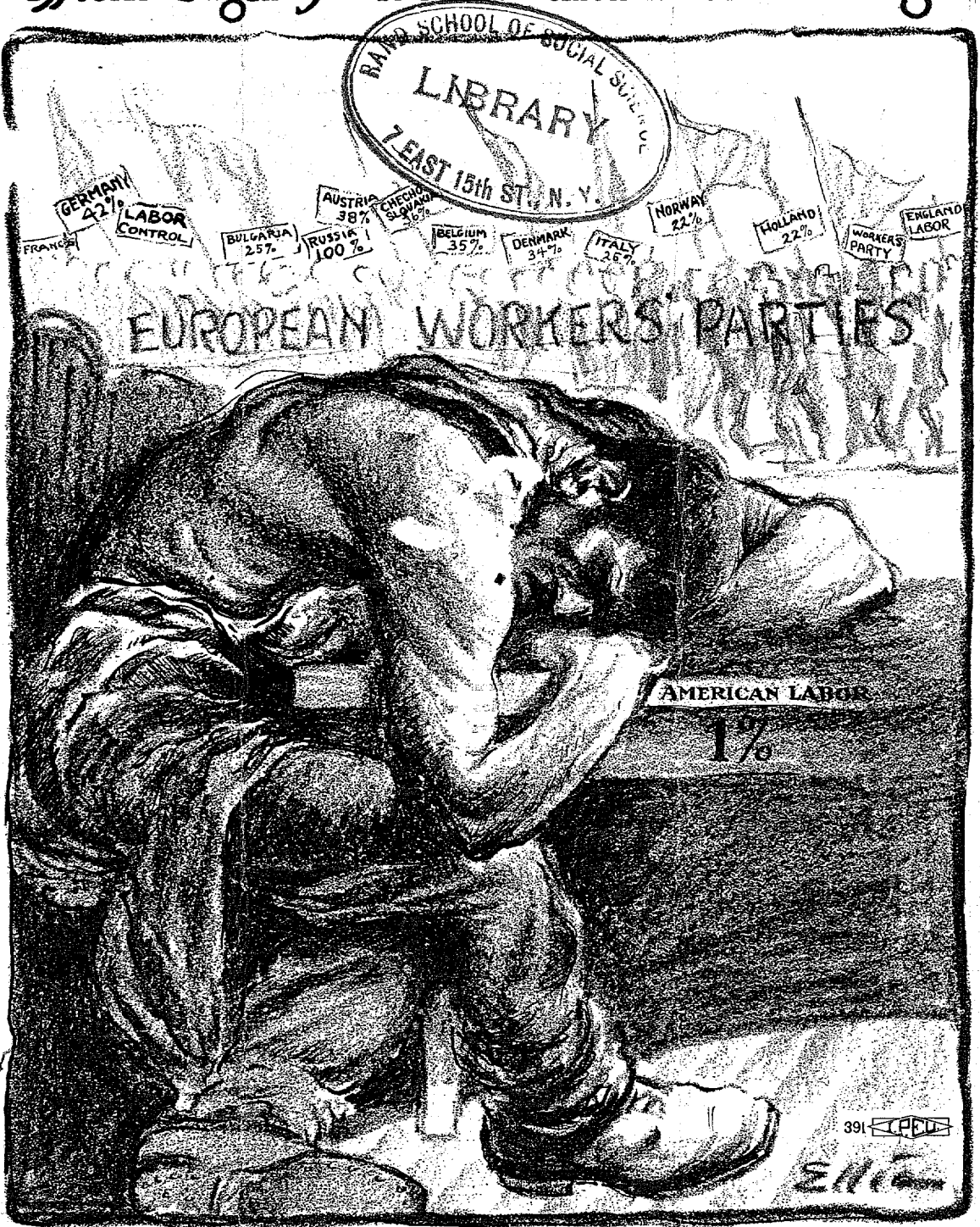


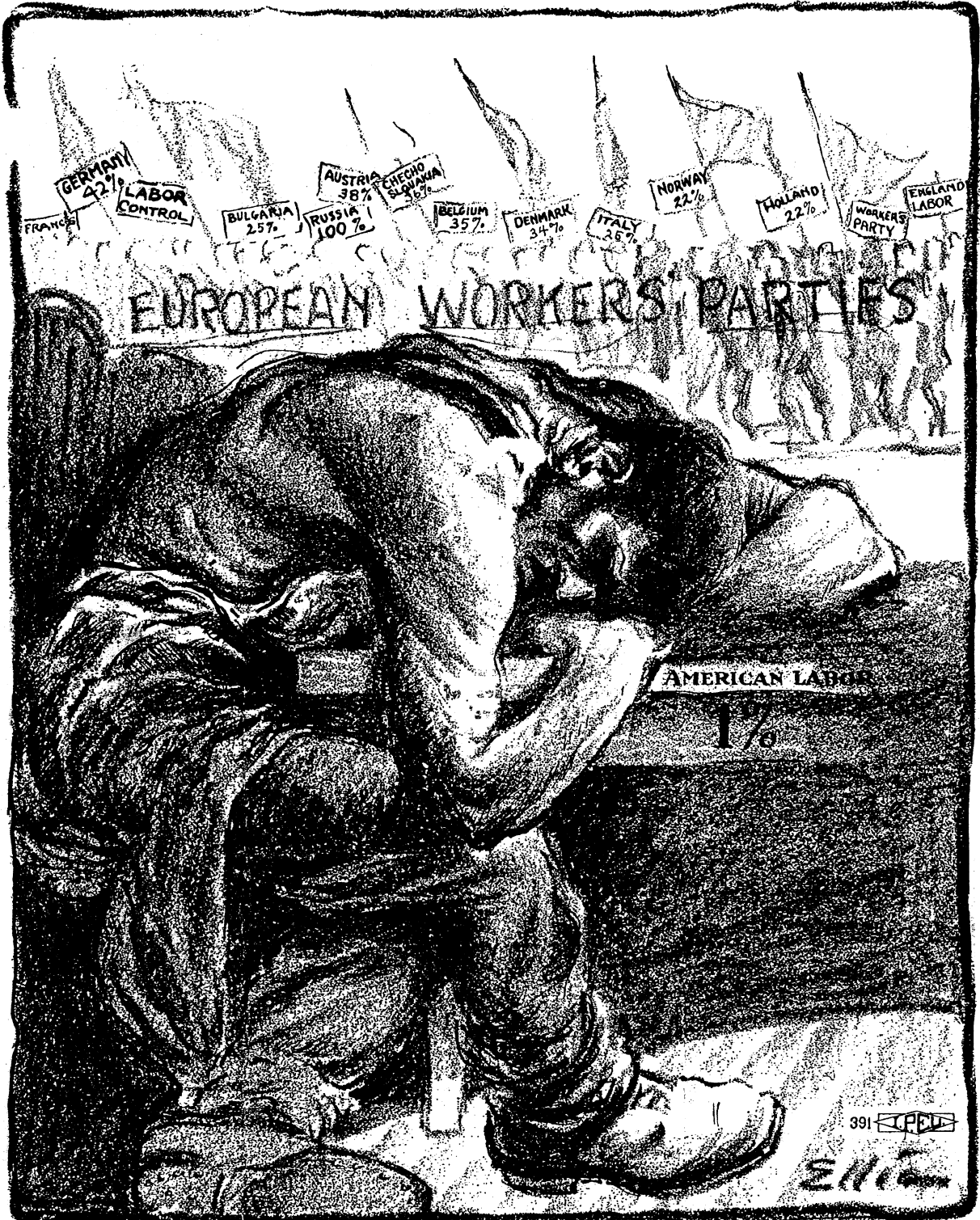
# THE LABOR HERALD

Official Organ of The Trade Union Educational League



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# The Bankruptcy of the American Labor Movement

By Wm. Z. Foster

The paradox of the most highly advanced capitalist system with the most backward labor movement of any industrial country, is one of the chief puzzles to students of American social life. In this new pamphlet Foster goes into the heart of the problem. Mercilessly flaying the intellectual blindness, political infancy, the backward structure and scope, and the reactionary leadership of our trade unions, he proceeds to analyze the causes for such a bankrupt condition. The conventional explanations, one by one, are conclusively shown to be insufficient or inoperative. The real cause is then exposed in a most complete and damning indictment of the old rebel policy of dual unionism. Its history and effects are set forth in detail, much of which will throw a new light upon labor problems. Then the sudden and marvelous right-about-face of the radicals, their repudiation of dual unionism and their drive back to the mass organizations, is set forth, and its causes explained. The new movement resulting from the complete change in tactics of the left wing is described, centering in the Trade Union Educational League; its history and program are given, and the results of the work in its short but strenuous life are summed up. In conclusion, Foster says:

It is fortunate, indeed, that just in this critical situation, when their services are so badly needed, the militants are at last freeing themselves from the dual unionism which has cursed them and the whole labor movement for a generation by keeping the reactionary elements in power. They are organizing for action in the Trade Union Educational League and they are finding the American working class, naturally militant and aggressive, more than eager to accept their program. Now the key to the situation is for the revolutionaries and progressives generally to rally around the League and to carry on a vigorous campaign for its policies of industrial unionism through amalgamation, independent workers' political action, affiliation with the Red International of Labor Unions, and all the rest. If this is done it will not be long until the death clutch of the Gompers bureaucracy is broken and the American labor movement, undergoing a profound renaissance, takes its place where it properly belongs, in the vanguard of the world's workers.

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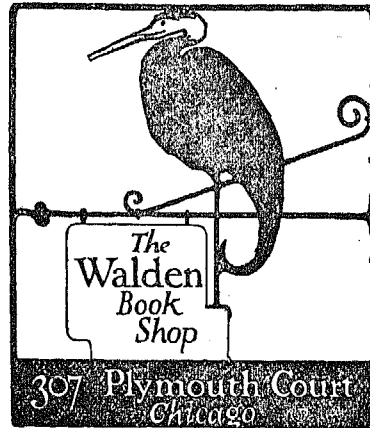
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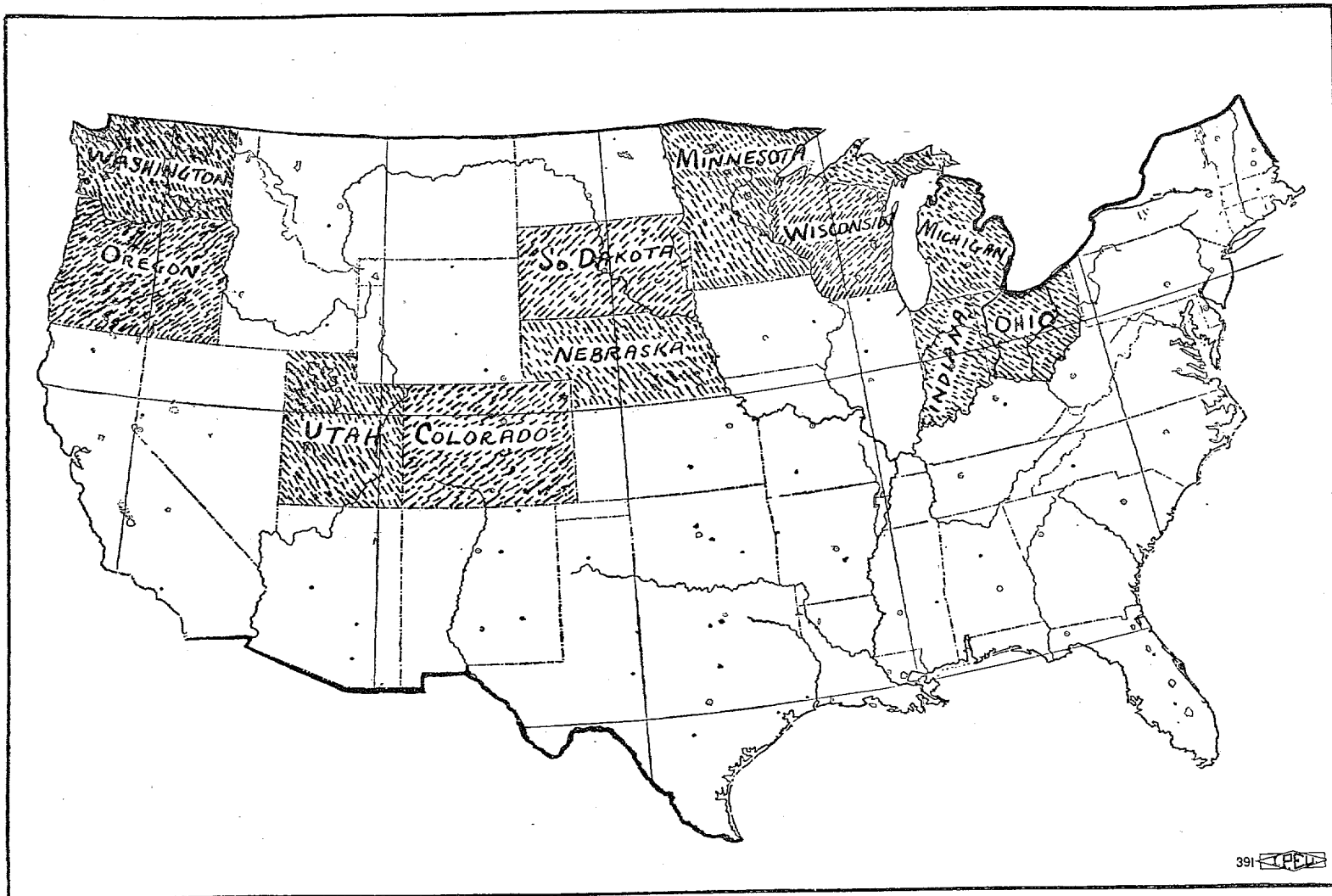
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THE SWEEP OF AMALGAMATION

The shaded States indicate those where the State Federation of Labor adopted resolutions calling for complete industrial unionism, in the great amalgamation drive of the Trade Union Educational League, from June to October, 1922.

# THE LABOR HERALD

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Vol. I.

DECEMBER, 1922



No. 10

## A Political Party for Labor

By the

National Committee of the Trade Union Educational League

**L**ABOR in the United States, industrial and agricultural, must have its own political party, uniting all its forces against the organized power of the capitalist class. The workers in this country must organize to wage the class war upon the political as well as the industrial field. Recognizing this need, the Trade Union Educational League, in its first National Conference, August 26-27, 1922, "unequivocally condemned the Gompers political policy as fatal to the success of the trade union movement, and called upon the workers of America to take the necessary steps for engaging in a militant campaign of independent working-class political action." The time is over-ripe for a general Labor Party.

### Labor's Political Weakness

The American labor movement is alone among the important countries of the world, in having no party of its own. In all other countries, industrially developed, it is no longer a debatable question as to whether or not the workers should organize politically on class lines. This is universally understood, and is taken for granted by the workers. Their political differences are only as to what kind of a working-class party they must have, whether it shall be Reformist Labor, Socialist, Syndicalist, or Communist. Only in America do we find a labor movement so undeveloped, so unconscious of itself, so infantile in its political conception, that it has not yet learned this fundamental lesson. It is still dragging along in the rut of the obsolete policy of "rewarding their friends and punishing their enemies."

This primitive and outworn political method of the American labor movement has reduced it to political impotence. It has practically disfranchised the working class. In the matters of Government our labor movement has but the slightest influence. Labor, for example, is almost completely lacking in representation in the various legislative bodies. Those few nondescript "card men," the boast of the "nonpartisan" advocates, are often even more corrupt and treach-

erous than the capitalist politicians themselves. In the local, state and national legislative assemblies, Labor is almost totally unrepresented. The whole law-making and law-enforcing mechanism is in the hands of the enemy, who do as they please with it. Gompers' policy has resulted in wiping out Labor as a political factor.

That this is so is made strikingly clear if we compare our condition with the position of Labor in European political life. There, where the workers have organized their political power along class lines, Organized Labor is a great political factor. In Germany the various workers' parties control 42% of the members of the national legislative assembly, in Austria 38%, Checho-Slovakia 36%, Belgium 35%, Denmark 34%, Italy and Bulgaria 25%, Norway, Holland, and Switzerland 22%. In Great Britain the Labor Party will challenge the domination of the capitalist parties in the next election. The workers of Europe are a definite political power which must always be reckoned with.

### Suppression from Without

The political weakness of Labor is realized in the naked Governmental suppression of strikes, annulling of labor protection laws, limitation of free speech, and assemblage, etc. In the field of protective legislation this country hopelessly lags behind, due to our political impotence. Mr. Gompers gave testimony to this in 1909, when, returning from Europe, he said:

"We are, in the United States, not less than two decades behind many European countries in the protection of life, health, and limb of the workers . . . We are behind England 10 years. We are behind Germany 20 years."

Since this judgment was rendered, our relative position in respect to all political aspects of the labor movement has become more unfavorable. During the past dozen years, and especially since the war, European Labor has made political gains of great importance, but we have gone backward steadily. While European workers have been wresting concession after concession from the capitalists, our movement in Amer-

ica has been stripped by the capitalist powers of many of our most fundamental rights. There has been a veritable flood of anti-syndicalist laws, under which hundreds of labor militants have been sent to prison on charges, not of criminal actions, but of opinions, for terms the savagery of which has shocked the world. The right of assembly has become little more than a privilege dependent upon the good will of the American Legion, the Ku Klux Klan, or corrupt local officials. Esch-Cummins laws, industrial courts, and the injunction, have literally hamstrung the labor unions in their most vital point, the right to strike. Popular representation in legislative assemblies has been violated, by refusing to seat workers' representatives regularly elected, while millionaires openly purchase seats in Congress. Gompers' "great achievement," the Clayton Amendment to the Sherman Anti-Trust law, has been used—but only against Labor. The Seamen's Act and the Child Labor Law have been knocked out. In the Coronado Case the trade union treasuries were opened to raids by the capitalists. The Daugherty injunction, outlawing 400,000 railroad men, is only the latest of a long line of acts of suppression and usurpation, testifying to the political incompetence of official Labor's policy.

#### **Corruption from Within**

More serious, however, than even the unprecedented suppression of the workers' rights, has been the corruption within their own ranks resulting from the Gompers policy. Our trade unions have been opened to every political crook posing as a "friend" of Labor. These parasites on the working class have then become the source of corruption in the leadership of the unions. Cold cash paid in hand for endorsements as "friends" of Labor, has created almost a regular profession among certain labor officials, of delivering the labor vote. This has, in turn, become the source of industrial corruption, for it is but a step from such political betrayal to industrial betrayal; it is an easy transition from delivering the labor vote according to capitalist wishes, to delivering a strike vote for the same reasons. Capitalist political parties in the trade unions have been the most prolific source of corruption.

Most stultifying of all of the effects of the "nonpartisan" policy of Gompers, has been that upon the mass of the trade union membership. It has checked the intellectual development of the entire labor movement, and smothered the growth of class consciousness. The whole capitalistic point of view is injected, with poisonous effect, into the labor movement, as the direct result of accepting capitalist parties as the political expression of the workers. Almost the same social

concepts, with their inevitable consequences, are expressed by our labor papers and leaders, as by the capitalist press and capitalist officials. The inevitable result is a united front of capitalist press and Government with the labor press and officialdom, against every movement tending to give the workers a clear understanding of their class position in society. These capitalist chains, binding the brains of the workers and keeping them in slavery, can only be broken when the workers are organized politically as a class.

#### **Workers Waking Up at Last**

The crushing drive of the "open shop" campaign is shaking the workers into some recognition of the facts above cited. The open co-operation of all the capitalist parties in this assault upon Labor, with the accompanying armies of gunmen, troops, industrial courts, injunctions, prisons, raids, murders, capitalist financing of the processes of "justice," and the resulting demoralization and weakening of the entire trade union movement, has finally cracked the hard shell imposed upon the American movement by the Gompers bureaucracy. A political awakening is taking place.

Undoubtedly one of the big factors in bringing about the new attitude on the part of Labor, has been the centralization of power in the capitalist Government, which has dramatized and brought into bold relief those facts of class-government which were hitherto obscured in the intricacies of 48 different State governments. In the period following the war, the economic problems of the capitalist class have forced it to deal with Labor more and more on a national scale, and use the Federal Government for suppression, where theretofore agencies of a masked character were sufficient. Thus, the Daugherty injunction was like a flash of lightning, revealing a thousand old but hitherto hidden facts to the ranks of Labor. The unscrupulous use of the centralized state power by the capitalists has awakened the workers as no other factor has done.

One of the most significant evidences that this is so, is seen in the disintegration of the capitalist party lines. For several years it has become a common thing to see the Republican and Democratic machines unite against candidates of various workers' or farmers' groups. This is now being followed by frank public acknowledgment on the part of prominent and influential members of both that there is no vital difference between the capitalist parties; the more militant capitalist politicians are urging the amalgamation of their twin parties, because they sense the inevitable coming of the Labor Party into the field, and they fear it. The old political line-up in America is practically gone, and the clear headed, both

among the capitalists and the workers, are announcing the fact.

### The Conference for Political Action

The movement for a Labor Party has been favorably received in the ranks of Organized Labor, sweeping through the unions with particular force in the past year or so. The sixteen railroad unions are committed to the idea, as are the miners, the typographers, the clothing workers, innumerable city central bodies, State Federations, farmers' organizations, and liberal groups all over the country. The movement found a timid expression in the Conference for Progressive Political Action which met in Chicago early in 1922, and which has called a second national conference to be held in December.

The pioneer work in this movement, as in many other things, came from the Chicago Federation of Labor. This organization was the initiator of the Farmer-Labor Party, the first attempt to give expression to the trade unions on the political field. The practical success of the party has been far outstripped by its moral influence, which has undoubtedly been a large factor in bringing to a definite expression the movement for working class action on the political field.

The Chicago Conference for political action above mentioned was a distinct disappointment to those who hoped for the immediate formation of an inclusive Labor Party. There were too many feet on the soft-pedal, too much timidity and hesitation, a lack of any clear-cut objective. This spirit of "do-little" was especially evident in the fact that not one thought it advisable to point out the chief obstacle to the formation of a real party of Labor. That obstacle is Gompers. A prime fault of the Conference was that no one raised a voice to point out this fact. The next Conference, with the impetus of a year's development, should get a new spirit into the work. It should positively and definitely commit itself to the formation of a Labor Party, and prepare to fight the reactionary forces which threaten the success of such a move.

### What Kind of a Party?

The problem of what kind of a party should or could be created at this time is of vital importance. There are some general requirements which can be stated. The Labor Party must be definitely rooted in the economic needs of the workers, it must be a party of the working class, yet it must be broad and inclusive enough to take in all the various political parties and groupings of Labor. The first is essential to its existence—past history of third parties in American politics has surely demonstrated clearly enough that a miscellaneous collection of people with a griev-

ance is not a basis upon which a permanent party can be founded. The rock of working class interests is the only possible basis for a powerful new party in America. On the other hand it must make every effort to bring into its confines all the existing working-class parties. Not only must there be no exclusion of any group or groups, but there must be a positive effort to unite in common action all the forces of Labor on the political field. A political United Front of Labor against the capitalists is the need. Anything short of this will not meet the historical situation.

Such a united front in the Labor Party means that existing political groupings must be permitted to retain their identity, subject only to the requirements of common action of all groups so united in seizing the political power from the capitalist parties. Such retention of identity by the component groups of the Labor Party is not in the nature of a concession to prejudice, to organization patriotism, or bowing to an insuperable obstacle. It is a *desirable* thing that a Labor Party shall not be a homogeneous mass. The conflict of ideas, certain to come from contact with each other by definite groups within such a Party, will be the most positive guarantee against stagnation and sterility. The health of the Labor Party demands that unions, groups, and parties, entering into the federated Labor Party, shall continue their own organization identity, press, etc.

### The Workers Must Dominate

In order to mobilize all the potential strength of the Labor Party, it is necessary that it make provision for including the exploited small-farming class along with the industrial workers. But the actual workers, being the only class whose interests give them a clear-cut line of action at all times, must dominate the party. The working class is the revolutionary element, it is the element which gives the dynamic energy, which alone can create a party capable of coping with capitalism. It must be a Labor Party in fact as well as name.

This means that it must have the backing of the trade unions. The trade unions are the only possible basis for a successful Labor Party. Not alone must such a party have its roots there, but it should be organized on the initiative of the unions. The historic mistake of the Socialist Party in this country, the fact which largely accounts for the decline of that organization, is that it did not recognize this fundamental truth. It thought that it could recruit its strength from the miscellaneous citizenry. But only on the solid rock of the industrially organized masses can a powerful political party be created in Amer-



ica. The power of all Labor Parties in Europe is directly to be measured by the backing given by the trade unions. The only workers' Government, the Soviet Republic, has its roots solidly in the trade unions; when the Labor Party of England takes over power there, the trade unions will be the source of its strength. To "Left" and "Right" parties alike, the trade unions are fundamental.

### **Working-Class Program Indispensable**

In addition to being working-class in membership, the Labor Party program must be working-class in spirit and form. It would be a calamity to attempt, as was done at the Political Conference last spring, to warm over a batch of discarded middle-class phrases, and substitute them for a radical and searching analysis of the workers' class position in society and a clear-cut solution for their problems.

The supreme task of the December Conference is to form a general Labor Party. Its program, to be of working-class character, should challenge capitalism, and hold up the ideal of a workers' society. This would tend to free the workers' minds from capitalistic methods of thinking, from capitalist concepts, and capitalist prejudices. A program with such a basis, would be fit for a party determined to engage in struggle with the powers of capitalism at every point, and substitute in their place the power of the organized workers.

A militant Labor Party must be, essentially, a party of battle. All of those proximate things, "immediate demands," which do not necessarily threaten capitalism itself, must still be set forth as goals to be won by the power of the organized masses, not by compromise and class collaboration. Only in this manner can the Labor Party gather greater and greater strength, and bring closer its inevitable goal of the workers' society. Only in this way can it avoid the corruption and decay which surely comes from collaboration with capitalism.

### **Bureaucracy Must be Defeated**

Even as in the proposals for amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial unions, and every other step in progress, the movement for the Labor Party will have to fight and defeat the reactionary officialdom. Indeed, not the least value of the Labor Party movement, which is gaining such headway, will be the lining up of the progressive forces, timid though some may be, against the black reactionaries of the type of Gompers and the Crown Prince, Woll. A good fight for the Labor Party will also help the amalgamation movement, just as the amalgamation movement is going to give power and vigor to the Labor Party itself. The two movements are

closely related, and mutually assist each other. Gompers' political policy of rewarding his capitalist friends, is one of the props upholding the bureaucratic structure of his machine in the trade unions. Let us join hands in knocking it out from under him.

All Local Leagues, and all members and sympathizers, should immediately throw all their power back of the demand for a Labor Party. Every possible voice should be raised, in the local unions, in the city central bodies, in the district councils, state federations, and International Unions. Resolutions should be presented and thoroughly discussed. The reasons for a Labor Party should be made clear; the form which it should take should be discussed, the character of its membership and its program should be well debated. The movement for a Labor Party should be shown as related to the movement for the amalgamation of the craft unions,—the one for a United Front of the workers on the political field, as the other is on the industrial field. Intelligent political action is as necessary as intelligent industrial action. Big, strong unions are not enough; the workers must also have a big, strong party.

Let Labor's voice be heard demanding a Labor Party. Our work, as League militants, is to see that the demand is as loud, firm, and definite as possible. We must carry the battle to the reactionaries, and put every one of them on record. We must throw all our strength toward the uniting of Labor's forces, politically and industrially; this means that we must relentlessly fight against all those who block the path of progress. The reactionary officialdom must be made to understand that the day of their policies is gone; they must fall in line or be swept aside by the march of history. We must remove the calamitous disgrace of our present status, the only great labor movement of the world without its own political party.

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# Eleven States Demand Amalgamation.

## What are You Going to do About It, Mr. Gompers?

By Earl R. Browder

**A** GREAT call for the solidarity of Labor has gone out from the State Federations. Taking the form of a demand for industrial unionism through amalgamation, this call has swept through the Federations like a whirlwind, gathering victories at every turn. Many of the State bodies meet in the late Summer and early Fall, and in 13 of them the issue was raised. In 11 instances, the demand for amalgamation was adopted by an overwhelming majority, in many cases with only a scattered vote or two in opposition. It has been a veritable upheaval of sentiment for solidarity.

The wide sweep of the demand for amalgamation is shown by the map (see frontespiece, page 2), on which the States which adopted the proposition in the last few months are shaded. They spread from the Pacific Coast in the West, to Ohio in the East, a distance of 2,500 miles. From the point farthest north to that farthest south, touched by these States, is a stretch of 865 miles. The population of the amalgamation States is about 23,000,000, or more than 21% of the total for the United States, while the area in square miles is over 758,000, or more than 25% of the total for the entire country. This tabulation does not include States which have endorsed industrial unionism in the past, such as Montana, Pennsylvania, etc., but simply those that have declared themselves in the big amalgamation drive of the Trade Union Educational League from June to October, 1922.

In this tremendous range of territory, all sections of the labor movement, all crafts and industries, joined in the demand for industrial unionism through amalgamation. What little opposition that showed itself was scattered and negligible. Railroaders, miners, building tradesmen, printing tradesmen, clothing workers, metal workers,— in fact all branches of the labor movement without exception, supported the amalgamation demand with enthusiasm. Never before has the American labor movement seen a similar demonstration.

The rank and file of Labor are ready for industrial unionism right now. Wherever the issue has been raised they have adopted the principle of amalgamation overwhelmingly. In the two States where the proposition was defeated through the efforts of a small group of officials, even the reactionaries admit that it was by the

most narrow squeak, that the rank and file are for amalgamation, and that it will surely be adopted when these Federations meet again. The response to the program of amalgamation, carried to the membership of Organized Labor by the militant unionists in the Trade Union Educational League, has been so immediate, and so nearly unanimous, as to clearly prove that Labor is ready for this step forward. The membership wants solidarity, and they now know that the way to get it has been shown to them by the League.

State Federations are delegate bodies from the rank and file. They respond most readily to the desires of the workers, and give voice to their awakening demands. When eleven State Federations call upon the officers of the American Federation of Labor to call conferences for working out plans to amalgamate all craft unions until there shall remain but one union for each industry, that means that back of the demand there is a great body of determined workers. In addition to the State organizations, scores of city central bodies, thousands of local unions, and several great Internationals, have joined in the demand during the same short period. The urge for solidarity is manifesting itself in every branch of the labor movement.

Over a million workers, Mr. Gompers, have called upon you and your associates in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, to take action to amalgamate the divided craft unions into a series of powerful industrial unions.

They are weary of having a dozen or two organizations in a single industry and are tired of being licked because they cannot present a united front. They demand solidarity.

It has been one of your boasts, that you keep your ear to the ground. Have you heard these eleven earthquakes in the State Federations?

You have said time and again, that you go as far as the rank and file will let you. Now the rank and file want to go as far as industrial unionism. Are you going with them, or are you going to block progress in your time-honored manner?

What are you going to do about it, Mr. Gompers?

# The Chicago Federation of Labor

By William Z. Foster

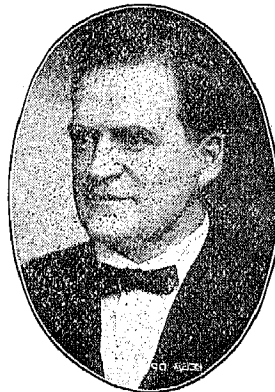
**I**N the dismal prospect of the generally reactionary American labor movement, one of the bright spots is the Chicago Federation of Labor. For many years past this body, counting as adherents 300,000 trade unionists in the Chicago district, has been noted throughout the country for the cleanness of its leadership and the progressiveness of its policies. Time after time it has sounded the real proletarian note in the hour of bitter struggle. Again and again it has blazed the way along which the backward American working class must eventually follow. The Chicago Federation of Labor is a stimulus and encouragement to every true fighter in the cause of Labor.

## Cleansing the Federation

It is no accident that the Chicago Federation of Labor is progressive. It is because the honest elements in that body, in the years gone by, broke the power of the sinister forces that curse and degrade Organized Labor in many large cities, and thus gave the healthy phases of unionism a chance to flourish. The time was when the Federation was ruled by a corrupt gang of labor fakers, with the notorious, czarlike "Skinny" Madden at their head. Terrorism and graft were the order of the day, and the workers suffered accordingly. But the Federation was fortunate in having in its midst a body of real fighting trade unionists, such as John Fitzpatrick, Edward Nockels, Anton Johannsen, T. P. Quinn, and many others, who challenged the autocracy of Madden and finally destroyed it. Their victory was won, however, only after one of the bitterest and hardest fought internal battles in the history of Organized Labor.

Martin B. Madden, better known as "Skinny" Madden, was one of the most remarkable figures ever produced by the labor movement. He was only a steamfitter's helper, but he overcame this handicap of being an unskilled worker and secured a tremendous grip upon the organized skilled tradesmen of Chicago. Bold, courageous, and an organizer of unquestioned ability, he gathered around himself a machine of gunmen and thugs, which he used ruthlessly to further his limitless schemes of corruption. He and his crowd ruled the labor movement with a rod of iron. "Skinny" Madden was the symbol of terrorism and extortion in Labor's ranks.

The inevitable reaction against Madden's reign of organized graft took place in 1905. Led by Fitzpatrick, Nockels, and others, the honest elements in the Chicago Federation declared war against Madden. Except for a few, these insurgents were not radicals. Had they been such, the cleansing of the Federation would not have taken place at that time, for doubtless they would have been affected by the run-away policy of dual unionism and would have left Madden undisturbed in his control. But they were trade union fighters, unaffected by secessionism, and they stood their ground. Madden tried to terrorize them. On one occasion eight of his men with drawn guns held up an election committee in broad daylight, and beat Mike Donnelley, president of the stockyards union, so badly that he never fully recovered. For months the most intense excitement prevailed, and astounding acts



JOHN FITZPATRICK

of violence were perpetrated by Madden to break up the opposition. But, unterrorized, the rebels went ahead with their agitation, stirring up the rank and file in favor of a clean Federation. The fight, so fateful to Chicago labor, came to a conclusion in 1900, when John Fitzpatrick was elected President of the Federation in the face of the most desperate opposition of the Madden gang. This definitely broke the power of the corruptionists (they are now entrenched in the Building Trades Council), and it laid the basis for the progressive administration which has characterized the Federation ever since.

## A Record of Progress

John Fitzpatrick, President of the Chicago Federation of Labor, is one of the sturdy oaks of the labor movement. Honest, capable, and fearless, he is deeply hated by the labor-crushing elements in Chicago. He has also long been the despair of the local labor crooks. His co-worker, Secretary E. N. Nockels, who was elected in 1903, and has served in his office continuously since then, is another remarkable type of militant, progressive trade union leader. Together the two, Fitzpatrick and Nockels, make up a team which, for co-operation and harmonious, effective action, is hardly to be equalled in any labor office in America. The friendship between them, the lack of jealousy, and their unity upon all vital issues, are proverbial in Chicago.

Time and again, during the long administra-

tion of Fitzpatrick and Nockels, the Chicago Federation of Labor has demonstrated its real proletarian spirit. A notable event in its history was the great clothing strike of 1910, when 50,000 sweated slaves revolted against their masters. The strike was under the jurisdiction of the United Garment Workers, but Rickert, as usual, deserted the strikers. The burden of carrying on the struggle fell upon the Chicago Federation of Labor, which instituted an elaborate commissary system, and was directly responsible for such success as was had in the battle. The final betrayal of the strike by the officials of the United Garment Workers directly led to the formation of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers a few years later. In the struggles of the Ladies' Garment Workers, the Federation also took an active part in establishing that organization. This some of the Ladies' Garment Workers' officials are now conveniently trying to forget. Because of its loyal, unstinted, and altogether unusual support, the Chicago Federation of Labor played a tremendous part in organizing the garment trades of Chicago.

Another historic struggle in which the Federation distinguished itself was that of the newspaper pressmen in 1912. This was one of the bitterest fought strikes in the whole record of the Chicago labor movement. The attitude of the International officials of the printing trades was hostile to the struggle which was pretty much a rank and file affair. The leader was L. P. Straube of the stereotypers' union. Because he was instrumental in bringing his union to the support of the pressmen, he was later expelled and denied the right to make a living in union shops. The Federation fought his case for years, carrying it to the floor of the A. F. of L. Convention in 1915, and making even Sam Gompers back up on the proposition. For a time it appeared that the Federation would lose its charter because of its militant stand, even as had happened in a similar struggle a few years before.

#### The Mooney Case

The Chicago Federation of Labor has always particularly distinguished itself by rallying to the support of militants imprisoned or harrassed by the enemy. In the great McNamara case, and that of the other officials of the Structural Iron Workers' Union who were arrested in connection therewith, the Federation was so active that the iron workers' union presented both Fitzpatrick and Nockels with gold watches in appreciation. In many other such cases, similar activ-

ity was displayed. A notable instance was in the case of Leon Trotzky, who, trying to return from America to Russia, was detained by the British authorities at Halifax. At that time Trotzky was to us merely an unknown Russian Jew. But the Federation raised its voice in protest at his detention. The support of Sacco and Vanzetti, of Jim Larkin, and of the latest Michigan cases, is typical of the spirit of the Federation.

From its very inception the Mooney-Billings Case has been a particular ward of the Chicago Federation of Labor. It was the first important labor organization in the United States which recognized the dastardly frame-up involved and its consequences to Labor. While the San Francisco Central Labor Council, and many other organizations that should have been active, were sound asleep, the Chicago Federation of Labor was holding great meetings of protest. One, in the Colliseum, assembled fully 20,000 people. Besides this, the Federation has taken an active part in handling the case. Ed Nockels personally unearthed the famous Oxman letters. Likewise, he was directly instrumental in securing the confession from McDonald, the notorious stool-pigeon witness against Mooney. Had the rest of the labor movement displayed a fraction of the interest and solidarity shown in this case by the Chicago Federation of Labor, Mooney and Billings would long ago have been free men.



EDWARD N. NOCKELS

**The Packinghouse Campaign** In all the struggles of the packinghouse workers to strike the shackles of slavery from their limbs, the Chicago Federation of Labor has played a leading part. Its most notable achievement in this respect was the carrying through of the national organizing campaign in the packing centers during the war. Both the A. F. of L., and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, had shown themselves entirely incompetent, with their antiquated craft union methods, to organize the downtrodden packinghouse workers. Then the Chicago Federation of Labor itself took hold. The Butcher Workmen were broke and the Federation furnished the money to begin the campaign. It also sounded the note of industrialism, and lined up the dozen trades of the industry, all into one co-operating organization. A general drive was started, with the result that the packinghouse workers responded en masse. The movement spread to other centers. The local federation of trades, known as the Stockyards Labor Council, developed into a national alliance to correspond.

The national movement, headed by John Fitzpatrick, culminated in a sweeping victory for the workers and their organization 100% in all the principal packinghouse centers of the United States. Where the A. F. of L. itself, and the International Unions had failed to make good, the Chicago Federation of Labor won an overwhelming success.

### **The Steel Campaign**

Hardly was the epoch-making packinghouse campaign at an end than the Chicago Federation of Labor launched another of still greater importance, namely that to organize the workers in the steel industry all over the country. Here was another instance of the total failure of the A. F. of L. and the International Unions with jurisdiction. They were absolutely helpless to handle the situation. It took a central labor council, a type of organization which they superciliously despise, to teach them how to do a real job of organizing.

A resolution was adopted by the Chicago Federation on April 7, 1918, calling for a general campaign of organization in the steel industry by all the trades involved. This was forwarded to the general office of the A. F. of L., which, in harmony with its usual do-nothing policy of incompetency, allowed the call to go unanswered. Then, to force action of Gompers, the resolution was readopted by the Federation and introduced by its delegate into the St. Paul Convention of the A. F. of L. There it was carried, doubtless in the hope that it would result in nothing. But, with its usual determination, the Chicago Federation pushed the matter and the great campaign got under way. As in the case of the packinghouse workers, the drive to organize the steel workers was a striking success. Although, when the campaign opened, the International Unions with their obsolete craft tactics had not succeeded in assembling a handful of men anywhere in the industry after years of effort, the Chicago Federation drive resulted in bringing 250,000 workers into the unions, notwithstanding desperate opposition on the part of the companies. Again the Chicago Federation of Labor, by stressing the principle of solidarity and action along industrial lines, taught the A. F. of L., and the International unions how to organize. Both of its campaigns, in the packinghouses and in the steel mills, blazed the way for inevitable industrial unionism.

### **The Farmer-Labor Party**

True to its inherent spirit of progress, the Chicago Federation of Labor was also a pioneer in the field of working-class politics, even as it was in that of industrial action. No community in the United States has suffered more than Chi-

cago from the evils of Gompers' stupid policy of "rewarding Labor's friends and punishing its enemies"; no labor movement has felt more keenly its baneful and poisonous influence. Recognizing the logic of the situation, and despite the bitter opposition of the old guard, the Chicago Federation of Labor raised the banner of independent working-class political action. During November, 1918, it launched the Labor Party, which later became the Farmer-Labor Party. Naturally, Mr. Gompers and his adherents have sabotaged this organization, even as they do all others of a progressive character. Although the Farmer-Labor Party itself has not been a great success in a political way, the idea behind it has made steady headway. It is not too much to say that the whole labor movement is now moving in the direction politically which the Chicago Federation of Labor pointed out four years ago that it would have to travel. It should have been the duty of the A. F. of L. general office to launch such a movement, but, as in the case of the steel and packinghouse drives, it fell upon the Chicago Federation to do so.

### **Federated Press and Co-operation**

One of the keenest needs of the trade union movement is an efficient news gathering agency to supply the facts of the labor struggle to the journals of the various labor organizations. Of course, the office of Mr. Gompers did nothing serious to supply this need. But the Chicago Federation of Labor, in the measure of its opportunity, did. Robert M. Buck, the editor of its official journal, *The New Majority*, acting in close co-operation with the heads of the Chicago Federation, took an active part in founding and carrying on the *Federated Press*. This organization is unquestionably the best labor news gathering agency in the world. And naturally enough its principal enemy is the old guard controlling the A. F. of L.

The Chicago Federation of Labor has always been a militant advocate of co-operation in industrial and mercantile enterprises. During 1919, it was instrumental in establishing the National Consumers' Co-operative Association, the organization which handled the supplies for the commissaries in the great steel strike of that year.

### **Amalgamation**

One of the latest forward-striving movements of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and one which made something of a sensation throughout the ranks of Organized Labor, is the present amalgamation campaign. The Chicago Federation, continuing the thought behind the steel and packing drives, believes the time has come when the craft unions must combine themselves into

industrial organizations. Therefore on March 25, of this year, it adopted a resolution embodying this proposition and sent it forth to Labor. Great commotion ensued in the ranks of the reactionaries. Even Mr. Gompers himself came to Chicago to block this move, so dangerous to the rich jobs of many officials. But they could not stop it and they hesitated before taking drastic action. They knew well that the principle of amalgamation enunciated by the Federation fitted the needs of the time and found a hearty response among the rank and file. Since its beginning by the Chicago Federation, the amalgamation campaign has been making great headway all over the country. Large numbers of organizations, as detailed in last month's LABOR HERALD, have endorsed it. Without doubt the movement will eventually result in modernizing the trade unions generally. It is one more instance of the Chicago Federation of Labor sensing the need of the situation and responding accordingly, while the high-paid trade union officialdom at Washington slumbers and vegetates.

### Russia

The Chicago Federation of Labor has never agreed with the reactionary policy of Sam Gompers towards Russia. On the contrary, it has felt from the beginning the true working-class character of that great upheaval, and has steadfastly adhered to a policy of friendliness, and a desire to see the great experiment tried out un-

der the best of conditions. The Chicago Federation has consistently demanded the recognition of Soviet Russia, and also that trading be established with that country. It has lent loyal and unstinted aid in the collection of funds for the famine-stricken. It was one of the first central labor councils of the United States to endorse the Friends of Soviet Russia in the latter's relief campaign. A striking illustration of the Federation's keen understanding of the Russian situation was had recently when it refused, by a unanimous vote, to adopt a resolution demanding the release of the Social-Revolutionaries being tried in Moscow. Every real working-class fight, no matter in what country or under what flag, can depend upon the support of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Because of its long progressive and militant record, many people throughout the country have got the idea that the Chicago Federation of Labor is a radical organization. But this is not the case. It is just a healthy, vigorous, natural labor movement, such as would exist in every center were it not for the killing influence of the Gompers machine. The Chicago Federation has many weaknesses, as all admit. But if the rest of the trade unions were on a par with it we would not have the sad spectacle of the American labor movement so far behind the rest of the international organized working class. It would be where it belongs, in the very forefront of the struggle against world-wide capitalism.

### A WORD TO THE LEAGUE MILITANTS

We have told you something about the League Sustaining Fund. But do you realize the importance of it? The Fund means life to the work of the Trade Union Educational League.

It is necessary for the League to have a few organizers in the field to get things started. Movements do not start all by themselves, there must be organization. For example, several State Federations met during the past summer, where, because we could not afford to send one man there to raise the issue, amalgamation was not acted upon. This condition must not continue. We must cultivate our movement.

Every one interested in the work will get behind the Sustaining Fund. The National Committee has asked all members and sympathizers to give at least \$2.00 per year. This is a small amount which everyone can afford. It will not be missed by the donator, but will mean life and vigor to the League. Visit all members of your local group, and all sympathizers, and sign them up for the Sustaining Fund.

The vigor of your Local League will be measured by the success of this work.

# Industrial Unionism Wins in Britain

By J. W. Johnstone

*The following article is by a building tradesman from Chicago, who is investigating trade union conditions in Europe. His report on the building trades situation in Britain should be particularly interesting to the craft-divided building workers of America.*

**T**HE British trade union movement, like that of America, is passing through the most critical period of its history. Just as in our own case, they are faced with the issue of amalgamation or annihilation; under the best of circumstances they must unite, or be hopelessly crippled. Those unions which have seen this issue most clearly, and have acted to meet it, by their good generalship are the ones which are coming out of the battle with the least scars.

The Building Trades workers' organizations are a good example of this fact. This is the only industry that retains the 44-hour week on a national scale, and their cuts in wages have been the least of any. The explanation of this is to be found in their unity, achieved through the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives. Although a federation in name, this is in reality an industrial union. It has almost completely unified the organizational policies and actions of 500,000 building trades workers in Great Britain.

## Winning Over Obstacles

Unlike in America, where the craft isolation in the building trades is largely due to reactionary leadership, here in England it is the rank and file that is holding back the complete amalgamation of the building trades. The officialdom is leading the propaganda for industrial unionism. Not that I want to leave the impression that the rank and file is more reactionary here than in America. That would be impossible. They are more progressive, more class-conscious, more revolutionary, but there is a sufficient number of 100% conservatives still among them to be a temporary legal stumbling block in the way of the complete amalgamation of the building trades.

There are many restrictions placed upon the unions here by the State; one of these is that unions cannot amalgamate unless 50% of the entire membership vote on the question and more than 25% in its favor. This, I think, explains why the National Federation, though still held

to its paper status as a federation by these legal restrictions, actually functions as an industrial union. There is such a wide-spread acceptance of the industrial union idea by all the militant, active elements, that their accomplishment in reality is in advance of that written into their constitutions.

The actual amalgamation is proceeding, however, very rapidly in spite of these obstacles. At the Federation convention held at Perth, Scotland, August 1921, the Scottish Painters introduced an amalgamation resolution which was adopted. Since then the amalgamation of the Bricklayers, Masons, and Quarrymen has been completed. It is known as the Amalgamated Union of Building Trades Workers, with George Hicks as Secretary-Treasurer. At its last convention this newly formed organization emphasized the necessity of complete amalgamation, and unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"That owing to the scientific development of industry, this delegate conference is of the opinion that organization by craft is old fashioned, and instructs the Executive Committee to confer with all societies that are affiliated to the Federation with a view to forming an industrial union for all Building Trades Workers, as we are convinced that the time has arrived for organization by industry."

In fact the Federation convention was an amalgamation convention. No fine hairs were split. The time was spent in devising means to bring into being the spirit of the resolution. Four different methods were outlined, and are being used by the Federation to overcome the obstacles in the way of a complete unification of the industry, all this being correlated through the Federation as follows: (1) issuing to the membership a series of leaflets and pamphlets in the name of the Federation, with the assistance of the Labor College and the Plebs League; also study courses from a working-class viewpoint from the same sources; (2) All organizers heretofore paid and directed by their own craft have been pooled under the direction and control of the Federation and are being paid by that organization, and are now working in the interest of the industry as a whole; (3) A committee has been elected to work under the supervision of the Executive Committee to make a complete investigation into,



J. W. JOHNSTONE

and suggest a remedy to overcome, the legal obstacles to amalgamation: (4) Where two or more national unions have been able to poll the necessary number of votes, according to the law governing the unions, they immediately proceed to amalgamate along the lines of the A. U. B. T. W. or with them.

### **A Real Executive Committee**

The Executive Committee of the Federation is not an ornament. It is the real governing body for the industry. When amalgamation is completed, it will naturally become the Executive Committee of the new organization. The change will hardly be noticed, as it will be a paper formality; but it is as important as any other step in the process, because it will be the final act that will cement the Building Trades Workers of the British Isles into one compact body covering the entire industry.

At present the Executive Committee is composed of two members from each National Union, for each 20,000 or less, and one member for each additional 20,000 or major part. Conventions are based on the same rate of representation. At the annual convention an emergency committee is elected from the Executive Committee, consisting of the President, Vice-President and six members of the Executive Committee, each from a different craft. An advisory committee is named by this body to settle minor questions between meetings of the emergency committee, which reports all questions dealt with by it to the parent committee for approval or disapproval. Upon all matters affecting trade movements the emergency committee may order a vote taken. A majority decides the issue in all cases, and is subject to the control of the E. C. of the Federation.

The wages and hours are settled on a national basis, under the control of the Federation. In every district there are only two rates, one for the skilled and one for the unskilled. I found one exception to this rule, where the London Painters receive one penny less than the other trades. I was, unfortunately, unable, through lack of time, to find out the reason for this exception.

Through their unity, the Building Trades workers have weathered the storm of the last year or so better than any other section of workers. It is true that the miners still retain the 8-hour day, but they fall short of the 44-hour week, even though they put up a great fight, than which none could have done better than they under the circumstances. They depended upon

the Triple Alliance, which was doomed to fail, like all federations, when called upon to act in a revolutionary manner. The results could not have been otherwise. The building trades workers are coming out of the battle, somewhat scarred it is true, but with greater solidarity, a fighting spirit and a fighting program. At the annual convention, held at Bangor, North Wales, August, 1922, on the question of international affiliations some of the delegates questioned the advantages of international organization. President George Hicks, speaking in favor of the resolution for international affiliation, said amongst other things, that "so far as he was concerned, he stood as an International revolutionary Socialist. He did not want Ireland for the Irish, or Britain for the British, but the world for the workers." Can American building tradesmen imagine Donlin of our Building Trades Department, saying this at our conventions!

### **The Meaning of Militant Leadership**

The leaders of the Federation have a clear-cut working class point of view. They do not pretend to have an open mind for capitalist arguments. On any class problem that confronts them, they settle the question on the basis of the power of their organization. And they do not stop at industrial unionism; they desire a strong working-class press, a working-class political party, and a working-class education, with the emancipation of the working class from wage-slavery as their goal. I would not insist that these officials are perfect; from my personal observations I cannot say whether they will stand the acid test, but it is clear that they are honestly trying to bring about the changes they are advocating, and if judged by what they have done and are doing, the verdict should be in their favor overwhelmingly. Judged by the standard of our American trade union leaders they stand out as mental giants.

The British Building Trades situation shows us again what a tremendous power for good or evil is exerted by the militants in the labor movement. These workers, though not in a key industry, are nevertheless leading the way for the labor movement here. They are a beacon light, even though a bit dim yet, in this dark period that we are going through. It is to the leadership of the militant elements within the unions that credit is due for the great progress made. The power of leadership is again overwhelmingly demonstrated; if it is reactionary it leads us to defeat through stupidity and compromise; if it is militant and revolutionary it brings us through a united front to victory.



## The National Railroad Amalgamation Conference

Timely indeed will be the national conference to find ways and means to bring about an early consolidation of all the railroad unions into one powerful organization to include every branch of the railroad service. The meeting will be held Dec. 9th-10th under the auspices of the National Committee to Amalgamate the Sixteen Standard Railroad Unions, of which Otto Wangerin, 411 Dakota Bldg., St. Paul, is Secretary. Invitations have been sent out to fully 12,000 local unions of all trades on the railroads. The gathering, which is to take place in the North Side Turner Hall, 820 North Clark St., Chicago, promises to be one of the most important in recent labor history.

Before the shopmen's strike took place the slogan of the amalgamationists was "Amalgamation or annihilation." But great numbers of the officials, seeing their organizations practically 100% solid everywhere, sneered at this slogan and ridiculed its ultimatum. Now, however, things look different. The unfavorable ending of the strike has delivered a shattering blow to Railroad Labor. On many roads the shopmen's unions have been practically wiped out. Thousands of members have quit them everywhere. Some of these are dribbling into the many dual unions, but most are discouraged altogether and are deserting outright. And with the weakening of the shopmen's unions goes a weakening of all the rest. Particularly is this true of the Clerks, Maintenance of Way, and Signalmen. Each of these has its back against the wall fighting hopeless odds. None of them can hope to maintain itself should another open struggle develop. Even the Brotherhoods and the Telegraphers have been gravely weakened. So critical is the situation now that he is a fool or worse who cannot see the truth of the slogan, "Amalgamation or annihilation."

The deplorable part of the situation is that in the face of all this wreck and ruin the officialdom does nothing. The International Presidents are incapable of freeing

themselves from the bondage of the past; they cannot discover sufficient initiative and understanding of the situation to adopt the only possible remedy, amalgamation. They stand around twiddling their thumbs not knowing which way to turn in the disaster that has overwhelmed them. Meanwhile the organizations fritter to pieces. They refuse to amalgamate, hence annihilation is actually taking place.

But if the leaders are inert and incapable in this supreme crisis, not so the rank and file. They understand the remedy and are determined to apply it. In the past few months the overwhelming mass of all railroad workers have become convinced that the only solution for their difficulties is through an amalgamated organization which will unite them in unbreakable solidarity. The great function of the proposed conference must be to find ways and means to register this determination of the rank and file, to devise methods by which the will to solidarity of the great mass shall be translated into terms of reality.

The National Railroad Amalgamation Conference must point out the way to an industrial railroad union and start the many unions directly on the road to its accomplishment. Never again should there be a craft strike on the railroads. The era of separate action by the different trades and groups of trades is gone forever. Now the only method that will serve is united action on the part of all. The higher officialdom refuses to recognize this vital fact and to act accordingly. Therefore it is up to the rank and file to take the initiative themselves. The conference must blaze the way to amalgamation. Only if this is done, only if a new hope is planted in the hearts of the demoralized and discouraged workers can railroad unionism be saved from a crushing defeat. The well wishes of every earnest militant in America are extended to the great rank and file amalgamation conference. The fate of railroad unionism depends upon its working out a practical plan of consolidation.

# Portland on the Job

By Otto Newman

**P**ORTLAND, Oregon, has not been a particularly lively center for the labor movement in the past. But recently the workers here have been waking up to the needs of the day. A change has been coming over the unions, and today we are witnessing a wonderful ferment of sentiment for amalgamation and solidarity. It will be of interest to relate how it came about.

A few months ago a small group of militant union men began to distribute *THE LABOR HERALD* among the trade unionists. The magazine caught on, and became quite popular. Discussion was started, of the most valuable sort, particularly about amalgamation. The result was, that when the amalgamation movement began to sweep over the country, Portland became interested. The resolution for industrial unionism through amalgamation, which had been going so strong elsewhere, was introduced in the Central Labor Council.

Opposition of some seriousness was expected. But it did not materialize. Brother Hayes, who is seventh vice-president of the Retail Clerks' Union, was very busy running to and fro in an effort to marshall some forces against it. Some people say that he is opposed to reducing the number of International Presidents because he has visions of being one himself. However that may be, his efforts were of no avail. Another conservative attempted to have the resolution referred back to the local unions. But that did not work. The delegates saw that it was a good thing, and didn't see why they shouldn't say so. They did, and adopted the resolution with but three votes against it.

About that time the Convention of the Oregon State Federation was due. The Central Labor Council instructed its delegates to introduce the amalgamation proposition there and work for its adoption. They presented it first to the State Executive Committee, which adopted it. The convention committee which had it under consideration held public hearings on the resolution, which were very educational. When it came before the convention itself, amalgamation had clear sailing. Brother Young, representing Gompers in the North West as organizer, made a fight against it, as well as against all progressive ideas. But the delegates were not interested in such voices from the tomb. Amalgamation had caught their interest and aroused their enthusiasm; they wanted solidarity in the labor movement. When the vote came they showed their sentiment by casting all but five of the entire

convention votes for the amalgamation proposal.

The effect upon the Portland movement has been very beneficial. A few reactionaries have walked out of the meetings in disgust, when they were unable to head off the progressive movement. But the rank and file are looking up and taking a new interest in the unions. The conservatives quickly saw which way the wind was blowing; they felt the growing sentiment of the membership, and therefore quickly adopted the amalgamation program as their own. Secretary Kimsey announced that he was for it as soon as it was adopted. With a program attaining such popularity it would not be wise to allow the League to get the credit for it. So, when the rank and file began to think and to move, everybody got in line or got out of the way.

But the Portland movement did not quit with that. Having the city and State central bodies on record, it then became necessary to reach all of the membership, in every local union, to make sure that the amalgamation program was understood and adopted by all. So the Central Labor Council has now appointed a committee, which is going around to all the local unions, telling them about the resolution and asking them to adopt it. Many have already done so, and the small opposition is rapidly melting away. When the A. F. of L. Convention comes to Portland next year, it will probably be greeted by a local labor movement 100% on record for amalgamation. That will be a splendid atmosphere for such a meeting. It will do them good.

The militants who have been steadily and persistently circulating *THE LABOR HERALD* all these months have not lost sight of the fact that their work is the basis of all this progress. They are quietly proceeding with the work of the League with more determination than ever, with the added energy which comes from seeing results. They know that only by the active, militant elements working through the League and *THE LABOR HERALD*, can the workers be rescued from the slavish ideas of capitalism, and the unions made to function in the interests of the working class.

*HOW MANY* new readers for *THE LABOR HERALD* have you made in the past month? Get a new subscriber every week, and enjoy the feeling of being a real member of the League.

# The Tragedy of the Coke Field Miners

By J. A. Hamilton

*Secretary, Pittsburgh Miners' Food Relief Conference*

THE entire moral and financial influence of the United Mine Workers," wrote President Lewis, in the *American Federationist* for September, will be placed behind the miners in their fight against such interests" (those refusing to sign the Cleveland agreement). The miners in the Fayette County coke region have since been endeavoring to discover what he meant by that statement. He evidently did not refer to immediate assistance, for as late as the middle of November, ten weeks after the publication of this statement, the miners still on strike here because the operators refuse to settle on the Cleveland agreement, are suffering the most widespread misery. They face winter without food, clothing or adequate shelter. Some of the tents have been replaced by barracks, but these are terribly overcrowded. One six-room shack, for example, 28 by 48 feet, is housing 36 children and 12 adults. Hundreds of women and children are barefoot. A camp of 240 people has two wells for water, and one of these will soon go dry. And these miners and their families, are the same people who made the magnificent fight, unorganized in the beginning, which closed down one of the principal non-union fields from the beginning of the strike. These splendid fighters are practically deserted by the Union.

The Cleveland agreement, which left these men fighting alone, was signed in August. Yet the International Executive Board did not consider relief until October, and announced its decision many weeks later. The \$4. assessment levied by them to provide sources for relief, will not be available before December 15. If the situation in August was so desperate as to require a settlement with 10% of the country's tonnage, how did the Board expect the new field to hold out until December?

If the cost of relief work is as high as that of organization, the miners are wondering how much relief the assessment will bring them even when it is collected. The expenses of John O' Leary, in charge of the coke region, are reported by the International for the four months of April to July at \$15,000., or about \$120.00 per day.

This expenditure seems a trifle high, considering that the strike was called with little difficulty, and organization completed during the first weeks of April, that there were no salaries paid during the strike; and that the territory is all within 25 miles of West Brownsville, the headquarters, and accessible by improved road, trolley, and railroad.

The "moral influence behind the miners" was severely damaged by the Cleveland agreement which deserted the Fayette County workers. It was soon entirely shattered by the neglect of relief. The desertion of the Union organization convinced the operators that the men, without support, would soon give in. They at once went at the job of strike-breaking in real earnest. The entire mining population of Fayette and Greene Counties was evicted from their homes. Thousands of negro and white strike-breakers were imported. Wages were offered even higher than

The Pittsburgh Miners' Food Relief Conference, 35 Miller St., Pittsburg, Pa., J. A. Hamilton, Secretary, is collecting and distributing relief for the striking miners in the coke region. There is great immediate need for shoes and clothing for the winter, in addition to the regular food requirements.

the union scale. By the first of November practically every plant in the strike region was in operation. Only the unexpected determination of the men, and the relief rushed in from the adjacent parts of the old organized District No. 5, prevented the stampede back to the mines which

the operators expected. The aid which came was given by the local unions, which in some cases borrowed the money, and they voted a 5% assessment until International action should be taken.

But the administration of District No. 5, while not directly in charge of the strike, has had jurisdiction over the new territory, and has deserted the strikers as shamefully as the International. Its "moral influence" is indicated by the condition in Westmoreland County, where it directly assumed charge. There it is claimed that Organizer Frank Hughes advised the strikers to return to work as the District was not going to give them relief.

The International receives less resentment than the District from the strikers, partly because its inaction has not been so strongly propagated. Some strikers gloss over or deny opposition to Lewis and his policies, hoping thereby to main-

tain enthusiasm for the strike. Unwarranted promises of help have been continually made, knowledge of wrong-doing been kept quiet, and unworthy aspirants to office been supported, from this mistaken point of view.

The damage has now been done. While the assessment should enable the strike to be carried through the winter, yet the operators now have their plants filled with strikebreakers, their income is going up and cost of production is going down. The possibility of compelling the operators to recognize the unions is becoming more

remote. The relief in December will not compensate for that which should have been given in September.

As Secretary of the Pittsburgh Miners' Food Relief Conference, I have just completed an extensive tour of Fayette County, going from camp to camp, visiting scores of miners with whom I had previous dealings as relief distributors, taking pictures, hearing complaints, etc. I am compelled to say that the harshest critic of the conduct of the strike and the relief work in the coke fields is fully justified.

## German Syndicalists Change Front

By George Hardy

**I**N the home of the Big Krupp Factories, at Essen in the Ruhr Valley, Germany, was recently held the 2nd national congress of the Union of Hand and Brain Workers. This organization is composed of an amalgamation of the Union Gelsenkirchen (miners), the Agricultural Workers Union (an independent union), and the Union of Brain Workers. These three organizations had attended the first congress of the Red International of Labor Unions, at Moscow, where they formed part of the opposition, mainly anarchistic, to the policies adopted there. Since that time they united their approximately 200,000 members, and have gone through an extremely interesting development. That it has been gradually changing from an anarchistic, dualist organization making war upon the trade unions, to an entirely different sort of attitude and tactics, is a part of the general change made in the left unionists all over the world.

### Clarified by Red International

Although the delegate who was spokesman for this group in the first congress of the R. I. L. U., Bartells, was openly hostile to the program adopted there, for the unity of the revolutionary forces with the mass unions, yet when he returned to his organizations they decided to affiliate to the Red International. Confusion, however, reigned in the minds of the membership. They failed, in their 1st congress at Halle, in 1921, to formulate a program in harmony with the decisions of the International. They persisted in taking members from the mass trade unions; they refused to work with the left-wing groups of the German Federation of Trade Unions; and they retained their anti-political policy. In short, their position at that time was about the same as that of the I. W. W. in America. But they disavowed the actions of their Moscow delegates, and de-

cidated to affiliate to the Red International. This determined their future development.

The first sign of a change in the policy came when Bartells introduced, in the General Executive, a resolution of an anarchist-syndicalist nature, non-cooperative and anti-political. It demanded, complete separation of the Red International from the Communist International. But the Executive refused to support the resolution. Dissatisfied with this decision, Bartells put the resolution to the Congress in Essen, when that body met early in October, 1922. It was rejected by a vote of 190 out of a total delegation of 225. This test of strength showed the way the Union had decided to go. The other decisions followed it.

A new preamble was adopted by the congress, which shows that the German Syndicalists have definitely repudiated their old anti-political bias. It says, "All efforts at dividing the political from the economic struggle signifies damage to the working class." "At a time when the dictatorship of the proletariat is taking over the supreme power, any efforts at dividing the political struggle from the economic struggle is pure treason." These items are valuable to some American rebels, to prove that the Europeans are no longer clinging to their old phrases and dogmas.

### Taking the Dualism Out of Dual Unions

A right-about-face was taken on the question of tactics. The congress decided not to work for the destruction of the old unions but instead, to quote their constitution, "to support all opposition revolutionary groups inside the central unions. All splits must be placed on the heads of the reactionary leaders."

This is the first step toward bringing this splendid group of fighting miners, agricultural workers, and communal workers, again into intimate contact with the larger union movement.

The workers are being forced to unite, just as they will be in America. These German workers are intent upon meeting the immediate necessity of united class action. They had learned in the bitter school of experience what division means to the working class.

The program of the Union calls for the creation of shop-committees and workers councils inside the factories. They are pledged to a "struggle for enlarging the functions of the shop councils" and to "fight against their misuse for purposes of class collaboration; and also to work constantly for their use as organs for controlling production."

The structure of the Union is industrial, with district councils and sub-committees, based upon the mine or factory. All action in the future will be taken in conjunction with the revolutionary minorities in the large unions. None will act alone. There is constant contact with the communist party, and the central committee of the minority and the excluded unions. These joint meetings deal with all pending strikes, etc., and no separate actions are taken. The districts have similar contact. These German workers are striving, not for splits and wars with the conservative unions, but to keep all unions intact for the final fight, in which all will be forced to line up together. With the cost of living going up 200% to 400% per month, the German workers are forced to unite. The necessity of the hour is taking the dualism out of the dual unions.

#### Red International Brings Unity

Out of the chaos of conflicting unions in every country, the Red International is bringing a unified policy for all radicals and revolutionaries, admitting of unity of action. The results are to enormously strengthen and stiffen the whole labor movement. In Germany there are many such conflicting unions. In each one the adherents of the Red International are working with the common program of uniting the whole working class into one solid front against the enemy, the international capitalists.

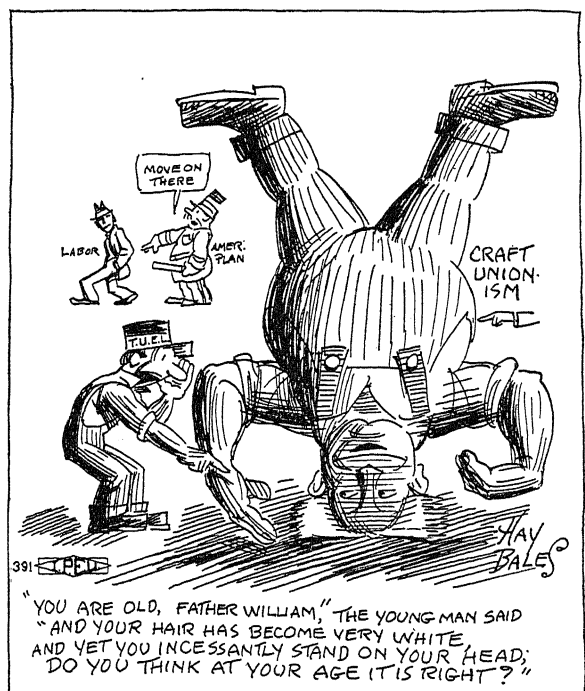
The conflicting elements are gradually being melted together on the basis of the class struggle. The seamens' union, 16,000 members, is affiliated to the R. I. L. U. In the German Federation there are organized approximately 2,000,000 adherents of the International, throughout the 49 central unions and 8,000,000 membership. Besides the German Federation are the Christian unions, and the Hirsch-Dunker unions; the former have more than 1,000,000 members in 22 central unions, while the latter has 225,000. Of least importance is the small Freie Arbeiter Union. But the Red International does not neglect any group of workers. Its adherents work in all of them, to bring them closer and closer

together, and unite them in the common struggle against the exploiters.

#### Greetings to America

The congress of the Union of Hand and Brain workers, in Essen, was intensely interested in the situation in America. They adopted a resolution of protest against the jailing of the labor militants in the United States. In Germany, people say; "The United States is making a joke out of the so-called 'democratic' government." It is hard to make them understand that, after the U. S. won the war for 'democracy', that if the unions there should adopt a constitution such as that of the Union of Hand and Brain Workers, the entire officialdom would probably be indicted and sent to prison for 'criminal anarchy'. They are astounded at the tolerance of American labor. The German workers are struggling with a bankrupt economic system and a capitalist government, but they at least have free expression.

All the decisions of the Essen congress were influenced by the spirit of working-class solidarity, and marked a new period in the life of the revolutionary workers in the Union of Hand and Brain Workers. In the six days of strenuous labor an exceptionally large amount of work was done, and the delegates showed an intensity and loyalty to their duties which speaks well for the future. In the 12 months which have elapsed since the Halle congress of 1921, the organization, in the progress which it has made, has typified the course which the labor movement of the world, under the influence of the Red International of Labor Unions, will inevitably take.



# Illinois Rebels Battle Onward

By M. Monahan

WHEN the Illinois Federation of Labor met in convention in Rockford late in October, the outlook for the cause of Amalgamation in that gathering was most unpromising. Although generally rated as a "progressive" body, the Illinois Federation has been such largely by virtue of the miners and railroaders of the State. But this year both these elements were absent from the convention. The miners, just emerging from their terrific strike and loaded down with expenses in connection with the Herrin case, were unable to go to the out-of-the-way section where the convention was held. The railroaders, in the midst of their great struggle, were likewise unable to get to the Rockford gathering. But if the progressive rank and file delegates were absent the reactionary officialdom, particularly from Chicago, were there in force. They had full delegations and were well prepared to block any move of the radical elements.

In spite of this most unfavorable situation, with the bulk of the rank and file delegates absent, amalgamation made a very remarkable showing. No sooner was the convention opened that it became evident that the cause of solidarity had great backing. The workers of Illinois were infected with the same get-together spirit that is running rife throughout the entire labor movement. The standpatters and reactionaries, from the beginning, were profoundly alarmed at the situation. They fought to keep the amalgamation proposition off the floor altogether, but were defeated and had to give it a hearing.

The fight on the amalgamation resolution was finally forced onto the floor on Friday, the day before adjournment. It ran into a late night session, replete with verbal fireworks and excitement. The chief champions of the resolution, which was the same as that adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor, were Gomer Davies of the Miners, and Lillian Herstein of the Teachers' Federation. They made a gallant fight in the face of great odds. Lillian Herstein talked for a half hour in favor of the resolution, in the language of the high school teacher that she is, ably supporting the cause of amalgamation. She eloquently cited the arguments of history, science, and literature in favor of the proposition. When she concluded, the entire convention rose in a storm of approval. Had there been another militant or two present capable of forcing the fight right there, the vote would have been taken in favor of amalgamation.

Victor Olander, secretary of the Federation, made the principal fight against the resolution.

He talked for almost an hour, and pleaded with the convention not to adopt it; his principal argument was that the State Federation was launching a big drive against the proposed new State Constitution, and that to adopt the amalgamation resolution would hinder its efforts in that direction. Another of the opponents was Delegate Briggs, an official of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. He made an acrimonious attack on amalgamation and all its supporters, filled with wild statements such as "the United Mine Workers"—he probably meant I. W. W.—"went into Butte, and took over and wrecked the metal miners' organization," and that "it was a resolution of this kind that brought about the One Big Union strike in Winnipeg." The machine did not attempt a straight-out fight against amalgamation.

Many delegates, from the printers, miners, and other unions, took the floor for the proposition. Their earnestness and intelligence, combined with the splendid fight made by Lillian Herstein and Gomer Davies, solidly lined up a great body of the delegates. The machine massed its heavy artillery toward the close of the night session, and made a terrific effort to line up all its forces. Late in the night a vote was taken. The "ayes" and "nays" were so evenly balanced that a standing vote was necessary. The result was 119 for, and 148 against. What in the beginning was apparently an overwhelming majority for the machine had been cut to 29 votes.

Since the adjournment of the convention everybody takes it for granted that the next convention will be for amalgamation. Even the reactionaries admit it. Thus, the ultra-conservative *Twin-City Review*, of Champaign, for Nov. 3, says in the course of an excellent article for industrial unionism:

"It will take some time before the labor movement fits itself into the new way and it is going to cost us a lot of suffering to break away from the paths we entered fifty years ago. Illinois labor is thinking over the new plan very seriously and in spite of the opposition, honest and otherwise, a change of some kind is going to come."

Amalgamation is now accepted in Illinois as inevitable, and the conservatives find cold comfort in the "victory." The convention itself, under the circumstances, was a victory for solidarity. Next year the Federation meets in Decatur. The awakened rank and file is now rallying to the slogan "On to Decatur and Amalgamation."

# Industrial Union of Dollars

By Fred Moe

**W**HILE discussing the mental inactivity and lack of initiative on the part of the workers in not studying the progress of events and putting themselves and their unions in adjustment to the new trend in industrial evolution, a listener asked the question: 'What have the capitalists done in the last fifty years that we should be so far behind them? The answer to that question is the burden of my story.

To begin, the capitalists have grabbed off about everything in the country. They "own" all the immense natural resources. They have the scraps of paper that secure them in possession of all the wonderful industries and all the products of these industries. We created these industries. We produced all the wealth. We built all the cities. And yet what have we to show for our labor?

We have acres upon acres of cemeteries filled with our killed. We have thousands of cripples. And the rest of us have merely calloused hands and restricted liberties. Such is the reward of industry—for the industrious.

Having control of the wealth of the country the capitalists are in a position to, and do, control all our institutions. It doesn't matter which party has the jobs, the capitalists rule. The democrats put our men in jail and the republicans keep them there. (Capitalists jail and often hang their enemies—the men and women demanding a square deal for you and me, who lack the courage to make the demand ourselves.) The capitalist control of democracy is so complete that it is as hard to find a workingman in office as it is to find an honest man there.

They manipulate our institutions of learning as completely as they do our politics. They own the newspapers and magazines in order that our education may be completed a hundred percent—for them. Being thus intellectually armed we, (the majority of us, at any rate) go forth and fight for the capitalist ideals, thus actually helping to maintain and perpetuate the very conditions about which we are constantly complaining. Is it any wonder there is such confusion of ideas among the workers, such blundering in our efforts to obtain relief from the torturing economic drudgery under which we are compelled to live? While we have been quibbling about points of order and questions of jurisdiction the capitalists have advanced in one solid phalanx to the goal of their ambition.

## Capitalists Organized Industrially

How did they do it? *They Organized Right.*

In its early history industry was individualistic. Each capitalist ran his own factory and competed with every other capitalist in his line. Competition was the life of trade in those days; but it didn't live long. The capitalists are quick to learn. They are not bullied by catch-phrases, like we are. They soon discover that the "life of trade" in competition benefited the consumers of their wares and the workers they employed, but not them. So they called a meeting; and they didn't argue the question for 20 years, either. They soon agreed it was bad business and cut it out. Then they *organized industrially*.

John D. said: "let there be one organization in the oil industry." And there was. And it is "Some" organization—No cut prices; no bargaining with labor unions or consumers. Just take what he gives and pay what he asks.

The steel and iron manufacturers said to each other: "Let's throw our properties into a pot and quit this fool competition." And the steel trust was born, with a billion dollar capital to crush craft unions and whatever gets in its way to affluence. In 1918 its gross "earnings" were \$566,000,000, coined from the sweat and blood of helpless workers whose unions it had crushed. This soulless corporation rules as no Kaiser ever ruled. Politicians cringe before it; the brass check press toadies to it, preachers fear to offend it; business men revere it as their big brother; the workers hate it, but nurse their hatred in their breasts—it *owns* their jobs.

Then there is the packing trust, the harvester trust, the tobacco trust, the railroad combine and a host of other powerful industrial unions of dollars, whose central idea is to exploit the workers and keep them in a helpless condition of non-unionism. And these trusts have their central organization with which they are all affiliated—the banking trust, the trust of trusts, the mother of them all.

## We Are Vassals of Plutocracy

Search where we may, never in the history of the world has there been organization comparable to this, so well is it suited to the object sought to be attained. The wealth of this country at this time is estimated to be worth 500 billion dollars, an almost inconceivable sum; and this organization, with its headquarters in New York, has its plans so well laid that it owns the bulk of it; and owning the bulk all the rest is subservient to it. Owning the wealth it owns the jobs. Owning the jobs it owns the people. We are all vassals of the American plutocracy.

That is what the capitalists have done within the last fifty years and we are trailing a long, long way behind them.

One thing is certain: the plutocracy is not going to slacken its pace. It can't. The lust for power increases faster than the supply. Not satisfied with its domination of America, the plutocracy is today reaching out for world power. This means more wars, more cossacks, more gunmen, more injunctions, more jails, more widows and orphans. The rabble, (that is you and me) must be made to stand quiet while it is being fleeced; it must be terrorized into perpetual

subservience to the brain in Wall street that owns its job.

There is no power on earth that can match the power of capital except the power of labor. If we ever hope to be free it's as plain as day we must start a counter industrial movement and rally all our forces behind it. Capital has the start on us. We are slow to think, slow to act outside of routine; but we have immeasurable potential power, power that, when properly organized, will sweep tyranny and inequality off the continent as dirt before the broom. Let us have an industrial union of men determined to be free to oppose the plutocracy with its industrial union of money.

## How to Win Support in Your Union

By S. T. Hammersmark

**T**HERE is something wrong with the person who is always lamenting that he can get nowhere in his union. The labor movement is in dire need of real leaders, and if you have any capacity in that direction it will be ready to receive you—provided you are not too anxious to lead.

The trouble with those pessimistic militants who find themselves in a perpetual minority is, that they have not taken the trouble to study their union, and to find out what it really needs. They have been content to sit around and criticize. When they learn the few simple lessons of how to work effectively in their local unions, they will lose their grouch.

Here are some of the things about working in the unions, points which have been learned through the experience of a great number of men, all of whom have really gotten results in their unions:

Have a constructive program. There are plenty of real issues which the workers are interested in. When you speak in your union take up one or more of them, such as Amalgamation, Independent Political Action, Red Trade Union International, the Federated Press, Class-war Prisoners, the Labor Defense Council, Workers' Education, etc.

Do your talking in your meeting hall, but know where you stand at all times. Plan co-operated action with other similar-minded unionists for constructive battles before the issue is presented.

It is not necessary to take the floor on every subject. The member who is always on the floor wastes his power and influence, and has less weight when the more important questions arise.

Be aggressive—but agreeably so. To be grouchy or cynical plays into the hands of your opponent. Calling your officials crooks and trimmers is the lazy man's way of fighting. Your opponent, instead of meeting your argument, wins on his agreeableness and tact.

Have a sound reason of your own for taking a position on any issue. Do not be in the opposition on every question, just on general principles. That may satisfy your own emotions, but it will not increase your influence with the rank and file. You must take time and energy enough to study out all the consequences of each policy and issue you speak on.

If your union is not alive to the burning questions before the labor movement, it is up to you, with your fellow workers who do understand, to wake them up. Get them busy, and not only pass resolutions, but also plan constructive programs, and help to put them into effect. If you keep big questions before your union you will find that it is the most effective way of showing up the mis-leader and reactionary. These dead-weights of the labor movement will gradually destroy their standing, by their own actions and talk—by being on the wrong side of the issues which the rank and file members gradually learn to be interested in.

Every militant union man can increase his power and influence within his organization by just thinking over these simple tactical lessons. None of us knows it all yet, and all of us must be ready to learn new ways of reaching the millions of Organized Labor with our message. Tactful understanding will remove mountains of difficulty, and open up unknown avenues for education.



## Pat Hamrock Licked

THE people of Colorado have soaked Pat Hamrock and the gang of gorillas, misnamed State Rangers, under his command. With the pledge to abolish the State Rangers as one of his principal planks, William E. Sweet, Democrat, has been elected Governor of Colorado by a plurality of 4,000 over his Republican opponent, Benjamin Griffith. It was a bitter struggle, with all the progressive forces, Labor, Farmer, and Liberal, lined up on one side, and the organized reaction on the other. But Sweet won out gamely.

And now the redoubtable Hamrock and the rest of his plug uglies stand to lose their jobs, for everybody expects the Governor-elect to make good by cleaning out these legalized thugs. The following quotation from the *Denver Express* of Nov. 11th, tells the tale:

### RANGERS SHAKY

#### Col. Hamrock Expects Removal;

#### Forces May Resign

Anticipating the inauguration of William E. Sweet as Governor of Colorado, orders have been issued from ranger headquarters giving the rangers an opportunity to resign before November 30th.

The consensus of opinion about headquarters is that Sweet will make good his promise to do away with the ranger forces. Col. Pat Hamrock has issued a letter to the national guard in which he explains he will probably be removed from office. He calls on the guard to remain true to their duty to country and state, despite the change.

In the order issued, giving the rangers a chance to resign, promises are also made to have a job ready for each of them when Governor Shoup goes out of office.

Already, to forestall the official ax, the Rangers are beginning to quit. On Nov. 13th, Captain Orville Dennis tendered his resignation, to become effective Nov. 30th, when the present appropriation for the Rangers expires. Others will follow rapidly, as soon as the labor baiters can find new work of repression and terrorism for them to do. The *Denver Express*, one of the very few papers which supported Sweet, is gleeful over the situation. It offers to print free on its front page a situation-wanted advertisement

for Pat Hamrock, now about to enter the army of the unemployed.

Sweet's successful war against the Rangers began as a result of the deportation of Foster from Colorado in August of this year. Sensing the indignation of the community at this outrage, he took up as one of his main issues the abolition of these professional gunmen. He declared that if elected Governor he would not only wipe them out, but would allow Foster to speak in the state unmolested. This caused a furor in the camp of the reactionaries and they set out to get him at all costs. Almost all the big dailies in the state waged bitter war against him, and even the *Denver Labor Bulletin* was bought up and set to snapping at him. It painted Sweet as a close ally of Foster, who is trying to destroy the sacred capitalist system. The Denver labor movement immediately repudiated this rag, and is now out to organize a genuine labor paper. It was one of the sharpest political fights in the State's history. In spite of the terrific lineup against him, Sweet ran far ahead of the rest of the Democrat ticket, most of which was defeated. The progressive forces of the State are exultant at the victory.

The passing of the Colorado Rangers, which are State Constabulary of the approved Pennsylvania design, marks a real achievement. For years the movement to fasten this Cossack system upon the people has proceeded unchecked. State after state has been captured by it, and Gompers, with his pussy-foot political methods, has been utterly unable to stop the pest. The Colorado labor movement was the first to deal it a real blow, and characteristic of all recent progress, the Trade Union Educational League had an active hand in the matter. Armed thuggery, especially under the guidance of the notorious Hamrock, has long ruled Colorado. The deportation of Foster was but one of an extended series of brutal outrages. It was only the straw that broke the camel's back. A start has been made to end the system of legalized ruffianism. May the other states follow the lead of Colorado by abolishing their special shame, the State Constabulary.

**MILITANTS:—Has your Local League taken up the matter of the Sustaining Fund? If not, see to it that your Secretary writes to the National Office at once for full particulars and authority to solicit funds. This is one of your most important immediate tasks.**

# The Printers' Struggle in Europe

By John Ossian

IN spite of the highly organized condition of the printing tradesmen in Europe, their living conditions have been continuously lowering. This is due to the economic breakdown of the after-war period, which has struck all European printers along with the other workers; the complete bankruptcy of Central Europe has taken away the purchasing power of the wages, while in other places, as in England, the crisis takes the form of acute unemployment. During the war the whole printing trades were employed in all countries, largely in printing circulars, announcements, cards, etc., for the distribution of meat, cloth, provisions, etc. But now there are big masses of unemployed, the single exception being in Germany, where the official statistics of the number out of work for the whole country totals only 19,000, the smallest figure ever shown.\* England has millions of unemployed, and the Scandinavian countries are hard hit. Everywhere the printers are having a hard struggle, in one form or another.

## Big Figures Total Little Wages

In the prostrate countries of Central Europe it is one hard, unsuccessful effort to keep up with the daily depreciation of money. Wage scales are revised every few weeks, but each time the higher wage (in marks or kronen) turns out to be a lower wage (in food and clothes). In Austria the latest wage scales are reaching big figures, but it is much ado about nothing. Thus in Vienna, the scale of the typographical workers is: apprentice, per week, 35,633 kronen; after one year up to the 23rd year, 43,602 kronen; and after the 23rd year, 52,409 kronen. Paper kronen are of such uncertain value that it is hard to translate this into dollars.

The collapse of the German mark has created a panic. Everything is going up in price each day—except labor. When I was in Berlin recently the mark was worth 1,200 to the dollar, and depreciating daily. The minimum wage for compositors was: in Berlin, 1,500 marks per week; in Leipzig, 1,400 marks; and down to 25% lower in other cities.†

This low value of the German wage has put the Germans in the position of printers for all Europe. It is directly responsible for the terrific unemployment in the other countries. This

\*Since this was written the latest wild collapse of the mark has resulted in great economic disturbance as a consequence of which unemployment is now increasing in Germany.

†As this goes to press the mark has dropped to more than 7,000 to the dollar.

is a powerful club, beating down the living conditions of the printers of the whole world. The ordinary trade union action is helpless against it, and nothing but the most drastic international struggle of the whole working class can remedy the matter. The Treaty of Versailles, with the resultant destruction of the German mark, is a basic factor in the situation and only when the Treaty is wiped out can a start for recovery be made.

## The Typographical Congress in Germany

The Typographical Union of Germany held the 11th Congress of the united union (compositors, stereotypers, proofreaders, and pressmen), in Leipzig, July 3rd of this year. Representatives were present from Sweden, G. Malmberg; from Jugo-Slavia, B. Most; from Holland, F. van der Wal; from Austria, J. Schlumpf; from Checho-Slovakia, Wenzel Nemecek and Alois Thruner, and from Hungary, Julius Peidl and Moritz Rothenstein.

The Communist faction proposed that the Congress should wire an invitation to the unions of Russia and Bulgaria, as well as the French United Federation of Labor (C. G. T. U.) These unions are affiliated to the Red Trade Union International. But the German Congress was dominated by the Amsterdam International leaders, and it refused to send the proposed invitations. They would not meet with these other printers who stood with the fighting trade unions in the Red International. This action showed the quality of the leaders of the union, which was demonstrated in the next order of business when they opposed the fight of the German printers for higher wages to meet the increased cost of living.

When the Congress met, the Berlin printers were already on strike, against the will of the union officials. The Typographical Union is entangled in the *Tarifgemeinschaft*, an institution for fixing the wage scale by the employers with representation for the Union thereon. Early in the year it had been agreed that every fourth week the wage scale should be readjusted to the rising living costs. Even this always left the workers worse off, because they were always four weeks behind the rising costs, which grew larger and larger. But in June, the period between the re-fixing of the wages was increased by the employers to six weeks. Right at this time came the great waves of price increases, which

swamped the printers, already below the low level of other Berlin workers.

When the Congress met, this situation had already resulted in a "wild" strike, against the will of the officials. The opposition in the union demanded action from the Congress. The officials declared against it, but it was finally forced before the Congress on the fifth day of its sessions.

The thing that forced the officials to allow the Congress to consider the strike was, that the Berlin unions had made such an effective tie-up that they were succeeding in spite of opposition. The wrath of the workers was such that they declared that until their wages were increased 300 marks per week, no worker should go back to the shops. They closed among others that of the *Berlin Anzeiger*, the widest read paper in Berlin. Just before the national Congress, the Berlin Union, on June 28, called a conference. This gathering, against the opposition of the leaders, Massini and Albrecht, declared that it would not wait for the negotiations, but that the raise of 300 marks should become payable instantly. The employers broke off negotiations, agreeing to resume them only if the workers went back to the shops. The union delegates refused this demand. On July 1st, the conference was told by their officials that the union could not finance a strike, and that the Minister of Labor would personally act to peacefully settle the dispute, if the members would listen to the appeal of their officials to return to work. The appeals of the leaders were drowned out in the protests of the delegates. The Conference decided that (1) their demand was for 300 marks, effective at 12 o'clock the same day, when every member should go on strike. (2) Work in Berlin could only start again when settlement had been made for the entire union. (3) Every

print shop, including the working-class press, should be included in the strike, and only papers with union information could be printed. Even the delegate from the "*Gutenbergbund*," a religious union, declared his union for the motion. It was immediately put into effect.

The stoppage of the working class press was a measure taken against the will of the officials of the Union, as well as that of the political parties; the Typographical Union therefore compromised by allowing the publication of a paper, "*The Nachrichtenblatt der Berliner Arbeiterschaft*" (News for the working class of Berlin), to be published by a committee of one from each union and three from the working class parties.

The strike was kept in force, until finally the employers were compelled to give in. The tariff committee in Leipzig met, and granted the demand of the printers for 300 marks increase, to be revised again in August. On July 12th, the workers returned to the shops.

This strike in Berlin had a great effect in forcing the union officials to speed up the negotiations for a general raise, in all the unions, to offset the rising cost of living. The whole German working class is raising its voice louder and louder against the crushing conditions. More and more they are entering into struggle to control their wages from week to week, to regulate it to the cost of living. In this struggle they are learning that they are always behind the rising cost of living. They can never catch up. But they are also learning how to fight, they are gaining greater and greater solidarity, and before long the German working class may be counted upon to take more drastic action to control their working and living conditions and save their families from starvation. The printers are just now among the leaders of this militant spirit.

### Amalgamation Leaflets Going Strong

The plans for amalgamation in the Building, Metal, Clothing and Railroad industries, as adopted by the T. U. E. L. National Conference, have been printed in leaflet form. These leaflets are proving a most successful means of education. Militants in each industry are waking up to the great possibilities of using them effectively, an instance of which is the following letter from a Philadelphia machinist:-

Trade Union Educational League, Chicago, Ill.

Following the meeting of Brother W. Z. Foster in this city a few days ago a copy of the leaflet entitled "A Plan of Amalgamation for the Metal Trades," distributed by the league, came into my hands. I have read it very carefully and must congratulate you on preparing one of the best leaflets I have ever seen dealing with the most important subject. I have discussed the matter with Brother Hines, representing the Metal Polishers' Local No. 90, and we have agreed to chip in \$5.00 a piece to cover cost of 1,000 of these leaflets. Check for \$10.00 is attached herewith. Please ship them as soon as possible to this office and we will give them as wide distribution as possible. Best wishes, Fraternaly yours,

(Signed) CLINTON S. GOLDEN, Business Representative.

Are the Amalgamation programs being distributed in your union? Why do you not also become a militant and push the amalgamation movement along? Just look at the ad on the back cover, and send in your order.

## Gompers Dodges Again

**W**HEN on April 11th, in Chicago, Mr. Gompers rashly issued a challenge to Wm. Z. Foster to debate the issue of industrial unionism versus craft unionism, Foster immediately accepted it in a letter to Mr. Gompers, published in THE LABOR HERALD for May. But Mr. Gompers, for reasons known only to himself, ducked the issue.

Realizing the great public interest in the question under dispute, Upton Sinclair soon after sent Mr. Gompers the following letter:

Girard, Kans., June 23, 1922.

My Dear Mr. Gompers:

One of the questions about which American people are now thinking a great deal is a question of labor union organization, and I should like very much to have a debate on the subject of Craft Union Organization versus Industrial Union Organization. I know that you have been recently in controversy with Wm. Z. Foster on this subject and I am sure that it would be a good thing for the reading public to have your ideas on this important subject available in convenient form.

I have just accepted the position of Managing Editor of the *Appeal to Reason*, with the idea of making this paper a national organ for the threshing out of important questions now confronting the American people. One of the features I am planning is a series of debates between representative champions of both sides of controverted questions. I am wondering if you would consent to debate this question in the columns of the *Appeal*.

It would be my idea that you should furnish a 3,000 word article setting forth your ideas. I would then have Mr. Foster read your article and reply to it in a 3,000 word article to appear the following week. You could then read his article and then have 3,000 words of rejoinder

and he would have 3,000 words of rejoinder to you. The entire discussion would then be published by the Haldeman-Julius Company of Girard, Kansas.

These books are having an enormous sale and I have no doubt that a great many copies of such a debate might be sold and that you would find this an extremely effective way of presenting your ideas to the public. I am sure that you want the truth to prevail and I can think of nothing better than to have both sides of this question put fairly and freely before the reading public. I am in position to offer you the sum of \$200.00 for your contribution to the proposed debate. I hope that you will see your way clear to accept and that I may have your acceptance by wire collect.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Mr. Foster, asking him if he will consent to accept the opposite side of the proposed debate. I am sure that you will agree that he is a worthy and dignified antagonist.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) Upton Sinclair.

Several months have now passed, but so far nothing has been heard from Mr. Gompers with regard to the debate. The reason for this should now be clear to all. Gompers does not dare take the platform or write against industrial unionism. He knows that to clarify the issue is to discredit his own position. Logically, therefore, his method is to use the "big stick," to issue "warnings against reds," to resort to innuendoes and misrepresentations. He will not meet the arguments for amalgamation in fair discussion, but instead, viciously clubs down every move for progress and greater solidarity which stirs in the ranks of Labor.

In line with this settled policy, Mr. Gompers has dodged again.

### Ohio Clerks Demand Action

**A**T the recent Canton convention of the Railway Clerks of the State of Ohio, a resolution was adopted which, after setting forth that the eleventh regular convention of their international unanimously went on record for amalgamation of the railroad unions, that it also adopted a resolution for the complete amalgamation of all unions into a series of industrial organizations, and that the A. F. of L. Convention stated that there were no laws preventing amalgamation, finally resolved that the Ohio Federation of the Railway Clerks "favors the amalgamation of the 16 standard railroad unions into one organization covering the entire railroad industry, and we call upon Grand President E. H. Fitzgerald and the Grand Executive Board to take the necessary steps so that a joint convention of all of

these organizations (or as many of them as possible) can be assembled to put this amalgamation into effect, and that the position to be taken by our Brotherhood will be a willingness to amalgamate with any one or more of them."

### An Important Document

**T**HOSE who wish to obtain copies of the September issue of THE LABOR HERALD, which contains a complete account of the National Conference of the League together with the programs for the different industries, should send in their orders for this immediately. This is a most important document and every militant should have a copy for reference and study. We have only a few hundred left. The price in bundles is 9c. per copy. Rush your order to us if you want some of these before they are entirely exhausted.

## Two Important Books

*Life of Albert R. Parsons*, Second Edition, Chicago, Mrs. Lucy E. Parsons, Publisher, 3130 N. Troy St. Price \$2.50.

*Speeches of the Haymarket Martyrs*. Price 65c.

**H**ERE are two books of permanent value to the labor movement. They tell of the life and work of the group of pioneer trade union militants who were so foully murdered by the forces of capitalism on Nov. 11th, 1887, as a result of the Haymarket Riot. After 35 years the records of Albert R. Parsons, August Spies, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, and their companions, are still full of interest and inspiration to students and active workers in the trade union movement.

The Haymarket affair, which was made the pretext for sentencing five labor agitators to be hung, has been the subject of an extraordinary volume of lies and misrepresentations; so much so that even many workers believe that Parsons and his associates were hanged for being bomb-throwers. But the bitter hatred against these men on the part of the capitalist forces of the country, which resulted in their official murder, was not caused by any violence on their part. This hatred arose from a fear of the influence these men wielded in the labor movement. They were feared because they were militant trade unionists, actively participating in the struggles of the workers against exploitation, infusing idealism and enthusiasm into the labor movement of their day.

Albert R. Parsons was the representative of the Central Labor Union of Chicago in the organization of the great eight hour fight of May 1st, 1886. In the course of that great struggle, the workers in Chicago were assaulted by the police with ruthless brutality. Meetings were broken up with clubs and guns, and many workers were murdered in cold blood by the employers' agencies and the police in these affairs. In protest against the official brutality, a meeting was called at the Haymarket on May 4th. The gathering was an orderly one in which about three thousand workers participated. The whole city was in a ferment of excitement over the great struggle then going on, and the employing class was in a panic of fear that their profits were going to be menaced. The mayor of the city was present at the meeting and for a time it looked as though the gathering would terminate peaceably. The program of the speeches of protest, and exhortations to continue the great labor struggle, went through according to sched-

ule. The meeting was breaking up and the Mayor had gone as well as most of the speakers. But as soon as the Mayor was gone, a squad of police was rushed to the scene, and they assaulted the remaining spectators with the usual brutality. In the midst of the affray, a bomb was thrown into the ranks of the police by some unknown person, which killed several policemen. The actual thrower of the bomb was never located. But six years later Governor John P. Altgeld, in reviewing the case, stated that the evidence was overwhelming that it was an act of personal revenge of some unknown worker who had previously suffered from the police brutality. Certainly no traces of conspiracy of any kind were discovered. The labor militants accused of the crime were many of them not near the scene and some of those who had been there earlier had left immediately the gathering was over. The whole case against them was based upon an absolutely unprecedented theory of conspiracy.

The capitalist press immediately engaged in a terrific campaign against the accused men, demanding their blood. A wave of ferocity spread through capitalist circles with the result that Parsons, Spies, Engels and Fischer were hung, while Lingg committed suicide in prison. Fielden, Neebe and Schwab were sentenced to prison for life.

When in 1893 Gov. Altgeld granted an unconditional pardon to the three imprisoned men, he issued a long statement minutely examining the entire case. Stating the reasons for his action, he declared that the records proved that the jury was packed, that its personnel did not consist of competent jurors, that the defendants had not been connected with the crime, and that the trial judge was grossly unfair, conducting the trial with malicious ferocity. The statement of this conservative and impartial official, made after the violent spirit of mob passions had somewhat subsided, is the most damning indictment of this act of capitalist vengeance.

In the two books above mentioned is gathered together great wealth of material, unavailable from any other source, which sheds much light on the early history of the labor movement in addition to being a magnificent tribute to the character and achievements of Parsons and his fellow workers. Everyone wishing to be well informed on the American labor movement should have both books for study and reference. They are invaluable.

# With the Rank and File

## The Metal Trades Movement

THE metal trades unions in the St. Louis district are waking up to the issue of amalgamation. On Oct. 16th the Metal Trades Council of that city adopted a comprehensive resolution similar to those which have been backed throughout the country by the militants of the Trade Union Educational League, calling for a complete amalgamation of all metal trades unions into one organization covering the entire industry. Since that time, the proposition has been adopted by the Molders' Conference Board and by Molders' Local Unions Nos. 10, 59, 155, 182, 220, 327, 407, and 412.

This is but a sample of the ferment which is stirring the metal trades unions from coast to coast. Everywhere the rank and file are ripe for the amalgamation movement. If they have not yet acted, it is because the militants have not been on the job to raise the issue in their own local unions and metal trades councils. A little systematic education with the circulation of the League's Metal Trades leaflet will bring your local and city into line with the great movement.

## For a Packinghouse Industrial Union

WHEN the packing house workers in the Amalgamated Meat Cutters' and Butcher Workmen's Union met in convention a few months ago, they had just been through the bitter experience of losing a great strike on account of the craft divisions within the industry. Realizing the lessons of that struggle, the militants within that union made a fight for the reorganization of the packing houses on a complete industrial basis. The convention overwhelmingly adopted the proposition for industrial unionism.

Activity now developing in many packing centers, shows that the rank and file is taking this proposition seriously. Reports come, for instance, of a series of mass meetings in St. Louis in furtherance of the industrial program in the meat packing industry. The keynote of the organization campaign being carried on there was sounded in the speech of John Wolchner, when he said:

"We should profit by past experience. Our history is one of perpetual defeat at the hands of our masters who were solidly organized while we were not. The past, however, is past. Now we are going to form one big compact industrial union of all the workers in the meat industry. When it becomes necessary to strike,

we'll all strike and completely tie up the entire industry. While we are fighting for better wages and conditions, we must also be preparing to assume control of the industry and operate it for the benefit of society rather than for the private profit of a few soft-handed capitalists."

## "Abolish the Wage System"—Gompers

DO your conservative brothers in your union think that you are getting "too radical" when you talk about abolishing the capitalist system? If so, cite to them the following words of Samuel Gompers, quoted by J. R. Commons in the History of Labor in the U. S., Vol. 2, P. 458:

"While keeping in view a lofty ideal, we must advance toward it through practical steps, taken with intelligent regard for pressing needs. I believe with the most advanced thinkers as to ultimate aims, including the abolition of the wage-system."

## LABOR AND THE LEGION

IN THE LABOR HERALD for August we pointed out the new triple alliance in process of formation between the A. F. of L. Executive Council, the American Legion, and the Ku Klux Klan. Since that time the first section of this entente has been formally established. In the New Orleans Convention of the Legion, Mr. Gompers, officially representing the labor movement, vied with Landis, representing capitalism, in enthusiastically greeting this body, whose strike record is so sinister. The first part of the triple alliance is consolidated.

All that now remains to complete the projected structure, is to line up the Imperial Wizard. Perhaps this is the next objective, and the new slogan of the Gompers regime may be, "Now for the three million 'marks' in the Ku Klux Klan."

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## Roger N. Baldwin

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### THE FASCISTI COUP

**F**INALLY the Fascisti, led by the renegade Socialist, Mussolini, have seized control of the Italian Government. Thus one of the most violent campaigns in modern history has been crowned with an apparent success. The labor movement, demoralized politically and industrially, is seemingly powerless in the face of the new political factor now at the helm of the ship of State.

The triumph of the Fascisti, accompanied as it is by a serious breakdown of all branches of the labor movement, is the logical conclusion of the revolutionary fiasco in the Fall of 1920. At that time, during the metal workers' strike, the working class was keyed up for the revolution and all ready to dispossess the capitalist class and to take charge of society. But just in this moment of supreme hope and anticipation the reformist leaders at the head of the industrial and political organizations failed completely. They shied away from the hazards of revolution and turned the great uprising into simply a movement for petty reform. This maneuver had the doubly disastrous effect of, on the one hand utterly destroying the morale of the Italian working class, and on the other hand of spurring the capitalist class into an offensive against the labor movement, which had shown itself yellow in the crisis. From that time on it has been a case of demoralized retreat for the workers and a victorious advance for the reactionaries. The Fascisti coup was the logical culmination.

But what now? Are the Fascisti, with all of their wonderful energy and enthusiasm, going to be able to save the situation for the capitalists? Of course not. In their wild orgy of patriotism there exist no elements to cure the ills of Italy. Mussolini's militants cannot breathe the breath of life into the body of a dead capitalist system. On the contrary, by accentuating all the evils of that system, they are bound to make the situation progressively worse. In winning their way to power they swept thousands of the workers into their yellow unions, and are now in many cases making a militant fight to improve working conditions. But this is only a passing phase. The Fascisti represent the blackest elements in the exploiting class, and once they feel themselves secure in power they can be depended upon absolutely to intensify every phase of the social struggle. They are bound to sharpen class antagonism more than ever and to bring Italy closer to the brink.

By unmasking capitalist democracy, and by showing it up in its true colors as a heartless dictatorship, the new rulers of Italy will do a great service by disillusioning the confused masses of the Italian proletariat. They will make them see and understand their class interests as they never could under the pseudo-democracy of the era just passed. The Fascisti coup is a long step towards the ultimate revolution.

### VILLARD SLAPS CAHAN

**O**NE of the most shameful episodes of recent labor history is the wild attacks made by Abe Cahan, editor of the *Jewish Daily Forward*, upon the Friends of Soviet Russia. A committee has "made a painstaking study of the evidence supporting the charges and finds them without foundation," says *The Nation*, edited by Oswald Garrison Villard, in its issue of October 25.

The rebuke which Villard thus gives Cahan is doubly significant, as there can be no question of animosity between them. Only a few weeks before, Villard wrote an extremely friendly article about the *Forward*, giving it what some regarded as the most fulsome praise. But even the more intelligent liberals cannot stomach deliberate sabotage of relief work for struggling Russia. In a fatherly kind of way, *The Nation*, says:

"We have absolute confidence in the fairness and ability of the committee. Now that this unpleasant interlude is past perhaps it will be easier for all the committees—the F. S. R., the Quakers, the Committee for the Relief of Russian Children, the Medical Aid for Russia, to raise the needed funds."

The need for famine relief, according to the most reliable reports, is far from being over. Irresponsible attacks, such as Cahan's has made it difficult for every one engaged in this work. It is to be hoped that the experience of the *Forward* will be a lesson to any others who may be inclined to make a factional football of the relief of the starving Russian workers.

### WOLL RIGHT FOR ONCE

**I**N the Hearst Service for November 8, the Crown Prince Woll, speaking of the Railway Labor Board, says, "These \$10,000.00 a year men care little what the rest of the railway workers receive."

What the Crown Prince says about the \$10,000.00 a year men is very true. No person, placed in such a position of affluence, can think in terms of the propertyless wage worker. For once we can agree with Woll, for on this point he is right. But the same thing applies also to the labor movement. In just the same way that \$10,000.00 a year removes the members of the Railway Labor Board from any basis of understanding of the problems of the workers, so also do the \$10,000.00 a year salaries of the "labor leaders" remove them from the rank and file of Labor. The \$10,000.00 a year men, wherever they may be, care little what the rest of the workers receive. What do you think about that?

### GARY FRAME-UP EXPLODES

**T**HE frame-up game against Labor men is beginning to be shattered. The long fights that has been made on the Mooney and Sacco-Vanzetti cases have not been in vain. It was a great victory for the labor movement when the grand jury in Gary freed Joseph Popovich and J. Petrovsky, in the attempted frame-up reported in THE LABOR

HERALD for October, in connection with the train wreck for which they also attempted to frame the Trade Union Educational League.

The two released men are now, through their energetic attorney, Paul Glaser, suing the Michigan Central Railway for \$75,000.00 damages each, and suits for \$50,000.00 damages against the Gary police have also been filed by them. An attempt to establish the standing of workers before the courts will be made in Gary, to determine whether such terrible outrages may be allowed to be perpetrated with impunity by the corporate interests of the steel town. This is such a flagrant example of capitalist lawlessness that it will furnish an interesting test. By all the precedents of American courts, of course, the damage suits will fail. The courts are the best friends of capitalist interests in America.

The third victim of the frame-up, Uselis, was held by the grand jury to save the face of the police. There is not the slightest evidence against him except the vague and unsupported tales of a degenerate stool-pigeon. Labor should see that he is released without delay.

#### HERRIN REGISTERS POWER

**I**N the election in Williamson County, Illinois, where the trials of the Herrin miners is under way, the candidates who supported the miners against the Chamber of Commerce prosecution were elected by a majority twice as large as that in the Harding landslide two years ago. The miners' candidates were on the Republican ticket, yet with all surrounding counties going Democratic, and with Attorney General Brundage, himself a Republican, urging the voters to vote for the Democrats, the Herrin miners scored a smashing victory.

Simultaneously with the election victory, the State nolle prossed all the indictments except those against five men, admitting that the indictments had been returned without evidence sufficient to bring the men to trial.

All of which is a splendid testimony to the power of organization. Who can doubt that the release of the miners marked for persecution by the Chamber of Commerce is due entirely to the fact that the Illinois miners are 100% organized and are solidly behind the defense. When Labor takes care of its own with solidarity and energy, the powers of the capitalist institutions melt away. What if all the workers of America were organized like the Illinois miners? It would not be long until the Mooneys, the Saccos and Vanzettis, would be free.

#### ANOTHER BLIND PROTEST

**T**HE general result of the November election has been purely negative. There is a stirring of revolt throughout the land, but in the elections, it was entirely without intelligent direction. In 1920, the same spirit blindly punished Wilson, which this year just as blindly punishes Harding. Labor's political forces are especially in a state of chaos. We had the disgraceful spectacle for example, of Ohio, where Gompers endorsed one capitalist candidate for the Senate while another labor group endorsed his capitalist opponent. In California, officials of the labor movement endorsed Stephens for Governor after he had refused to pardon Mooney. Stephens was defeated by the outraged workers in spite of his "labor" backing. In countless instances such as these, the senile absurdity of Gompers' political policy was demonstrated.

In the few instances where the election results were not a blind reaction from one evil to another, they took the direction of breaking down old party lines. Such was the election of Shipstead in Minnesota on the Farmer-Labor ticket. In other instances there was revolt against particularly brutal suppression as in the election of the Democrat Sweet for Governor of Colorado on the issue of abolishing Hamrock's State Rangers,, in spite of the fact that the rest of the ticket went largely to the Republican party. But such cases were few and far between. Where Gompers is crowing about "victory," the candidates elected are almost uniformly against labor on all fundamental questions.

The outstanding lesson of the election is the immediate necessity for a United Labor Party, the only thing that can bring some order and intelligence into the blind gropings of the masses of the workers. A supreme opportunity is now presented to those men who have assumed Labor's political leadership. A clarion call for a Labor Party today would have a magical effect and would crystallize around it all of these growing forces of revolt. If the timid leaders for reasons of their own fail to issue this call, it will be up to the rank and file themselves to take action for the formation of a political party for Labor.

#### THE MARTYRS OF '87

**T**HE recent 35th anniversary of the death of Albert Parsons, August Spies, and their co-workers, who were hung in Chicago on November 11, 1887, revives interest in a group of men whose work has long been sadly neglected. In the days of the martyrs of '87, the militant and revolutionary workers were a tremendous influence in the labor movement. Everywhere they were recognized as the leading spirits in the trade union struggle. Because they were extending their influence with unexampled rapidity, and especially because of the spirit and scope which these men had given to the big eight hour struggle, they were marked for martyrdom. Their power, and the hatred felt for them by the capitalists, arose from the fact that, instinctively, they worked always among the masses. They never allowed themselves to become isolated in small sects. The trade unions were their field, and there they really got results. They were pioneer militants.

The work of Parsons and his friends proved beyond a doubt that the American working class is naturally radical. Even after the tragedy of '87, the revolutionary workers continued as a powerful factor in the trade union movement. It was not the Haymarket case, as some pseudo-radicals like to think, which led to the later decline of the revolutionary influence in the trade unions. On the contrary, this decline was brought about by the militants abandoning the field where Parsons had worked, and inaugurating the reign of dual unionism. In the long period which followed, with the rebels being systematically drained out of the mass organizations, even the traditions and memories of the grand work of the Haymarket heroes was largely forgotten. With the closing of the dark period of dualism, however, the lives of these pioneers again begin to shine forth in their original significance. We are beginning to realize the profound truth of that noble statement of August Spies:- "The time will come when our silence is more powerful than the voices you strangled today."



# THE INTERNATIONAL

**ENGLAND** IN the Daily Herald of Oct. 28th, V. Brodsky says that much progress is evident on all sides towards solidifying Labor's forces. "The many private meetings that have taken place in the last week or two between the various groups of craft unions and the railway unions on jurisdictional disputes are a healthy manifestation of the new spirit. Amalgamation of existing small unions into industrial unions is going a long way towards attaining the desired goal of unity, and I hear of many informal meetings of officials of various unions for the purpose of discussing amalgamation, federation and closer affiliation. This is in addition to the formal negotiations that are taking place, including next month's conference of the unions in the building trades, which are aiming at one union for all building trades workers, and the balloting of the Municipal Employees' Association, the National Amalgamated Union of Labor, and the National Union of General Workers on the amalgamation of these organizations into what will be the largest General Workers' Union in the world. The amalgamation schemes are having the effect of increasing the membership." During the past year the trade unions have lost over 1,000,000 members. This is stirring all the live elements in the movement into action to stop the gaps and to put the organization into better fighting trim. The amalgamation movement is one phase of this work of regeneration.

**ITALY** THE situation in Italy is in general turmoil, with Labor at a great disadvantage. The Fascisti led by the ex-Socialist renegade, Mussolini, have seized the Government after one of the most brutal campaigns of terrorism in modern history. Their victory was rendered possible by the failure of the great metal workers' strike of 1920. This operated two ways to help them. In the first place the workers were all ready for the revolution and prepared to establish a Socialist society. But their yellow leaders betrayed them, turning the industries and the government back to the capitalists in the crisis. The result was to knock the very bottom out of the workers' morale. They lost heart, seeing their hoped-for revolution vanish into thin air. On the other hand the employers, terribly frightened at their approach to the revolution, were quick to seize the advantage and to go onto the offensive against the discouraged workers. The Fascisti, a highly-disciplined army of patriotic fanatics, offered a perfect medium wherewith to conduct this offensive. So the campaign was begun and continued with vigor until it has culminated in the *coup d'etat* which made Mussolini Prime Minister.

Meanwhile the workers' organizations, harrassed by the capitalist offensive and their own depressed morale, have suffered heavily. Terrific losses have been suffered by the trade unions. Exact figures are not yet available, but no doubt more than half the total membership at the time of the after-war boom has been lost. Considerable numbers of these workers have gone over to the yellow labor movement of the Fascisti, who have promised them much in the way of reforms and a glorious reign of ultra-patriotism. The leaders of the Fascisti trade unions now

claim a membership, doubtless with much exaggeration, of 1,000,000. During the summer they claimed members as follows: Agricultural workers 277,084, General workers 72,000, Theatrical employees 5,000, Brain workers 6,300, Sailors 15,000, Transport workers 43,000. Some of the principles of the Fascisti trade union movement are as follows:

1. The stoppage of work in the public services is not allowed under any circumstances.
2. The class struggle is the exception, and not the rule.
3. In addition to the interests of the workers, the interests of production, of technicians, and of the nation must be considered.
4. The Fascisti movement accepts reductions in wages whenever they are necessary in the interests of production.
5. The Fascisti does not support in advance any particular form of economic system, or any particular social system.

In the meantime, while the struggle of the unions is proceeding so disastrously, another split has occurred in the Socialist Party, this time tearing the heart out of the organization. Thus is terminated a long series of bitter factional war within that body. In 1919, when the Russian revolution was still in the enthusiastic stage and it held the attention of the world's workers, the Italian Socialist Party adopted a Communist program and joined the Third International. But, undecieved by this lip service, the leaders of the latter organization demanded the expulsion of the D'Aragona-Turati group of reformers before the party could be finally accepted. At the Leghorn congress in 1921 the Socialist Party, chiefly because of Serrati, the centrist, refused to expel the reformist element. This caused a split, the minority, led by Gennari, founding the Communist Party.

Serrati hoped that the trouble was then settled, but as the offensive of the Fascisti got worse and worse the reformers in the party became constantly bolder, openly demanding and practicing collaboration with the capitalists and the government. Again a bitter strife between Rights and Lefts, or Concentrationists and Maximalists, developed. It climaxed in the recent congress in Rome. The Maximalists, led by Serrati, accused the Concentrationists of supporting the capitalist parties by (1) Trying to solve ministerial crisis by promising support to the government; (2) declaring the Parliamentary group to be autonomous; (3) sending a representative of that group to see the king and advise on the solution of the Cabinet crisis; (4) proposing to form blocks with bourgeois parties; (5) proposing and attempting to divert the proletarian movement from its class policy, etc. Then they proposed a resolution of expulsion, of which the following is the gist: "That all persons adhering to the collaborationist group and approving the policy indicated in the manifesto and resolution above-mentioned be expelled from the Italian Socialist Party." After a very bitter struggle this resolution was adopted by a vote of 32,106 as against 29,119 for the Concentrationist proposition. Thus the reformers were expelled and the demand made by the Third International three years before fulfilled.

After the expulsion, the cleansed party adopted the following: "The Italian Socialist Party, having

expelled its reformist block, will renew its application for affiliation to the Third International." To which the latter body replied by inviting a fusion between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, and by urging that the Maximalists send delegates to the Fourth Convention of the Third International in Moscow, to the end that the whole situation may be gone over and adjusted.

Almost immediately after the historic Rome convention the Executive of the General Confederation of Labor, dominated by reformists, met and voted to sever all connections with the Socialist Party. Thus came to an end the co-operative agreement which has existed between the two organizations for a number of years. Henceforth the G. C. L. will go it alone, claiming that affiliation with either of the political factions would disrupt the unions. Meanwhile, as this disintegration of the workers' forces takes place, the Fascisti movement, which is a strange hodge podge of adventurism, capitalism, patriotism, trade unionism, and what not, runs on to its uncharted and unguessable goal.

**FRANCE** **I**N common with the workers in all other parts of the capitalist world those in France are suffering under a great offensive of the employers. One of the principal concessions attacked is that of the 8-hour day, which was secured for all workers during the wartime. The exploiters are determined to rob the workers of this boon and to re-establish the old conditions of slavery. Wages are also being slashed, with the result that strikes are the order of the day. In Havre the dockers have just returned to work defeated after a struggle of 110 days, one of the bitterest in the history of the French labor movement. Other strikes have been lost, and the unions are steadily declining in membership. To add to the difficulties, an incipient Fascisti movement, headed by one Binet-Valmer, is gradually forming.

Confronted by this serious situation, the left-wing leaders of the Unity General Confederation of Labor (which recently split off from the old C. G. T.) are adopting drastic measures. One of these is the organization of a general offensive on the part of the whole working class. Their National Committee declared recently, "That the defensive position occupied by the proletariat for more than a year is not fit to withstand the offensive of capitalism, and that only a general offensive of the working class with a unified program can bring the toilers out of the slump in which they now find themselves." As the issues to be urged in this campaign these two are proposed: (1) Increases in wages for all workers, regardless of profession, the various national unions to determine the amounts demanded, (2) complete application of the 8-hour day."

As a part of this plan of a general offensive goes an effort to establish a united front on the industrial field—there being two unions in nearly every industry because of the big split. The reformist leaders of the C. G. T., sensing great danger to themselves in such a get-together movement, which is going ahead upon a rank and file basis, are making desperate efforts to block it. Nevertheless the movement is making headway. Many of the local organizations, particularly among the railroad workers, are negotiating with each other and setting up

concerted action. A great help in this direction is the campaign (also furthered by the C. G. T. U.) to organize factory councils. This is progressing favorably, and bringing the warring factions together on the job. Eventually these rank and file movements will compel solidaric action at the top of the organizations. Under pressure put on by the employers the workers are being forced to re-unite, despite their bitter theoretical differences.

**RUSSIA** **I**N Moscow during the last half of September the All-Russian trade unions held their fifth congress. There were present 952 delegates, of whom only 46 were non-party, 2 Social Democrats, and 1 Social Revolutionary, the rest being Communists. The congress represented 5,100,000 workers, as against 8,400,000 in 1921 the falling off in numbers being due to the recent placing of the trade unions upon an entirely voluntary basis and a rigid re-registration of their members.

The supreme task confronting the congress was to readjust the labor movement to the new economic policy so that it might take an active part in the re-building of stricken Russia. Various resolutions were adopted leading to an active participation in the new growing industries, but most of the business related to the working out of policies of dealing with the employers, whether state or private. In the main, these followed the principle of collective bargaining, opposition being voiced to too close intervention by the law. Andreev, the secretary, reported that the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions had followed the policy of raising wages as fast as the State resources permitted. He said not a single concession had been concluded with the capitalists without the participation of the Council. The cultural work of the Council had consisted in proletarianizing the higher schools and developing vocational training.

A. Losovsky, secretary of the Red International of Labor unions, reported upon the international situation, after which the congress adopted resolutions condemning the Amsterdam International for its vacillating course, demanding the united front of the workers industrially against the world capitalists, protesting against the exclusion of the Russian unions from the congresses of the international industrial unions and proposing to set up new organizations where this is done, calling for the 2nd congress of the Red International of Labor Unions to do all possible to bring into its folds the various Syndicalist groups, and condemning as a criminal enterprise the efforts of certain Anarchists and Syndicalists to start a new International.

**NORWAY** **B**Y a vote of 62 to 15 the General Committee of the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions decided on October 3rd to withdraw from the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions. The Congress in 1923 will decide upon the relations to be established with the Red International of Labor Unions.

# The American Tractor Unit in Russia

By a Correspondent of THE LABOR HERALD

WHILE in Moscow in October, I had the pleasure of interviewing Harold M. Ware, leader of the Agricultural Relief Unit of the Friends of Soviet Russia. This group has received much attention since Lenin gave it special mention in *Pravda*. When Ware first suggested the venture to the executive committee of the Friends of Soviet Russia, it was turned down. He clung to the idea, being an expert agriculturist, and upon going to the convention of the Non-Partisan League as agricultural organizer of the Workers' Party, broached his plans there to a group of young farmers. They lined up on his proposition, and with this backing succeeded in getting the approval of the F. S. R. Upon obtaining the sanction of Soviet Russia, the outfit for the Unit was prepared. Limited finances prevented the purchase of the complete outfit Ware wanted, including harvesters, and tents and supplies for Russian workers as well as the American crew; so they had to compromise on less. The Unit left New York for Libau on May 10, consisting of: 20 Case 15-27 tractors, modern power lift drills, gangplows, cultipackers, disc harrows, spike harrows, 1 Ford car, 1 Ford light truck, 1 Fordson tractor to pull fuel-tanks and wagons, a complete machine shop, tents, food, dishes, medicine, 10 men and a doctor.

After much trouble on the way, the Unit arrived in Moscow, where it was incorporated in the organ-

ization of the International Workers' Relief, which had taken over a large estate near Perm. The only level tract large enough for operations, however, was 76 versts (about 50 miles) from the railroad station. The difficulties were tremendous. Bridges had to be built, the roads were terrible, fuel hard to get, the men available completely "green" at the work. Every gallon of benzine had to be hauled, one barrel to a load, over a three day journey. It was impossible to keep a fuel supply for continuous operation, and sometimes the work was stopped for days. The land was so rough that the tractors had to work in low gear; much of it had not been cultivated for 4 to 8 years. It was a continuous struggle to overcome all the natural difficulties of a raw and undeveloped country.

But in spite of all these and many other difficulties, 5,000 acres have been plowed, 2,500 acres have been seeded with Fall rye, and 2,500 acres prepared to be seeded with wheat next Spring. It has been a great triumph for the determined men who planned and carried out the project. This is the type of work that Lenin, and all the heads of the Soviet Government are interested in. Lenin has just suggested decorating the American farmers of the Unit with the Order of the Red Star, for conceiving the tractor unit and overcoming the difficulties.

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