements the British Trades Union Congress was poor indeed. No great forward steps were taken. Meeting at a time of depression and facing a winter that will surely witness increased unemployment and further attacks upon the unions, it did nothing to unify its forces and revamp its policies. The leaders had no policy to meet the situation, and most of them even refused to see the problems. But progress is registered in the strengthening of the left-wing inside the unions, in the sentiment, growing stronger and stronger, for a real effort to tackle the pressing problems of the movement, in the desire for new policies and programs, in the aspiration for international solidarity symptomized in Fimmen's speech. Soon we may expect a powerful challenge to the old bankrupt leadership from the growing left-wing opposition in the British trade union movement.

RUSSIA NEEDS SKILLED WORKERS FOR KUSBAS

The Chicago Group Kusbas, which is organizing workers to fill this need, meets the 1st and 3rd Sundays of each month, 3 P. M., at Labor Lyceum, 2733' Hirsch Blvd., Chicago.

All workers interested in this project are welcome. For information write **Kusbas, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago.**

Two-Score Victories for the Left Wing

By J. W. Johnstone

WHILE the Gompers machine was massing all its forces to carry the Portland and Decatur conventions, stories of which are told in full in this issue, the program of amalgamation, recognition of Soviet Russia, organize the unorganized, and the Labor Party, was extending its sweep through the rest of the trade union movement. The great victory for progress in the Molders, also related elsewhere in detail, was only one gathering among a score where our vital measures were endorsed. We can only briefly summarize the victories of the past 60 days.

Amalgamation was adopted in three State Federation Conventions, New Hampshire, Utah, and West Virginia. The Molders, meeting in Cleveland, adopted the principle of amalgamation for the metal trades. The Bakers Convention in Los Angeles adopted an amalgamation resolution for the food trades. The Brewery workers, meeting in Philadelphia, reaffirmed their adherence to industrial unionism which they have achieved in the brewing industry, and adopted measures looking towards unifying the food industry generally. The Kewanee (Ill.) Trades and Labor Council adopted amalgamation, showing the movement of the local and central bodies against the actions of the State Federation in Decatur. The United Textile Workers and the American Federation of Textile Operatives have started negotiations for the actual amalgamation of the A. F. of L. body with the latter group of independent unions. Amalgamation is still driving ahead with the rank and file of American labor and is fast recording its sentiment officially.

Recognition of Soviet Russia is another vital measure backed by the left-wing elements. This also has scored notable victories. The Utah and Michigan State Federations added their voices to the growing demand. The American Federation of Teachers, meeting in Convention in Chicago, a most conservative body, adopted the proposition. The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, another conservative union, joined in by the adoption of a resolution at their convention in Montreal. The Amalgamated Shoe Workers, meeting in Boston, went on record for Soviet Russia. That old-time American trade union, the Iron Molders, also fell into line. Gompers may continue to hold the official votes in the A. F. of L. convention but the foundation of his reactionary policy against Russia is thus rapidly being undermined.

The call for a great campaign to bring the unorganized workers into the ranks of the unions

has had a great response. This is such a crying and fundamental need that even the reactionaries have to respond, although they continue to fight for the antiquated methods that have brought the labor movement close to disaster. But the militants are making the question of organization a burning one, that will force the unions into real and concerted action. Left-wing resolutions were adopted in the past two months by the Utah, California, Ohio, and New Hampshire State Federations of Labor; by the Amalgamated Shoe Workers; by the Cigarmakers International Union, by the Molders, and by the Brewery Workers. Other resolutions inspired by the militants' campaign but without the left-wing wording went through almost every other gathering of Labor. The demand for organization of the unorganized, pushed by the T. U. E. L. and the militants generally, is rapidly awakening the labor movement on this issue.

Progress for the Labor Party has been even greater than on the other issues. With the backing of the State Federations and Labor generally, Farmer-Labor parties are being formed in Utah, West Virginia, North Dakota, and Montana. In Minnesota a great conference has just been held at which was formed the Farmer-Labor Federation, with the full support of the labor movement, the object of which is to organize into a real party the existing mass-movement in that state which has hitherto been organized into "non-partisan leagues" although it has elected two United States senators under the F.-L.P. banner. The Montana movement has called a great convention, to be held just as this goes to press. In California a conference for the organization of a Farmer-Labor Party was organized at the convention of the California State Federation of Labor at Stockton. The entire Canadian labor movement was put on record for the Labor Party of Canada by a resolution adopted at the Canadian Trades Congress, held in Vancouver. The city central bodies of Portland, and Detroit, have gone on record for the Labor Party by overwhelming majorities. In New York, Buffalo, Los Angeles, Toledo and in numerous smaller places, local parties are in the field or are being organized. The Shoe Workers, the Molders, and the Bakers, all large unions with a membership that covers the country, have joined the Labor Party movement.

The Labor Party movement registered heavily in the Portland convention of the A. F. of L., in

spite of the complete control which Gompers had over the official actions of that body. Resolutions were introduced by the Minnesota Federation of Labor; the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers; the Chicago Federation of Labor; and the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor. The reactionaries, in spite of their iron-clad control, were fearful of the question, and massed their heavy artillery against it. Matthew Woll read to the convention a long telegram, sent to J. H. Walker by Victor Olander of the Illinois Federation of Labor, declaring that the Chicago Federation had repudiated its previous stand for the Labor Party. But the machine was very weak in floor men to fight against the Labor Party. It had to rely on such men as Nelson, of Kansas City, a man who but a few years ago lost his financial records and left town when an auditing committee was appointed to examine his books. Walker, of the Illinois Federation, and formerly national chairman of the Farmer-Labor Party, publicly recanted his belief in independent political action in a desperate effort to bolster up the administration. The measures were defended by Max Hayes of the International Typographical Union; by the delegate of the Minnesota Federa-

tion of Labor; and in an apologetic manner by McVey of Chicago. Hayes made a strong talk that registered a deep impression. Evidently fearing the continuance of the discussion, the machine rushed through a motion to close debate. The high-handed methods of Gompers in defeating this measure brought protests from such conservatives as Mahon, of the Street Railway Men's Union, Mike Tighe, of the Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, and Connors of the Switchmen. Even Portland, where the Labor Party was defeated by a vote of 25,066 against 1,895, was another sign of the inevitable establishment of a great political party of the workers in the near future.

With these two-score victories for amalgamation, recognition of Soviet Russia, organize the unorganized, and the Labor Party, staring him in the face, Gompers and his henchmen can hardly feel that they have won their war against progress by crushing it down in Portland and Decatur. No, these are depressing facts for the bureaucrats who desire to keep the trade unions 40 years behind the times; and to the same degree they should encourage every militant rank and file unionist to work with renewed energy and enthusiasm for the regeneration of the American trade union movement.

The New T. U. E. L. Leaflets

Is the Trade Union Educational League a Dual Union?

A COMPLETE and smashing proof that the dual-union charge, brought by the fakers against the T. U. E. L., is without the slightest foundation. This leaflet nails the fakers hard and fast; they cannot answer it. It explains the functions of a union, analyses dual unionism, and shows how the T. U. E. L., a purely educational institution, is a vital necessity to the progress of the trade unions and one of the greatest sources of strength and unity to the labor movement.

\$1. per hundred, \$7.50 per thousand.

The United Front

FOR the first time the fundamental problem of how to obtain solidarity of the working class, industrially and politically, in the struggle against capitalism, has been stated so briefly and yet so clearly that every worker can understand, without the slightest difficulty, the fundamental program of the T. U. E. L. Amalgamation and the Labor Party are shown to be measures growing out of the most vital and pressing every-day needs of the workers. This will be a most popular leaflet.

\$1. per hundred, \$7.50 per thousand.

Every militant should order a quantity for distribution in his local union. League groups should order thousands for systematic distribution.

THE LABOR HERALD for October, containing the documents of the Second General Conference, T. U. E. L., will be for another year a handbook of information absolutely necessary to guide the work of the militants. This is not an ordinary magazine, it is a standard text-book. A few hundred extra copies have been printed, and every group of militants should keep a supply on hand especially for new members. The price is the same as regular bundle orders of THE LABOR HERALD.

Who's Who in Prison? Antone Karachun

By Carl Brannin

IN McNeil Island federal penitentiary in the beautiful Puget Sound region there is a lone political prisoner among the "narcotics," ex-bankers, boot-leggers and other unfortunates who populate that institution.

When President Harding issued his provisional pardons he had no thought of this young rebel, for according to the records he is serving his sentence of 20 years for the military offense of desertion.

And yet when one knows the story, it is plain that here is another victim of the law which makes opposition to injustice a crime, and crucifies alive those who have the ability to think straight and the courage to act as they think.

Antone Karachun came to this country in 1914 to avoid being drafted into the Czar's army. He worked in the coal fields, in the packing houses and in various industries open to husky young immigrants. Americanization *a la* the profiteers of the war times was the program and Antone had a full course. The year 1919 found him a member of the United States army in Vladivostock.

He says: "Economic forces and the degenerate, perverted machine of the present order of things makes automatons of the people. These are the things that produced my 'voluntary enlistment.' These two invisible factors are like a spider continually weaving its web to catch in it the human flies that are driven by hunger to fall into its clutches without knowing the consequences that await them. I did not understand these invisible factors so well in 1917 as I do now. If I did, I am sure the story of my life would be a different one today."

The announced purpose of the Siberian expedition was to "protect American property" but Karachun soon saw that this was simply camouflage. The real mission was to give aid and assistance to the counter revolution and oppose the Bolsheviki.

This was too much and Karachun deserted. He knew that there had been no declaration of war between the two countries and besides his sympathies were all with the Soviets. For eleven months he "stuck around" without being apprehended. Finally he was arrested and taken to the Philippine Islands in heavy leg irons for trial, without even a chance to tell his sick wife and month old baby good bye. The court martial rendered a verdict of guilty and prescribed the death penalty on the charge of high treason and desertion. Later the reviewing authorities "modified" the sentence to 20 years at hard labor.

In a recent letter Karachun says: "There were hundreds of soldiers in the S. E. F. who were tried for desertion and convicted, but not one of them was given a 20 year sentence. The severest sentence that was imposed on any other soldier at that time for desertion, excluding myself, was ten years at Alcatraz and everyone of them has long ago been either restored to duty or pardoned. In fact, upon my arrival at Alcatraz in January 1921 I did not find a single prisoner of the deserters of the S. E. F. except one Russian who was doing five years.—Of course, it should be remembered that in America one can get forgiveness for anything so long as he has money and does not blaspheme against the holy trinity of her 'democracy.'"

An effort was made by Charles Recht and Rose Weiss to secure Karachun's release through the War Department and, failing there, on writ of habeas corpus in the Federal court of the District of Columbia. This last was also denied. A similar plea entered by George Vanderveer in the Federal courts of the State of Washington was lost only a few weeks ago. Now the Supreme Court of the United States is the only chance left.

In May I had a brief visit with this fine spirited young Bolsheviki. I remember how his clean-cut Slavic features lit up as he strode erect into the visiting room. I stepped forward to clasp his hand as on other such occasions but the guard interfered. During the half hour stay this officer sat closely between us, not as before at the head of the conversation table. It was not permitted to leave fruit or other eatables.

To a person free to come and go, even in the treadmill of a job, three years is a short span, but to a fresh keen boy behind prison bars it is a long, long time. And yet there is little complaint and the spirit is strong and uncompromising. The thought is chiefly for the success of Soviet Russia and the workers' movements everywhere. At times, though, the effect of the terrific strain shows itself.

From a recent letter: "Things go on in the same old way and life drags on and on and on. I do not read now as much as I did a year ago, although I am still a great lover of reading. But to tell you the truth, sometimes after reading several pages of a book I catch myself not knowing what I have read. It seems to me that the 'chalk line' not only makes one a physical walking automaton but at times paralyzes one's mental capacities."

The Strike: Its Past and Future

By Jay Fox

"I am, as you know, in full sympathy with Organized Labor; but between you and me, strikers have no right to prevent other workers taking the jobs wanted by them."

The above quotation is from a letter I received recently from a lawyer friend. Upon reading it I was a bit riled and felt like batting my friend on the bean. Distance preventing the use of the bat I was compelled to resort to the highbrow stuff. With the bat I could have completed my answer in exactly two seconds. This civilized method is much more laborious and probably not so convincing. This may be the reason civilization is so long in taking hold of the people. Anyway, here is my reply:

I quite agree with you that a striker has no legal right to keep a scab away from his job. Under none of your calfskin covers is it written that a working man has any such right. No bunch of lawyers in their capacity as a law-making body have ever defiled the sacred records of their doings with the vile inscription of a working man's right. A working man has no right to do anything except to submit to everything. You lawyers have seen to that.

Ages ago you legislated away from us every right that nature gave us. You trimmed us proper. And when you had stripped us of every human right you took these rights and divided up with the rest of the gang that helped you put over the trick. There were kings and lords and merchants, judges, generals and numerous other parasites, all shared in the loot of Labor's liberty and have lived, lavishly, on Labor's back ever since. So, when you say we have no legal right to defend our jobs I can well agree with you. I know enough about the law for that. I have had it beaten into my bones a few times. And there is nothing that will awaken the dull brain of a working stiff quicker than a wallop from a well handled hickory.

Do you know that it is not so long ago that you could have said with absolute truth, not only that we had no right to keep a scab away from our struck jobs, but that we had no right to give the scab the opportunity to follow his chosen profession. In other words: we had no right to strike.

Strikers' Ears Cut Off

Seventy-five years ago it was a greater crime to strike a job than it is now to strike a scab. About a hundred years ago strikers were branded with hot irons and had their ears lopped off for daring to assert their natural right to organize

and strike. In those days the striker was regarded as the most dangerous of ruffians, a deadly enemy of society, and the interest of civilization demanded that he be ruthlessly dealt with. Things as they were had to be kept as they were. There was no need for change or further progress. Everything was lovely for the "better classes," and it was for them that civilization existed. Despite all the power of the possessing classes to keep things as they are, somehow change takes place in spite of them. The torture and mutilation of the workers ought to have kept them in their place. Still it seems they were not wholly convinced by these civilized arguments, for we see them striking today by the millions and few there be who question their right to strike. You would not prosecute them for striking. Your grievance against them now is that when on strike they do not always behave according to your legal code of ethics. Now I want to ask you a question: What brought about this change of front on the part of society? Why are strikers tolerated today? What is the answer of the law to this question?

I hear you say: "Why, simply this: Public opinion has changed on the question of the right to strike and as a result has ceased to demand the prosecution of strikers." That will be the answer of the law, and it is all very well in its way; but it doesn't say much. It still leaves unanswered the question: why did the public change its opinion? Nowhere in your law books is it written down why the change of front was made by society in the matter of strikes; but you will see it written in red on the scroll of Labor history. There it is written plain how the working class got the right to strike—they struck for it.

Right Conquered, Despite Torture

When the workers got enough horse sense to realize that they had no rights as human beings, that you lawyers had legislated them all away, they thought they would establish a few rights, amongst them the right to strike. When they became conscious of the fact that they were humans and not beasts of burden they protested. Regardless of your law they struck. In spite of your public opinion, which was, as it is today, the opinion merely of the rich parasites, they asserted their manhood. They knew they were right, even though the law and public opinion and the lawyers and preachers and bosses said they were wrong, that it was a crime against high

heaven to stop working without being ordered by the boss.

Knowing that they were right they went ahead and broke the law and defied public opinion until finally the ruling class had to give way and modify its attitude towards the workers through fear of revolution. (The ruling class never does anything out of the goodness of its heart for the slaves upon whose backs it rides.) By organized opposition to the barbarism of the ruling class, by suffering the torture of the branding iron, the butchery of the knife and in many instances death upon the gallows, our forefathers have conquered for us the right to organize and strike; and far from us letting these dearly bought rights slip away from us, we are going to use them as the stepping stone, to other rights that are still written down on your law books as terrible wrongs.

How the Workers Reason

The striker that tries to persuade the scab to keep away from the struck job must have an idea that somehow he has a claim on that job. The idea may be vague in outline, but it must be there, or why should he bother about protecting the job? He may have merely the notion that his claim is a permit to work at the will of the boss. But the strike having forced him into the arena to fight for it he soon enlarges upon that original idea. You have noticed how ideas grow under pressure from the merest shimmerings into solid concrete facts. Given the faintest idea of a claim on the job the striker will build it up logically and carry it to its final analysis: "In order to live I must have food and shelter; without them I would die. The job is the means through which I secure these necessities of life. Therefore the job is for me the most important thing in the world, and it is now owned by another man. That is not right. For while that other man holds the means by which I live I am at his mercy, I am his slave. I thought I was a free man. Now I see I cannot be free until I own my job.—Every man should own his job as a birthright.

"Individually I cannot own my job. I see that would be impossible. I will speak about this to my fellow workers and bring it up in the union. The union could take over the whole shop and secure all our jobs. But there are other unions in the shop. That is bad. There should be but one. We must amalgamate all these unions and have one big industrial union that can take over the control of the entire industry, thus securing each and all of us workers in the absolute possession of our jobs."

Will Strike to Own the Job

That's the way he dopes it out every time; and the number of him that is pursuing that line of reasoning is increasing so rapidly that consternation and alarm are creeping into the camp of the present "owners" of the jobs. For while it is true that legally the worker has no claim on the job once he leaves it, none the less he is rapidly coming to feel that morally he has every right to possess it outright. Moral values are superior to legal values every time and I can see just where this whole matter is going to end up.

The reactionaries tell us that we have no right to strike, as was told the railroad men lately. Our answer is simply this: Where did you dig up that ante-deluvian stuff? Our forefathers established for us the right to strike the job without legal sanction, and we are not going to defile their memory by letting that dearly bought right slip away from us. On the contrary, some fine morning we may take it into our heads to go a step further and establish our right to own the job.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Wm. Z. Foster—Fool or Faker?, by Gifford Ernest, Chicago, 1923.

A PREACHER without a pulpit, an American legionist, and an aspiring political "leader," Gifford Ernest has now blossomed forth as an author. At least it is his name that is carried upon the cover of this collection of bad grammar, puerile assinnities, and crude buncombe. But Ernest, the self-appointed defender of trade unionism against Foster and the Communists, did not write the booklet. He only lent his name to cover the real author, who is a renegade I. W. W. by the name of Jack Leheney, erstwhile educational director of the "wobblies," who was afraid to put his own name on the concoction. Fools rush in where even Leheney fears to tread, so Ernest takes the responsibility for Leheney's I. W. Wism. Any club is good enough to hit the revolutionary trade unionists. Behind the author and his sponsor, in the dimmer background faintly limned against the aura of Christian saintliness, a keen eye can trace the faces of Victor Olander, Mayer Perlstein, et al., bearers of the inspiration from Gompers and Burns.

The pamphlet is priced at 10c, but no one need spend good money for it, as the Gompersian officialdom are buying it in quantities for free distribution. The *Chicago Tribune* or the Hearst papers may very probably be induced to run it serially, except that they demand a higher standard of bunk. The screed is copyrighted by Ernest, who thus has hopes of material reward in addition to official recognition—things denied him when he was an aspiring occupant of a front pew in the Trade Union Educational League, drinking in revolutionary doctrine. Let us hope that the Jewish *Daily Forward*, Mr. Ed. Nockels, and the *Chicago Tribune*, will not discover in this pamphlet another of Foster's devious schemes to obtain publicity, with Ernest as the villain in the play, another under-cover agent of Moscow to advertise the radicals.

Earl R. Browder

West Canadian T. U. E. L. Conference

By Tim Buck

WHEN the Western Conference for the Canadian section of the T. U. E. L. was first proposed, many militants thought that the confusion existing in this section for the past four years would make it impossible as yet to weld together the rebel elements. Yet despite this and the hard times, with the emigration of thousands of the best workers to the U. S., the Conference was a great success. The gathering convened at Edmonton, in the Labor Temple, on September 22-23, with 45 delegates present. It represented the labor movement from Winnipeg to Vancouver.

Difficult conditions did not dampen the spirit of these militants. They gave a direct rebuff to the calamity howlers, and faced their tasks with the idea of immediate accomplishments in the forward drive of the labor movement. Particularly was there a complete absence of nationalist or secession sentiment; these two diseases that formerly afflicted the Canadian movement quite seriously are now under control. The delegates had a clear conception of the tasks ahead of the revolutionary unionists.

The main representation, according to industries, was from the building, mining, and railroad workers unions, these being the principal industries in the West. Of particular importance are the miners, and it was gratifying that 20 out of the 34 locals of Dist. 18 sent delegates to the Conference. Discussion of the Progressive Miners' program was participated in with deep interest, and it was endorsed in every detail. Bitter experience in Dist. 18, has brought the miners to a realization of the absolute necessity of a unified movement throughout the entire Mine Workers of America. Building trades, needle trades, railroad trades, and lumbering, were all well represented, and programs of activity were drawn up. They were discussed with thorough-

ness, the delegates displaying a real grasp of their problems.

Fraternal delegates were present from many unions and central bodies. The Vancouver Council, unable to send delegates, wired their best wishes for the success of the Conference. Various other telegrams of greetings came from unions, councils, and International Amalgamation Committees. A cable from Losovsky warned of the international reaction and urged the United Front program.

Keen discussion arose over the question of the Canadian Labor Party. This was participated in by the president of the Provincial Section of the C. L. P. The Conference adopted a whole-hearted endorsement of the Canadian Labor Party as the means for mass participation of the Canadian labor movement in the political struggles of the workers. All militants were urged to work for affiliation of their local unions.

As in the East of Canada before the Conference there, the League in this section has been more sentiment than organization heretofore. The Conference in Edmonton completed the organization of the Canadian Section on a dominion-wide scale. Sub-district committees will now co-ordinate the work from coast to coast.

The workers in Western Canada have had perhaps more confusion and trying experiences during the past four years than anywhere else in America. These struggles and disappointments have weeded out all the weak ones, and the left-wing movement now rapidly developing is more enthusiastic and convinced than ever. Its tasks are now clarified, and its program, in line with the great movement sweeping the entire continent, is definite and well understood. The T. U. E. L. has unified the militants in Canada and with them is going forward to the new day in the American labor movement.

"The Fifth Year"

Vivid Nine Reel
MOTION PICTURE
Of Actual Conditions in
SOVIET RUSSIA
During 1922-1923

SOVIET RUSSIA
ON
SCREEN

Now Shown from Coast
to Coast

"The Fifth Year"

Highly Praised by
NATIONAL BOARD OF
REVIEW

All proceeds for education of
Russian children and other nec-
essary help to **Soviet Russia.**

The Growing Left-Wing Press

A NEW section of the trade union press has been developing in the past year which promises to become increasingly important. It consists of papers devoted to the left-wing movements in the various industries, taking up the detailed problems of the various groups, and organizing the militants around the papers. The general progressive and radical paper does not serve this purpose in any case and it is a sign of approaching maturity of the American movement that it is at last getting a system of such industrial papers.

There are six of these militant publications now being issued. The oldest one is *The Industrialist* devoted to the printing industry. It has a history of several years valuable work and has lately become the official organ of the International Committee for Amalgamation in the Printing Trades Unions. It is a monthly with a subscription price of 50c per year and may be reached by addressing E. L. Lee, 520 W. 163rd St., New York City.

The railroaders have their organ *The Railroad Amalgamation Advocate*. This has been in the field for over a year, appearing twice a month, and has become a real force among the railroad trade unionists. It is the official organ of the International Committee for Amalgamation in the Railroad Industry, Otto H. Wangerin, Secy., 411 Dakota Bldg., St. Paul, Minn. The subscription price is 50c per year.

The Progressive Miner, published by the Executive Committee of the Progressive International Committee of the U. M. W. of A., is one of the liveliest and most influential papers of its kind. It is issued twice a month in seven languages and deals with the burning issues in the Miners' Union, supporting the program of the Progressive International Committee. Its address is 35 Miller St., Pittsburgh, Pa., and the subscription price is \$1.00 per year.

The International Committee for Amalgamation in the Metal Industry has begun publication of the *Metal Trades Amalgamation Bulletin*. This is issued by John Werlik, Secy., 1432 So. Keeler Ave., Chicago, and it is expected to establish it as a regular monthly publication in the immediate future. Metal trades groups everywhere should place orders for bundles of this four page paper, and assist in immediately putting it on a paid circulation basis.

The *Needle Trades Worker*, organ of the Needle Trades Section of the T. U. E. L., is bringing out its first number this month. This paper will support the entire left-wing program in all of the garment trades. It is of especial importance at this time, when a war is be-

ing made against the militants in that industry. All needle trades workers should cooperate in extending its circulation. Its address is 208 E. 12th St., New York City.

The latest comer into the field, is the *Progressive Building Trades Worker*, the first issue of which appears Nov. 1st. It is issued by the International Committee for Amalgamation of the Building Trades, 156 W. Washington St., Chicago. It is devoted almost exclusively to the issue of amalgamation and the necessity of wiping out the present divisions within the building trades unions which have brought these organizations to a condition where the building industry is gradually being conquered by the "open-shop" forces.

The combined circulation of these six papers represents the most powerful force for progress in the trade union movement. It is the vital, living, and growing factor in the labor movement. Each one of these papers deserves the unlimited support of every conscious worker in the respective industries.

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

OF THE LABOR HERALD, published monthly at Chicago, Illinois, for October 1st, 1923.
State of Illinois,
County of Cook,
ss.

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Earl R. Browder, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the managing editor of THE LABOR HERALD, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:
Publisher, The Trade Union Educational League, 106 No. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.
Editor, Wm. Z. Foster, 106 N. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.
Managing Editor, Earl R. Browder, 106 N. La Salle St., Chicago.
Business Manager, J. W. Johnstone, 106 N. La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.

2. That the owners are: The Trade Union Educational League, a voluntary association, Wm. Z. Foster, Secy-Treas.; J. W. Johnstone, S. T. Hammersmark, Earl R. Browder, Ben Gitlow, M. Obermeier, and Tim Buck, National Committee.

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

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

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

EARL R. BROWDER, Managing Editor

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 2nd day of October, 1923

IRA G. WOODEN, Notary Public.
(My Commission expires May 25, 1925)

(SEAL)

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

Make checks payable to
The Trade Union Educational League

THE NEEDLE TRADES ALLIANCE

THE mountain has labored and brought forth a mouse. At last the much-heralded Needle Trades Workers' Alliance has been launched. We did not believe that the backers of this plan would have the crust to put across such an antediluvian project in the face of the strong sentiment for amalgamation now existing in the clothing industry. But it seems that they have.

The worst of the thing is that the constitution as adopted is much worse than as originally proposed by the Capmakers. The plan, weak enough in the beginning, has been still further emasculated. Notably is this the case with the proposed annual conferences. As drafted originally, the conferences would have given the Internationals from five to twenty delegates apiece, besides allowing one delegate from each local branch of the Alliance. This would have let a few rank and filers slip into the gathering. But in the plan adopted all possibilities of rank and file representation are eliminated. Each organization shall have but five delegates, which means five high officials. Under such circumstances, it will be impossible to democratize the annual conferences.

In many other ways, including the abolition of the provisions for amending the constitution and for levying assessments upon the affiliated unions, the original plan has been worsened. When the project was put forth by the Capmakers it represented a most inferior plan of federation. Now it is impossible altogether. It is safe to say that the Needle Trades Workers Alliance has died aborning. It will not prove even an effective bar against amalgamation, which is what its proponents chiefly intended it to be. Clothing trades militants will renew their efforts to consolidate all the unions into one.

CRINGING UNIONISM

THE more capitalists kick the trade unions about, the more abjectly cringing become the union leaders. At best our trade union leaders are capitalistically minded but today, under the pressure of the "open shop" drive which should bring out any fighting spirit they might have, they are crawling to the capitalists to beg for mercy. Consider, for example, the so-called progressive, Johnston, president of the Machinists' Union. He is going about the country preaching co-operation with the capitalists, denouncing amalgamation and the Labor Party, and repudiating every progressive policy. According to him the 16 railroad unions cannot be amalgamated in 100 years, and the amalgamationists are therefore disruptors.

He says the machinists' have been too radical; they must become more conservative, like the Brotherhoods, and concern themselves with their craft interests only. If we will be nice to the boss, and show him that the Union can make him greater profits, then says Johnston, he will allow the organizers to go right into the shops and sign up all the men into the I. A. of M.

This kind of unionism, spineless and servile to the employers, is leading the labor movement straight to destruction. It wins the workers nothing, not even temporarily. The employers have nothing but contempt for it, and the more the leaders cringe the more the bosses will kick our organizations about. There is but one way to force concessions for the workers and that is to establish a fighting power in the unions that the employers must respect. The unions cannot fight effectively until they get rid of this cringing leadership.

THE UNION-WRECKERS AT WORK

JOHN L. LEWIS and his crew of union wreckers are still busy at work. One of their late exploits is the expulsion of Thomas Myerscough, secretary of the Progressive International Committee of the miners, and the revocation of the charter of his local union, No. 1446 of Arden Mines, Pa. The instruments and methods used in this disgraceful proceedings are characteristic of reactionary officialdom.

Among the several hundred members of Myerscough's local there could be found but two sufficiently degraded to serve as Lewis instruments. One of these, who presented charges against Myerscough, is so ignorant that his charges could not be read, and so crooked that the miners say that he took a Victrola donated to the Miners' Relief to be raffled, put it in his own home, and sold his own phonograph to a mine superintendent for \$25. The Local Union, on August 7th, voted unanimously, with the exception of the two stool-pigeons, their confidence in Myerscough.

Immediately the name of the stool-pigeon was used by the District officials, acting no doubt under orders from Lewis, to file an appeal to the District Board. On September 6th that body mailed Myerscough a communication informing him that the appeal has been sustained and he was expelled from membership.

In the meantime the same forces had been busy plotting to punish Myerscough's local union for standing by him. The mine owners where the members of Local 1446 are employed, refused to abide by the contract and locked the miners out. The District officials immediately declared that the local was engaged in an outlaw strike, revoked the charter, and reorganized the Local. They held the reorganization meetings on the property of the coal company, in spite of the fact that the miners' union owns its own hall there.

These are the tactics of destructionists, of those who would rule or ruin. They are not approved by the rank and file of Labor. But if the designs of these arrogant officials are to be defeated, if the United Mine Workers and the other unions where similar tactics are being employed are to be saved by complete disruption at the hands of these wreckers, the membership must rise in protest, demand the protection of the rights of every member, and elect men to office who are pledged to protect these rights. Freedom of thought and speech in the labor movement are seriously threatened. Every true union man will join in the battle to re-instate these fundamental principles.

OPPOSE CANADIAN SECESSION

BRUTAL oppression has been visited upon the Canadian miners in District 26, first by the British Empire Steel Corporation and its governmental lackeys,

and later by their own Union officials, John L. Lewis and his henchmen. The miners have been in revolt against their Steel Trust masters, a revolt that would have been successful but for the intervention of Lewis on the employers' side. Their present feelings are bitter, and justifiably so. Rarely has treachery been more bold or more dastardly. As a result, a danger has been present in District 26, of resentment against Lewis & Co. being turned into a secession movement.

No friend of Labor solidarity will, however, urge secession upon the Canadian miners. There is but one way to fight against the boss-controlled Lewis machine, and that is to stay inside the U. M. W. A. and battle it out there. Running away from the fight will not help at all. Lewis could ask for nothing better than to have all the conscious militants leave the Union. He is trying to drive them out—the secessionists are his allies whether they know it or not. The duty of every revolutionary and progressive miner today is to stay within the United Mine Workers of America. That Union belongs to the rank and file, and they must fight for their own Union.

This is the advice that is being given to the miners of Nova Scotia by the militants within their own ranks and throughout Canada. It is sound advice, and shows that the Canadian trade union militants are developing a thoughtful, constructive leadership that promises well for future success. Continuous and relentless battle against those who would deliver the Unions to the employers is the first necessity. To leave the Union is to desert the battle-line. Secession and splits are the weapons of the reactionaries. The militants will stay within the U. M. W. A. at all costs.

GERMANY BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

WORKERS the world over wait with the greatest anxiety for news from Germany. And well they may, for world-shaking events are impending there. The surrender in the Ruhr converts Germany into a vassal colony of French imperialism; and the whole burden, if the German capitalists have their way, is to be saddled upon the working people. The bourgeois statesmen, having made peace with Poincare, turn their whole attention now to one enemy: the workers. They have but one policy: Make the workers pay. The miserable wages are being still further reduced, and the eight hour day is being abolished. Unemployment spreads like a plague. Hunger and misery stalk abroad. Bread riots, answered by bayonet and machine gun, are becoming the order of the day. In this multiplied plundering and oppression the Social-Democrats, as always, are the ready tools of the masters.

The German working class is stirring mightily. A profound disillusionment has come over them. When the Kaiser's monarchy was overthrown in 1918 the German bourgeoisie turned to the republic in order to fool the workers with "democratic" forms. But the deception which shackled the workers in those days will not suffice now. Only by naked force can these new burdens be imposed upon them. German capitalism now has to seek salvation in the monarchist army, the white generals and the fascist gangs. The last prop is being knocked out from under the bourgeois republic of Germany, and all pretences of "democracy" are going by the board. The capitalists and all their defenders, including the Social-Democratic politicians and trade union leaders, are driving with full speed toward a white dictatorship. The capitalist dictatorship or the workers dictatorship—the white or the red—this is the one question soon to be settled in Germany.

The forces of reaction are well organized and well armed. It is quite possible that, with the help of the

Social Democratic Party, they will get the upper hand for the moment. But they will not hold it long; of this we can be confident. The German proletariat of fifteen millions cannot long be held down by the methods employed in Italy; it is numerically too powerful, and its position in industry and transport is too important.

The German workers have suffered and learned much since the days of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. A mighty communist party is rising up from the seed sown by the old spartacists; and the workers, in ever-growing masses, are following it. The great mass strike is being prepared to break the first attempt of the white guards to seize power by force. The "proletarian hundreds" are being organized and armed on every side. The danger of the German revolution being crushed by military force from the outside is counterbalanced by the warning of Soviet Russia that, "Swords are not the exclusive possession of the capitalist countries. They are also to be found in the hands of the proletarian State of Soviet Russia." These facts are the guarantee of final victory. The German proletariat holds the fate of the world proletariat in its hands. This time it will not fail.

In this crisis it is the duty of trade unionists everywhere to stand by the German workers' in their coming revolution. Against the attempts of the capitalist Governments to assist the German exploiters against the working class, the trade unions of every country, including America, must raise the demand: "Hands off Workers' Germany!"

UNION LEADERS AS STRIKEBREAKERS

MAJOR GEO. L. BERRY, head of the Printing Pressmen's Union and American Legionist, has become the hero of the Gompers family as well as of the employing class. After breaking the Pressmen's strike in New York City, he walked into the A. F. of L. Convention in Portland to receive the acclaim of a conqueror. There he gave expression to the philosophy of "unionism" that animated the developing aristocracy of strike-breaking officials, and his statement was approved by Mr. Gompers. He said: "We stand for four great principles governing industry. These are the ownership of property, an adequate return on investments, an adequate sum allowed industry for the matter of deterioration, and that all workers, including managers, get proper compensation for what they put into industry."

Such a program as this, coupled with the deeds of Gompers, Berry, Lee, Lewis, and their kind, may well be hailed with delight by the capitalist press. It is no accident that the *Chicago Tribune*, champion of the "open shop," is frankly delighted, and that the *Journal of Commerce* commendably says, the acts were "such as any body of patriotic citizens might adopt," meaning, of course, any body of business men. Its reactionary and capitalistic nature is emphasized not only by the subordination of the workers to the claims of profits, but even the demand for a "fair day's pay" is made contingent upon the perpetuation of the fabulous salaries of the "managers."

Who can be surprised that Berry, with such complete agreement with the capitalist philosophy, should brutally break the New York pressmen's strike by importing union men from all over the country? The old strike-breaking agencies have powerful competition now; the workers pay men like Berry for doing the dirty work of the capitalists. Why then should the capitalists pay for an inferior job such as the Burns detectives can sell them?

THE INTERNATIONAL

GERMANY OWING to the fact that the October number of the LABOR HERALD was devoted entirely to the proceedings of the 2nd General Conference of the T. U. E. L. we were unable to give an outline of the Great German general strike which resulted in the overthrow of the Cuno government. We therefore print it this month. The origin of the struggle was to be found in the growing poverty and misery of the German working class and the total inability of the master class or their lackeys, the Social-Democratic leaders, to relieve the widespread suffering. The crisis developed with the convocation of the Reichstag on August 8th. Tremendous waves of unrest and protest swept through the laboring masses. Berlin was the fountain head of the movement. The Social Democrats, following their usual course of betrayal, lined up behind the Government and tried to suppress the movement. This threw the leadership into the hands of the Communists. The uprising was carried on through the factory councils. A great convention of these councils was held in Berlin, consisting of 12,000 delegates, on August 11th. They declared a general strike for the entire country and formulated the following demands:

- Immediate resignation of Cuno.
- Seizure of all foodstuffs to assure provisioning of the people.
- Official recognition of the workers' control commissions.
- Abrogation of the interdiction against the arming of the workers.
- Fixation of minimum salaries in gold for all workers.
- Re-employment of all unemployment and war-wounded at regular wages.
- Abolition of the state of siege.
- Amnesty for all political prisoners.
- Energetic action for the creation of a workers' government.

The strikers tied up the industries everywhere and their leaders demanded that the Social-Democratic faction in the Reichstag insist upon the resignation of Cuno. But the Socialists refused. The *Vorwärts* denounced the movement and the Communists who were leading it. They joined hands with the Government, which suppressed the *Rote Fahne*. But the movement was irresistible and finally, after two days of it the Socialists, fearing to lose entirely the leadership over the masses, deserted Cuno and his government fell. This was a great victory for the workers. It was the first time the masses had overthrown a government since the historic days of 1918. The influence of the Communists with the workers has been enormously increased by the affair. With Cuno out, the strike was called off. Ebert, the erstwhile saddler, thereupon called into office another henchman of the dying capitalist system, Stresemann, who is making a final effort to forestall the inevitable formation of a German workers' government.

ENGLAND THE process of consolidation proceeds apace in the British labor movement. It is taking the form of federations and amalgamation. There are several new federations in course of development. One of these is in the entertainment trades, the three unions of Actors, Musicians, and Theatrical Employees, with a total membership of 40,000, having united their forces into the Entertainments Federation. A federation, mostly for organizing purposes, has also been set up between the

National Union of Railwaymen and the Transport and General Workers Union. Another scheme of federation has been accepted by 58 votes against 43 by the United Factory Workers and Textile Workers Association. Amalgamations are planned or actually under way in many trades, including printing, insurance workers, bleachers and dyers, government employees, metal workers, and building trades workers. In the latter industry a resolution calling for one big union in the building trades was adopted at the annual conference of the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives in Ilfracombe. As a result negotiations are now on foot to consolidate the Amalgamated Society of Wood Workers and the Amalgamated Union of Building Trades Workers. A ballot is now being taken on the question of amalgamating the Electrical Trades Union with the National Amalgamated Union of Enginemen, Firemen, Mechanics, Motormen, and Electrical Workers.

FRANCE THE situation in France has become tense in the revolutionary C. G. T. U. regarding the question of international affiliations. As things stand now the organization is affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions. But there is a strong minority movement against this attachment. This minority, though somewhat divided in opinion, is of strong Syndicalist tendency and is under the control of the Berlin International. Another point in their program is opposition to the trade union committees recently set up in the C. G. T. U. by the Communist Party. At a recent meeting of the C. G. T. U. Executive Committee these minority elements, by threatening to split the labor movement if their demands were not granted, pushed through a measure calling for a general convention of the C. G. T. U. This will take place in mid-November.

In preparation for this convention the divergent elements are very active organizing their forces and propagating their views. There are three main divisions. One group, headed by the Building Trades Federation, proposes that the C. G. T. U. stay out of all Internationals until there can be called a general world convention to unite the three Internationals. Another group favors staying within the R. I. L. U. provided that its laws are enforced regarding the autonomy of the affiliated organizations. This is another way of advocating withdrawal, because this group constantly charges that the laws are not enforced. Finally there is the majority opinion, advocated by Monnosseau, Semard, etc. calling for continued affiliation. The following is an extract of a resolution to be presented by them to the convention of Bourges:

The Congress of Bourges registers with great satisfaction the modifications made by the 2nd Moscow Congress to the statutes and resolutions of the Red International of Labor Unions, conformably to the desires expressed by the General Congress of the C. G. T. U. held in St. Etienne. In recognizing the autonomy of the French trade union movement, in suppressing the clause providing for organic liason, included in Article XI and in the resolutions voted at the first Congress of the R. I. L. U., the 2nd Moscow Congress has permitted the French labor movement to develop normally and to realize the greatest possible working class unity, by giving it the opportunity to group within its ranks all tendencies of the labor movement.

In view of the fact that the international revolutionary movement cannot develop its maximum strength unless its relationships between its different organisms are based upon reciprocal loyalty, therefore the Congress of Bourges approves unreservedly the adhesion of the C. G. T. U. to the R. I. L. U. upon the conditions determined by the 2nd Moscow Congress, and it extends a vote of confidence to the responsible militants of the C. G. T. U. and the Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U. for the loyal application of the laws and resolutions of the International.

The coming convention at Bourges will be a critical one in the history of the labor movement in France. The factional war is intense, so much so that an explosion is possible. The dangerous elements are the minorities catering to the Berlin International. They are largely dominated by a secessionist spirit and, if given half a chance, will divide the C. G. T. U. in two. In this destructive enterprise they are being guided and assisted by the Anarcho-Syndicalist theoreticians in Berlin, including Rocker, Kater, et al. The majority faction are, however, well aware of the splitting tactics of the Berliners and may be depended upon to do all possible to outwit them and to maintain the unity of the already badly shattered labor movement.

ITALY AT the recent conference of the Central Council of the General Confederation of Labor held in Milan further steps were taken to tie the Italian labor movement to the chariot of the dictator, Mussolini. The one taking the lead in this march to the rear is D'Aragona, Secretary of the Confederation of Labor. D'Aragona was the man above all others who stayed the hand of the Italian workers from putting through the revolution in 1920 during the great metal workers' strike. This ruined the labor movement and opened the door for the entry of Fascism. D'Aragona is now preparing the way for open collaboration between the Confederation and Mussolini. This can only be accomplished by Italian labor giving up all its revolutionary demands and ideals. While still denying that he is a Fascist, D'Aragona is clearly working in harmony with Mussolini. He is working for "technical" collaboration with the Government, which he hopes will be followed by a general collaboration. The Milan conference marked an important step in this direction of demoralization.

HOLLAND THE chiefs of the Amsterdam International are badly shaken up over the famous conference of the Transport Workers in Berlin during May which decided in favor of co-operation with the revolutionary Russian labor unions and the setting up of a united front generally against war and Fascism. They have sabotaged the decisions of the Berlin conference and have so far blocked the creation of the proposed united front. They are busy quarrelling amongst themselves over the matter. At a recent conference of the General Council of the International Transport Federation the battle got so hot that Fimmen and others offered their resignations. These were not accepted. Biddegary, the notoriously reactionary French railroad leader, asserts that Fimmen practically confessed that he had made a mistake in the Berlin conference, but Semard, the leader of the revolutionary union of French railroad workers, quotes Fimmen as having said the following in the debates:

I say this openly: Regardless of what may be the decision arrived at, I shall continue my efforts to

realize the unity of the proletariat. I shall continue to work just as I have up till the present to rouse the workers to make a real struggle against war, militarism and capitalism. I consider it to be my duty, wherever I may find myself, whether in the I. T. F. or outside of it, so long as I call myself a revolutionary Socialist and so long as I aim to work in the interests of the working class, to sacrifice my strength and my life, if necessary, in the spirit and conviction that has animated me in recent months. For I am convinced that it is only by carrying on the class struggle inexorably that the labor movement will succeed in attaining the end that it has set for itself. The International Transport Federation does not expect real results through the intervention of the League of Nations, because of experiences already had with it. Only the strength of the working class and international solidarity can prevent the calamities of a new war.

RUSSIA IN the *Kommunistische Gewerkschafter*, published in Berlin, a German printer makes an interesting comparison between present day standards of his trade in Russia and Germany. The advantage is all on the side of the former. He states that while German printers now receive on an average only two-fifths of the pre-war real wage the Russian printers are now getting fully as much as they did before the war and their wages are constantly going up. He gives the following table, stated in gold rubles, to show the rising standards of the Russian workers:

Pre-war wages	34.1 roubles
September, 1922	17. roubles
January, 1923	24.3 roubles
February, 1923	26.9 roubles
March, 1923	28.1 roubles
June, 1923	34. roubles

To show the superior purchasing power of real Russian wages, he presents the following table dealing with characteristic articles:

Article	Price		For which the printer must work in	
	Moscow Rbls.	Berlin Mks.	Moscow hrs. min.	Berlin hrs. min.
1 Egg	2.00	5,000	2 5½	4 15
1 Kilo macaroni	46.25	52,000	2 2	4 15
1 Kilo rice	37.50	32,000	1 40	2 36
1 Good meal in ordinary restaurant	40.00	35,000	1 25	2 50
10 Small cigarettes	6.00	5,000	0 16	0 24
1 Kilo butter	100.00	115,000	4 30	9 22

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

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Europe is on the brink of bankruptcy
Russia is on the road to recovery
 The **Franc** and the **Mark** are dancing
 the mad dance of disintegration
 The **Ruble** is steadily forging upward
 With a little help Russia can fully re-
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 Upon a reconstructed **Russia** depends
 the condition of the world market
 Upon the condition of the world mar-
 ket depends the condition of the far-
 mers and workers here in America

In Soviet Russia there exists:
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 A great hunger for Scientific Education
 A great hunger for Efficient Farming
 Methods
 and an urgent need for:
Apparatus
Raw Material
Tools
Tractors

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of Russia**

MEANS

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