

THE LABOR HERALD

Official Organ of The Trade Union Educational League



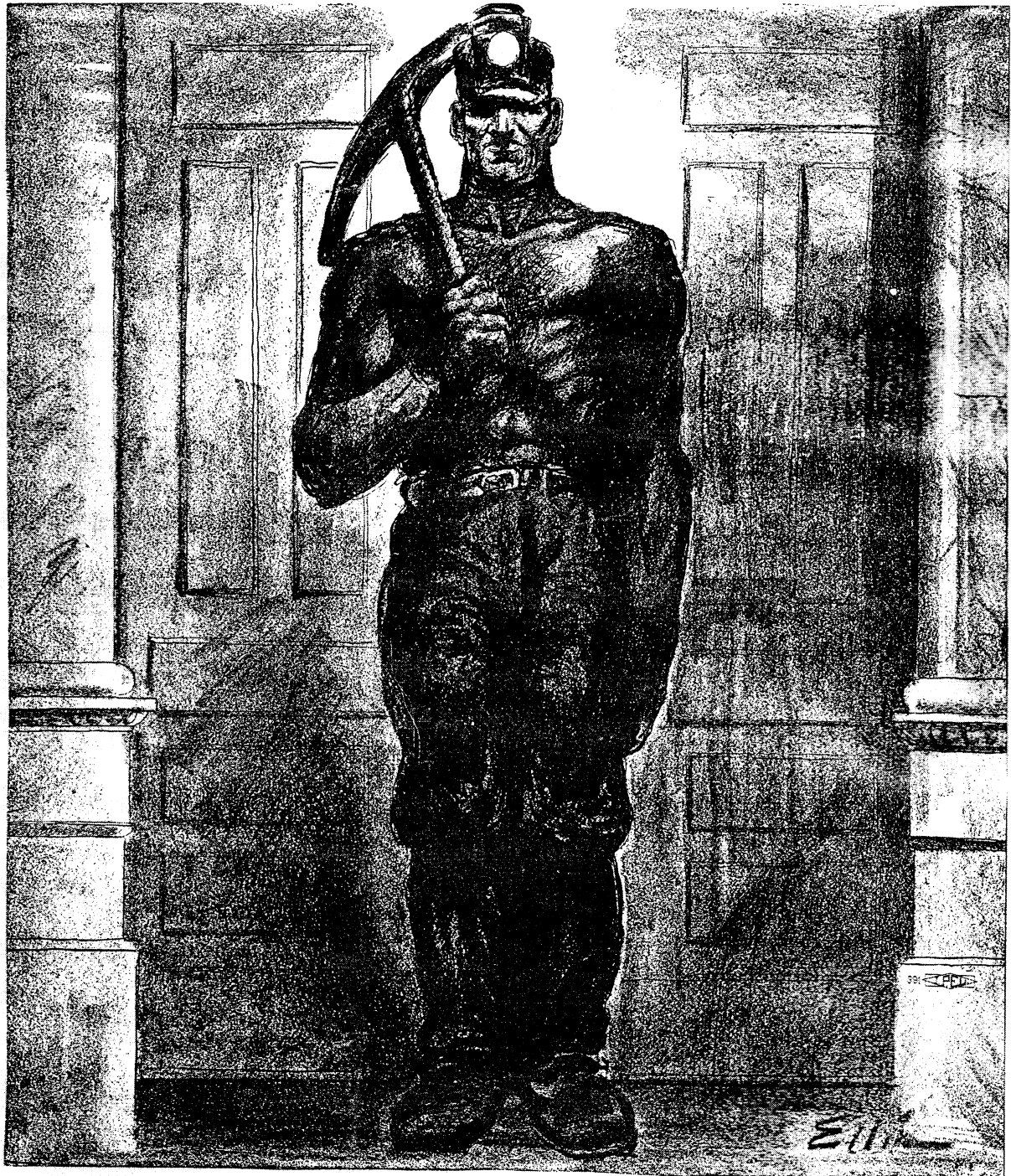
JANUARY 1924

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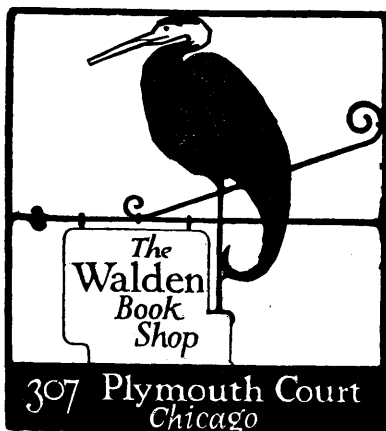
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CHILDREN'S PARADE IN MOSCOW. WORKERS' GOVERNMENT GIVES FIRST PLACE TO THE YOUNG

THE LABOR HERALD

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JANUARY, 1924



No. 11

The Coming Miners' Convention

By Thomas Myerscough

Secretary, Progressive International Committee, U. M. W. of A.

THE world knows and the officials admit that a deep-going division exists within the United Mine Workers of America between the officialdom and the progressive rank and file. The Convention of that organization that will come together in Indianapolis, January 22nd, should prove one of the most interesting that has ever assembled. Facing a critical situation in the industry, the struggle for progressive policies against the reactionary officials, will make this assembly a historic one.

The position of the administration officials is well-known. They demonstrated it widely in September, by releasing the infamous anti-red articles, produced by a coal-operator hireling, and appealing to the employers for co-operation against their own rank and file. At the Portland Convention of the A. F. of L., it was the officers of the U. M. W. of A. who led the fight for the expulsion of Bill Dunne. In every possible manner they have shown that they will fight to the last ditch against every sign of progress, from the most timid nationalization program down the line. Anything progressive that comes out of the Indianapolis Convention means a defeat for the administration officials.

Former Militants Unorganized

The average worker is instinctively of a rebellious turn of mind, and of the miner this is particularly true. He is naturally a rebel; the conditions under which he works make him so. Past conventions of the U. M. W. of A. have proved this by the presence of numbers of revolts against the ruling powers. But the officials have always been able to offset any progressive effort from the rank and file by breaking up, diverting, and isolating the various revolts. The men from the picks have usually arrived in the convention city, confident that the strength that swings the pick will suffice to swing the convention. But from all Districts they have come thinking only of their own immediate grievances, giving no serious consideration to those of other sections. The officials have been able to lick them one at a time. Thus has been ren-

dered ineffective the many sincere efforts made by convention delegates to better the conditions in the union and of the men they represent.

Against the loose methods of the rank and file progressives in the past the officials have presented a compact "united front" of payroll men whose chief concern is always to retain control of the union without having to fight the bosses too hard. Their methods in the convention are to manoeuvre their forces in such a manner as to confuse and befuddle the minds of the majority of the delegates, when they proceed to *put over* what the machine wants.

A New Factor in the Struggle

In the coming Convention the story will not be so simple as formerly. This is because the opposition to the administration has become national, and is no longer confined to local issues. The progressive forces are thinking in terms of the entire Union, and their progress covers the field, uniting all the hitherto scattered militants into one great movement. This unity of sentiment and thought will form a solid opposition to everything reactionary in the Miners' Convention. Before the curtains go down on this gathering it will be strange if something in the form of progress has not been accomplished.

Of course it is to be expected that the Convention will open with the customary time-honored speeches of the union-card politicians. They will all say that they are "glad to have the honor of addressing this august body," that "the eyes of the country are on this convention," and they will caution the delegates against "rabid radical legislation," and wind up by telling them to follow the advice of the "noble and self-sacrificing officers of the Union."

Largely because of these cut-and-dried speeches and other routine of opening the Convention, the first day is generally a listless one. The gathering livens up when the President submits his report. This is usually a voluminous document, which is supposed to be an account of his

stewardship since the previous Convention and recommendations for the ensuing period. It will doubtless be the thing that will open up the fire-works in Indianapolis.

It is safe to assume that Lewis is not going to recommend the things asked for by the rank and file in their resolutions. Will we find embodied in that report any recommendations for constitutional amendments that will give more power to the rank and file? No! but we may find some that are intended to further remove the membership from control. This was done at the last convention when Lewis recommended a change in the basis of representation. The change, which was put over after the machine "got to working right," gives the Ohio District No. 6, favorable to Lewis and with about 45,000 members, twice as many votes as the unfavorable Illinois District No. 12 with 90,000 members. Only on roll-call votes can the miners of Illinois register their full vote, and roll-calls are not welcome even to the radicals, except as a last resort to defend their rights.

Will the report of Lewis contain any recommendation to bring about *nationalization of the mines*? Because of the tremendous demand for this measure, he may bring in some tame proposition that will be worse than none, but it is a safe bet that the first necessity for realizing *nationalization*, the establishing of a Labor Party, will not be recommended. Lewis and every other official knows that the realization of this great ideal of the miners, *nationalization*, can be brought about only through a united front of Labor on the political field. But their actions have proved, and will prove, that they are going to do all they can to prevent its realization.

Will Lewis make recommendation for the restoration of Alex Howat and his colleagues to their former positions in the U. M. W. of A.? Will he recommend the restoration of autonomy to Nova Scotia District No. 26? These, with the other demands of progressive miners all over the country, will be answered negatively. Lewis will be against them all.

Resolutions in the Convention

To accomplish anything in the form of progress, the men of the mines must do the job. They must take inventory of their grievances, prepare resolutions on the different subjects, and send them to the International Secretary for the Convention.

A stranger would almost die from shock to see the tremendous volume of resolutions that are sent in from the local unions. The delegates themselves, accustomed as they are to the wrongs of the industry, gasp with surprise when they

are provided with the printed resolutions. It is a book of hundreds of pages, usually more than an inch thick, printed in small type. From this array the progressives will select their issues and organize their fight on the Convention floor.

In every Convention are resolutions demanding the removal of the autocratic power of the president to *appoint* organizers, field men, and others, who are thus used to build up the Lewis machine. These demands will be amendments to the constitution providing for the *election of organizers and field workers*. The progressives will fight for this measure as an absolute essential for future progress.

Nationalization of the mines will be advocated by resolution in many forms. The progressives will try to unite all supporters of this measure upon a constructive plan, and will make it one of their big fighting points for a *Labor Party*. We have not forgotten the so-called nationalization of the railroads during the war which, under the cloak of patriotism, was really a trick to subsidize the railroads for the profit of their private owners. That is the sort of nationalization referred to generally by opponents of the measure. We are opposed to nationalization of that sort. We are opposed to commissions of lawyers, bankers, and business men to run the mines. We know that mines naturally "run into the ground," but we are opposed to the industry going in that direction in the hands of profit-grabbers under the guise of nationalization. We want nationalization of the mines, to be operated by competent union miners whose only interest is social service.

The Labor Party

Nationalization can be achieved only through independent political action of the working class. Consequently we must fight for the U. M. W. of A. to become a part of the *Labor Party* now taking shape throughout the country. The progressives believe that in this direction the convention in St. Paul, May 30th, 1924, will be of decisive importance. The Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, the National Farmer-Labor Party (Chicago), the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, and many other state parties and political organizations have joined in the call for this convention.

The workers of the entire country should celebrate Decoration Day in 1924, by decorating the political arena with a strong Labor candidate for President of the United States, backed up by a united Farmer-Labor Party that will throw Labor's hat in the ring throughout the width and breadth of the land. That will be the position of the progressives in the Indianapolis Convention.



ALEXANDER HOWAT

Who will be a storm center in the coming miners' convention

Rights of Progressive Committees

In order for progressive rank and filers to register their proper influence in the Conventions of the Union, they must establish means of communication and education. The reactionary officials will do everything in their power to prevent such educational organizations from being set up among the rank and file. There will be a battle over this question between the contending forces of the Convention.

For years the membership of our Union have had grievances of serious nature. But they always registered themselves in small groups of delegates, so insignificant in size as to bring ridicule even from many who should have supported them had there been the proper information and connections, so that all were familiar with the facts. The history of the fights in Colorado, Illinois, Pennsylvania, the Canadian districts, and all the little uprisings that have occurred down the years, were still fresh in our minds during the year 1922, when the disgraceful happenings

took place, among other points, in District No. 5 Pittsburgh. Recognizing the weakness of former protests, the militants organized the "Progressive Committee of District No. 5, U. M. W. of A." There was no difficulty in uniting the class-conscious workers there, and the success was immediate. Plans were then made to extend the movement to a national scope.

On February 10th, 1923, a group of militant miners representative of the different districts, assembled in Pittsburgh, Pa., and formed the "Progressive International Committee of the U. M. W. of A." Its program and plan of action was outlined, and from that date the progressives in the Miners' Union became a real factor. Later a national Conference was held in the same city, on June 2-3, 1923. Our enemies attempted to bring failure to this gathering, but representatives from 11 strong districts, more than 200 in all, met and took steps to right the wrongs existing in our Union.

Progressives Kill Dual Unionism

It was the progressive moment that killed the rising dual union sentiment in the U. M. W. of A., and which saved our organization from several disastrous splits thereby. That did not prevent the reactionary officials, panic stricken by the growing progressive sentiment, from using their final weapon against progress. They declared the Progressive Committee a dual union and circularized all local unions with instructions to expel progressive members. But the reception that this order got everywhere was cold. The rank and file has refused to carry out such a high-handed order.

The miners know, more or less clearly, that the progressives are the advance guard of the fighting rank and file. They know that the progressives are opposed to dual unionism. They know that the Progressive Committee collects no dues, levies no assessments, has no binding or other kind of constitution or by-laws, and that it cannot be called a dual union in any sense. Neither can the vivid imagination of John L. Lewis convince them otherwise. The progressives are members of the U. M. W. of A., they intend to remain such, and to continue the fight for a better and stronger U. M. W. of A.

From the North, South, East, and West, the delegates will flock to Indianapolis. In their hands rest the destinies of the United Mine Workers. In their hands is the case of the progressive program for the miners of America. To their honesty we trust the decision, but we refuse to accept the decisions of Lewis or his hand-picked committees. The verdict must be rendered by the rank and file, who provide life to the organization and who shall have the last word.



ALEXANDER HOWAT

An Open Letter to John Fitzpatrick

By Wm. Z. Foster

IN view of the many statements you have made recently attempting to blame the Workers Party group for the split that occurred in Chicago on July 3. I feel called upon to write you this open letter to set matters aright. Let me say at the outset that the split was of your own making. It was altogether due to your weakness and complete lack of real leadership in that historic situation. But in order that this may be made clear let me go back a bit, tracing a little my own activities and yours in enterprises in which we were jointly interested.

Our Working Together

As for myself, for many years my goal in the labor movement has been clear and definite: to reorganize the trade unions from their present status as narrow craft organizations containing only a fraction of the workers to broad industrial unions embracing the great masses—a program whose realization will inevitably involve smashing the control of the Gompers bureaucracy. My efforts at all times for the past dozen years have been directed to this end. The form of the activities may have differed from time to time, but the goal was always the same, the defeat of Gompers and the reorganization of the unions. Reactionaries like Oscar Nelson and Victor Olander are now trying to make it appear that during the great packing house and steel mills organization drives I quit this war against Gompersism and became a reconciled member of the official family. But this is sheer nonsense, and nobody knows it better than Gompers himself. For me these gigantic campaigns were but a different aspect of the general attack on Gompersism. I believed for a time even that they would be the means of beating the old machine and revolutionizing the labor movement.

As for yourself, I considered you a powerful factor in the struggle to remodel the labor movement and I dealt with you accordingly. I did my utmost to strengthen your hands and to increase your influence upon a national scale, and not without some success, I believe. I even believed at one time that you were the logical man, the practical trade union leader, to head a big rank and file movement which, through its progressive measures, would crack the Gompers machine. It was distinctly with this aim in mind that I maneuvered, successfully, to get you at the head of the steel organizing committee, rather than other A. F. of L. organizers who were itching for the job.

This will make an interesting story some day. You will recall the main outlines of the situation: I introduced the organization resolution into the Chicago Federation of Labor on April 7th, (not upon your instructions as Olander ridiculously asserts, but entirely upon my own volition), and then went alone with it to the A. F. of L. convention in St. Paul, had it passed there, and made arrangements for the first meeting to take place in Chicago on August 1st, 1918. At the latter gathering was where you first took a hand in the matter.

But we lost the big steel fight. This was a tremendous disaster: not only because it wrecked the steel unions, but, what was infinitely more important, it destroyed a much greater plan. It was my aim to propose, if the steel strike had been a success, the formation of a great organization committee with branches in each of the big industries, to sweep the masses into the unions. We were in a position to insist that such a committee be formed. Inevitably it must have been under our direction in the usual combination, with you as Chairman and I as Secretary. With the prestige that had been gained through the unionizing of the steel industry and the general raising of the morale of the workers everywhere thereby this great organizing campaign must have been a tremendous success. It would have surely resulted in the organization of the broad masses of the working class. They would have stormed into the unions in millions, even as they did in Germany after the war.

The West Letter

The outcome of such a great campaign would have been to so enormously increase your prestige that you would have overshadowed Gompers and would have been in a position to deliver to him his long-needed political *coup de grace*, which we would have known how to administer at the opportune time. Gompers, who is nobody's fool, suspected what was cooking up and was very much on his guard. Even outsiders could see it. George P. West, for example, in *The Nation* for April 9th, 1919 came near to hitting the nail on the head. He pointed out the real significance of the rising Fitzpatrick-Foster combination. As you will remember, his article created consternation in our ranks. Gompers immediately demanded a refutation of it. We agreed that for the sake of the steel workers this had to be done. Otherwise Gompers would have a legitimate excuse to cut the steel campaign to pieces. We decided to

sacrifice West for the sake of giving the steel workers a fighting chance to win. You wrote the answer to West, and sent me a copy of it after it had been forwarded to Gompers. I was astounded at it. I had expected some sort of a mild poo-hooing of West's assertions, but your letter was a complete and absolutely needless surrender to Gompers. No wonder he was so thoroughly pleased at it. You say, for example, the following:

I don't know where Mr. West got his information in regard to the campaign to organize the packing industry. I wish he had looked into the methods employed in this undertaking. He would find that the net result of this wonderful achievement was because President Gompers got in his licks and blows just at the most critical and opportune moments. It is true that President Gompers did not do the detail work—that was our part—but he directed and advised and eventually outgeneralled the opposition. There is not a man or woman who took an active part in this campaign who will gain-say that when we had a lost cause upon our hands President Gompers took over the situation and within six hours had the six big packers on the defensive.

The same must be said in regard to the steel campaign but in this instance President Gompers threw the entire power and influence of the American Federation of Labor into this situation by accepting the Chairmanship of the Committee in charge. It would be ridiculous to expect that President Gompers could give his personal attention to the work. Again, that was our part, and if we were impelled by any influence to make a big drive it was because President Gompers was able to bring twenty-four co-operating international unions into complete harmony and united effort which made the results already achieved possible.

In view of the real facts such statements are ridiculous. The truth is that Gompers sabotaged both the packing house and steel campaigns, and everyone connected with either of them knew this very well. In the packing house affair he wound up by telling the Chicago Federation of Labor, which had organized the industry, to keep its hands out of the situation and to leave everything to the International unions, which then promptly wrecked the whole organization. In the steel campaign we had to lasso him to get him to do anything. He never spoke at even one meeting of steel workers, nor did he attend a single meeting of the National Committee unless we held it under his nose—but meanwhile he could waste several months' time in Europe helping frame up the infamous Versailles treaty, with its League of Nations. At a dozen critical points in the campaign he betrayed the interests of the steel workers, as you well know. But this is all history now; the important thing here is how you, under pressure, went completely back to Gompers. That

has special significance in view of recent developments, as we shall see.

A New Attack

The loss of the steel strike killed the plan to revolutionize the A. F. of L. through the medium of a great organizing campaign. It was necessary to take a new tack to arrive at the goal of the re-organization and modernization of the trade union movement. Our great organization campaigns were an indirect move to this end; now it was essential to proceed directly towards it. Consequently, I, who had hitherto been acting pretty much as a free lance in the general trade union movement associated myself with the left-wing elements (then just recovering from their dual union notions and turning their attention towards the trade unions), and joined them in a direct fight for the adoption of revolutionary measures by the workers' organizations. We formed the Trade Union Educational League and began our militant campaign for amalgamation, the labor party, recognition of Soviet Russia, organization of the unorganized, and the rest of its slogans. We created a profound impression throughout the labor movement.

The Chicago Federation of Labor, (which in this case means you) endorsed several of the planks in this radical program. But it was quite evident that you would not make a militant fight for them. You gave them your sanction, that's about all. The idea of moving aggressively all over the country in behalf of them, and thus coming to a head-on collision with the Gompers machine, was foreign to your nature, unsustained as you are by any revolutionary conception. Through the working out of such a great organization campaign as I have described above you might have been developed in spite of yourself into a figure powerful enough to wreck the reactionary bureaucracy and then forced into a movement inevitably culminating in the re-organization of the trade unions. But you will never carry through such a movement by direct advocacy of a program of your own. This is because you are a regular of the regulars. You will not break completely with the official family and become an outcast, a disrespected in the movement, a fate which every real progressive leader must undergo at our present stage of development. You are determined to maintain your official standing in the labor movement, and especially to retain the presidency of the Chicago Federation of Labor. For you every tactical consideration depends upon that. This localist weakness it is that prevents you from becoming an effective leader on a national scale of even the mildly progressive forces in the trade union movement. And this it was that brought you to grief in the famous July 3-5 convention, where

the Farmer-Labor Party split away from the other labor party forces there assembled.

What Caused the Split

Now as for the causes of the July 3rd split: Your attempt to blame the break upon the Workers Party group is as absurd as your assertion that it has thrown back the labor party movement for 20 years. The real truth is that you personally were responsible for the break, the Farmer-Labor Party following your lead unquestioningly. The situation was quite simple. The Farmer-Labor Party under your guidance had proved an almost complete failure. This was not because the labor party issue was not a good one, but because you were unwilling to make a real fight for it. You failed as a leader. As the chief exponent of the labor party idea your cue was to have organized a big and militant movement for it all over the country. This would have brought you the bitterest opposition of Gompers and might have cost you your position as head of the Chicago Federation of Labor. But what of it? The game was worth the candle. A militant leader would have made the fight. But not you. Reluctant to break squarely with Gompers, you let the movement simmer along. Consequently the Farmer Labor Party practically died in your hands despite its golden opportunity. It failed in its mission as champion of the labor party idea and soon degenerated into little more than a name.

This was the situation until about a year or so ago, when the left-wing groups in the Workers Party and the Trade Union Educational League began to take a hand in the labor party movement. They did immediately what you should have done long before: started a real labor party campaign throughout the trade unions. The time being opportune, this campaign was very successful and a large body of favorable sentiment developed. Then, to exploit this situation, you called the big convention of July 3-5, sending invitations broadcast to all workers' organizations. You, yourself, made the motion to invite the Workers Party. A political leader of consequence would have known that such a convention, especially with the Workers Party in it, would be a rank and file affair and, as such, would involve an open war on the Gompers machine. But apparently you did not. It was only when the convention was at hand that you seemed to realize what you had done. Then, overcome with timidity, you tried to get from underneath it regardless of consequences. Upon your shoulders rests the responsibility for the split.

The Workers Party group took the convention seriously. They thought you were prepared to go ahead with a real effort to establish that labor

party. They helped liberally to finance the convention, and without their assistance it could not have been held. They worked everywhere to have the unions send delegates, when often prominent Farmer-Labor Party members were openly sabotaging the affair. They accepted as a matter of course the necessity for an alliance between the Farmer-Labor Party and the Workers Party (with such other organizations as might go along) to carry on the battle for the labor party. They were perfectly willing to make every legitimate concession so that such a working alliance could be maintained. But you were not. At first you were eager to enlist the militant help of the Workers Party and willing to pay for it by accepting affiliation with that organization. But when you saw, as the convention approached, that the price you would probably have to pay for it would be an open war with Gompers and the probable loss of your official standing, you would have none of it. Then you precipitated the break and thus betrayed the thousands of workers following your lead. It was treason to the labor party movement.

I say "you precipitated the break" and I mean exactly that. You wanted to cut loose from the revolutionary elements and you did it. You had become convinced, in the weeks preceding the convention, that the Farmer-Labor Party and yourself would lose caste with the official family if you had any truck, either near or remote, with the Workers Party, so you decided that all cooperation must end. Had you so desired a favorable and workable understanding between the two organizations, not involving actual affiliation, could easily have been arrived at. But you wanted no such agreement. You refused even to confer with the representatives of the Workers Party either before or during the convention. You invited a split. The story that you broke with us because we acted as unruly guests in your convention is dribble. You forced the split before the convention took place. The latter merely registered the break that had already occurred. The last word that the Workers Party could get from you before the gathering convened (received through high officials of the Farmer-Labor Party) was that you were determined not to go along with the Workers Party under any circumstances. You made the convention into a catch-as-catch-can affair, with the Workers Party, like the other groups, doing the best they could with it. Your policy amounted to this: first, you invited the Workers Party to participate, and then you told them to get out. What kind of leadership was that? Much similar has been shown in the handling of the Farmer-Labor Party since its inception. I can understand now why you are so bitter

(Continued on Page 26)

Railroad Labor at the Cross Roads

By H. S. McIlvaigh

THAT our trade unions must change their present antiquated structure and obsolete methods cannot be denied by any thinking worker. It is a glowing fact recognized by all live trade unionists that we must consolidate our forces under more militant leadership or see our organizations wiped out of existence. It is not a case of what our higher union officials like or dislike; it is a case of what must be done to save our movement. Especially in the railroad industry is this condition shown most dramatically today. Railroad labor is at the cross-roads.

One of the saddest pictures in our industrial life today is the almost indescribable condition existing among the railroad unions. Where a few years ago we had almost 100% organization, today we have but a shadow. As a result of the "open shop" drive on the railroad workers our forces have been scattered far and wide. The transportation Brotherhoods are the only unions in the industry to which the term "organization" can truly apply at this time; and even they have suffered from the attacks of the employers and from the reactionary policies of their own leaders. The organization so proudly referred to as the Big Four has even divided against itself, and at this writing the engine-service employes and the train-service employes are trying to bargain separately with the One Big Union of railroad magnates.

The unfortunate Shopmen have been almost annihilated since the strike of July, 1922. Going into a national strike, leaderless and planless, we have demonstrated the weakness of Federation. We have paid heavily to prove that our loose form of Federation, as represented by the Railway Employees' Department of the A. F. of L., is inadequate to cope with the highly developed organization of the amalgamated railroads.

Stupid Reactionary Tactics

While Labor stands helpless before this ever-growing power of the employers, we find the official leadership spending most of its time and energy fighting against the remedies offered by the militants. In stupid, arrogant fashion these so-called leaders are casting the movement on the rocks of destruction. While they charge the advocates of amalgamation and progressive measures generally with being destructionists, it is they themselves who are driving the movement to ruin. Ignorant and devoid of any social vision, they engage in head-hunting campaigns, in the futile

effort to rid the movement of those who can point a way out of the present quagmire.

The claim is made by the officialdom that there is no sentiment among the rank and file for amalgamation, and that the men are not ready to accept industrial unionism by way of consolidating the craft unions. The writer has a very vivid recollection of the same kind of arguments against Federation in the shop crafts, when the movement for that step forward was in the same stage that amalgamation now occupies. But Federation came in spite of the fossilized officialdom. And there is now enough sentiment for amalgamation to create terror and consternation in their hearts. In the shop crafts we find the greatest sentiment for amalgamation and also the greatest opposition from the officialdom. But with 3,377 of the largest local unions in the railroad industry endorsing the Minnesota Plan of Amalgamation, the direct opposition of the officials is futile.

Dragging Another Herring

But the wily reactionaries, fearful of the awakening rank and file, are turning to the employers for support. That is the meaning of the "cooperation" scheme that Wm. H. Johnston, president of the Machinists, is propagating on behalf of the shop craft unions. Under the leadership of Johnston the reactionaries are proposing to the railroad companies to enter into partnership. The terms of the proposed agreement, so far as they are known, are that if the railroad companies will agree to deal only through Johnston and his associates, these gentlemen will agree to make union labor cost the railroads less than non-union labor. The agreement is already being tried out on the B. & O. Railroad, regarding which Johnston has said:

The idea underlying our service to the Baltimore and Ohio may be compared to the idea which underlies the engineering services extended to railroads by large supply corporations which have contracts with these railroads to furnish, let us say, arch-bricks, superheaters, stokers, or lubricating oils.

The unions, under this scheme, are to associate for furnishing efficiency experts to the railroads to show the bosses how to get more work out of the union men. In other words, the "labor leaders" are going to enter the "business" of supplying labor to the railroads on the same basis as any other supply corporation supplies other commodities. It will compete in the market against non-union labor, and engage to deliver more work for less cost than non-union labor can deliver.

The whole scheme is, of course, simply another weapon to stop the rising amalgamation movement and prevent the unions from being reshaped into fighting organizations for the workers. The officials refuse to go the way of amalgamation; they now try to confuse the railroad workers with this "new" policy of co-operation with the railroad companies. Of course it is not new at all—it is only a new dress upon the same hoary old method of delivering the unions over to the employers.

Right at a time when the whole movement is ready to crash about our heads, the reactionaries urge us to continue with the obsolete and outworn methods of dealing with Organized Capital. When we try to discard them, then our so-called leaders try to cram their ancient ideas down our throats. In performing this painful operation they offer no logical argument against our plans for strengthening the unions. They simply resort to force, and give us to understand they are determined to rule or ruin. They carry on a campaign of lying, slander, and abuse against those who advocate a change in our out-of-date methods. In their desperation and intolerance they even indulge in wholesale expulsions of the militants, the very life-blood of our movement. Rather than see the labor movement go forward, they prefer to have none.

Machinist Officials are Pull-backs

At the present moment the most active opponents of amalgamation of the railroad unions are found in the official staff of the International Association of Machinists. This group of officials is spending nearly all its energy in a fight against amalgamation, in spite of the fact that their union went on record by referendum vote, in 1914, to amalgamate the metal trades. To hear one of these officers talk is to hear the whole crew, and the palaver they peddle is nauseating to any class-conscious worker. Apparently a nice little stereotyped speech has been prepared for them to learn by rote, and they have done the job splendidly. The other fakers, however, are not far behind in their duties to save the movement for craft unionism.

The officers of the Machinists, typical of the reactionary type, are not content with opposing amalgamation; they oppose every move toward bringing the workers closer together. They are even trying to break what small unity there is now. They appeal to their members to cut loose from all association with other crafts, and urge them to get all they can at the expense of their kindred tradesmen. Their appeals are virtually demands that the Machinists quit the Metal

Trades and the Railway Employees' Departments of the A. F. of L. While they do not make these demands directly, we are compelled to infer from their statements that that is exactly what they mean. They claim that the machinists have been too altruistic, that they have tried to lift some of the 'less skilled' trades up to their own level and have thereby dragged themselves down. They want the machinists to abandon this 'nonsensical' policy and become respectable craft unionists. The officials of other crafts are engaged in similar propaganda, and all are united against the amalgamationists.

Amalgamationists Save Unions

Were it not for the amalgamationists there would be no life whatever in our broken-down unions. Where the movement is strongest is to be found the strongest sentiment for amalgamation. It is the amalgamationists who have held together what little is left of the trade unions. It is they who have counteracted the deadly influence of the secessionists, and it is they to whom the workers look for any improvement in our unions. We have something practical to offer the workers, and we know they will accept it. All the argument is in our favor, and we have no need to be discouraged when we meet with opposition from those who are living in luxury off the pre-capita tax of the membership. We expect to meet this opposition and we are determined to overcome it. By organizing our militants on a basis covering the whole of the United States and Canada, and supporting a definite program laid down on the same basis, we can eventually rout the reactionary machine.

We can accomplish our object by heartily co-operating with the Trade Union Educational League. This organization offers the militant and progressive workers everywhere the greatest opportunity for accomplishing definite results that has ever been presented in the American labor movement. Heretofore we have been working haphazardly, without organization and without definite plans, only to have the reactionaries sneer at us. But since the launching of the T. U. E. L. we have the old guard on the defensive, and instead of sneering at us they are fighting for their very lives. They try to keep up courage by gloating over the fact that they expelled one fighting militant from the Portland Convention. But there is not the joy in their camp that their whistling would indicate. And if we are not sadly mistaken they will have an opportunity to kick out more than one fearless representative of the rank and file from the El Paso Convention next year.

The Lineup for the Coming Battles in Germany

By Max Bedacht

A ONCE mighty empire is crumbling and about to fall—capitalist Germany. The debris created by this historical phenomenon threatens to bury a whole nation under the weight of a terrible famine. This is not a famine caused by the uncontrollable furies of the elements; it is caused by the cold blooded calculations of a parasite class. It is a famine threatening not a territory, but a class—the workers.

And truly, this is a phenomenon. For has there ever been a time when the big industrialists in Germany reaped a richer harvest of profits? The fortunes coined out of the misery of the German workers by men like Hugo Stinnes seem to disprove the theory of a crumbling order. But, after all, this gentry merely plays the role of maggots fattening on a decaying carcass.

When the economic structure of the empire began to give away under the burden of four years of war; when the germs injected into it by the Russian revolution had disintegrated its seemingly invincible machinery of war; and when the masses of Germany began to awake from the terrible nightmare of its national patriotism, the power of the old ruling class in Germany just naturally collapsed. The workers had to take power. There was nothing else to do. The collapse of the army, the economic system and the political machinery of German capitalism spelled its bankruptcy. The working class was the logical receiver. Instinctively they got ready to take over this job. Workers councils sprang up all over the country.

In this dark hour the beneficiaries of the bankrupt system looked helplessly about for aid. But their fate seemed to be sealed. Had not the masses of the German workers been reared in the teaching that capitalism is the very antithesis of the workers' interest? It is true that in Germany, like in all other warring countries, a continuous hymn of hate chanted in the most alluring tones was aimed to kill every remnant of social and humanitarian feeling among the masses. But when this artificial veil was torn asunder and the masses awakened from the horrible nightmare of war, they again began to see straight, and their verdict was that capitalism, the cause of all this misery, must die.

In this hour of need there appeared a saviour of the doomed order. The Socialists and trades union leaders had become during the war the obedient vassals of the capitalist interests. They proved more faithful to this new master than they were to their old one, the working class.

"Hark ye, workers of Germany," they cried out, "save capitalism!" "Kill the beast," the echo came back from the masses of the infuriated workers. "But, comrades," the socialists and trades union leaders retorted, "capitalism is no beast. It is a useful animal; a pig, if you will have it so. Pity the poor thing. It is all exhausted and weak now. Let us fatten it. You say you are against capitalism—so are we. We promise you, you rightfully indignant workers that as soon as the pig is fat enough to promise a good meal we will help you—of course not to kill it, but—to transform, gradually and without pain to it, the fattened capitalist pig into a socialist roast."

Unfortunately the workers of Germany listened to this treacherous siren song and abandoned their position of power. Their councils had become instruments of their power. They now exchanged this power for an ephemeral shadow, constitutional workers' councils. From the position of masters of Germany they slipped back to the position of slaves to the master.

And meanwhile the capitalist pig grew fat. It pressed its erstwhile conquerors, the workers, to the wall. It fattened on the lifeblood of the German toilers. The fatter the capitalist pig became the leaner grew the workers.

But although capitalism in Germany thus gained a respite, it could not gain a pardon. The role of the socialists and trades union leaders as the satellites of German capitalism shows clearer day by day and helps to disillusion the masses. And though the old order could reorganize its military forces it could not rearrange its economic system. The chaos caused by the utter bankruptcy of that system increased, and with it grew the determination of the suffering working masses of Germany to end it.

Capitalism in Germany can no longer feed its workers. And a system that starves the class upon which it lives condemns itself to death.

The complete decay of capitalist economy in Germany is reflected in its political struggles. The outstanding features of these struggles is that they have been removed entirely from the parliamentary tribune to the streets. The present German Reichstag was elected in 1920. Nobody can or will contend today that it reflects the present political divisions of the people. But the continuation of that "Quasselbude" (gab-fest) at least furnishes a reasonable excuse for the continuation of the status quo,—the rule of

capitalism. Hardly anybody in Germany is anxious to appeal to a vote of the people. All but the hopelessly non-sophisticated know that the next division of the nation will not be according to votes but according to military camps. An appeal to the voters would not solve the crisis but anticipate its climax. And all sides wish to avoid the clash at any time not of their own choosing, therefore the seeming love for the status quo.

The adherents of the order of the fat pig surely have no kick coming. Although not endowed with the grace of god, yet, the present government serves handsomely all purposes of reaction. **Besides a weak gesture of protest this government has nothing to stop the divers monarchist conspiracies but the sly wink and grin of the knowing augur.**

And as to the left? The present situation in Germany is breeding revolutionists. There is an old saying that from each martyr's grave a thousand heroes rise, and the orders for the suppression of every revolutionary paper results in creating thousands of new revolutionists. For every communist thrown into jail two new workers join the communist ranks. The bankruptcy of the system has made the revolutionary forces of the country irresistible. Like the mythical Hydra these forces of revolution raise two heads **in the place of every one reaction succeeds in cutting off.**

In this seething and boiling melting pot of the creation of a new order the trades unions of Germany find themselves in a precarious position. The trades unions originated as instruments for the protection of the interests of the workers and they grew strong and influential among the toilers. The fight for higher wages and shorter hours against the profiteers was their historic task. In the earnestness and success of these endeavors the unions endeared themselves to the working masses.

Today, through the leadership of reactionary servants of capitalism, the unions have changed their role. During the period of war and so-called civil peace the unions in Germany became instruments of the war government against the workers. And the leaders attempt to continue this role.

German capitalism and its history is an integral part of European capitalism and its history. The question of reparations, the monstrous child of the world war, is as much a question of life to European capitalism as it is a death sentence to German capitalism. When the leaders of the Socialist Party and the trades unions of Germany accepted a share of responsibility in the payment

of reparations as a part of their program of preservation of capitalism they were forced by the irresistible logic of their task into a position antagonistic to labor. The battle cry of even the most conservative trades unionist has always been: more wages, less hours. But the slogan of dying capitalism has become: more hours, less wages. The trades union leaders had the choice: either serve labor in its struggle for more wages and less hours; or serve capitalism in its demand for less wages and more hours. And true to their policy which considers the protection of capitalism its permanent duty they did not hesitate. Cheerfully and without even a faint blush they replaced the old slogan of more wages and less hours with the slogan: Workers of Germany, capitalism can only be saved if you work more and eat less!

Just now the constitutional eight hour day has been abolished with their consent. The gesture of resistance they made may be taken as serious as the gesture of resistance of the street walker against an amorous advance. The crucial point now is not that they consented to this prolongation of the workday, but that the whole machinery of the trades unions will now become the instruments of the government and the profiteers against the workers in the execution of their dictates.

Today, both sides in this great battle of capital and labor in Germany are preparing their forces. The workers are at the end of their patience. The capitalists are at the end of their tether. The preponderance of chances for victory are on the side of the workers. Even Samuel Gompers' collections to protect Germany from Bolshevism can not change this situation. We feel compelled to state that, although this may sadden the outlook of this American brother of the German trades union leaders:

First: German capitalism is doomed. Whatever lease of life it may succeed in winning would be gained at the expense of the lifeblood and welfare of the working masses of Germany. The workers know that. Experience taught them as much as that.

Second: The workers in Germany represent the overwhelming majority of the people. The welfare of Germany is synonymous with the welfare of its workers.

Third: The experience of the last five years of struggle are a weapon in the hands of the German workers that no weapon of reactionary capitalism can parry.

Fourth: The great movement for the liberation of the German workers through the German workers finds a well organized and well trained

revolutionary party at its services, the Communist Party of Germany. Without such a party there is always an imminent danger that the revolutionary energy of the masses either exhaust themselves in partial and disconnected struggles, or that the working class again falls victim to the treachery of some charlatans and traitors.

From a military point of view the enemies of the workers are well organized and armed. They comprise extensive groups of nationalist, monarchist and fascist irregulars; and the regular military and police forces of the empire. But the latter are recruited from the working class mainly. And in a decisive struggle the forces of reaction may find that Wilhelm Liebknecht was not far out of the way when he said that bayonets may be excellent to lean on, but one cannot sit on them with any degree of comfort.

There can be no question that the political atmosphere in Germany is so highly charged with revolutionary electricity that an unexpected clash may cause the great explosion. In fact, the explosion is unavoidable. When it comes the workers have a fair chance for an immediate victory—but a sure chance for an eventual one.

There is, however, an external force that endangers and threatens the workers' revolution in Germany. World capitalism will not stand idle at the hour of death of its German brother. In fact, ideological preparations are made even

today by the socialist and trades union leaders to betray the workers again. Just like their Russian counterparts they will appeal to foreign powers for aid. If they can help it the success of the German workers' revolution will be held up at the point of French bayonets.

But the conditions facing the German revolution are somewhat different from those that confronted the Russian revolution. The German revolution can exploit the experience of the Russian revolution and, as Zinoviev significantly remarked, "not only the experiences of the Russian revolution."

Of course, Soviet Russia will not interfere in the struggle for power between the workers and the capitalists of Germany. It takes the stand that German capitalism must be conquered by the forces of the German workers. But Soviet Russia, nevertheless, will stand guard over the destinies of the German revolution. And when the workers of the world are faced with the task of aiding their German brothers in the latter's struggle by telling their respective governments: "Hands off Workers' Germany," they will be joined by the chorus of their brothers in Soviet Russia. And behind the formidable voice of the government of Soviet Russia there will be not only the rightful indignation of its millions of workers and peasants, but also the millions of bayonets of its red army.

The Campaign for Class Collaboration

By Earl R. Browder

SINCE the days when Mark Hanna organized his "labor lieutenants" into the Civic Federation, collaboration with the capitalist class, the policy of Samuel Gompers in other words, has been the settled policy of the governing circles in the American Federation of Labor. The Civic Federation made an institution of the idea, and entrenched it within the highest circles of the labor movement. The baneful effects upon the development of trade unionism is a subject worthy of the efforts of a good historian. The militant sections of the labor movement revolted against it, to the extent that such an organization as the United Mine Workers wrote a special law into its constitution prohibiting any officer of the union to belong to the Civic Federation. Any history of the American labor movement that does not deal fully with that body will neglect one of the determining factors, the influence of which is hard for the uninitiated to realize.

Never has there been in the past, however, such an organized drive to establish collaboration with

the capitalists as that conducted today in the A. F. of L. All the accumulating forces of reaction in the bureaucratic leadership of the unions seem to have been fused into a concerted movement all along the line to bind the labor movement hand and foot to capitalism and its institutions. The outstanding features of the resulting campaign for class collaboration are; (1) revival of "insurance" as the dominant union function, (2) the epidemic of "labor banks," (3) the Johnston "co-operation" scheme for making the unions into efficiency bureaus for capitalist production, and (4) the program of Gompers and Berry at the Portland Convention of the A. F. of L.

Trade Unionism vs. Insurance Business

Insurance departments in the unions have been an established feature from the beginning of the movement. It has been many years, however, since they have occupied more than an incidental position. They have been accepted as valuable auxiliaries to the unions, but not as the prime

reason for the unions' existence. This has been changed in a group of the most important unions in America, however, within the past year. The railroad shop unions, with their disastrous strike dragging along and their entire fighting front broken up by the incompetence of their leaders, found the membership leaving the unions by tens of thousands. Instead of meeting the threatening situation by a renewed militancy and a program of solidarity, the officialdom resurrected the insurance society features as the basis for their appeal to the membership to rally to the unions.

"Insurance" became the watchword of the union organizers on the railroads. This signified the abandonment of the struggle. It was the beginning of the movement by the trade union leaders toward open collaboration with the employers. It threw a cold wet blanket upon the remaining enthusiasm in the rank and file. It was the signal of surrender, and the membership understood it as such. The effect upon the railroad shop unions was a disintegrating one.

The effort to rebuild the unions as "insurance" societies brought no results. The workers would have nothing of it. Seeing their very jobs threatened by the loss of per-capita tax, the officials frantically began to cast about for schemes to bolster up their failing financial resources, and to figure out measures for strengthening their grip on the organizations. One of the things that came to hand for that purpose was the idea of "labor banks."

Wildcat Banking Schemes

An authority on labor banking made the statement (*Freeman*, N. Y., Nov. 28th), that 15 labor banks are now operating in the united States with a capital of \$50,000,000., and that 10 more are scheduled to begin operations within a few months. The figures give some idea of the craze for labor banks that is sweeping the official circles.

There are two distinct elements in the labor banking situation that must be carefully distinguished. First are those who, feeling secure in the strength of their organizations, felt that they could venture into the field of handling the finances of their organization and membership, and make them the center of a profitable banking business without changing the essential functioning of their organizations. The second group consists of those who felt the ground slipping under their feet, and grasped at the idea of labor banks as a means of making an alliance with capitalistic interests and at the same time tie up the affairs of the union so completely that they could not be removed from office without disastrous consequences. The first group started the labor bank idea as a auxiliary to the union; the second joined the movement as a means of keep-

ing hold of their jobs. It is not clear that banking is a proper function of labor unions if their primary objects are not to be handicapped. Leaving aside that question, there is a vast difference between labor banks organized as auxiliaries, and labor banks organized to give a new economic foundation to bankrupt unions.

The first group consists of the Locomotive Engineers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The Engineers are a very conservative organization, while the Clothing Workers are radical. The Engineers could launch a successful bank because of the comparative security of their membership, being a key craft with great strategic power and a conservative tradition. Their bank did not necessarily affect the established functions of the union, although it probably has strengthened its conservative tendencies. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, because it is more of a militant body compared with American unions generally, and has gained more benefits comparatively for its members, did not take up the labor bank idea from weakness, but because they felt strong enough to handle it. Their bank undoubtedly strengthened the conservative tendencies within the union.

The second group of labor banks, however, do not clearly have such a character in any instance, and in many cases they are definitely designed to bolster up a failing officialdom. That is their essential characteristic. They are instruments of class collaboration. They remove the unions further from the rank and file. They enormously increase the power of the bankrupt officials. They lay the unions helpless before the financial interests. They have no independent strength of their own at all. They are make-shift expedients to lengthen the tenure of office of union leaders unable to make good in the wage and hour struggle. They constitute a menace to the labor movement, and are part and parcel of the campaign for class collaboration in the American unions.

The Johnston "Co-operation" Scheme

But insurance and banking are mild measures in contrast to the drastic proposals of Wm. H. Johnston, president of the International Association of Machinists. He is installing a system whereby the unions become direct agents of the employers in all fundamental questions. He boasts that when his co-operation is established, not a railroad executive will ever again wish to get rid of the unions; a sorry sort of boast, it would seem, which will mean, if true, that the workers will be the ones who wish to rid themselves of the monstrosity that Johnston would impose upon them.

The Johnston scheme is already been touted as a great success on the B. & O. Railroad, where

it is being tried out. "The idea underlying our service to the Baltimore & Ohio," said Mr. Johnston, "may be compared to the idea which underlies the engineering services extended to railroads by large supply corporations which have contracts with these railroads to furnish, let us say, arch-brick, superheaters, stokers, or lubricating oils." The union, in short, is to become a supply corporation to the railroad companies, engaged in the business of selling labor just as another corporation may sell lubricants. It will compete in the market, like any commodity-selling organization, and engage to deliver more work for less cost than non-union labor can deliver. That is the essence of the scheme.

"Industrial Democracy" a la Gompers

At the Portland Convention of the A. F. of L. the final official blessings were given to the whole drive for systematic collaboration with the capitalists. Samuel Gompers, John L. Lewis, and Major Berry were the spokesmen, the first with his proclamation for "industrial democracy," the second with the program of war upon the militants, and the third with his notorious four points. Gompers' statement is a suave and oily repudiation of the trade union struggle, with the kernel of meaning hidden beneath a coating of soft words. Berry's four points are a bold and brutal statement that the unions are to be subordinated to the claims of capitalist private property.

Fresh from battle in New York where Berry had crushed the Pressmen's strike on the daily newspapers, this doughty American Legionist walked into the A. F. of L. Convention where he was hailed as a conquering hero. What was the meaning of Berry's acts in New York and the stormy enthusiasm of his welcome at Portland? Berry quickly disclosed it. He spoke, and the key-note of his speech was this:

We stand for four great principles governing industry. These are the ownership of property, an adequate return on investment, an adequate sum allowed industry for the matter of deterioration, and that all workers, including managers, get proper compensation for what they put into industry.

John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, was another key-note speaker in this official gathering of the collaborators with the employing class. Speaking after a period when the U. M. W. of A had found its very existence threatened by the employers, the whole speech of Lewis was an appeal for the official program of collaboration. Lewis boasted of his destruction of the Kansas Union, District 14, and the expulsion of Howat. He prided himself upon assisting the British Empire Steel Corporation to break the strike in Nova Scotia, on the ground of sacredness of contracts, ignoring the fact that even his,

sacred contract was not violated there. He was another living symbol, through his obedience to the orders of BESCO in Nova Scotia, of the newly-consolidated program of collaboration.

Gompers' manifesto is more discreet than the utterances of his rough-neck lieutenants, but its meaning is just as definite. A few quotations will outline the entire policy and show how it links together all these various chains in the campaign for complete subordination of the unions to capitalism. The following are key sentences from the manifesto:

We feel that the hour has struck for a pronouncement of the aims of labor that shall more nearly express the full implications of trade unionism than has yet been undertaken. . . . The close of the war marked for us a turning point in human relations and threw into bold relief the inadequacy of existing forms and institutions. . . . Through the muddling conflict of groups (workers vs. capitalists. *Ed.*) who still find it impossible to come together in cooperation we must look to a future that must have its foundation upon *cooperation and collaboration*. . . . Trade unionism must lead the way even at the cost of being branded as reactionary.

Masses Swing to Left, Officialdom to Right

The superficial observer of events in the labor movement judges from the facts above recited and countless others of a similar nature, that the labor movement is becoming more and more reactionary, that the masses are being brought under the control of capitalism more completely than ever before. Such a judgment is mistaken indeed, for the very opposite is true. The basic reason for this concerted swing to the right of the officialdom, for this studied and systematic co-operation with all the varying forces and institutions of capitalism, is the fact that the masses are swinging to the left, are being disillusioned, are becoming radical. The reactionary officialdom cannot go along with the broad, sweeping radicalization of the masses, without making a clean break with their peaceful past. They are either corrupt agents of capitalism or are timid bureaucrats seeking nothing but a peaceful office life with a secure salary. In either case, their reaction toward the seething rank and file unrest is one of fear, and retreat to the protecting arms of the masters, the capitalist employers.

That the collaboration schemes will prove destructive of trade unionism there is no question. But that it will solve any of the fundamental problems of the present industrial order, only the politically feeble-minded can believe. The collaboration scheme is bound to fail as surely as water must seek its lowest level. In the meantime it must be combatted as the most dangerous and insidious enemy of the working class, and the one which will cost the greatest in working class sweat and blood to overcome.

The "New Unionism" of Sigman & Co.

By J. W. Johnstone

DEVELOPMENTS of the month in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union reveal some details of the Sigman policies that, soberly considered, can only be described as a repudiation of the fundamentals of unionism. The unions in Philadelphia refused to endorse the Sigman order for expulsion of all members and sympathizers of the Trade Union Educational League, the officials of the I. L. G. W. U. revoked the charters of all Philadelphia locals and announced that they would all be re-organized. New charters were issued under new numbers, and a "membership commission" was set up to examine and re-register the members. On December 13th, 12 former members were called before that body and the following points were laid down as the requirements for re-admission to the I. L. G. W. U.

1. They should sign a written statement that they will have nothing to do with the T. U. E. L. nor any organization in sympathy with it.

2. They should not read or circulate any literature which is not in accord with the official policy of the administration.

3. They should not attend any meetings or entertainments given by the T. U. E. L. or any organization in sympathy with the League.

4. They should not sell or buy any tickets for meetings or entertainments of the above-mentioned types.

This sort of "peonage" contract, binding the members to the official machine in perpetuity, has resulted in less than 25% of the former members of the Union in Philadelphia being re-enrolled in the organization. It is hard to imagine the stupidity of a policy that demands of union members that they shall not read radical literature, attend radical entertainments, or oppose expulsions of progressives. It is difficult to realize that union officials are actually putting up such points as qualifications for membership in the union. Yet that is what is actually going on in Philadelphia. The result that is bound to come, the disastrous condition flowing from such insanity, will quickly be apparent. The garment workers of Philadelphia, in common with the members all over the country, may well rue the day that Sigman & Co. took office in their union.

In all the garment centers the same policies are producing like results of disorganization. Revocation of charters, disfranchisement of members, removals from office, expulsions from the union, removal from the shops, the blacklist, slugging of protesting members, and breaking up of

local meetings—these are the weapons by which the Sigman regime has undertaken to rule the I. L. G. W. U. and to break the influence of the left wing within the organization.

The struggle that began over the issues of amalgamation of all unions in the needle industry, the shop steward system, and the recognition of Soviet Russia as three outstanding questions, has now become a struggle to maintain the very existence of the Union. But are the reactionary officials so stupid as to believe that they can settle any of these issues by their tactics of violence? No, Sigman and his cohorts are facing a militant rank and file that cannot be clubbed into submission to arbitrary orders. But even if his membership were such slavish and degenerate people that his orders should go unchallenged for the time, the demands of progressive and revolutionary elements are so rooted in the needs of the industry that they must recur again and again, until they are realized in life.

Amalgamation is a question that cannot be settled by slugging those who advocate it. Expulsion of members from the union because they propagate the shop steward system still leaves that question to be settled. Disfranchisement and the blacklist for workers that protest against the expulsion policy is only an admission that the officials cannot bear scrutiny. Despots of medieval autocracies learned a lesson centuries ago that Sigman has still to learn, that even a despotism must be tempered by common sense. And the workers in the garment trades are not slaves or serfs who can be forced to accept even an enlightened despotism. The attempt to establish a black autocracy will either cease, or the organization, weakened by this internal poison, will fall beneath the blows of the employers.

The situation is indeed serious. It is not a factional dispute. And though it began as a fight over the issues of amalgamation, the shop steward system, and other left-wing measures, the tactics of the wildly reactionary officials have aroused the membership to protest. It is now a fight between the rank and file and the International officials. Members who, up to two months ago, took no particular interest in their union meetings, are joining in the protests.

Members who do not know how the struggle began, go to their local union meetings to find out what is going on. Here they find that no discussions are allowed. Members are being expelled by star-chamber proceedings, but no votes are taken and no information given. Strong-arm

crews roam about to enforce official rulings. Meetings are broken up in confusion to prevent discussion and action. All these things, done brazenly by paid union officials rouses a storm of resentment against officialdom. The members become staunch supporters of the expelled left-wingers. The result has been a rank and file revolt against the Sigman machine.

The officials move from one desperate expedient to a more desperate one. Faced with a hostile membership, they did not dare allow any kind of free expression. Now they are abolishing elections. That is the only meaning of the action of Mayer Perlstein in Chicago in the local elections. Perlstein is an exceptionally treacherous bureaucrat, hypocritically professing sympathy for those whom he is betraying and blacklisting. He is a tool in the service of Sigman, and his actions in Chicago reveal the policy of his master. It is to disfranchise the whole membership.

Perlstein went about the job by assuming the authority to examine all candidates in the local union elections. Then he arbitrarily removed from the ballot all those who refused to pledge allegiance to the policies of Sigman & Co. One candidate was removed because, when questioned about the expulsions, he said he was impartial. Six candidates were arbitrarily removed from the ballot of one local union. This was done without consulting the local or the joint board. In defiance of the rules of elections requiring three days notice, he notified the members of election on the same day on which they were held. The machinery is being oiled for obtaining a 100% delegation to the coming international convention pledged to support Czar Sigman. The membership is disfranchised.

At the same time that the membership generally is being deprived of its right to vote for progressive candidates, Perlstein was depriving others of the right to work. Unable to accomplish this through the local unions, which unanimously refused to do his bidding in throwing

workers out of the shops, he had recourse to the manufacturers' associations, and through the bosses' organizations obtained the discharge of three men, former members expelled on his order.

Sigman and Perlstein are two outstanding figures in this fight against unionism, but behind them, in the shade of the Amsterdam International, stands the sinister figure of Abe Cahan, the crafty editor of the Jewish *Daily Forward*. He is the ringleader in the entire fight against progress. Parading before the world as a socialist, he is the incarnation of blackest reaction. His pen, his voice, his paper, and his influence have long been at the service of the most reactionary forces. He and his henchmen aspire to the complete control of the Jewish workers and all their organizations. He is out to crush all who do not bow to his dictation. He is against amalgamation because that will remove his small-minded lieutenants, who are incapable of directing a great industrial union of the needle trades, from the highest positions. He naturally affiliates with the reactionary forces wherever they are found. **He is a menace to unionism wherever Jewish workers are organized.**

Those who did not understand the complete indifference with which the reactionary officials regard the welfare of the workers, were under the illusion that the smashing tactics would soon come to an end. These innocent dreams have been largely dissipated by the latest developments, which demonstrate that the desperate officials will stop at nothing to continue to rule with an iron hand. It means nothing to them that in Philadelphia they have already reduced the Union to one-fourth its previous strength. They do not worry over the almost complete cessation of organization work. They are not concerned that the bosses are planning another drive to take advantage of the weakened condition of the organization. The rank and file, if it would protect itself, will have to take its affairs out of such irresponsible hands. The issue is up to the membership.

The United Front. A T. U. E. L. Leaflet.

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

50c. per hundred, \$4.00 per thousand.

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

Progress of the Labor Party Movement

By Joseph Manley

THE swing toward a great party of farmers and workers is taking on national impetus. This movement is developing its greatest momentum in the big agricultural states of the West and North West. Within the last several months conventions of state farmer-labor parties have been held in Washington, Montana and South Dakota.

There are two principal reasons why this is so: One is the economic conditions that are rapidly driving millions of farmers into bankruptcy and the other is the organizational and educational work of the old Non-partisan League. Though the League and its "non-partisan" policy are bankrupt, it has, nevertheless, left an indelible impression on the states of the North West. The organizers of the old League were for the most part militants and reds who thought they were working for "practical socialism" and consequently spread broadcast, along with the outworn League policy, many of the fundamental tenets of Marxian economics. The result is now, the bulk of the farmers are not scared by radical ideas. In fact, thousands of them call themselves "Bolsheviks."

The Washington Farmer-Labor Party convention was held at Everett, November 24-25. There were 117 delegates present, 40 of them were from locals of the Western Progressive Farmers, the rest being about equally divided as delegates of local unions and the local and county units of the Farmer-Labor Party.

The outstanding feature of this convention was the clear cut progressive position taken by the delegates of the Western Progressive Farmers. This organization is one of exploited farmers, who are conscious of their exploitation. It is headed by William Bouck, the President, and Elihu Bowles, Editor of their official journal. It has branches all over the state of Washington with thousands of members. Its delegates to this convention showed remarkable clarity in understanding the fundamental nature of the measures needed to cope with the increasing bankruptcy of the farmers of the state.

James Duncan, former Secretary of the Seattle Central Labor Council, was also a delegate and took a decided stand for a militant farmer-labor movement. Bouck, Bowles and John C. Kennedy, Secretary of the Washington Farmer-Labor Party, gave extended reports on the Chicago Convention of July 3-5. They recommended affiliation with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. The farmers were solid for this recommendation

and a majority of the other delegates also favored it, but a few trade unionists said they would prefer the word "co-operate" rather than "affiliate," at this time. For the sake of complete harmony this wording was used in the final motion which was carried with but two dissenting votes.

This convention also endorsed the calling of the national convention to be held at St. Paul, Minnesota, May 30, 1924.

The Farmer-Labor Party of Montana was launched at a conference held in Great Falls on October 23-24. This conference was attended by delegates of local unions, central bodies and farmers' organizations. This conference was remarkable for the unanimity of opinion of the need for a class party of farmers and workers. Without the usual prelude of speechmaking, it soon settled down to the serious work of mapping out a plan of organization. After fully considering the various political problems of the state it adopted the entire Statement of Principles and Program of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

At Pierre, South Dakota, on December 4, the South Dakota Farmer-Labor Party held its convention. This was one of the most militant and class conscious gatherings of workers and farmers yet held. To one who in the past has been chary to believe that the farmers could possibly align themselves with a genuine class movement, this convention was a practical demonstration, of how in some matters the bankrupt farmers are running ahead of many trade unionists, especially those who are yet under the control of the Gompers bureaucracy.

Out of a total delegation numbering 143 there were only 6 trade unionists. The few rank and file trade unionists with little hesitation stuck to the radical bankrupt farmers who were in the vast majority.

Warren L. Beck, President, and G. L. Gordon, Secretary of the State Federation of Labor, were present not as delegates but for the purpose of capturing the convention and leading it "up to the hill" where the Democrats were meeting in their state convention. Beck and his fellow "fusionists" held forth on the "immediate prospects for success, of the non-partisan policy of Samuel Gompers." In all honor to the farmer delegates to this convention let it be said they knew little and cared less about the alleged capable leadership of the aforementioned Samuel Gompers.

The South Dakota Farmer-Labor Party re-

fused to fuse with the Democratic Party. It refused to be side tracked by the boom for Henry Ford; it persists in holding to its original program of a class political party; it endorsed the present united front campaign of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party and demanded recognition of Soviet Russia.

These three states will have heavy delegations at St. Paul on May 30th, 1924, and they demonstrate the rapid strides being made for the creating of a great national party of the workers on the land and in the city. This movement has taken on a particularly national and militant aspect since the Chicago July 3-5, convention. At the present moment the most militant section of this movement is amongst the bankrupt sorely exploited farmers. They have no Gompers bur-

eaucracy to fear, neither are they afraid of a blacklist invented by employers or time-serving petty union officials. Nobody wants the farmers job, not even the banker who holds the mortgages. The militant demands of the farmers in South Dakota smashed the attempt of Gompers thru his agent Beck to control their movement. The same militant demands and spirit will smash nationally, the attempt of the dead hand of the Gompers bureaucracy to control the rank-and-file swing toward independent working-class political action. The city worker and militant trade unionist, when freed from the stifling Gompers influence, will assume the historical role for which they are fitted, leadership of the movement that leads to a Government of and by the workers and farmers.

International Liebknecht Day

By Martin Abern

"THE real traitors are the responsible and irresponsible members of the German Government, the Bonapartists with unclean social consciences; they are the government political and capitalistic hunters after spoils, financiers and stock jobbers of every kind who have criminally instigated this war exclusively for the sake of their profit, under the protection of semi-absolutism and secret diplomacy. Guilty of high treason are the men who have precipitated mankind into a chaos of barbarous violence which is transforming Europe into a heap of ruins and wilderness, enveloping her in an atmosphere of lies and hypocrisy in which truth is blinded and stifled; and they intend to and will go on with their infernal machinations until the bleeding and enslaved masses fall helpless into their grasp."

So spoke Karl Liebknecht, social prophet and revolutionary leader of the working class on May 1st, 1916 at a demonstration in Berlin against the World War. Karl Liebknecht was arrested, accused of high treason. The above was in part a reply, now world famous, to the capitalist courts. He further said:

"High treason has always been a privilege of the ruling class, princes and aristocrats,—and is one of the most aristocratic traditions of this cast. Those really guilty of high treason do not appear before the bar; they sit in the offices of the great captains of industry, of the firms that attend to the equipment of armies, in great banks, on the estates of the agrarian junkers . . . in the various ministerial and princely places, in the royal castles and on thrones."

"They are the men who coin gold and power for themselves out of the people's blood, sweat, want and destitution; those who have a direct interest in the war or in its imperialistic aims: whose greed and thirst for domination hide behind ranting patriotic zeal. *They are the men, who more than defeat, dread the success of the movement for emancipation among their own people,*—who hate the people to be free in other countries as well, who are determined once again to deceive the people's hope of freedom, yet have the bare-faced audacity to give this conflict the name of a "war for liberation," and who, so far, have not yet been made to answer for their actions, merely because the bulk of the people, misled victims as they still are of cowardly artificers, to this day do not know the truth."

What statement to-day could better point the truth of Liebknecht's ringing words as we see everywhere chaos and wreckage in Europe; a starved and despairing Germany; the snake of Fascism spitting its poisons in Europe and in the United States; the traitorous social-democrats in Germany united with the German capitalists against the German masses struggling their way out of the quicksands of capitalism; French imperialism with cannon and fire extending its dominions and military powers on continental Europe; England with its hundreds of thousands of unemployed; America, with farmers ruined by the thousands, unemployment increasing, children going in ever greater numbers into the mills, factories, fields, to be mercilessly exploited; the reactionary Gompers trying to hold back every move of progress by the workers; American capi-

talists beginning to intervene against the coming Workers Revolution in Germany with loads of money coined from the sweat of the American workers.

In 1918 the revolutionary German masses overthrew German Militarism. The Social-Democratic Party came into power. In 1919, Karl Kiebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg, leading the organized revolutionary workers of Germany, the Spartacans, now the Communists, called upon the German masses once again to struggle for the overthrow of the Social-Democrats who had betrayed the aims of the workers for the ownership of the industries and fields, and who had become the sniveling and fawning agents of the German capitalists. In the struggle led by the Spartacans for the dictatorship of the workers against the dictatorship of German capitalist thru the traitorous lap-dogs the Social-Democrats, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg were murdered on January 15, 1919, by the White Guards of the yellow "Labor Government" of Germany. The German working class revolt was stayed for the time.

Today in 1923 and 1924, the German masses, trades unionists, exploited millions of the middle class, etc., true to the revolutionary spirit of the beloved Liebknecht and Luxembourg, are preparing to throw off the shackles of German capitalism and the Social-Democracy and to establish a Workers Government. The masses everywhere must rally to the support of the German workers and peasants and prevent any intervention in any form, money, munitions, human material, against the impending Workers Revolution. In America our efforts must first be turned to preventing financial interference by the Morgans in the name of fattened pocketbooks.

Then comes preparation for more determined action against intervention. At once all workers must give aid to the starving workers of Germany to make sure their battle and victory over German capitalism.

All over the world the youth of the industries

and farms are preparing to do their utmost to aid the German working class revolution. America is a highly developed capitalist nation with a correspondingly efficient militarism. 83% of the government budget is used for military purposes. In addition there are all sorts of military organizations sponsored locally and in states, such as the state militia and constabulary, the students military corps. There are the special white guard training camps, etc., all of them breeding a spirit of militarism and hatred of the workers and their aims. Out of these swamps will, are already, come hordes of fascists, KKKs, similar slimy bodies, to wreak their vengeance against striking unionists and other peaceful workers. The Young Workers League of America is organized to carry on, in the spirit of Karl Liebknecht, a campaign against all these forms of institutions of reaction, militarism, fascism and labor-haters.

International Liebknecht Day, January 20th, 1924, will be celebrated in America under the auspices of the Young Workers League of America. In other lands, the Young Communist and Workers Leagues, under the inspiration of the Young Communist International, will also demonstrate on International Liebknecht Day, this great day of the young workers, aye of all workers. All unionists, all workers, should aid the Young Workers League in every city make a huge success of International Liebknecht Day.

Against White Terror and Fascism!

Against Militarism and Imperialism!

"For the united front of all workers in town and country against capitalist intervention in Worker's Germany! Take everywhere steps for the material and moral support of the starving German workers and of the victims of the struggle! Defend the German Workers' Revolution!"

From the whole world a shout will come a millionfold:-

HANDS OFF WORKERS GERMANY!

So shall we best honor the memory of our fallen champions, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg.

Is the Trade Union Educational League a Dual Union?

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

50c. per hundred, \$4.00 per thousand.

Let's Make a Drive for Members

By Jay Fox

THE most vital problem confronting the labor movement today is that of organization.

The millions of unorganized workers must be brought into the unions. Without them our unions cannot begin to stand up before the highly organized masters of industry, no matter how perfect our system of organization. Amalgamation will bring our unions to their highest point of power and efficiency commensurate with their numerical strength. The main source of all union power is numbers. The most powerful union is the one that covers most completely its field of endeavor. Defeat in our lost strikes is due mostly to the prevalence of nonunion workers. Union men break ranks only when they see their chances of winning dwindle away through the influx of non-unionists into the jobs. When scabs are scarce very few strikers desert their comrades. If there were no non-unionists to scab there would be no desertions from the ranks of the strikers. Labor would then be invincible.

It is quite plain that the rank and file of organized labor has never realized the importance of evolving proper machinery for gathering the masses into the unions. Had they done so the antiquated, inefficient, indifferent and costly manner in which the officials go about the work would have been discarded long ago. In this as in other directions a century of experience has taught the labor officials nothing. That the old method is an utter failure goes without saying. The evidence is before us in abundance. Organized labor forms but a small portion of our industrial workers. The great mass is unorganized and is thus the cause of our continued industrial weakness. Helpless, these unorganized millions are driven by the lash of physical necessity to work on such terms as the employers dictate. Without unity they are slaves. And we unionists are little better off, since the menace of the non-unionists is ever present.

Membership Dwindling Away

The fact that each of our International unions carry a costly staff of organizers does not seem to effect the situation in the least. Members are leaving much faster than they are coming in. Our unions are dwindling away. Members complain that the organizers are mainly concerned with keeping the administration in power in order to hold their jobs. Call it inefficiency, incapacity or whatever we will, on the part of our officials, the figures show that they are not holding the unions together. And, to cap the climax, if a

member has the temerity to call official attention to the fact and mildly suggest that something ought to be done about it, he is immediately branded as an agent of Moscow striving to undermine our labor movement.

At the Portland convention of the A. F. of L., Gompers attempted to explain the loss of membership by asserting that during the last few years large numbers of union men were out of work and therefore unable to pay their dues. No doubt some members were lost in that way by unions that do not issue out-of-work due stamps. Still it is well known that unions that do issue such stamps lost heavily. No member of the machinists union needs to forfeit his membership thru being out of work. Still we have lost thousands of members in the last few years. And Gompers' own union has lost 20,000 members in a steady decline extending over the last thirteen years, despite the fact that the union paid an out-of-work benefit; except that during the last two years it issued unemployment due stamps only.

Gompers Machine Responsible

The fact of the matter is our unions are breaking down before the attacks of the open shoppers and no amount of lying can conceal the utter incompetency of the Gompers machine, that is directly responsible for the weakness of the unions, and in this time of stress without directing ability, cowering under the blows of reaction.

Leaving the old do-nothings, sit-arounds out of the question, it is up to us who suffer thru their incompetency to get together and start something. It is plain the old guard will not do anything of its own volition. The rank and file must take up the fight and force the officials to either work or get off the job.

Experience has proven very clearly that successfully to put anything over involving the masses requires a mass movement. Where the mass idea has been put into effect in the organization of labor it has produced good results. The organization of the stockyard workers was effected thru a deliberately organized mass attack, after many years of futile effort on the part of the old line craft organizers, who had given the job up as impossible. Now, in their drive to discredit Foster, they are claiming credit for originating the plan of mass organizing; and I am sure Foster will not dispute the claim, provided, they will revive the idea and get busy organizing.

The Steel Strike was the result of mass organizing. That huge industry, including about thirty

different crafts, could not be organized in any other way. In organizing a plant how absurd to refuse to organize men if they belong to any of the thirty crafts other than that of the organizer. Yet that is the primitive way our unions are still organizing. The mass idea is for the organizers to organize first. Then with a united front whoop it up for unionism and swing all workers into the union, classifying them afterwards. This method brings home the members. It is economical; it is efficient. Under this method the organizers organize. Under the old method they act as individuals. The difference is the same as that between unionism and non-unionism.

Big Drive Must Be Organized

Some years ago there was a semi-mass organization movement that brought good results where it was tried out. It was called "The Labor Forward Movement." The name was suggested by that of a religious revival movement that was prevalent at the time. The idea was to get the Internationals to send organizers to a selected locality at a given time, who, with the co-operation of the local unions made a drive for members. Why

that movement was allowed to die I do not know.

One thing is certain: a concerted move must be made to gather the unorganized millions into the unions. A big drive must be organized in the unions. Troups of organizers must be gotten together and organized drives made upon the different industries. In this age of big things the puny efforts of our one-cylinder union officials is pitiable to behold. If they have learned nothing from the open shop drives of the bosses it is up to the membership to teach them. It is the rank and file that suffers from official inactivity. Weak unions mean low wages. Wage cuts for the workers don't effect the officials. Were the latter to receive reductions when the workers' wages are cut, we would have stronger unions. There would be more effective organizing done; drives for membership would be more frequent.

Unless action is taken very soon to rejuvenate and strengthen the unions by an influx of new members they will either go to pieces **under the** sledgehammer blows of the organized employers or become servile company unions incapable to defend the workers.

Help Feed the German Workers

The Friends of Soviet Russia have entered a nation-wide campaign for raising of funds for German children.

Tag days, house to house canvasses, bazaars, benefit movies and other affairs will be held all over the country. The proceeds will go for the feeding of the German workers and their families.

In Russia the famine of 1919 affected all persons indiscriminately. In Germany it is quite different. There the famine affects the population according to classes. Statistics gathered by Americans in Germany and printed in the Chicago "Tribune" show that there are four classes in Germany:

Class 1 constitutes the agricultural and allied professions and represents 36.6% of the entire population. It will consume 55.1% of the entire food supply for the next year.

Class 2 constitutes the urban population—industrialists, traders and high executives. It represents 11.1% of the population and will get 16.8% of the food supply.

Class 3 constitutes the skilled workman and small shopkeepers, representing

20.6% of the population and will get 20.7% of the food supply.

Class 4 constitutes the unskilled workers, war-injured, dependents, professionals and artists and the vast mass of unemployed men and women. They represent 31.8% and will receive only 7.4% of the food supply.

It is in the interest of Class 4 that the Friends of Soviet Russia, who are also Friends of Workers' Germany, have started their nation-wide campaign for the raising of funds.

On behalf of this class, we, the Friends of Soviet Russia, in the name of International Solidarity appeal to all who helped the Russian workers' government in its time of need. The German workers also helped the Russians generously. LET US NOW LOSE NO TIME IN ANSWERING THE CALL FOR HELP OF THE GERMAN WORKERS!

Send your contributions to Friends of Soviet Russia, national office, 32 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

Who's Who in Prison; Matthew Schmidt

By S. T. Hammersmark

THERE are three kinds of revolutionists; the long-distance kind that can enthuse over revolutions in India, Russia, Mexico, or Ireland, but who are calculating conservatives at home; there is the second sort that talks, enthuses, and philosophizes—the theoretical revolutionists who never do anything but talk; and then there is the third kind, the aggressive, constructive, usually mild-mannered men and women who know what needs to be done and who proceed to do it in a practical manner without regard to consequences to themselves—the real revolutionists.

This line of thought ran through my mind after having seen and talked with Matthew Schmidt recently in San Quentin Prison.

For the information of those who don't know him, Schmidt is an old-timer in the Chicago labor movement, who went to California and, along with Dave Caplan, was framed-up by Burns' men and Donald Vose, a stool-pigeon anarchist, and sent to prison for life in connection with the McNamara case.

I do not know that I would have written about my visit to "Matt" were it not that about the same time I read what appeared to me a good description of this life-time prisoner of the class war, in a magazine article of Eric Von Stroheim: "An eternal youth who sees the romance of lilac-time and yet knows that under the fairest street runs a sewer. He can visualize the royalty of Rome in the dress circle of the Coliseum, but he also sees the gore of the arena."

When talking with "Smiddy," as so many of his friends lovingly call him, one forgets that he is in prison for life. This is not only because of his humor and wit but because he has, for the moment at least, so completely forgotten the fact himself. He is much better posted on the live issues of the day than even the militant outside, so that after visiting him I lost much of that outside-world feeling of fear of prison life. If this is all the damage that prison has done to "Smiddy" then I know many so-called leaders in the American labor movement who would greatly benefit by going to prison.

"Smiddy" told me that he was seriously thinking of starting a reform movement. He said: "Sam, you know there is a lot of gush about prison reform. But after reading about what they are doing to you fellows outside, the broken

strikes, the injunctions, the syndicalist laws, the Michigan raid, and the "red" raids all over the country, I am convinced that it is not we who need more freedom and better conditions, but you outside. I'd like to head a bunch of prisoners to go out and get some freedom for you."

"Why Sam," Smiddy continued, "during the war we could, in San Quentin Prison, send the King of England to Hell all we pleased and nobody kicked. But you poor free-men outside—well, we heard that they even beat-up fellows for saying that England would fight until the last Frenchman was dead. And now, it seems that if there is any change from war-times it is for the worse."

I forgot that I was sitting in the presence of three men who were supposed to be in prison for life—McNamara, Mooney, and Schmidt. I laughed and roared as though I were attending a banquet. We talked about every phase of the American labor movement and many of the old-time leaders. Always Smiddy saw the humorous side. He knew all about the current events; he was familiar with the details of the struggle in the miners' union; he knew how rapidly the amalgamation movement was spreading, and about the labor party movement growing up everywhere. He put his finger on the right key every time he spoke. He was completely in touch with life—more so than most of the participators outside San Quentin walls. And always with a smile that made me ashamed of the many outside who could be doing something, but who only groan, growl, and lament, like a lot of old people smitten with mental and spiritual rheumatism.

I guess there is some truth to that old quotation, "Stone walls do not a prison make, nor iron bars a cage." Smiddy is not in prison so far as his mental life is concerned. There are few men outside of prison with so clear and free a mind as that of Matthew Schmidt. But I'm afraid that if I keep on along this line we will have our young rebels all trying to go to prison. That is not desirable. Smiddy is what he is in spite of San Quentin, and prison is a damn bad place to be. I agree with him, when he said: "Sam, tell the boys outside to stay there. They can do something out there, and carry on the movement. We can only watch it. That is the greatest curse of prison."

The I. W. W. Convention

By James P. Cannon

THE I. W. W. has just finished its Fifteenth General Convention. It lasted for 18 days and was attended by 26 delegates representing a membership of approximately 38,000. The great bulk of the members represented are migratory workers, nearly two-thirds being engaged in three industries—Lumber, Agriculture and General Construction. All the delegates were from the rank and file, coming directly from the job. It can be pretty safely assumed, therefore, that the convention was a fairly accurate reflection of the present state of mind of the I. W. W. It will be of interest to consider some of the outstanding decisions of the convention and see what that state of mind is.

The question of international relations has been "settled" several times already by the officials of the I. W. W., but, in spite of all, it came up again at this convention and was the biggest issue before it. This is natural and inevitable. There was a plainly manifested desire on the part of most of the delegates to have done with this troublesome question which has vexed them so much since the formation of the Red International of Labor Unions. But such an issue cannot be put aside today by any body of militant workers. It came before the convention in three separate proposals: 1) To send delegates to the forthcoming World Congress of the Red International; 2) To affiliate with the so-called Syndicalist International; 3) To regard the I. W. W. itself as the only International. All three propositions were defeated. The present position of the I. W. W. on the question of the International is no position.

Nevertheless the convention marked a distinct step forward on the road that cannot but lead the I. W. W. to the Red International. It advanced from an attitude of open hostility to an attitude of neutrality. And, for the first time in the long controversy, a representative body of the I. W. W. listened to an argument for the Red International made by its accredited representatives. In response to a cablegram from the Executive Bureau at Moscow the Convention, after a sharp struggle, granted the floor to Robert Minor and the writer to speak for the acceptance of the invitation to send delegates to the World Congress. Although the invitation was rejected, the action of the Convention in consenting to hear the question discussed cannot represent anything else than a step *forward* from its past attitude of opposition and hostility and a step *closer* to the Red International. Several of the delegates made

the statement on the floor that they had never heard before the side of the Red International. This is the real explanation of the bitter antagonism of the past. The members of the I. W. W. have been prejudiced against the Red International by misrepresentation of its program and purpose.

Other actions of the Convention showed a commendable moderation of attitude and give the hope that the black night of dogmatism and intolerance is passing in the I. W. W., and that its rank and file membership is drawing closer to an appreciation of the need of friendly cooperation with other revolutionary groups and tolerant consideration of the rights of minority elements in its own ranks. One of these was the decision of the Convention in the case of Ralph Chaplin, Forrest Edwards, Richard Brazier, and a number of others who accepted President Harding's conditional commutation from Leavenworth, and the other was the case of Harrison George who was put on trial for "communism." This "trial" was conducted by a Chicago Branch during the sessions of the Convention and the spirit of the Convention undoubtedly had a determining effect on its outcome.

A majority of 15 out of 26 I. W. W. prisoners at Leavenworth, including Ralph Chaplin, Forrest Edwards and other old and tested militants accepted the commutation last June, while a minority of 11 rejected it. A sharp factional controversy then arose within the I. W. W. over the demand of some of those who rejected the commutation that those who accepted it be excluded from the right to take part in any of the work of the I. W. W. General Defense Committee in behalf of class war prisoners. This demand was pressed at the Convention by H. F. Kane and F. A. Blossom who, with others, had even gone to the point of issuing circulars against Ralph Chaplin and attempting, by this and other means, to disrupt meetings addressed by him. This controversy raised a question of no little importance. The excellent standing and long-proven revolutionary integrity of the men involved made their case of concern to the entire radical labor movement. Any official action to discredit them and to exclude them from activity would have been a decidedly reactionary step and would have produced a most unfavorable impression.

The Convention, fortunately, took the right viewpoint. After thoroughly going into the whole matter, it exonerated those who had accepted the

commutation and declared them to be eligible to any responsible post assigned to them by the General Defense Committee or the General Executive Board. More than that, it condemned those who had resorted to public agitation against them.

Harrison George is an outspoken communist, a member of the Workers' Party, and the charges against him involved directly the right of a member of the I. W. W. to hold communist opinions and to openly express them. He had written an article in *The Worker* against the censorship of the I. W. W. press. For this he was put on trial by the Branch to which he belonged. A number of points were included in the charges against him, including charges of "dishonesty" and "insubordination;" but everybody knew that his only crime was the self-confessed one of being a communist. Harrison George acted like a real communist. He did not run away, but resisted the attempt to expel him and conducted a militant defense, turning it into an offensive attack against the whole policy of censorship and heresy-hunting in the I. W. W. His long record as a fighter in the class struggle and his years of imprisonment for the I. W. W., bravely borne, were in his favor. He was able to prove beyond question that his activity had not been of a disruptive character and that the charges of dishonesty had no foundation. The sessions of the trial were attended by many delegates to the Convention and became a forum for the discussion of the great questions involved in it.

This historic trial ended in a complete vindication of Harrison George on every point of the indictment against him. He was acquitted by the unanimous vote of the trial committee and by the unanimous vote of the branch members attending the meeting. Of course, the vote for him was not a vote for communism, but a vote for the right of a member of the I. W. W. to be a communist. And, since many well-known anti-communists participated in the decision, the outcome gives every indication of the beginning of an end to the policy of suppressing and persecuting communists in the I. W. W., and that henceforth they will enjoy the same rights of opinion and political activity that are enjoyed by other members. The I. W. W. will never have cause to regret the adoption of this attitude toward the communists. It will go a long way to overcome the bitter conflicts of the past, and it will very soon be demonstrated that communists work constructively in all labor organizations and that their destructive activities are aimed only at the capitalist class and its institutions.

Two communications from the Workers' Party were read to the Convention. One of these was a proposal that the I. W. W. make a United Front with the Workers' Party and all other working

class organizations for the defense and support of the impending German Revolution. The other was an invitation to the I. W. W. to make joint campaign with the Workers Party for the release of Class War Prisoners and the repeal of Criminal Syndicalist laws. The need for joint action on these questions is quite manifest and was freely admitted by a number of individual delegates. But the Convention took no official action on the matter. This is to be regretted; but the reason for it is quite clear. The I. W. W. has an unholy fear of "politicians," and is very apprehensive about any dealings with them, even though the "politicians" in this case happen to be revolutionary workers who have nothing in mind except the organization of the working class for the struggle against capitalism. The I. W. W. has not yet come to the point where it makes a distinction between capitalist politics which are aimed against the working class and communist politics which are aimed against the capitalists. This prejudice is one of the biggest stumbling blocks in the way of cooperation between the I. W. W. and the other revolutionary workers in America, and one of the foremost tasks of the communists in relation to the I. W. W. is to overcome it.

Paradoxical as it may seem the I. W. W. is an intensely political organization. This is what complicates the problem of unifying its activities with those of the other revolutionary workers. The I. W. W. is not simply a labor union. In the real sense of the word it is also a political party, and the fact that it decries politics and has nothing to do with elections does not alter the fact. Its very creed of "anti-politics" stamps it as a political body, that is, a body dominated by ideas and conceptions and not simply by immediate economic interests like an ordinary union. The I. W. W. functions as a labor union in the real sense of the word only in a very restricted field. The convention representation, as well as the annual financial statement, revealed the fact that the unions of the I. W. W. are almost exclusively unions of migratory workers. Its membership in the main fields of conservative labor organization is so negligible as to present no real organizational problem in relation to the other unions, but only a theoretical problem, a conflict of theory between the I. W. W. and the communists as to how the revolution will be made in the future, and a conflict of ideas about immediate work as to whether it is better to work within the established conservative unions in order to revolutionize them or to undertake at once to build new unions of the I. W. W. The conflict is thus a conflict of ideas and not a conflict between rival labor unions. In these industries, the record shows, the I. W. W.

does not exist as a labor union, but only as a small nucleus bound together by certain ideas.

In the field of migratory labor, however, the situation is somewhat different. Such organization of the workers as there is here is in the I. W. W. The great mass of migratory workers, like the majority of workers in all industries of America, are unorganized. But the fact that the I. W. W. is the principal or exclusive labor organization amongst the migratory workers greatly simplifies the problem there. The adherents of the Red International take all labor unions as they find them and adapt their program accordingly. Their aim is not to arbitrarily favor one organization and oppose another, but to build the exist-

ing unions, to unify the militant workers, to bring rival organizations together and to organize the masses of unorganized workers. The practical basis of work in every case, in every industry, is and must be the already existing labor unions in the given industry.

The beginning of a more tolerant and friendly attitude of the I. W. W. toward the communists, as it was manifested by the recent Convention and the trial of Harrison George, ought to pave the way for a better understanding and, eventually, for real cooperation between the I. W. W. and the communists, at least in the field of migratory labor which, as we have seen, is the field where the I. W. W. is functioning as a labor union.

AN OPEN LETTER TO JOHN FITZPATRICK

(Continued from Page 8)

at our group. Anyone who shows weakness in a crisis or makes so many mistakes as you did about the convention is naturally anxious to blame somebody else for it. But you might have found a better excuse than to say you opposed the participation of the Workers Party because they are a "red" organization affiliated to the Third International. Why, then, did you invite them to the convention? It would be ridiculous to say that you did not, at the time you sent out the invitations, know of their affiliations, which had been shouted from the housetops.

The July 3-5 convention held tremendous potentialities for the labor party. It should have marked the unification of the labor party forces and the beginning of a widespread campaign to enlist the workers into a party of their own. This, if prosecuted aggressively, certainly would have been a great success, in spite of anything that might be done by Gompers. It was such an opportunity as to delight the heart of a bold leader. But not you. You failed utterly to perceive its possibilities and to act up to your responsibility as the key man in the labor party movement. You saw nothing of the real significance of the occasion. The same spirit of regularity which came so sharply to the surface in connection with West's article, and which had so long paralyzed you from making a militant struggle to establish the Farmer-Labor Party, rose up to smite you at this critical moment. All you knew was your determination to sever connections with the Workers Party, which was threatening to involve you in irregularity and a militant war on Gompersism. So you split the convention and threw disunion into the labor party forces. You have jeopardized the whole movement. No wonder capitalist papers applauded you. In other words, just when a real

stroke of generalship was demanded from you, you failed completely by weakly retreating back to Gompers. For this you have lost altogether your leadership in the labor party movement, as you will discover before long.

The Aftermath of the Split

That you really have retreated back to Gompers is amply proved by your course since the convention. You seem to have cast aside all your progressive ideas. For example, consider the "red baiting" you are indulging in. I thought you were above that. But it seems not. Hardly the blackest reactionaries in the A. F. of L. have ever made worse accusations against the Communists than you have in recent weeks. I have in mind your ridiculous charge that we framed up the Bridgeman convention so that we could become martyrs by being arrested. I wonder who you think believes that fairy tale? Or the other one about our falsely collecting money, presumably for defense purposes but in reality for propaganda. Such silly rot smacks more of Ellis Searles than of John Fitzpatrick. It is about on a par with the false statement of Ed. Nockels that I staged the shooting at Carmen's Hall and that the shots fired were blanks. And he maintained this notwithstanding that I offered to show him the bullet holes if he would be fair enough (which he was not) to go to Carmen's Hall with me.

In going back to Gompers another progressive policy that you have cast aside is amalgamation. You boast that you did a lot to give impetus to this great movement in its early stages. Let us not argue that point, although much might be said about it. One thing we can be sure of, however, is that since the July convention you have done plenty to block amalgamation. Your statement discrediting the amalgamation movement, issued just in time to be used at the reactionary Decatur convention, gave joy to the heart

of every reactionary labor man in the United States. It is being used everywhere to beat down amalgamation sentiment. Pitiful to all realistic observers are your efforts to justify this repudiation of amalgamation by denouncing the Communists for having "betrayed" you at the July 3-5 convention. That is certainly a weak excuse; the real reason is your determination to get "right" again.

I have watched with interest and grief the rapid swing of the Chicago Federation of Labor to the right in the past few months. I saw the old "red baiting," absent from its sessions for many years, being re-introduced; I saw the amalgamation movement thrown overboard; I saw the delegate's report adopted endorsing the work of the Decatur convention of the Illinois Federation of Labor, which repudiated every progressive policy that the Chicago Federation of Labor in its better days stood for, and I wondered how long it would be before even formal support of the labor party policy would be given up also. I have seen organizations and individuals swing to the right before, and they usually make a complete job of it. But the ditching of the labor party came quicker than even I expected. The last local judicial elections did the job. I wondered how you felt and thought as you saw such reactionaries as Nelson and Olander leading a successful fight to have the Chicago Federation of Labor abandon its labor party policy and re-adopt the suicidal Gompers program of rewarding friends and punishing enemies. And you lent your active aid to the re-introduction of this reactionary policy which you have condemned so bitterly in the past. You aided in bringing the workers of Chicago, who were just beginning to learn the principles of independent working class

political action, back into the shambles of the Republican and Democratic parties. Gompers must have been overjoyed. Of course, the clever reactionaries asserted that the non-partisan policy was being followed for this time only, merely so that Sullivan and Holdom could be defeated (which they were not). But such arguments are about as valid as those of the cashier who steals just once, intending to pay the money back later on. The fact is, you have gone back to Gompers politically and dragged the Chicago Federation of Labor with you.

Your retreat from your former progressive position has not only injured the labor movement as a whole, but it has completely wrecked your individual prestige and made you impossible as a progressive leader. Your weakness at the July 3-5 convention, coupled with your re-adoption of the Gompers' non-partisan method, has killed you as the national champion of the labor party idea. You have now become a stumbling block in the road of the labor party. Likewise your general shift to the right is destroying you even in your cherished position as head of the Chicago Federation of Labor. You cannot see this, but others can. The real leader of the Chicago Federation of Labor today is Oscar Nelson. It is his policies, not yours, that are going into effect. For years he fought the "reds" and denounced amalgamation, the labor party, and the rest of their program as so much bunk. And now you have come to believe him and to agree with him. You are following his lead, although you may not yet realize the fact. You are due before long for a rude awakening on this matter. I wonder how long the reactionaries will let you retain even your formal leadership of the Federation now that you have lost the real leadership of it?

Bill Dunne's Speech at Portland

Is acknowledged by friend and foe alike to be the most complete and fearless indictment of the "fat boys," the labor fakers, that was ever made. Delivered at the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in answer to the motion by the reactionary miners' officials to unseat Dunne, this speech will go down in history, marking a new phase of the class struggle in America.

In response to the hundreds of calls for this speech in a more permanent form, the Trade Union Educational League has published it as a pamphlet. It is the most effective kind of educational work to distribute this widely among union men. Every live-wire will want to read it and pass it on to his friends. It should receive the widest circulation throughout the country.

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AMALGAMATION IN PRACTICE

SLOWLY but surely the great educational campaign for amalgamation conducted throughout the labor movement by the Trade Union Educational League begins to bear fruit in actual consolidations of related crafts. In the textile industry the largest unions, including the A. F. of L. organization, the United Textile Workers, have been negotiating the concrete terms of amalgamation for some months and are preparing to carry them into effect. Now another move in the same industry is being made with the merger of the National Loomfixers' Association and the New England Loomfixers' Alliance.

The *New Bedford Standard* of Nov. 19th, reports that a conference of representatives of the two organizations meeting in that city had agreed upon a basis of amalgamation, which is to be submitted to a vote of the membership of both without delay. The consolidation, which it is estimated will require three or four months to complete, affects about 10,000 workers of this particular part of the industry throughout the country. The aims of the amalgamated organization are stated to be:

First, to bring about as far as possible uniform conditions of work and wages for loomfixers throughout the industry.

Second, to unite in one organization those workers with common interests.

There is little doubt that the next logical step in carrying out the second aim, which means inclusion of the loomfixers within the textile industrial union, will not be long delayed. The labor world moves slowly as yet in America, but it does move.

PRESIDENT OF AMERICAN CAPITALISM

CALVIN COOLIDGE did not disappoint those who raised him to his high position as president of the United States when, on Dec. 6th, he delivered his message to Congress. His public record has never contained anything of note save an unremitting service to capitalism and an equally constant hostility to Labor. In his message he outdid himself, and is now hailed as the logical leader of Wall Street forces in the national capitol for the next few years.

Every section of the message is devoted to a problem of the capitalist class or some section of it; not one single section bears directly upon Labor. The farmers are dismissed with an admonition to help themselves. The interests of the workers are vitally concerned in many of these problems; here the message unequivocally

and brutally declares against Labor and for the employers. In the railroad industry, continuation of the bonus for capital is advocated, with a higher degree of organization of the railroad companies; but for the workers the message is that the Railroad Labor Board will be retained to curb the Unions. In the coal mining industry, nationalization of the mines is repudiated and more organization of the exploiters and profiteers advocated; while the miners are threatened with legislation giving the president power to break their strike. Policies designed to divide Labor and to establish strike-breaking machinery are clearly evident in the proposal to register and catalog alien workers, in the abandonment of the Negroes to their local oppressors as a "local problem." Further measures against the labor movement are latent in the intimation of great appropriations for the Department of Justice. To mention all the points inimical to the exploited farmers and workers would be to quote the entire message.

Tweedledum Coolidge has won the leadership of the Republican department of Wall Street. When Tweedledee McAdoo or Cox or Underwood speak their parts in the same play for the Democratic department, the 1924 comedy will be well under way. In the meantime every militant unionist will bend his energies toward launching an independent political party for Labor. It will be a historic event if, on May 30th at St. Paul, the Conference called by the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party supported by Federated Farmer-Labor Party and others, succeeds in unifying the labor party forces of America in a clear-cut program of action in the 1924 elections before the twin capitalist parties have held their conventions. The labor party is the only way for the American workers and farmers.

BRITISH LABOR PARTY VICTORIES

THE British elections have given another shake to the seriously disturbed status quo in that country. The Labor Party increased its representation in Parliament from 142 to 185 members. The conservatives lost heavily to both the Liberals and Labor. The basis of the present government was so shattered that it is freely predicted that, unless the Liberals and Tories form an alliance, the Labor Party will be "called" by the King to form the next government.

There is both a seriously encouraging angle to the situation and a seriously ludicrous one. The latter is exemplified by the heated discussions going on as to how many members of the Labor Party are aristocratic enough by birth to occupy the various ceremonial positions of the government to the King's taste. It is with sad hilarity that we must view the eagerness of many Labor Party leaders to be so damned respectable as to be indistinguishable from the Liberals. It points out again the crying need of a fighting leadership in the Labor Party before it is fit to accomplish results. The encouraging thing is that the march of history is forcing the Labor Party into action which in the fire of conflict will purge it of the bureaucratic and reformistic leadership.

Labor in Britain has, through the organization of its political forces, taken a long step on the road to power. That is the outstanding significance of the recent elections. That is the lesson for Labor in this country, which is still so weak and helpless on the political field. The British workers have still to go through bitter experiences and disillusionment, but their forward progress is guaranteed by the fact that they are beginning to act as a class.

MATTHEW WOLL ADVOCATES SOVIETISM

ANOTHER soviet propagandist has made his appearance. And though it be matter for wonderment, 'tis none other than Matthew Woll himself, heir-apparent by adoption to the throne of Samuel Gompers. Speaking at a luncheon of business and professional men at the City Club of Chicago, Dec. 6th, Mr. Woll is quoted as saying:

It is Labor's hope that there will come into existence an economic and industrial chamber, in which all factors of industry shall be fairly represented, to determine rules and regulations that industries shall impose upon themselves and confine political government to the special functions for which it is best qualified and best suited.

Sounds mighty like a soviet, Matty ol' kid! 'Taint anything 100% American anyhow, that's a sure thing. Its imported. If it aint soviets, mebbe its brought from the realms of the unspeakable Hun—mebbe its *arbeits-gemeinschaften*. Anyway it sure is a subversive doctrine of some sort or other. An "industrial chamber," in which "all factors" are represented, with political government shoved in the nose! Sounds something like I. W. W.ism too!

But of course it is nothing of the kind. The significance of Woll's statement, together with the "industrial democracy" campaign of the trade union bureaucrats, consists in the fact that the blackest reactionaries at last realize that they cannot control the masses on a program of the status quo. They must propose some kind of a change. So they scheme institutions of class collaboration, fetters for the workers under the guise of democracy. In not a single instance do these "radicals" touch the vital point of capitalist control. In every case the employer is to have the last word. The whole scheme is to sugar-coat the capitalist dictatorship. The sovietism is a capitalist sovietism.

THE TAILORS WANT MAX SILLINSKY

NOMINATIONS take place this month in the Journeymen Tailors' Union for the election of General Secretary. From all over the country local unions and influential members are demanding that Max J. Sillinsky, of Cleveland, shall accept the nomination. It seems to the progressives generally that no more acceptable man could be found for the place than Sillinsky.

The present incumbent, Sweeney, has disappointed the tailors both in his trade policies and union administration, and in casting the Tailors' Union vote with reaction and Gompers in the larger affairs of the labor movement. The union administration has been characterized by sloth and do-nothingism, and in the needle trades the Tailors' Union, formerly a militant fighter for industrial unionism, has become a cipher under the direction of Sweeney. At the A. F. of L. Convention, Sweeney voted against industrial unionism and amalgamation, against Soviet Russia, and for the unseating of Bill Dunne.

Sillinsky on the other hand, is well known to the entire Tailors' Union as a militant progressive. While he is not identified with any organization except the Tailors' Union he has been a real supporter within that Union of amalgamation, industrial unionism, recognition of Soviet Russia, and other progressive measures. He voted for them at Portland, and voted against the expulsion program of Gompers. Within the Tailors' Union he is an energetic and able administrator, and

would stir the dead bones of that organization into life and activity again. All in all, the tailors will be fortunate if they can persuade Sillinsky to make the race in the coming election, for there is little doubt that the tailors, overwhelmingly progressive in their sentiments, would elect him as their General Secretary. Sillinsky has the best wishes of all militants.

ANOTHER CAMPAIGN OF LIES

ENEMIES of the Workers' Government of Russia are busily engaged in putting over another barrage of anonymous slander and falsehood, apparently in a panic of fear that Russia is about to re-establish commercial relations with the world, and hoping to head this off by any means possible. Two outstanding agencies of this campaign are the "socialist" Jewish *Forward*, and the *American Federationist*. These organs of Abe Cahan and Sam Gompers are broadcasting "appeals" against the "bloodthirsty Soviet tyrants," originating supposedly in Moscow but bearing evidence upon their face of having been written by one in very close touch with America but very poor in information about Russia itself.

The *Forward* publishes a story ostensibly from Berlin, signed by one J. Leschinsky. It is supposed to be copy of an appeal by representatives of the Russian Bund and Russian Social-Democratic Party. The Social-Democrats (Mensheviks) have more than once actually participated in campaigns of this sort, denouncing the Workers' Government in unmeasured terms. Again and again their stories have been exposed as fakes. But this latest one looks like it was faked upon the Mensheviks. It shows a most astounding familiarity with organizations and individuals in America, calling upon them by name to the extent of several paragraphs of fine print. But when it comes to such definite matters of knowledge about Russia, the document is strangely vague. It mentions a few geographical districts to which it says opponents of the Government are being exiled. But no names, no details, no facts. Definite regarding America, vague regarding Russia—one glance at the document carries the impression that it was written by a New York City reporter.

In the *American Federationist*, a different appeal is carried, with not even the authentication of a "correspondent" in Berlin. It has the same general vagueness as the other, being positive only in its denunciation of the Soviets. It is obviously a manufactured propaganda document.

Without doubt there are Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries in prison in Russia. Both groups have been carrying on open and secret warfare upon the Workers' Government. Thousands of them have been captured with arms in their hands, engaged in banditry or armed insurrection. Their central committees have entered into close financial relations with the French and other imperialist governments. Prison is indeed a mild measure to be used against them. Workers throughout the world, when they know the facts, approve of the measures taken by the Soviet Government to safeguard itself against these capitalistic agents of counter-revolution. The propaganda stories of the Cahans and Gompers are lies. "Socialists" are perhaps in prison in Russia; knowing the kind of activities carried on by them it cannot be doubted, but their deeds were in the service of capitalism and cannot obtain the approval of workers anywhere.

THE INTERNATIONAL

FRANCE THE Unity General Confederation of Labor (C. G. T. U.) held its convention in Bourges from Nov. 12th until Nov. 17th, inclusive. For months the whole labor movement has had an air of expectancy for this gathering, the struggle of the various tendencies within the movement being so bitter that there was great likelihood of a split developing. Fortunately, however, this was avoided. The preservation of unity in the organization, as a result of the convention action, is almost certain.

The fight between the various factions began almost as soon as the convention opened. It centered around a series of motions calling for the submission of all factions to the action of the convention. Finally the following, presented by the administration and taken from the minutes of the previous convention at St. Etienne, was adopted by a large majority:

"The convention, in consideration of the fact that the division of the working class upon the economic field puts in danger the strength of all its organization, and recalling the affirmations of unity of the previous congress, decides to place its deliberations under a formal determination for unity. In consequence, the several tendencies, who during the convention will be given ample opportunity to state their position, accept in advance to submit themselves to the decisions adopted by the majority, with the reservation that the absolute rights of the minorities be respected."

The main struggle in the convention centered around the general question of Syndicalism vs. Communism. At its first convention in 1921, the Red International of Labor Unions adopted a clause providing for an organic connection between itself and the Communist International. Although the majority of the French delegates present voted in favor of this clause, the C. G. T. U. refused to accept it. The old Syndicalist conception, so deeply rooted in the French movement, was predominant. There was a new current developing, of a Communist trend. The two coalesced to a large extent at the St. Etienne Convention of the C. G. T. U. and made the proposition that the C. G. T. U. would not affiliate with the R. I. L. U. until the latter broke its organic connection with the Communist International. This the R. I. L. U. did at the 1922 Congress. The purely Syndicalist elements were not satisfied, however. Eventually three distinct tendencies developed, one for continued affiliation with the R. I. L. U., another for continued affiliation with the R. I. L. U. provided the latter rigidly enforces its statutes, and the third for abstention until a "real" world international could be created, the latter being the group advocating the Berlin International program. All three groups presented resolutions to the Bourges Convention expressing their particular points of view on this subject. Another phase of the struggle had to deal with the question of the organization of trade union committees by the Communist Party for the purpose of carrying on propaganda within the labor organizations. Two sharp divisions occurred over this question, one claiming that the Communist Party had the right to carry on such activities as it pleased provided that it did not infringe upon the autonomy of the unions, and the other claimed that the trade union committees constituted an invasion of the freedom of the unions.

The debate raged around these questions practically from the beginning to the end of the convention. In

addition, statements were sent to the convention by the heads of the Red International of Labor Unions and the International Workingmen's Association (Berlin International). Losovsky, for the R. I. L. U., made a strong statement regarding the general problems confronting the convention. He showed that the R. I. L. U. had modified its statutes regarding the organic relationship with the Communist International upon the motion of the C. G. T. U. and that it had lived up to the decision loyally. On the mooted question of the trade union committees, he said,

"We must, however, be logical. From the moment that the unions and the Party are independent as regards each other, what right have the unions to prescribe to the Party the methods and forms of its organization? The Party created the committees upon its own initiative and it is not obliged to give account of them to anyone. To demand of the Party that it suppress these committees or even that it modify the character of their work, signifies to mix oneself in the interior affairs of the Party and to hinder a definite tendency determined to organize itself."

Losovsky also scathingly attacked the efforts being made to split the C. G. T. U. by the advocates of the Berlin International. He said:

"The Red International of Labor Unions considers that a split within the C. G. T. U. would be a crime, the greatest betrayal of the international proletariat. They are only enemies of the working class, arrivists without responsibility and people of elastic conscience, who make these attempts upon the unity of the organization. A split in the ranks of the C. G. T. U. would mark a victory for the bourgeoisie, for French militarism and French capitalism."

The manifesto of the International Workingmen's Association dealt principally with a bitter attack upon the Red International of Labor Unions. It declared that the latter organization does not want unity, and left the impression that it carried on a tactic of splits. It said:

"The R. I. L. U. does not want unity. This it proves every day in every country. It creates in all the organizations of the I. W. A. opposition groups who weaken the revolutionary force of these organizations. In Spain, Portugal, Italy, and elsewhere the clearly scissioniste policy of the R. I. L. U. tries to obtain the same results: to weaken the revolutionary organization and to strengthen the political party."

Both of these manifestoes called forth strong opposition. In connection with that of the I. W. A., Semard punctured the pretensions of that organization, that it is carrying on a campaign for unity. Quoting from its official bulletin, published at the time the Berlin International caused the split in Holland, he read,

"You want to try to bring about fusion between the two Internationals, the R. I. L. U. and the I. W. A. No, thanks for the company. . . . The fusion of the I. W. A. and the R. I. L. U. we will consent to when the R. I. L. U. is destroyed, when revolutionary Socialism, anti-authoritarian and anti-statist, is reborn in Russia, when the state fascism has been definitely broken up."

In the midst of the debate a serious incident was created by a delegate from the Knight of Labor of

Belgium, one Lahaut by name. Lahaut, in the course of his remarks as a fraternal delegate, touched on some of the controversial questions before the convention. Immediately there was an uproar. Delegates all over the hall declared that if he was allowed to continue that the unity of the C. G. T. U. would be put in jeopardy. Lahaut had to take his seat.

Nearly all the delegates present at the convention took part in the debate, which lasted four days. One of the most brilliant speeches was delivered by Monmousseau. He spoke boldly as a supporter of the Communist International and made a splendid defense of the Russian revolution, the R. I. L. U., the trade union committees, and the various other features of the Communist program. After his speech the vote was taken, which resulted as follows:

For continued unqualified affiliation to the	
R. I. L. U.	967
For continued affiliation with reservations	147
For withdrawal from the R. I. L. U.	220
Not voting	14

This constituted a tremendous victory for the Communist and near-Communist elements. They count as theirs all but the 220 votes that were cast for withdrawal, or 1,114 against 220. In the face of this showing it is hardly likely that the supporters of the Berlin International will dare to go through with the plan of secession they had in mind. Pierre Monatte, a well-known Syndicalist veteran in the movement, jubilates over the result. He declares that Frossard, formerly a prominent official in the Communist Party but later expelled for his activities, has practically committed political suicide by his advocacy of secession, a program completely repudiated by the Bourges Convention. Unquestionably this convention demonstrates that the Syndicalist idea in France is giving way rapidly to a Communist conception.

GERMANY AS a result of the recent Congress of the 2nd International in Hamburg, attempts are developing towards amalgamation of the Russian Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary Parties. An urge to this was the necessity to pick out one Russian member for the Executive Committee and there were two parties to pick from. But the fusion has many difficulties in its way. The two brands of counter-revolutionaries are busy condemning each other and laying down all sorts of demands as a basis of fusion. The Mensheviks insist that the Socialist-Revolutionaries shall (1) "renounce their neutrality and indifference towards legal recognition of the Soviet power," and (2) cleanse their party of its right-wing who have taken part in the Administrative Center and the Committee of the members of the Constituent Assembly. In reply the Socialist-Revolutionaries repudiate these demands, their spokesman remarking: "In each party affiliated at Hamburg there are many men who in the past have carried on activities much worse, according to the Mensheviks. Nevertheless the Mensheviks do not demand the expulsion of Noske, Schiedemann, Renaudel, Destrees, Thomas, et. al." At last accounts the debates were going on merrily between the two parties, with fusion as a possible outcome.

PORTUGAL RECENTLY the Portugal General Conference of Labor affiliated with the skeleton Berlin International. The Communist element refused to secede and split the movement, but instead are organizing groups within the general organization. Already sections have been

established in Oporto and Lisbon. A semi-monthly paper is being issued. The program of the new minority organization is that of the Red Trade Union International.

RUSSIA IN November the exportation of wheat reached 500,000 tons. Russia has regained its consumers of before the war. Germany has become the leading purchaser of Russian wheat; France, the second; then follow Holland, Finland, Turkey, the Scandinavian countries, Italy Greece, Roumania and Spain have not placed any orders. This heavy exportation of wheat is reacting favorably on the solution of the industrial crisis. It gives the peasants greater purchasing power. Consequently very few factories are now standing idle. Another feature of it is that the government is enabled to collect its taxes. A repetition next year of the present bountiful harvest will do much towards solving completely Russia's economic problems.

RUSSIA NEEDS SKILLED WORKERS FOR KUSBAS

The Chicago Group Kusbas, which is organizing workers to fill this need, meets the 2nd and 4th Sundays of each month, 3 P. M., at Labor Lyceum, 2733 Hirsch Blvd., Chicago.

All workers interested in this project are welcome. For information write **Kusbas, Room 307, 166 W. Washington Street, Chicago.**

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EDITOR: R. PALME DUTT

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The Daily Worker

By Moritz J. Loeb

THE publication of *The Daily Worker*, militant organ of the advancing working class, will be an event of tremendous significance in the life of the progressive labor movement. In the face of the history of daily labor papers, a history which has given little of encouragement, *The Daily Worker* is a bold undertaking. To adventure into the field of the daily newspapers is a hazardous step for any group. It has resulted in disaster for many. Never has any venture of militant workers in this direction met with success. Why labor dailies have resulted in either financial failure or a betrayal of their trust, or both, and why *The Daily Worker* is destined to succeed, to become a permanent institution of American militants, is the theme of this article. Let the facts surrounding the problem of a daily labor press point to the moral and show the way to action.

In a dozen or more attempts to build a workers' daily paper in the English language, the result has been financial failure or moral surrender to capitalist journalism; generally both. It is not necessary to go into the detailed history of such sheets as the *Milwaukee Leader*, the *New York Call*, the *Seattle Union Record*, the *Minnesota Daily Star* and the others. Attempting to evade a clear cut stand on the issues facing the labor movement, unwilling to face the hostility of the trade union bureaucracy, unwilling even to put up a determined stand against the capitalist class, these and their like were forced further and further toward the Hearst style of journalism and further toward the Herast style of journalism, striving desperately, not in the labor struggle, but with cheap sensationalism and pseudo-progressivism to build up a circulation without frightening off prospective advertisers to whom they sold their souls. The exception to this rule, *The Butte Daily Bulletin*, which was a real fighting paper of the workers, had to suspend for financial reasons when the metal mines of Montana closed down.

Why is it then that those who have been responsible for the organization of *The Daily Worker* can take upon themselves the great obligation they do, in their pledge to the working class that it will not fall into the slimy depths that its ill-fated contemporaries and predecessors have fallen. How is it then that when half a million dollars is given as the least amount upon which a daily paper can be successfully started, *The Daily Worker* launches forth with high hopes

for success on a scant one hundred thousand? It is a reasonable question and to it a reasonable answer can be given.

To members of the Trade Union Educational League and those to whom the League serves as a guidance, the fact that the League is 100% in support and co-operation with *The Daily Worker* serves as a guarantee of militant integrity. Militants everywhere will know that the basic policy of *The Daily Worker*, a militant propagation of every progressive issue facing the labor movement with the ultimate complete emancipation of the workers as the end always kept in view, will always remain a bond that will secure the firm and unbreakable attachment of *The Daily Worker* to the interests of the rank and file workers and none other. For the first time in the history of journalism in the English language a daily newspaper is assured which in editorial, news, educational and agitational policy will be bound up inextricably with the profound needs of the militant labor movement.

That which guarantees the integrity of *The Daily Worker* also guarantees its success. *The Daily Worker* has come into being out of the bitter needs of the class-conscious workers. *The Daily Worker* will build its success on filling those needs, and in so serving will rally to itself the entire body of American militants, a great army who will make *The Daily Worker* live and grow. *The Daily Worker* is born at a time when thousands are hungering for it, when the issues facing the labor movement and the issues within the labor movement are demanding clarification and action. Serving as the educational, organizational and propaganda instrument of the militants *The Daily Worker* will receive in return the boundless devotion and energy of the militants who will extend its influence and make of it a dominant factor in the life of the American Labor struggle.

TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE

Financial Statement

for the period
Sept. 1st, 1923, to Nov. 30th, 1923

RECEIPTS:		DISBURSEMENTS:	
Subscriptions	\$ 542.47	Printing	\$2,016.00
Bundle orders	1,867.84	Mailing	230.30
Advertisements	244.00	Cuts, cartoons, etc.	97.35
Books & Pamphlets	345.20	Office Expense	258.79
Sustaining Fund	1,428.08	Wages & Traveling	1,810.00
		Supplies	69.36
	\$4,427.59		
Balance to begin	700.14	Balance on hand	\$4,481.80
	\$5,127.73		645.93
			\$5,127.73

Audited and found correct,

MORITZ J. LOEB,
S. T. HAMMERSMARK,
Auditing Committee.

FASCISM

Has conquered Italy, and threatens the working class of Germany and all Central Europe. It is raising its head in America and, in its various forms, is boldly making a bid for power through conspiracy and violence. It is insidiously weaving itself into the trade unions of America. In order to combat this menace, Fascism must be understood. The first complete explanation published in America is contained in the new pamphlet

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By **Andreas Nin**

With an Introduction by Earl R. Browder

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