

# THE LABOR HERALD

Official Organ of The Trade Union Educational League



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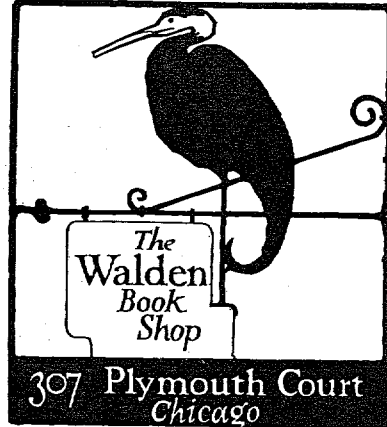
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# THE LABOR HERALD

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May, 1922



No. 3

## The Miners in Battle

By John Dorsey

**T**HE great United Mine Workers of America swung into action on the first of April, giving battle for the first time in their history on almost the entire front, including anthracite and bituminous fields. Every coal mine where the miners are organized, with one small exception where a few thousand miners still have a contract which expires next month, was closed down immediately and completely. But that is not all. The miners have made a great drive on the unorganized fields also, and even the capitalistic press acknowledges that the number of strikers, as this is being written, is more than 665,000. It is the second complete industrial strike in the history of American labor, the first one being the great steel strike of 1919.

### Fighting the Coal and Steel Masters

The present strike is, in a way, a continuation of that historic battle; for the miners are up against the same forces as were the steel workers. Garyism was the foe in 1919, and now in 1922, the miners are making their most desperate struggle against the Steel Corporation, which, allied with the great railroads of the East, controls 95% of the coal production of the country. It is no accident that Bill Feeney, the organizer for the miners who is making the spectacular raids into the non-union fields, lining up tens of thousands of miners into the union every week, was also one of the foremost organizers in the field for the steel committee. In his book, "The Great Steel Strike," Foster tells something of Feeney's work in that battle, part of which is worth recalling.

Feeney was the United Mine Workers' organizer delegated to work with the steel committee, and had been made local secretary in charge of the Monessen-Donora district. Monessen is on the Monongehela river about forty miles from Pittsburgh, and is the home of the Pittsburgh Steel Company and several other large steel manufacturers; it is well known to labor organizers as the place where, in a previous campaign,

organizer Jeff. Pierce was killed. The Burgess of Monessen had flatly refused to allow Feeney to hold any meetings in that town, and he had therefore been compelled to operate from Charleroi, a town several miles away. But with the advent of Spring and open weather, Feeney called a meeting to take place in the streets of Monessen on April 1st. The Burgess threatened dire consequences should the meeting be held, but Feeney proceeded with his arrangements and on the appointed date marched 10,000 union miners from the surrounding country into Monessen to demonstrate for free speech and free assemblage. The meeting was a huge success, and public opinion was so overwhelmingly on the side of the workers that the Burgess had to withdraw his order and allow the steel workers to hold their meetings. The affair was the means of establishing the unions solidly in the big mills of Monessen.

In Donora, the other big center in Feeney's district, matters came to sharper conflict. The town was closed to meetings, so Feeney rented some vacant lots just outside of town for that purpose. In this he was highly successful, and was signing up the steel workers in droves, when the steel company agents persuaded the local business men to sign an order to Feeney, commanding him to get out of the district. When Feeney took the matter to the organized miners of the locality, these solidly organized men at once put a strict boycott on the town, which soon almost ruined the local business men. They quickly made a public apology to Feeney, and ousted their officials who had engineered the matter.

### Feeney Breaks The Non-Union Fields

Now Feeney is leading the drive of these miners, the same men who showed their sterling qualities in the steel strike, in their own fight against the same financial interests. District 5, of the Mine Workers, Western Pennsylvania, is also the home of the Steel Corporation, and

there we see the miners' battle in its true light, a struggle against Gary and all he represents. The non-union bituminous fields of this district are the chief sources of coal and coke for the Steel Corporation. The Connellsville coke region has resisted unionization for years; the H. C. Frick Company was the dictator of that region, and fixed wages, hours, and working conditions. Feeney laid his plans long in advance to pull this section of the miners out. Six weeks before the strike, he sent groups of picked men from the union fields into the Connellsville region, to look for work. The companies were putting on more forces in anticipation of the strike. They thought these men were deserters from the union, looking for a job where the strike would not affect them, and gladly put them to work. But they were experienced organizers, men who knew how to do their work without the accompaniment of a brass band. The result was that when the strike came, tens of thousands of the supposedly non-union miners walked out with the union men, and immediately joined the organization.

### The Drive Becomes General

Like a wave the movement spread to adjoining fields, and in seven or eight days the first victory of the miners was registered in the closing down of great mills in Youngstown in the Mahoning

Valley, for lack of fuel. Furnaces were soon banked by the Republic Iron and Steel Company, the Youngstown Sheet & Tube Company, the Sharon Steel Hoop Company, the Struthers Furnace Company, and the Carnegie Steel Company. The last named is the chief subsidiary of the United States Steel Corporation. Coal production was almost entirely stopped in the non-union fields of Western Pennsylvania, including the counties of Fayette, Westmoreland, Greene, and Mercer. In Central Pennsylvania and West Virginia, the drive on the non-union fields was a few days later, but promises to be equally effective; the district is alive with meetings enrolling the miners into the union and closing down the mines.

The men who are putting this campaign over know the coal and coke regions of Pennsylvania and West Virginia to a nicety. They have their forces thoroughly organized and they are out with the determination to win. The fighting spirit of the miners, which has made their union the backbone of the labor movement, is at white-heat. Before the strike date they had the leaflets carrying the strike order ready in all languages; volunteers from the coke plants and the union mines started out at a given time by autos, street cars, and steam railway, and covered every union and non-union mining camp in the region on



LEAVING THE MINES AT BEGINNING OF STRIKE

March 30 and 31. When the non-union men were pulled out it was a complete surprise to the bosses. A great demonstration was held in Brownsville, Pa., on April 1st, and for the first time in the history of the field, the non-union miners joined the parade. From that time on they organized new locals every day; some days as many as eight locals would be organized in the same hall, the miners coming in by the thousands, meeting to elect officers, and then emptying the hall for the next bunch. About 35,000 men have been added to the organized forces of District 5, in the first two weeks of the strike.

### **The Bosses Are Hard Hit**

When the strike was called the operators and the steel kings were very boastful of their strength, and pointed to the large supply of coal on hand, which they claimed would keep them going until the miners should be starved out. But they are not bragging now; instead they are talking about "drastic action;" one big steel man is quoted as saying, "the mines will be operated at any cost." The only meaning this can have is, that they are preparing a campaign of violence and intimidation against the striking miners; the only cost of which they are so careless, as not to care how much it is, is the miners' lives. Before this sees print, some of this threatened "drastic action" may have already taken place.

So far there has not been more than the usual amount of violence committed against the miners, probably because there is still quite a reserve of coal on hand. But ominous preparation are going on. In West Virginia, of course, the reign of terror of company gunmen and state militia continues unchecked. In Colorado, Pat Hamrock, the beast who commanded the militia at the Ludlow massacre, is in charge of the state constabulary which is recruiting new forces for strike duty. Pennsylvania state, county, and local governments are, as a matter of course, in the hands of the coal operators; and the State Police are becoming more active and menacing. As the operators and steel barons begin to feel the pinch, it may be expected that violence against the strikers will take on considerable proportions.

In Kansas we have the curious spectacle of the Industrial Court, Governor Allen's bid for fame, giving the miners a thirty-day permission to strike. The miners have struck, all right, but it is very, very doubtful if they will return to work should the Industrial Court decide not to grant an extension, and the strike is still on at the end of April. The Kansas miners have been striking pretty steadily now, for the past three years, but they are veterans at the game, and will stick until the operators come across with a favorable agreement.

Along with this splendid demonstration of fighting spirit and solidarity, the miners are not forgetting for one moment the stain put upon their organization by the expulsion of Howat. Everywhere this matter is being talked over at length, and some local, or sub-district, or district, is being reported every few days as taking action, demanding Howat's reinstatement. As soon as the strike is over there is going to be a long overdue settlement on this account. Howat has been talking through Ohio and Illinois and has been receiving big ovations. He is a miners' man, and they like him. Besides, he has the right on his side.

Like every other big coal strike, this one is having international effects. Coal is one of the most international of commodities; the slightest disturbance in the production and distribution in one country, immediately affects all the others. If, when the miners of England strike, the American miners work harder and turn out more coal to supply the British market, then the British miners will surely lose their strike. The reverse is just as true. The miners of the entire world are beginning to realize this, and we hear a serious word on the subject from England. The Executive of the British coal miners held a meeting to consider the strike of the United Mine Workers of America, and a statement was issued. It declared, in part, "the British miners will not tolerate any artificial methods on the part of mine owners to increase coal exports, such as ships using coal for ballast, in an attempt to break the American miners' strike." This is a word in the right direction. A step along the same path would be in order, on both sides of the Atlantic. International solidarity is now one of the burning issues before all the miners of the world.

### **The Miners Stand Solidly**

Just before the strike there was some talk of separate district agreements. This looked rather dangerous for a time, but such a wave of sentiment swept through the union against any break in the united front of the organization against the operators, that all talk of separate agreements was soon effectively squelched. Anyone who wants to become unpopular with the miners now has only to propose a settlement for one district alone. The miners will not stand for such tactics; they have begun to feel the power which comes from a unified national action, and they will not tolerate anything that will diminish the power.

Back of the determination to stand together to the last lies a pressing economic need. The country has been flooded with stories of the high

*(Continued on page 29)*

# Amalgamate the Metal Trades

By Wm. Ross Knudsen

**M**ODERN civilization is based upon steel. Without iron ore and coal, man could not have reached his present position. In the speed with which inventions develop out of man's brain and are used to produce new tools, in that proportion does progress move on. The method by which man uses tools to produce commodities and distribute them is the determining factor which shapes all phases of life.

Among the many stages in the development of primeval man, none can have been of greater moment in his struggle for existence than the discovery of the metals and means of working them. Heated iron formed a combination with the carbon in the burning wood, and steel was discovered. Attempts to cool steel in water led to the process of tempering. The discovery of charcoal made possible the heating of steel to a high degree, and handling it and hammering of it into various shapes became common. The discovery of cast iron in the 16th century was another wonderful forward step. When in 1854 a law was passed forbidding the use of wood as fuel in the production of iron, instead of checking advancement it was the driving force that developed the coal mining industry. It was in 1611 that Simon Sturtevant patented the use of mineral coal for iron smelting. In 1735 Abraham Darby showed how to make cast iron with coke in the high furnace.

These inventions and the industries that developed from them were the driving forces that created the capitalist class and forced it to struggle for possession of society. When, after Cromwell's revolution in England, the French Revolution, and the American Revolution, the capitalist class gained control of society, it then became possible to extend its means of exploitation in all directions.

After 1800 the blacksmith trade completely split into all the modern metal trades;—blacksmith, machinist, molder, boilermaker, sheet metal worker, electrician, pattern maker, etc. As the various side lines of the metal industry developed it brought forth small shops, each specializing in its own production; foundries grew and molding became a trade; the operation of machine tools became a specialty and the trade of machinist was founded. Thus boilerships, machine shops, foundries, patternshops, blacksmith shops, etc., each a small independent unit and in each shop a new branch of the working class struggling and daily producing wealth for the owners.

When the various crafts in these shops were driven by economic pressure, they fought back and the most efficient method was to solidify their strength into an organization. So we see as a result of this pressure the formation of various craft unions; all the workers under one roof and management, organizing and developing their strength and as a result our present craft unions. Craft unions were the result of the then existing form of capitalist development.

We now reach this point, if craft unions were the result of the then existing form of industrial development, why is it that the organizations of labor have not progressed in the same proportion that industries have developed? What is it that has kept the craft unions stationary?

One of the greatest barriers to working-class progress is the false conception the working class has as to its position in society, and the erroneous forms of organization that result from these false conceptions. Give such false conceptions a bodily existence in the shape of an organization, and have it attacked, it will strive to maintain itself even at the expense of fighting the very interests it was originally intended to defend. Once an idea becomes established no matter how outworn it may become, if its fundamentals are attacked the whole ignorant world rushes to its defense. Craft unionism is such an organization.

We condemn craft unionism, not because it has made mistakes— all organizations blunder, no organization is infallible; but we condemn craft unionism for the mistake that it is.

The labor movement should be based upon the historic mission and function of unionism, and upon the nature of the industrial system of production. The function and historic mission of the labor movement is to resist capitalist exploitation and to defend humanity so it can restore to society the instruments of production. Now, as to the nature of present industrial production:—today we no longer combat the small shop owner; we are in a gigantic struggle with industrial barons. In the past the machinists fought and struck against the small machine shop owners. Today he fights a corporation employing all the metal trades. Craft unionism in such a struggle looks like a pre-historic survival, in fact it has passed into the condition of a relic. Today is the day of gigantic combinations. The firm of J. P. Morgan extends and controls railroads, shipyards, rubber, steel, and various manufacturing plants, telephone, telegraph, public

utilities, etc. Can the workers successfully attack or resist such an institution with the bow-and-arrow of craft unionism? Throw away the oxcart, sweep away the cobwebs from your brains, exercise your intelligence, do your own thinking and keep up with the wheels of progress.

The labor unions of America today are loosely united by alliances—federations. The system of alliances can never meet the need of real unity. In its very nature an alliance is only a limited and temporary combine, each body remaining independent and often exercising that independence at a critical moment. The working class is one body, and should be organized as such. The best illustration is an army. Could an army successfully win on the battle field by a system of alliances? No! Alliances are always weakest at their seams, and the more seams the weaker the alliance. The greater the number of trade unions allied together, as in the A. F. of L., the more numerous will be the weak places in the battle-line, and the greater will be the number of separate interests fighting against the interest of the whole. In an army regiments do not support independent regiments, but instead we find highly developed organic divisions; battalions, brigades, batteries and corps, designed to facilitate the use of arms; and this combination increases the efficiency of the army as a whole.

We do not want to form the working class into a mob, but into an efficient army. The Knights of Labor were in the form of a mob; we, on the other hand, want to see the American working class organized into gigantic combines of Industrial Unions. For example, we want all the metal trades in one industrial union, not into a chopped up hash, but in an intelligently arranged, scientific affair—one industry, one organization. Within an industrial organization the various crafts will not lose their identity, as so many opponents of industrial unionism claim; no more so than do the various members of an orchestra lose their identity because they have combined together under a leader to produce with their combined efforts more beautiful and harmonious music than any of them could do separately. Just as all the violinists get together to advance their skill, so in a real industrial union would the various crafts function.

Industrial unionism unites all the industries into an All Industrial Congress, capable of directing the entire productive forces of Labor; either as a machine for the every day struggle, or in an Industrial Republic as a wealth producing instrument.

For example, all metal trades would be organized together into an industrial union. The local industrial union will be determined by the

local production, and the separate section of the local union will be governed by the particular tools the workers use. Thus in an industrial union the various craft lines will exist, and the molders, machinists, patternmakers, etc., if necessary will have their own locals but combined together into one strong whole, just as an orchestra is solidified together to produce the most efficient music. It is necessary that the various craftsmen be together to discuss their own technique, and to advance their own immediate program; naturally machinists do not want to listen to carpenters talk about filing saws, and if for no other reason than the understanding of their



WM ROSS KNUDSEN

own technical problems the various crafts must remain in some combination of craft locals. This necessity is entirely and amply provided for in any modern plan of industrial unionism.

Those who fight the idea of the industrial union, and claim that it is a *hash*, are only showing their ignorance of not only industrial development, but of logic as well. Much of this opposition comes from labor officials who have spent their time in the labor movement benefitting their own material conditions, instead of studying and analysing the conditions confronting them so that the working class may gain freedom. But we will leave them alone; the onward march of progress will sweep them aside. Like all out-of-date institutions and ideas, the obstacles to this next great step of the labor movement will crumble and decay in the light of historical necessity, and the working class will go forward upon the path of emancipation.

# The Situation in the Metal Industry

By Dennis E. Batt

**T**HE complacent attitude with which we metal workers of America view our position in industry could be termed comic, if it did not lead to such tragic results. In our egotism we quietly rest upon our oars, thinking that we have the most advanced labor movement in the world, and wondering why anyone should wish to change it.

What have we actually in the metal industry? The measure of our success in the industry is the power that we wield. In order to have power, we must control through our organization the workers that are employed in the fabrication of metal products. Millions of men and women are so engaged in the United States and Canada. The exact figures are not necessary for the purpose of this article. Sufficient to say that there are millions engaged in the industry. And how many of them do we control? How many are organized? If we disregard the present slump in all labor organizations and take the figures of the various craft unions in the metal industry at their best days, we find that there are not 500,000 men and women organized in this the basic industry of the entire economic system. With such a paltry number organized out of the great mass of workers in the field, we can safely answer the first question by saying that we have nothing in the metal industry. In isolated instances we may exercise a small measure of control, but it is very limited; viewing the entire industry we are as helpless as a new-born babe.

## What is Our Power?

Of the craft unions involved in the metal industry, the machinists union is the largest and credited with being the most progressive. We must bear in mind, however, that the term progressive is only relative. The organization appears to be progressive only because of the reactionary background formed by the other organizations. What power does the machinists union actually wield? Outside of the railroad shops it has an insignificant influence. In the large industrial centers there is but little organization of the so-called industrial machinists. During the war considerable organization was achieved in the shipyards, and nuclei were started for organizations in the industrial centers. But the shipyards' organization collapsed with the end of the war, and the attitude of William H. Johnston and the other executives of the International Association of Machinists, helped the industrial stagnation to cripple the union in the industrial centers.

The attitude of the officials, which helped to weaken further our weak union, is well illustrated in the famous case of expulsion from Local No. 82 in Detroit, where their unwarranted and nefarious action was responsible for the complete disruption of a local numbering thousands of men and women. Men of years of good standing in the union, who were largely responsible for the success of the organization campaign that was going on, were ruthlessly kicked out of the organization merely because the International officers would rather have no organization in the Auto City than see one that they could not control.

The so-called conservatives, however, are not alone responsible for these conditions. The "progs" are also in a measure to blame. In some future issue of THE LABOR HERALD we may take up that phase of the subject. For the present, we merely cite briefly, not in a spirit of fault-finding and malice, our organizational weakness. This ought to sober our spirits and prepare us for the long, painful, and continuous efforts that will be necessary before we have a union in the metal industry that can really protect the workers and prepare them for the more serious historical mission which every sensible worker knows is ahead of us. The importance of a highly developed labor organization in the metal industry cannot be over-emphasized. It is the basic industry of modern civilization. This is the metal age, and so long as the workers in this industry are disorganized, the whole working class must suffer.

## The Source of Our Weakness

An examination of the principal weaknesses in metal trades organization is necessary for the correction of them. In the first place, it may be pointed out that a serious barrier to organization is the high initiation fees charged by all of the craft unions. In some cases they are prohibitive, and are followed up by dues that are out of all proportion to the services rendered by the organization to the membership.

The division of the workers into numerous craft organizations has stood in the way of organization, and effective action when organization has been, to some extent, achieved. The many craft unions, into which the workers are divided, appear silly to anyone with intelligence. In the Steel Strike twenty-four unions participated. More, perhaps, could have been dug up who claimed some jurisdiction or other. This source of weakness is the greatest, and must be



eliminated. There isn't another trade union movement in the world that maintains this type of organization. To use craft unions today is like chiseling and filing square holes when broaches are available.

Another condition that hampers organization in the metal industry is the fact that the industry is dominated by the largest aggregation of capital in the world. It is much different than fighting small contractors in the building trades, or small shop owners in the printing trades. Larger and better organization will be necessary to conquer.

To merely state these conditions, however, is not enough. What the workers need is to know what is necessary to overcome these obstacles. In seeking the instruments to accomplish our task of protecting ourselves in the metal industry, we can do no better than take as our guide the labor movement of Europe. There they have built their organizations on an industrial scale. The Germans have succeeded in building the largest union in the world in the metal industry. Their metal workers' union numbers nearly two million members, four times as large as the largest union in the United States. If we were organized in the same proportion as they are, we would have over three million members, if not more, in such a metal trades union. Our first task is to achieve such an industrial form of organization among the metal workers.

### A Wrong Philosophy

The unions we have now are dominated by an entirely wrong attitude toward the employers, which must be entirely changed. Our officials today are governed by the idea of co-operation with the bosses; they preach and act upon the "principle" of identity of interest between workers and capitalists. This is disastrous to effective organization. It robs the unions of their fighting spirit and leads them into constant betrayal. A union, to be effective, must be based squarely upon the principle of class struggle. And based upon that principle it must have some vision, some aim. The pettifogging policy of constant dickering with the bosses, and standing hat in hand outside of political chambers, seeking as favors those things that we should force as rights, the policy of class co-operation, must be stopped. Our policy must have for its aim, the ending of this constant struggle over hours and wages. This means the end of the employing class itself. We must educate the workers to the view of assuming control of industry and ownership of the tools with which they work.

There is nothing new, of course, in all this. Others have pointed out before, many times, that the house had a leaky roof, that the windows were dirty, and the doors so badly warped that

wind was not kept out. But the remedy too many have advocated heretofore is wrong. They told us to tear down the house, or burn it up, all with a naive disregard of the necessity of having an abode in the meantime. That the capitalists also advise the destruction of our "house," the union, seems to have been lost upon these misguided enthusiasts. But the workers see no difference between the song, "Destroy the old unions," whether it is sung by a capitalist or by a dual unionist. Today, after 25 years of dual union failure on the part of the more militant metal workers, the policy of trying to call the workers out of their existing mass organizations into a new kind of union, must be pronounced a failure.

Dual unionism is a highly American product. European radicals have had vision and judgment. They have refused to be lured by the siren song of the ideal dual unions. They have stayed with the mass organizations, there to work for their program, and the progress they have made is proof of the soundness of that policy. We must profit by their example. We must accomplish the militant, industrial organization of the workers by amalgamating and educating the existing mass organizations.

This is going to be no easy task. The militants of all unions, in all localities, must be brought together within the unions. They must find expression through a press of their own. With these two tools, organization and press, they must work first for the amalgamation of all craft unions into one metal workers' organization. Referendums should be started in organizations that are not already committed to this policy. Where, like the Machinists, the union is already committed to this program, there men should be placed in office who take it seriously and who will make real efforts to accomplish the task.

Eventually the workers' organizations will strive for ownership and control of the metal industry. For today, our slogan is, amalgamate all the craft unions into one metal workers' organization.



DENNIS E. BATT

# Constructive Radicalism in the Needle Industry

*Problems before the coming conventions of the I. L. G. W. U. and A. C. W. of A. analyzed.*

By J. B. Salutsky

THE two largest units of the needle industry, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, are about to hold their regular biennial conventions. The I. L. G. W. U. will meet in Cleveland on May the 18th, and the A. C. W. of A. will gather in Chicago, May the 8th. Also another one of the five trade-unions composing the needle industry, the relatively small Fur Workers' International is to meet in convention shortly after the big conventions. Thus the bulk of the organized workers in the industry will be legislating their immediate industrial future in the course of the coming month or two. A brief review of what's what in the industry may therefore not be amiss.

## The Labor Movement Interested

The interest in the problems facing the workers in the needle industry is more than of passing or local interest. The problems which the needle workers are confronted with are largely movement problems, such as concern the organized unions all over the country, with the exception perhaps, that some unions encounter these problems later and some sooner. True the needle industry does not belong to the aristocratic industrial group designated as basic. The life and security of the population do not depend on the normal and uninterrupted run of the needle industry, as it is the case with the railroads or mines. A strike or the breakdown of industrial machinery in the needle industry will not provoke the stir, that the very mention of a rail strike will. And important as the industry is, with its 350,000 people employed and the total output of \$3,000,000,000 the year, it is on the whole not a problem of the first magnitude in the economic life of the country.

Yet the recent years have seen the needle industry climbing up to the pinnacle of public interest, constantly attracting the keenest attention of the student of economic problems, of the socially-minded observer and forcing the old-line trade union leadership to "sit up and take notice." Federal and State Departments of Labor and Economic Faculties of Universities produced a library of volumes, devoted to the study of the problems of organizations, the methods of leadership, and the modes of contractual relations in

the needle industry. The needle unions have caused the creation of an elaborate industrial literature, to even a larger degree than many another, economically more important, industrial unit.

## "Rule of Reason" and "Law and Order"

One will readily recall the nation-wide interest that the so-called "Protocol of peace" regime in the ladies' garment industry had provoked but a few years ago. The "rule of reason" of the protocol regime later subsided to clear the way for the "law and order" and "constitutional government" embodied in the "impartial machinery" operative presently in the men's clothing industry. Now, the "impartial machinery" is showing unmistakable signs of dislocation. "Law and order" is gradually packing up to join in with the "rule of reason." But other modes of industrial relationship are forcing their way to the fore, and none will be surprised to find out some next day that the latest "find" on the path of industrial and contractual adjustment has been substituted once more, by another "find," still more promising and most likely just as short-lived.

The intensity and susceptibility of thought and the ability for swift and at times abrupt changes in methods of action manifested in the leadership of the workers in the needle industry is the real cause of the unabated interest which is maintained in the general public and in the wide-awake elements of the labor movement toward the needle unions.

## Conventions Set Landmarks

Whether the coming conventions of the largest needle unions will bring about a new word in the solution of the problems before them no one can safely tell. But it is a certain guess that the gatherings will be interesting. These conventions always *are* interesting. One might say about these conventions as about the industry: it may not be an important industry but it is a live one.

To be sure, conventions are not setting new departures in the life of a labor organization. Nor do they create something new out of nothing. The best a convention can do is to mark and to give shape to what has actually ripened

in the movement the convention speaks for. A convention is in the life of a labor union what a legislative body is in the life of the country. Legislation is fixing in terms of law changes that social life and struggle have actually brought about. Conventions are writing down in terms of constitution, resolutions and executive powers, what has become imperative, unwritten law in the life of the industry. But just because conventions are not as a rule, a venture in dreams, they are of paramount interest to the active participants in the economic struggle. One studies conventions as barometers as indicators of the unspoken, perhaps subconscious, yet real in the inner life of industry.

### Struggles Rich in Experience

Both, the I. L. G. W. U. and the A. C. W. of A. come to their conventions enriched with experience. Both will have to check up on a great number of things.

In the last two years nearly every unit of the needle industry went through an intense struggle, in some cases, virtually a struggle for life. Thus, the Fur Workers' International fought a battle royal in the summer and fall of 1920, a struggle which lasted thirty weeks and tested every ounce of vitality of the union. It survived, has recuperated and is now on its feet, once more, vigorous and assertive.

And the I. L. G. W. U. met face to face its employers, and for over two months the contest was on, bitter, ferocious. The International scored a victory, though the contest is not finally settled and a new clash is not improbable by the time the convention will have started in.

The Amalgamated, again, went through its military baptism in the supreme struggle of 1920-21. For fully six months the lockout of 60,000 New York workers kept in the balance the fate of the union. The onslaught made by the "open shoppers" on the Amalgamated was as thorough and concentrated in method of fighting as it was unscrupulous and reckless in choice of means. The Union smashed the open-shoppers and now after not fully one year of peaceful, contractual relations, with "impartial" methods of healing wounds, the New York manufacturers' Association itself closed its doors. And as sequel to it came the other day the renewal of the agreement on satisfactory terms between the Amalgamated and the employers of Chicago and Rochester.

The conventions will check up on the experiences made through the recent struggles. The past will either weigh heavily on the future, if former mistakes will be incorporated in new laws, or the future will profit by past performances if proper lessons will be drawn, and new

legislation will legislate out what is obsolete or decidedly wrong. For let there be no mistaken expectation: the future of the needle industry is not paved with roses, the situation is pregnant with struggle, and fight is not an impossibility. The whole fabric of organized labor in the United States will have to put up a scrap, or it will be put out of its own. So let no complacency take place of vigilance.

### "Lefts" and "Rights" in Needle Industry

The elections of the delegates to the conventions of both, the I. L. G. W. U. and the A. C. W. of A. were marked with serious internal discord. Particularly so in the case of the New York locals of the I. L. G. W. U. In the largest local unions of the I. L. G. W. U. the administration candidates were badly beaten. The president of the International did not "run" from his own local and his slate was snowed under by opposition ballots. The General Secretary-Treasurer of the International was outvoted heavily as delegate to the convention. The opposition carried locals 1-9-3-22 and many others in toto or partly. In the case of the Amalgamated the contest did not include the national administration. The division was designated as between right and left, and the group calling itself left has scored many victories.

One would naturally turn to the programs advanced in the electioneering to find the key to the coming conventions, to determine the possible psychology of the debate on the points at issue. But it would all be in vain.

The "lefts" in the A. C. W. of A. presented no program whatsoever. They went on their record of support given the National Administration in its recent fight on the corrupt ringleadership of the Children's Clothing trade, a spiritual offshoot of the defunct United Garment Workers. The Jewish Socialist Daily Forward, for reasons of political expediency, saw fit to take the side of the ringleaders, and the lefts had stood unqualifiedly by the General Officers of the Amalgamated in the fight for decency and clean methods in unionism. However, all this, important and valuable as it may be, is not a program.

The nearest to a statement of principles could perhaps be found in the declaration made by the candidates of the opposition in the I. L. G. W. U. Candidates of locals 1-9-22 declared for—

(1) Proportional representation at conventions.

(2) Officers shall hold no office longer than two years.

(3) General Executive Board Members shall not appoint themselves to paid offices.

### Real Issues In the Convention

Not going into the merits of the points advanced one is forced to discard them as a program. At least, not a program for the coming conventions, where by far larger stakes are in sight. One, who knows the industry and its problems would ask in surprise: Why are not such issues in the front of the discussion as, for instance, the following:

(1) The problem of organization, such as shop-representation instead of, or in addition, temporarily, to the system of organization by locals which has, to say the least, become obsolete and inefficient.

(2) The question of the use of injunctions in disputes with capital, as a means of defense and attack, and the propriety of labor standing up for the principle of inviolability of agreements.

(3) The readjustment of relationship between leadership and rank and file.

(4) The amalgamation of all needle unions into one consolidated union.

Incidentally, a point of importance which should interest the conventions, is the case of the staggering costs of strikes in recent years. The strike of the Fur Workers in New York in the summer and fall of 1920, which lasted six months and engaged from six to nine thousand people involved the expenditure of over one million dollars. The lockout in the men's clothing industry fought by the Amalgamated during the winter and spring of 1921 consumed fully two million dollars. And the strike of the I. L. G. W. U. to force the manufacturers in the cloak industry to stand by its agreement with the union lasted nine weeks and cost the organization fully one million dollars. Not because any one entertains any doubts as to the propriety of these huge war costs is the issue noted. Seemingly the costs are inevitable. But means are to be found to finance such wars, and improved methods by which these budgets can be taken care of, particularly, in such a way that no one shall doubt the possibility to raise such funds again, as the necessity may and will arise.

However, whether these issues were raised in the pre-convention campaigns or not, they will force their way to the attention of the delegates. The conventions will have to meet the issues, to face them.

Before a more detailed statement is made on some of the issues involved the following observations, however, may not be out of the way.

### The Inner Weakness of Radicalism

All the needle unions are known as progressive labor unions. The I. L. G. W. U. is considered a radical union within the A. F. of L.

The Amalgamated is definitely known as a radical union in the American Labor movement. The Fur Workers' Union has an established reputation as a socialist union, that is: a union whose policy is determined by a socialist trend of mind. How then is this fight between the "lefts" and "rights" accountable? And the struggle at the polls was rather intense, at times too intense.

One suggestion lends itself readily,—namely the radicals in these radical unions are entirely too radical. But the examination of the programs, in as much as they were in evidence, denies this claim. Another suggestion, which one can hardly escape is that the radical reputation of the unions in question is rather exaggerated. And so it is largely. It is a case of overestimation of attire at the expense of substance.

The issue raised by a number of the locals in the I. L. G. W. U., namely that of "democracy" by means of "rotation in office," by not allowing one to hold office longer than two years, is of doubtful value. A radical should just think in terms of this policy as applied to Soviet Russia, for instance, and he will most likely discard the reform as reactionary, or he would recall Lenin and Trotsky, because they occupy their offices for more than two years. The much heralded sort of radicalism that Emma Goldman represents may want this kind of reform, but at the expense of efficiency and effectiveness in the struggle. If the unions are to be, as they ought to be, fighting units, then it is essential that every ounce of capable energy be preserved and kept in the service of the organization as long as it had not outlived its usefulness. To play with the pretense of democracy, instead of studying strategy, in a fight for life and death is nothing short of stupidity. Of course, there is more merit in the demand that the G. E. B. members shall not appoint themselves to paid offices. There is the danger that the elected machinery of legislation may turn, by the process of self-appointment, into an organ of administration. But the way of a blanket prohibition is not the best way of preventing misuse.

There is this general fault to be found with the trend of mind exhibited by the opposition, at least in so far as formal declarations show it. The opposition does not take too seriously its own chances for victory, and because of it, thinks not in terms of victory and responsibility.

The late S. P. radicals pursued this policy to sufficient and evident disadvantage. The perennial demands of the S. P. delegates in the A. F. of L. conventions for the election of A. F. of L. officers by referendum vote was a case in point. And one did not have to be unusually well versed in the problems, facts and psychology

of the labor movement to know that a referendum vote would produce more unexpected and still poorer results than the election of officers by the method practiced at present. The S. P. itself discarded the method of electing its national secretary or chairman by a referendum vote. And it did so out of experience, because it had seen in practice that the popular election is not the better way of electing administrators. Nevertheless, it advocated that mode of elections, and that in the case of such important offices as the President and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor. It knew well that when called upon to vote for candidates of whom they knew nothing, the people would vote machine-like and to the liking of the machine. But the Socialist Party radical never thought in terms of attaining results. The S. P. delegates in the A. F. of L. conventions considered themselves a hopeless and prospectless minority. So they could safely advocate any policy which they themselves in their own case would not stand for.

The fault with most people belonging to or leading in our opposition wings is that they do not take themselves seriously as opponents of the existing regime, and they do not therefore take seriously their own proposals. They do not criticize seriously enough their own methods and programs, which is no less necessary than criticizing the other side.

### A Constructive Program Suggested

The minority delegates in the coming conventions, whether they are doomed to remain a minority or not will have to take a stand on the four points raised above, and the following may be said briefly for each of these points.

(1) *The reorganization of the unions on the basis of shop representation.* The local unions are largely political clubs, and mostly lifeless in addition thereto. Usually a local with a membership of 10,000 can boast of no better attendance than 100. These hundred members represent nobody but themselves. By a system of shop representation the life of the unions could be re-invigorated. As an immediate approach to the attainment of the end, the permanent organization of the shop chairmen, as part and parcel of the union organization, is to be welcomed. In the most cities where the Amalgamated is actually alive to its task, the shop chairmen are constitutionally recognized. They meet twice a month, and pass motions, which go to the Joint Boards. In the recently concluded agreement with the Chicago manufacturers in Chicago, the Shop-chairman is recognized as the union representative. Of course, the shop-chairman is but one, and proper shop representation ought to

make room for more representatives. Yet it is a step forward.

(2) *As to the use of the injunction as the means of Labor in the struggle with Capital.* There could be no two answers to the question. It is to be discarded. Even the fact that Brother Gompers is against it does not make it any better. The one progressive idea that the average American union man has conceived and accepted is his negative view on the injunction. Will the radicals sanctify the injunction? Hillquit's meek defense of the injunction in the recent strike of the I. L. G. W. U. will mislead no one. Its seeming usefulness in that strike and comparative ease with which it was attained must not fool any one. Purely political influences made it possible that the Union should get the injunction, and it really solved nothing. The union will yet meet the issue, temporarily laid on the table by the injunction order. And it will meet it at the expense of another strike, more severe, more costly, and in the near future. Or the union will avoid a strike by giving in to the manufacturers. But then of what immediate use was the injunction? It is true, that the injunctions don't manufacture clothes. It is equally true that injunctions don't win strikes or give workers employment.

(3) *The problem of leadership and rank and file.* The meat of the issue is responsibility, on both sides. Vigilance on the part of the rank and file can not be incorporated in constitutions. And just as little will "rotation in office" safeguard it. The immediate approach to the solution lies in the organization of shop-representation and in a virile system of educational activities. Not college liberals' bunk, but working class spirited education.

(4) *The Amalgamation of the needle unions into one consolidated union.* It would be futile to attempt the revival of the defunct Needle Trades Alliance. It died at its inception because it manifested not a step forward. The method of loose federation, that was laid at its foundation, is a dead principle. As it is, without any federated alliance the needle unions are sufficiently near one to another to make the formal proclamation of this closeness unnecessary. What is wanted is an actual consolidation. They ought to form one closely-knit organization with the present separate unions forming simply departments of one Industrial Needle Union, with one treasury and one administration. Only under such a plan will the amalgamation be valuable, will actually increase the fighting strength of the 350,000 workers in the industry. The problem of amalgamation is essentially a problem of power, of more power

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# A CHALLENGE ACCEPTED

## *An Open Letter to Mr. Gompers*

Chicago, April 20th, 1922.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:—

At a meeting on April 11th, in the Hotel Morrison, Chicago, which was attended by several hundred local union presidents and other trade union officials, you issued me a challenge which I must accept. During the meeting an A. F. of L. organizer made a virulent attack upon the proposition of amalgamation of the unions by industry, as outlined in the resolution recently adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor. In reply, I offered to debate the question with him on any trade union platform in this city. He made no response. But later on, when you took the floor, you expressed some surprise that I had not done you "the honor" of challenging you, and you also added that you would be willing to have a committee appointed, consisting of three reputable trade unionists, to which both you and I might submit our respective views regarding the general question of industrial unionism versus craft unionism.

Considering your high office in the movement, I would not have been presumptuous enough to have so challenged you to such a debate, but seeing that it is your own proposition, I herewith accept your offer, and am holding myself in readiness to present my arguments to the proposed committee as soon as it is selected. The personnel of the committee, and the manner of its selection, I am willing to leave entirely in your hands.

My contention is that craft unionism is obsolete. The old type of organization, based upon trade lines, can no longer cope successfully with Organized Capital. To fit modern conditions our unions must be based upon the lines of industry, rather than upon those of craft. The necessary industrial unionism will be arrived at, not through the founding of ideal dual unions, but by amalgamating the old organizations. Already the trade unions, by federations and other get-together devices, have made much progress in the direction of industrial unionism. I hold that this tendency should be consciously encouraged: we should not simply blunder along blindly. The thing that must be done is to boldly proclaim our inevitable goal of one union for each industry, and to adopt every practical means that will tend to get us there at the earliest date.

Awaiting your pleasure, I am

Fraternally yours,

Wm. Z. FOSTER.



# Railroad Men! Support The Miners

By H. Brown

**R**AILROAD men! Our brothers, the coal miners, are on strike. In a great demonstration of working-class solidarity, 665,000 of them have come out of the mines, and are demanding justice from the rulers of the industry. We must support them to the limit.

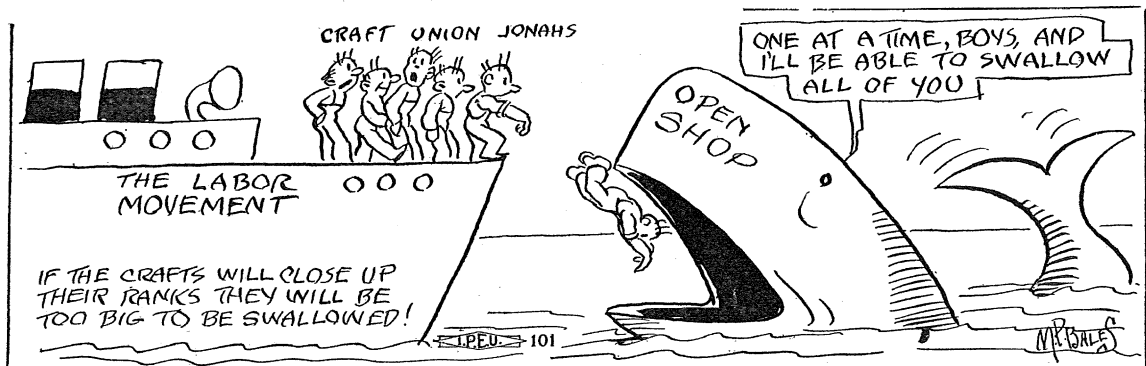
Who are the rulers of the coal industry? If we railroad men will look into the matter a moment, we will find that the rulers of coal are also the rulers of the railroads! They are the same men that we have to fight. The coal miners are warring against exactly the same group of capitalists that own the Railroad Labor Board. The great group of banks that control the railroad systems of the country also control the big coal fields. These industrial highwaymen use the wealth filched from the miners to fight us railroad men, and then take the money they save by cutting our wages and fight the miners' union. It is the same bunch of crooks, using the same kind of methods, and their desire is the same in both cases—to make monster profits by destroying the unions, increasing the hours of labor, and cutting wages.

They're getting away with it, at the present time, both with the miners and with us. This is the great big ugly fact that we must look at now. They are reducing our standards right and left, and there is nothing left but scraps of the conditions we thought we had established. For the past year the miners in the big producing fields have been just on the starvation line, and we have done little better. Everywhere the banker-bosses are becoming fatter and more arrogant,

and more ferocious in their attacks. Now they expect to keep us hauling scab coal, while they crush the miners; later they will expect to keep the miners turning out coal for scab railroaders. We must get common action to break this vicious circle. If we have any intelligence at all, we will take up the fight now. The bosses are united, and their full strength is brought into the struggle in every strike. Our forces are divided, and we rarely get common action. Such flimsy alliances as the miners' officers and our officials recently made, are merely an instinct in the right direction; but they do not promise any real co-operation in action. What we want and what we must have is to hook up the railroaders and miners into a real fighting alliance for defensive and offensive action.

Railroad men! The miners' fight is our fight! Let us get our unions into action, to support them and to strengthen our own position. Let us stir our organizations from top to bottom with the demand that we make common cause with the miners' union against our common enemy. A defeat for the miners will be a defeat for us; a victory for them will enable us to better wage our own fight. The employers and capitalists are united as never before. We must unite our own forces to the same degree, or we will be whipped.

"Haul no scab coal!" must be our battle cry. With this slogan we must stimulate our organizations into action. To desert the miners in this crisis would be treason, not only to them and to us, but to the whole working class. Railroad men, support the miners!



# Gompers Attacks the League

By Earl R. Browder

THE standpatters and reactionaries among the officials of the trade unions are deeply stirred by the advent of the Trade Union Educational League. No less a person than Samuel Gompers himself has seen fit, on a special trip to Chicago, to "expose" and denounce the League publicly at a big meeting of several hundred trade union officials. The whole incident grew out of the adoption by the Chicago Federation of Labor, at its meeting of March 19th, of a resolution calling for amalgamation of the different unions in the same industry. This resolution shocked the reactionary officialdom of the labor movement to its depths, and brought a sudden realization of the deep sentiment that exists among the rank and file for this measure. The Chicago Federation is the most important central body in the country, and has a reputation of action and leadership; when it speaks the labor movement listens. In order to understand Mr. Gompers' attack upon the League, it is necessary to review events leading up to and following the adoption of this resolution which has stirred the movement.

The Organization Committee of the Chicago Federation is a live body, and is in closest contact with the problems of organization facing the movement from day to day. It is composed of a dozen of the live wire unionists of the Chicago movement appointed by the Federation. This committee adopted the resolution unanimously, as being the most important step toward beginning a real organization campaign and the only weapon with which to meet the "open shop" drive. It was then introduced into the Federation; immediately a big debate developed, the opposition to the amalgamation program being led principally by Oscar Nelson, vice president of the Chicago Federation. The sentiment of the delegate body was overwhelmingly in favor of the proposal, and the resolution was adopted by a vote of 114 to 37, or a little over three to one. The resolution, after setting forth the vicious attack being made upon the unions, the disorderly retreat now being made, the divisions in the labor movement which cause this weakness, and setting forth the only remedy as the united front brought about through amalgamation of "the various trade unions so that there will remain only one union for each industry," then says: "Resolved, That we, the Chicago Federation of Labor, in regular meeting, call upon the American Federation of Labor as a first step in this direction, to assemble various international unions into conference for the pur-

pose of arranging to amalgamate all the unions in the respective industries into single organizations, each of which shall cover an industry." (For full text of resolution, see THE LABOR HERALD for April, page 12). The fight for the adoption of the resolution was led by J. W. Johnstone and Wm. Z. Foster, and the overwhelming vote in favor of it was taken in a big demonstration of enthusiasm on the part of the delegates.

Immediately an alarm was sounded in the camps of the conservatives. In the two weeks intervening before the ensuing meeting of the Federation all sorts of rumors flew about as to what they were "going to do." The opposition was finally crystallized in the action of two locals of the Electrical Workers, which adopted resolutions saying, in part: "That we . . . refuse to approve or endorse said resolution. . . and that we believe that our labor interests can best be served at this critical time by promoting harmony among the existing trade unions rather than by injecting dissention by advocating industrial unionism . . . that unless the Chicago Federation of Labor refrains from advocating industrial unionism we will stop paying our per capita tax."

## Chicago Federation Reaffirms Its Action

The attack of the conservatives embodied in the resolution of the Electrical Workers, was brought up early in the meeting of April 2nd. A great crowd had assembled for the second round of the battle. Nelson again led the attack; while John Fitzpatrick, Ed Nockels, and many other of the best known leaders of the Federation defended the amalgamation resolution. The reactionaries thought to put Fitzpatrick and Nockels in a hole by having them oppose their resolution, which called for "promoting harmony" instead of dissention. Nockels proposed that the progressives accept the Electrical Workers resolution, on the grounds that it had nothing to do with the previous resolution of the Federation. This was done, completely outwitting the standpatters; for the Federation then immediately voted to reaffirm the resolution for amalgamation. It was one of the largest and tensest meetings ever held by the Federation, but when the debate lasted late into the evening, and it became evident that amalgamation was overwhelmingly carried, a great many delegates left, so that the vote was not so large. The sentiment was very accurately reflected in

the figures of 103 to 14, or more than eight to one in favor of reaffirming the former action.

### Fossilized Arguments

The arguments used against the amalgamation resolution were very instructive, as illustrating the old guards' ignorance of industrial unionism and their inability to meet the issue. At the first session the opposition tried the usual tactics of labelling the resolution as secession, disruption, and I. W. W.-ism. They appealed wildly to craft jealousies and prejudice, but completely failed to meet the issue raised by this genuine trade union move. The appeal to craftism failed entirely. Nelson shouted to the delegates, "These men want you to have the printers, the pressmen, and everybody in the printing industry united into one union." The delegates shouted back, "That's what we want, too." The floundering about of these standpatters, in their pitiful search for an argument, was a complete demonstration of their inability to meet present problems. Even more, did it show that the bureaucracy of the trade unions has never been forced to meet the question of industrial unionism on its merits. The dual unionists have, up to this time, discredited industrial unionism in the eyes of the rank and file, so that all that was necessary to settle the question was to raise the cry of disruption. But that cry is turned the other way now; the reactionaries are the only ones now who talk about seceding. Of course, the poor old skeleton of the Knights of Labor was trotted out of its grave, and the delegates were assured that it was the true and original industrial union, holding it up as a horrible example. But these old bones were of no more effect than the other arguments. The delegation was made to see the Knights of Labor was not an industrial, but a mass organization.

The meeting of April 2nd brought forth some new arguments. The Trade Union Educational League was brought into the discussion by Nelson, who made a bitter attack upon it and THE LABOR HERALD. He charged that the resolution was the result of a "conspiracy" by the League. With dramatic effect he read an account of the organization of the Chicago League. It was received with great applause by the delegates, scores of whom immediately began to ask when the League would meet again, as they wanted to join it. Nelson also injected a personal attack against Foster, calling him an I. W. W. and insinuating that he was a disrupter. The entire second attack was made up of such personalities, insinuations, and innuendoes. It, too, got nowhere.

John Fitzpatrick was the principal speaker for the resolution at the second meeting. In a few

powerful words he ripped the hide off of the dishonest attacks being made, and placed himself completely on the side of amalgamation. He annihilated the attacks upon Foster, who had been chosen, by Gompers himself, he pointed out, to direct the greatest strike in labor history. Fitzpatrick challenged anyone to show where that task had not been handled according to the very highest standards of trade unionism. When he got through it was not necessary for Johnstone or Foster to say anything; the issue was settled for the Chicago Federation of Labor.

### Gompers Gets Into It

After these two defeats one might have thought that the standpatters would lay off for awhile, at least until they had found some way of meeting the issue. But they considered the matter of such great and pressing importance that they could not let it rest. The next one to be heard from was Mr. Gompers himself. He came to Chicago ostensibly to inquire into the building trades dispute. A large meeting of local officials was called in this connection, and for a time confined itself to this question. But the true purpose became evident when Emmet Flood, A. F. of L. organizer, launched into a vicious attack upon all the progressive features of the Chicago Federation of Labor, including the Farmer-Labor Party, the New Majority, and the amalgamation resolution. The Trade Union Educational League and Wm. Z. Foster also came in for a good share of his bitter tirade. Foster was not at the meeting, but was notified of the attack being made and hastened over. He was given the floor, and in a half hour speech he explained the principles of industrial unionism, the passage of the resolution, and the organization of the League. With regard to the League method of organization of minority groups to promote certain policies, Foster showed how this was an established procedure in the A. F. of L., no less a person than Frank Morrison of the A. F. of L. Executive Council being now on the ticket of a Typographical Union "boring from within" organization, the Progressives. He challenged Flood to debate the issues, and demanded of Gompers to say if there was anything in the amalgamation resolution that was contrary to the A. F. of L. laws. Gompers never answered this.

John Fitzpatrick spoke next and defended the resolution and the need for greater solidarity. His remarks were punctuated by vociferous applause. It was quite evident that Fitzpatrick's popularity was high above Gompers', and that the gathering was also for the amalgamation resolution; if another vote had been taken in

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# The British Metal Trades Lockout

By Tom Mann

*Former General Secretary of the Amalgamated Engineering Union*

**F**IRST, permit me briefly to sincerely congratulate all responsible on the excellence of the new magazine, THE LABOR HERALD; I believe it is destined to achieve great things. I think the tone, objective, and style are all excellent, and I expect it to meet with the real success it deserves.

To the subject: Readers must bear in mind the difference in the use of the term "Engineers" in the United States and in Britain; with us, the term is applied only to mechanics, the men who have the ability to construct. It is applied to the drivers of engines on board ship, because all such are qualified mechanics and are equal on emergency to undertake repairs.

To enable readers to understand correctly the trend of events, and what it is that the employers are opposed to, it will be necessary to state the terms of agreements arrived at, and the claims of the unions to control overtime. For many years, i. e., long before the present Amalgamated Engineering Union came into being, the old Amalgamated Society of Engineers included the following in its rules:

"Systematic overtime shall not be allowed in any district, and District Committees should see that this is strictly enforced, and also minimize overtime as far as possible. Systematic overtime shall be defined by District Committees in each district. District Committees shall define

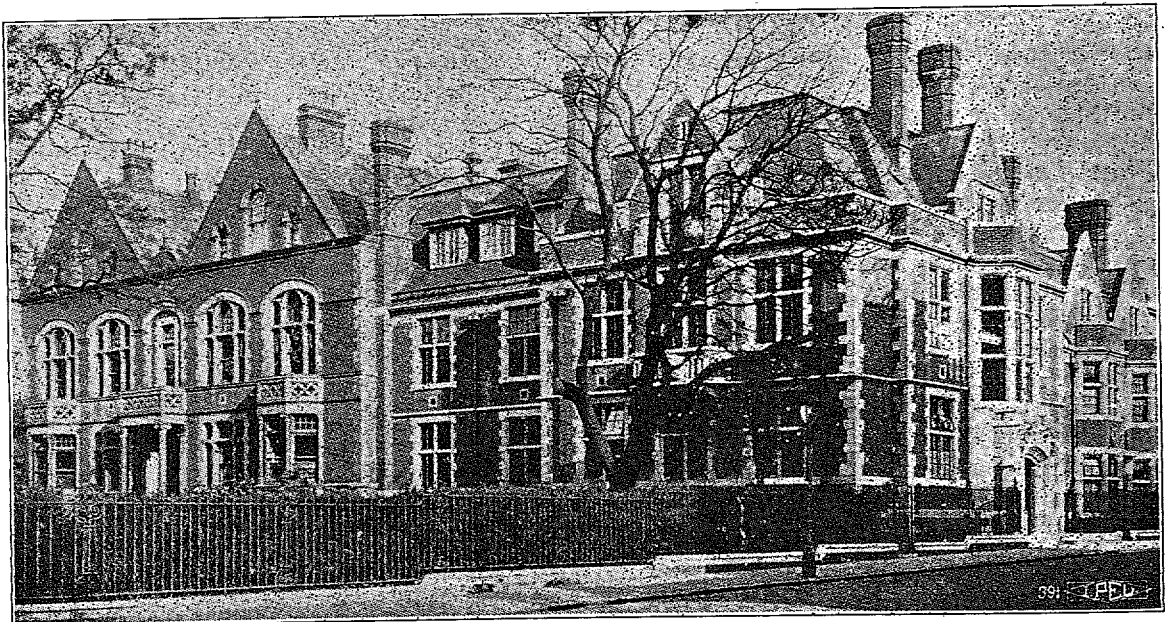
all cases claimed as emergency, and members must not, under this plea, work more than the stipulated amount of overtime without the consent of the District Committee."

This was acted upon, and any agreements entered into by the union with the employers respected this, and this has been incorporated in the rules of the Amalgamated Engineering Union.

In consequence of the many matters requiring adjustment in the shops, which if not properly attended to resulted in big disputes, Shop Stewards were appointed. For a long time these had no official recognition by the bosses, but in May 1919, an agreement was entered into between the Federated Employers and the Union, which includes the following:

"Workers, members of the trade union, employed in a federated establishment, may have representatives appointed from the members of the unions employed in the establishment to act on their behalf in accordance with the terms of this agreement; the appointment of such Shop Stewards shall be determined by the trade unions concerned, and each trade union, party to this agreement may have such Shop Stewards. A Works Committee may be set up in each establishment consisting of . . ." etc.

The above shows that the right of a workman or workmen to have a voice in deciding work-



GENERAL OFFICES OF AMALGAMATED ENGINEERING UNION, LONDON

shop conditions has been definitely recognized. Owing to differences of opinion arising between the employers and the union regarding the working of overtime, an agreement was entered into between the Federated Employers and the Amalgamated Engineering Union, in September 1920, which contains the following clause:

"The Federation and the Trade Unions agree that systematic overtime is deprecated as a method of production and when overtime is necessary the following provisions shall apply, viz;

"No union workman shall be required to work more than 30 hours overtime in any four weeks after full shop hours have been worked, allowance being made for time lost through sickness, absence with leave, or enforced idleness, but overtime is not to be restricted in breakdowns, repairs, replacements, trial trips, or competition of work against delivery dates."

The men have worked smoothly under this, but the bosses are not satisfied, and their demand now is, that the regulative right hitherto exercised by the District Committees of the Union, when they have (before agreeing that their members shall work overtime on new work), considered the number of unemployed members in their district and have had regard to these being first absorbed before others work overtime. This it is that has caused the bosses to now declare they must have full managerial control of their shops, and to claim that if a Works Manager desires men to work overtime, they must work that overtime without discussion, or be liable to dismissal.

Those of us familiar with the work of unions, know, and any reflecting person can see, that the primary object of bringing a union into existence is to enable the men to have a voice and influence in deciding the conditions under which they work, and the difference between unions in recent years and in earlier times is, that they, the unions, are being used increasingly to control the conditions of workshop life. The employers in the engineering trade, now that the funds of the unions have been largely depleted owing to such a large percentage being unemployed, consider this is their opportunity to give a set back to the unions and deprive them of any controlling influence.

The total number of engineers, excluding Foundrymen, Steel Workers, and semi-skilled and unskilled men, is 650,000; of these over 600,000 are organized, and of the organized over 400,000 are members of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. This is the union whose members are now locked out. But when all in the engineering and shipbuilding industry are included, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled, then it brings up the total to 1,500,000.

There is a big fight ahead. The first essential here is Solidarity. I anticipate a long struggle, because the rank and file are more class-conscious than we have ever been before; and although money is very scarce, we are on the right side of Christmas. And we must conclude that as the bosses have entered upon this lock-out with such deliberation, they intend to make a determined stand to down the unions. It is reasonable to conclude that the longer the fight continues, the more revolutionary will the men become.

### CONSTRUCTIVE RADICALISM IN THE NEEDLE INDUSTRY

(Continued from page 13)

for the men and women engaged in making clothes. And a really consolidated union of all the needle workers will prove to be a generous source of creative power for the good of these people. A loose alliance is in fact a dangerous undertaking, at least in the clothing industry. It would not add one iota of actual strength to the side of the unions, but it would forcefully wake up the employers and stimulate an even stronger degree of consolidation in their ranks. The opponents would be provoked to unite without an adequate and corresponding strengthening of the workers' union. And, what is not of least consideration, a real consolidation of labor in the industry would eliminate waste, duplication of effort, and over-lapping in administration. While it would not eliminate or lessen the number of officers it would add to the tasks of each officer, and make the union more effective. And, think of a fight where the employers would have to meet with an array of all the power and determination to win, which all the unions, acting separately now, possess. Guerilla warfare in the industry would be a matter of the past. The employing interests would either be ready for reasonable argument or accept war that would inevitably spell ruin for them. This is the issue of Amalgamation in the needle industry. Will the two conventions speak up for it? The radicals in the conventions have a truly constructive program on their hands.

Rockford, Ill., Mar. 26, 1922

My order of books and magazines received. Thanks. I am very enthusiastic about the work ahead, and my only regret is that it was not started ten years ago.

E. Warner

Buffalo, N. Y., April 12th, 1922

Your magazine received. I think it is the best yet. Your program is just the thing we need. Fight from within! Rush me 15 copies of March issue.

Yours fraternally,

H. Brown

## A Few Lies Nailed

**I**N a signed statement issued through the United News on April 13th, Matthew Woll fires a broadside, consisting of a mass of lies and misrepresentations, into the Trade Union Educational League and William Z. Foster.

For those who do not know, it may be well to state that Mr. Woll, besides being Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, is also a nice young man ambitious of becoming a great labor leader some day. He is under Mr. Gompers' special patronage. In fact, his function seems to be to serve as a sort of "pocket piece" for the old man. Some say that Sam is grooming him for the place of President of the American Federation of Labor, but if so we fear that Matthew is in for considerable of a disappointment.

Mr. Woll played quite a prominent part in the Montreal Convention of the American Federation of Labor. Of particular interest were his gymnastics on the Plumb Plan question. This was one of the great issues of the Convention. At first Mr. Woll talked against the report calling for its adoption, but later, during the roll call when he saw the landslide in favor of it, he changed front and voted for it. A look of disgust spread over Mr. Gompers' face; he himself, whom everyone will agree is a bold fighter for the things he believes in, went down before the railroad men and the miners with colors flying. But Mr. Woll weakened in the crisis, when the center of gravity of the pie-card seemed to have shifted. We dare say he was thoroughly spanked in private by Mr. Gompers for this dereliction.

In the tissue of lies constituting Mr. Woll's latest statement, we pick out the following samples, as illustrating the quality of the whole thing:

**LIE NUMBER ONE:** "Driven to desperation, he (Foster) was compelled to admit that he was seeking to form minorities in every local and international trade union."

**ANSWER:** Foster not only admitted the full program of the League, long before Mr. Woll got on the job, but advertised it extensively as long ago as 1920. Mr. Woll, "driven to desperation" by the success of the League, tries to make an "exposure."

**LIE NUMBER TWO:** This program "he recently conceived after his conference with the highest Soviet officials. He has returned from Russia

evidently to deliver the American labor movement to Lenin and Trotsky."

**ANSWER:** It is a fact well known throughout the labor movement, that William Z. Foster has advocated the program now incorporated in the Trade Union Educational League, in season and out, for the last ten years, long before the world heard of Lenin. Mr. Woll knows this as well as anyone.

**LIE NUMBER THREE:** "Foster announces that he has appointed 1,000 emissaries in 1,000 American communities, these to build around themselves a secret organization of trade union members—a veritable Soviet Ku Klux Klan."

**ANSWER:** All the "secrets" of the League were published in every possible way, and sent out all over the country. An advance copy was sent to the *American Federationist*, of which Mr. Woll is one of the chief scribes. The educational methods of the League are, in a general way, similar to those used by the inside group of progressives in the Typographical Union for years; the difference being that the League is more advanced. The meetings of the Trade Union Educational League are as open as daylight; any union man in good standing is allowed to attend. There is no trace of secrecy about the organization.

**LIE NUMBER FOUR:** "Members are sworn to secrecy and to disregard the rules of all international unions."

**ANSWER:** This is a deliberate falsehood, and Matthew Woll knows it to be such. He is challenged to produce the slightest proof in support of this ridiculous assertion. The exact opposite is the case; all members of the League are required to obey the rules of their unions, and to exert all possible effort to perfect them and bring them into harmony with present needs. One of the objects of the League is to bring into the fold of trade unionism all the live, active elements of the working class now outside, thus to build up and strengthen the entire labor movement.

Mr. Woll's "arguments" are typical of his kind. He is incapable of meeting the program of the League on its merits. So he has to drag in a lot of personalities, and draw upon his imagination for fantastic tales, to becloud the issue. But such stratagems will avail nothing. The cause of trade union progress, represented by the Trade Union Educational League, has the facts on its side and it must prevail.



# Tyranny and Revolt in the German Railroad Industry

By Fritz Heckert

UNLIKE the railroads of most countries, which are private property, the German railroads, with few exceptions, have been state-owned for decades. In pre-revolutionary Germany all workers and officials employed had to submit to state control. They had no right to strike. The establishing of all their conditions of labor rested entirely with the higher officials in the Ministry of Railroads. But as the state, to uphold its authority, requires broad ranks of sympathetic citizens, the officials, and also the workers to some extent, were granted certain privileges which served to make "obedient servants" of them. All efforts to establish trade unions among the railroad employees failed, partly because of the men's indifference and partly because of the stringent measures taken by the higher officials to prevent such organization. Whoever was even suspected of being a member of a union, or reading a Socialist paper, or to have voted for a Socialist candidate, was ruthlessly driven from the service. Everything was done to make the railroad workers, high and low, supporters of the existing social order and followers of the conservative parties.

The world war changed nothing of this condition. It may be truly said that the German military force could develop its original monster power only because behind it stood the great working elements in the transport industries willing to do its bidding unquestioningly. By 1916, the German trade unions had done so much to further the war that they were permitted to organize a union on the railroads. But it was compelled expressly to acknowledge in writing that it would not use the strike weapon. For the reactionaries who found themselves at the head of the new organization this was an easy task. They felt themselves willing servants of German imperialism, striving for victory.

The criticism raised in the trade unions at this renunciation of the strike right by the new organization got nowhere. But as the war wore on, making as it did overwhelming demands on the endurance of the people, a great change in the sentiment of the railroad men took place. When in November 1918 imperial Germany collapsed and the hollowness of the old ruling system became evident, the employees of the state were

drawn into the cleansing process. With the general impoverishment of the people, the privileges of the officials went by the board; their need grew bitter and intense. But above all, the old compulsion was lifted from them—the state's authority lost its force. Consequently, there was a rapid growth of new railroad unions; old fraternal organizations changed themselves into bodies with trade union characteristics. The amalgamation of these small organizations went ahead rapidly, and soon the entire personnel of the railroads was organized into a few large trade unions.

The German Railwaymen's Union, which is affiliated to the A. D. G. B., or Socialist national trade union movement, numbers 430,000 members, most of them workers, only 40,000 being officials. In the National Union of German Railwaymen, which accepts no workers, there are 230,000 members. A Christian railroad organization, which is properly a federation of several unions, has 153,000 members, officials and workers included. A fourth organization, the General Railroad Workers' Union, of a capitalistic-democratic tendency, has 53,000 members. The German Railroad network is divided into 29 districts, in each of which there are from 6,000 to 40,000 officials and workers employed. Altogether there are 1,057,000 railroaders, of whom 380,000 are officials.

At the outbreak of the Revolution the officials, with few exceptions, were as loyal to the new regime as they had been to the old one. As for the railroad workers, however, they soon developed rebellion against the efforts of the new State to perpetuate the old conditions. In the year 1919, they broke out into a number of strikes to relieve their great need, demanding higher wages and better working conditions. But their strikes did not receive the necessary support, and failed. In 1920, took place the first negotiations with the Minister of Transportation for a national agreement (the railroads, which formerly had been in the possession of the individual states had meanwhile passed over to the national government). This national agreement assembled the railroad workers into 8 wage groups with 5 local classes. In the wage groups the workers are classed according to their trades, in the local classes they are classed according to local living conditions. In the year 1920, there was also a national wage law passed for officials,

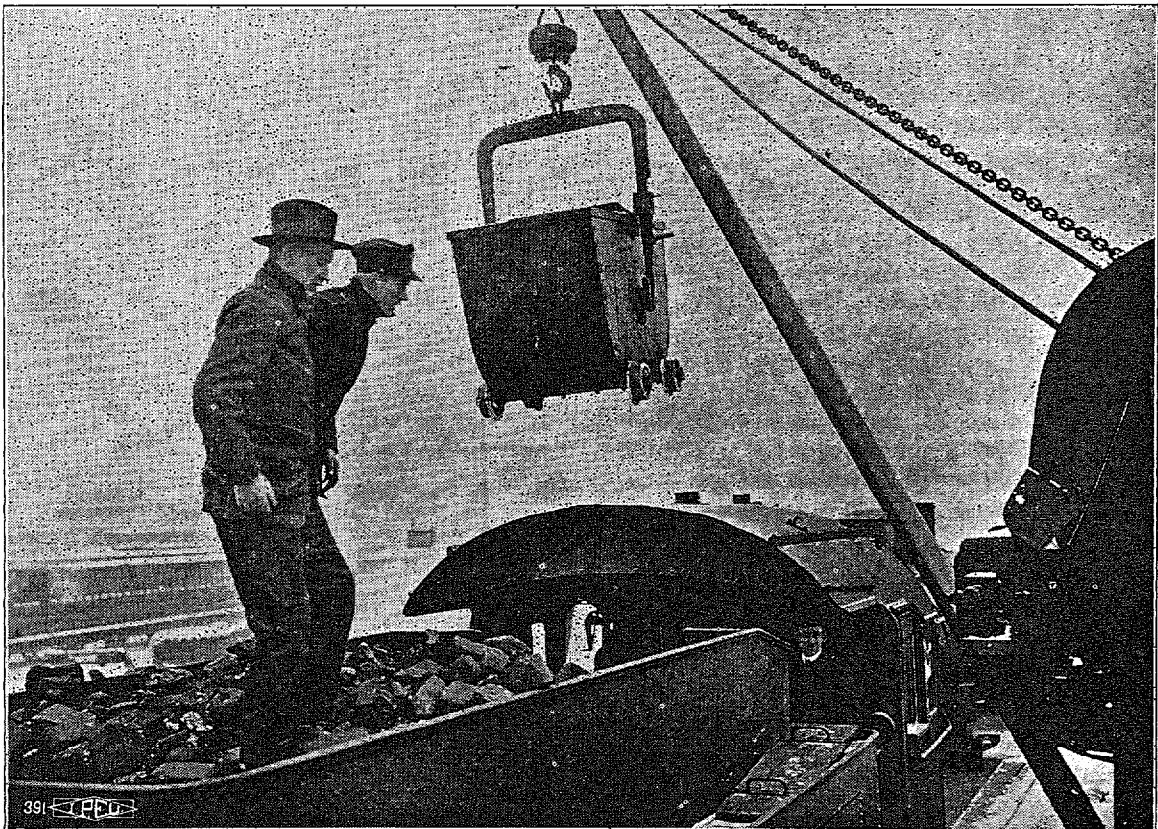
NOTE: In Germany employees who in this country are called workers—such as conductors, station agents, etc.—are classed as officials. This distinction should be carefully borne in mind in reading this article.

with 13 classes for the lower, and 17 classes for the higher officials. The system of 5 local classes was likewise applied to the officials. Neither the workers nor the officials were satisfied with this arrangement. Especially the national agreement created great dissatisfaction among the workers. Already in September, 1920, they stormily demanded wage increases. With the increase in the cost of living strong unrest also developed among the officials, whose salaries were glaringly insufficient. In January, 1921, after long negotiations, increases were secured which were counted "noteworthy trade union successes." But in July we see the officials and workers again making new demands, which were laid before the Government on August 13th.

But now became plain to all the consequences of the policy which the new German Government was carrying out. In the revolution no effort was made to alter the property holding conditions. The rich man remained rich and had new riches added to the old. The poor man was still more burdened, his misery grew beyond bearing. All burdens, brought on by the war, were to be loaded off onto his shoulders. The national railroads had a deficit of 17 billion. This deficit was to be made up by reducing the personnell and increasing efficiency. And naturally all move-

ments for better wages were to be opposed. During the war the railroads were exploited shamelessly. No replacements of the apparatus were carried out. After the war a great part, in fact the best part, of the locomotives and cars were delivered up to the victors. All new improvements and repairs, which make up the greater part of the deficit, were to be taken out of the railroad employees. This was naturally an impossibility, and the attempt of the Government to make head in that direction could only result in lining up the entire body of railroad employees against it.

Apparently the Government succeeded in calming the railroaders in the early Spring of 1921, when it granted their demands for better wages. But only the higher officials were satisfied, as they received even more than they had asked. This caused a split in the ranks of the officials. The higher ones, who up to this time exerted the dominating influence in their organizations, either quit these bodies voluntarily, or were expelled by the lower officials. A quick radicalization of the officials took place. The organized officials came into closer relationship to the railroad workers and in the beginning of 1922, several spontaneous so-called "wild strikes" broke out, in which workers and officials fought shoulder to shoulder.



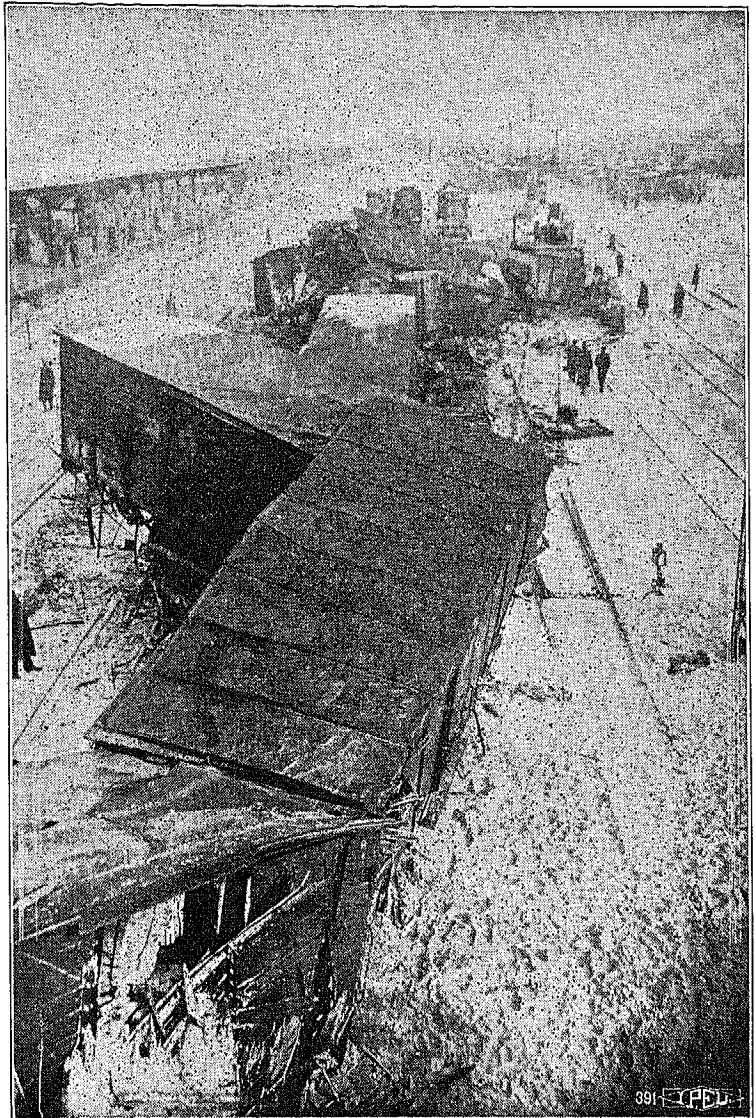
GERMAN STRIKEBREAKERS AT WORK

The actual wages of the railroaders had fallen 45% from the middle of 1920 to the end of 1921, thus more than one half. Instead of granting the wishes of the railroaders, the Government, prisoner of a capitalistic policy, pledged itself through Minister Rathenau in Cannes, to wipe out the deficit of the railroads by discharging workers and officials, through lengthening the working day, and raising railroad rates. Under such conditions it was not strange that the last remnant of the railroaders' loyalty to the State changed into enmity.

The locomotive engineers gave the signal for the strike, and swiftly the whole personnel followed their lead, even in the occupied territory. In the later place, only by the application of the worst kind of white terrorism was it possible to keep the roads in operation. The Government, together with the Social-Democratic Party, and the general officers of the trade unions, who are responsible for the Government's policy, turned ferociously against the strikers, issuing statements and ukases condemning their movement. The officials were declared to have no right to strike. Participation in the strike was threatened with fine and imprisonment. The leaders of the movement were arrested and the strike funds confiscated. The officials of the national trade union movement declared the movement a crime against all mankind, and indirectly assisted the state in its violence.

But the workers felt otherwise about it. Everywhere the railroad workers energetically entered the strike, and from day to day, general strike sentiment grew among the workers at large. Through its threats against the working class, the Government made itself thoroughly hated. It would surely have been overthrown had it not been that the striking officials, deceived by promises and alarmed at the revolutionary consequences of their act, suddenly called the strike off.

Naturally the Government did not live up to its given word. That could not be done without



RESULTS OF SCAB SWITCHMENS' WORK

fundamentally changing its policy. As a capitalist Government, as protector of the money-bag interests, no other way lay before it except to war relentlessly against the workers and officials. Over 50,000 disciplined railroaders remained as victims of the movement. The attack on the eight-hour day is continued and the wage demands unsatisfied. Meanwhile, the cost of living mounts rapidly and makes a hell of the life of the workers and officials. It is forcing them on to new struggles.

It would be foolish to believe that the German Government has won anything for its authority through this victory. And still less will it tend to stabilize the shattered industries. An inextinguishable hate has taken hold

(Continued on page 31)

# Shop Delegate League in Needle Trades

By Rose Wortis

THE International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in common with the rest of the labor movement, has felt the evil effects of dual unionism. Although there has never been a dual union in the ladies' garment industry, yet the radicals there have been very much influenced by the teachings of the outside unions, and many spent years in a futile effort to organize a Textile Workers' branch of the I. W. W., which did not and could not perform the functions of a trade union. All that they accomplished by their efforts was to isolate themselves from the mass of the workers. During periods of strikes they rallied to the support of the union, but only to retire to their seclusion when the struggle was over.

There were attempts made to remedy this condition, for the radical workers instinctively felt the barrenness of their efforts; but these failed because the fallacy of dual unionism was not yet understood. The propaganda groups that were organized had no definite plan of action, and their members refused to accept positions of responsibility. Thus the Current Events Group, which at one time promised to become a factor in the union, failed to come up to expectations; the same reasons account for the failure of the Workers' Council movement in the I. L. G. W. after the 12-week strike in 1919.

The Workers' Council came into existence at the time when the Shop Steward movement was being heard of a great deal from England, and it was considerably influenced by the British events. It aimed to reconstruct the union on a Shop Delegate system. The idea was to make the shop the unit of organization, to transfer the full control of the union to the rank and file through their Shop Committees. The women in the needle trades (contrary to accepted opinion that women are by nature conservative) readily responded to the new idea. The Workers' Council became very popular amongst all the workers in the industry, because the principles advocated by it were particularly adaptable to conditions in the industry.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has faced many peculiar problems. Although in existence but a few years, it has succeeded to a great extent in improving the conditions of the workers. In order to evade the power of the union, the manufacturers began to transfer the industry into small towns, where it is more difficult for the union to reach the workers. In the city many of the large shops were

disbanded and the industry handed over to contractors. The large number of the rank and file does not participate actively in the affairs of the organization as now constituted; in order to maintain the standards of the union it became necessary to mobilize the active elements and distribute them through the unorganized shops, so that from the inside could be spread the message of unionism. These problems of the unorganized and the out-of-town shop, among other difficulties, had become too serious to be handled by paid officials against whom workers have a distrust. Only by organizing the union on a basis that would enlist greater numbers into its activities could the union hope to maintain itself.

The Workers' Council offered a solution for these problems; but it was doomed to failure because, instead of acting as a propaganda group it aimed to replace the union and even undertook to conduct strikes. Also the radicals of all the different shades of thought had not learned how to reach a common program and leave their differences aside while working for the agreed end; instead of this, each group tried to use the Council as a medium for the propagation of its pet ideas.

In spite of its mistakes, the Workers' Council accomplished some good work. It popularized the Shop Delegates System, and it compelled the officials who were desirous of enlisting the activities of the radicals (the only live wires in the organization) to grant them a concession. This took the form of the organization of a Shop Delegates body in the union. The new institution was greeted with enthusiasm by the workers in the industry, who attended its meetings in great numbers, and a new spirit permeated the organization. This new body began to assume responsibilities, and soon decided that the Executive Committee, hitherto elected by the membership at large and responsible to no one during its term of office, should be elected and controlled by the Shop Representatives.

The officers of the I. L. G. W. became alarmed at the popularity of the new institution and its acts and immediately took steps to curb it. They declared the decision of the Shop Delegates unconstitutional, and sent in a receiver to take charge of the office of the local. Some of the radicals, still imbued with the idea of dual unionism, began to clamor for a split; but they were immediately opposed by others who had learned that the only way to revolutionize the union was

to stick to it. The saner counsels prevailed. They analyzed their mistakes, and patiently set themselves to the task of organizing a left-wing movement in the I. L. G. W. They have learned that a fundamental change in the form of organization cannot be accomplished on a local scale, but must begin throughout the organization and with the highest and lowest units.

The patient and systematic work which was undertaken by this left wing has been fruitful. We now see a solid block of radicals organized in Shop Delegates Leagues, with branches in nearly every local of the I. L. G. W., in New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis, and other centers where ladies' garments are made. The members of the Shop Delegates League aim to get the support of the rank and file by participating in the daily activities of the union, and by patient and diligent work in the interest of the workers. The recent organization campaign conducted by the Joint Board of Waist and Dress Industry was largely carried on by the radicals. The success of these new policies has become evident during the recent election in the cloak industry—the stronghold of the official machine.

At the elections just held, after a two months' campaign during which the official machine in co-operation with the Daily Forward did their utmost to discredit the radicals, a complete victory was achieved, in the largest local in the organization. They elected their full slate, executive board, managers, and delegates to the convention. The program upon which the fight was waged, as enunciated in the Shop Delegate League bulletin, is as follows:

1. To bring about the reconstruction of the union along Industrial lines.

2. To make the union a more militant and efficient organ of struggle by transferring power from union officials to the workers in the shops.

3. To abolish the sanctity of the collective agreement as a permanent institution.

4. To encourage solidarity of the labor forces of different industries, thereby strengthening the economic and social position of the working class.

The Shop Delegate League is now carrying on a spirited campaign for the election of delegates to the convention of the I. L. G. W., which is to take place in May. The convention issues are:

Rank and file control through Shop Delegates.  
Needle Trades Alliance.

Equal representation on all bodies of the International.

Establishment of Recall of Officers.

Uniform initiation fees, etc.

Should the Shop Delegates League succeed in electing even a good minority of delegates to the convention, as it undoubtedly will, the convention will prove to be one of the most interesting in the history of our union. At last the radicals have found the road that leads to victory. It may not be a smooth road, and it may cost a few individual suspensions, and even expulsions, but in spite of all, thanks to our present knowledge of how to work in our unions, the day is not far distant when our International Ladies' Garment Workers Union will take its place in the front ranks of Organized Labor in America.

### SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

*In The Labor Herald for June*

## **"The Story of the Railway Employees' Department Convention"**

By Wm. Z. Foster

It will be a most complete report and analysis of this most important labor convention, and written by a thoroughly posted authority on railroad unionism. You must read it.

Some other features of the June issue are: several special articles on the Building Trades situation; a story of the development of machinery in office work; another of Fritz Heckert's stories of the German labor movement; and the usual assortment of interesting and indispensable articles on every phase of the labor movement.

## THE LABOR HERALD

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Trade Union Magazine

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WM. Z. FOSTER, EDITOR

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world must crush them; but the pressure of necessity has brought them to the same conference together. Even then, they expected the Russians to cringe and crawl into the conference. But the Russians have shown the world at Genoa, as they have before, at Brest-Litovsk, an entirely new type of diplomacy. Simply by knowing economic facts and by speaking frankly, the Russian delegates walked into Genoa like a victorious nation. The capitalistic powers may struggle against the inevitable, they may prevent anything positive from issuing immediately from Genoa, but this much has already been brought plainly before the world—the Russian Revolution and the Soviet Government are recognized as permanent factors in the world situation, the capitalists of the world are helpless to solve their own problems, and the Soviet Government has once more definitely taken the lead of the oppressed millions of the world in their struggle to escape the results of capitalism and the world war.

### THE MEANING OF GENOA

**T**HE seating of the Russian delegates in the Genoa Conference is the definite recognition by the powers of the world of the practical success of the Russian Revolution. After four years of open warfare, of subsidized counter-revolutionary efforts, of economic blockade, the powers of Capitalism have been finally forced to seat themselves at the same table with Soviet Russia, and talk of coming to an agreement. Genoa stands as the sign that all the world may read, that Soviet Russia has come to stay.

This is the result of four long years of super-human struggle. The Russian workers, when they took hold of the powers of Government, had three great problems to solve—the political, the military, and the economic. The political problem alone, the mere task of setting up the machinery of Government, the mere mechanics of the thing, was pointed out by the capitalistic wise-acres as the rock upon which Soviet Russia would be wrecked. But the Russian workers tackled this problem and solved it, in spite of their complete lack of the necessary number of skilled and trained men; today, their work stands as the strongest civil Government in the world. The military problem was even greater; with a completely disorganized army, with the whole world in arms against them, with active warfare on 13 fronts at once, with industries ruined, the Soviets undertook to create a working class army. In less than three years they had swept the invaders into the sea, with all their billions of subsidized supplies; they cleared Russia of counter-revolutionary armies, and established the most effective army in the world. Now the Soviets are attacking the hardest problem of them all, the economic problem, the task of rebuilding the machinery of production and distribution ruined by the years of war, civil war, blockade and famine. They have liquidated the wars and civil wars; they broke the blockade with the assistance of the "scab capitalists"; they have performed miracles in meeting the famine; and now they are slowly rebuilding Russian industry. Today, the rest of Europe needs Russian help as much as Russian needs the rest of Europe. Genoa is simply the public acknowledgment of these facts.

The capitalistic powers of the world denounced the Bolsheviks as "butchers," and declared the

### LABOR HERALD CIRCULATION

**T**HE LABOR HERALD has filled a crying need in the labor movement. This is amply shown by the wonderful reception given it in the first two months of its existence. With no means of advertisement and no capital except its good friends, the second issue reached a circulation of 10,000 copies. This is a good beginning, but it is only that, and offers reason for congratulation on the condition that we continue the same rate of increase. The goal we have set for our magazine is 50,000 circulation this year.

Circulation of **THE LABOR HERALD** is much more than a financial question. The very life of the movement represented by the Trade Union Educational League is bound up in this circulation. Every additional copy of **THE LABOR HERALD** that is read by union men, means additional influence and power for the program of the League; the magazine is the very heart, which continually pumps the blood of understanding and initiative into all parts of the movement. Nothing else can take its place; the old line union journals are either too limited and narrow, or else they are closed to every new, life-giving idea. **THE LABOR HERALD** is the only unlimited forum for the dissemination of our program and our ideals, and its health and growth depends upon the circulation which you give it.

Radicals are fond of telling the world how to organize; for years we have criticized the inefficiency of capitalist society. We have yet to really demonstrate our own ability; and here is one of our good opportunities to show what we can do in this line. If every one who reads this will do his part, we will have the magazine on a self-sustaining basis with the next issue. Get your group busy visiting the unions, and you will find eager buyers in almost all. Many unions can be easily induced to order a regular bundle through their secretary. Individual subscriptions are the best, and many live wires are finding it easy to send us a good list almost every week. This is the most vital part of our whole work, as it is continually bringing us into new contacts and widening the scope and power of our influence. The printed word is the most powerful weapon in the social struggle, and **THE LABOR HERALD** is the machine-gun of the movement for an aggressive



and active labor unionism. Your ability to use it will decide the measure of our success. If you have not sent in a bundle order already, this is the first duty that you owe the movement today.

### EMMA GOLDMAN EXPLODES

**T**HE manner in which Emma Goldman's articles were received by the capitalistic press was most curious and instructive. Great newspapers with daily circulations running into the millions featured her on the front pages, carried her name on billboards and wagons, and even used vast electric signs to write it in letters of fire, to impress upon the masses the importance of her words. This campaign of publicity was, while it lasted, of a scope rivalling any such event in a generation. Apparently the anarchist prophet was at last to receive glory in her own country.

Emma Goldman may have deluded herself into believing that she could accept this role, and still escape standing forth to the world as an enemy of the Russian Revolution. She may have been stupid enough to think she could fall into the arms of the capitalistic press without betraying the revolution. But the press is under no such illusion; they knew what her articles meant; they knew that by carrying them they were striking a blow against the workers of Russia and in favor of reaction and capitalism. Capitalism has spent hundreds of millions of dollars on ventures for which it has less to show; so naturally it was glad to pay \$3,000 for such assistance as this. Compared with the wages given Kolchack Yudenich, Semenoff, Denekin, and Wrangel, Emma Goldman acted in this as a sort of strike-breaker; but even so, it is a handsome increase over the 30 pieces obtained by Judas.

This act was the logical result of Emma's anarchistic philosophy; regardless of any sense of discipline, without thought of the consequences to the workers of Russia, she puts her drivel on paper and peddles it to Capitalism. The burden of her complaints is the "terrorism" of the Soviet Government. She speaks of "terrorism," although she, after carrying on open counter-revolutionary work in Moscow for over a year, departs from there in safety. The Bolsheviks knew what she was doing; every one in Moscow knew it, and her agitation against the Soviets was being carried from the heart of Russia all over the world. Does she really expect the world to believe that she is such an important person that they did not dare to touch her? The revolutionary workers did not hold back in dealing with many, many, others, of much more influence and standing with the workers of Russia and other countries. No, anyone who knows Russia also knows that Goldman escaped harm because of the almost absurdly gentle nature of the Russians.

The articles reveal a knowledge of Russia altogether distorted and superficial. Blinded by preconceived notions, she could not see anything fundamental. She could sit back and fulminate against the leaders of Russia's workers, living meanwhile on a sumptuous scale astounding to one who knew the frugal meals of the same men as well as the population at large; excusing her own complete abstention from useful labor by cheap abuse of those who were keeping Russian social life from

chaos. This is not surprising; Emma Goldman was in America for 30 years, and what is her knowledge of the labor movement here worth? Nothing. She pretends to be a student, but she is utterly ignorant of even the simple, fundamental facts which underlie the entire labor movement.

Prophecy is a little out of our line, but we feel safe in predicting that this latest recruit to the enemies of the Soviet Government will soon be hobnobbing with Breshovsky, Kerensky, and the multitude of their kind, who live as parasites while the Russian workers give their lives without reservation to the upbuilding of the first Workers' Republic. These articles may possibly explain where she got all of her good food while in Moscow; certainly they guarantee her continued well-being in a physical way now that she is again among her kind.

### ANOTHER WORD ON INJUNCTIONS

**T**HE left-wing group in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has carried a large number of locals in the delegate elections to the convention of that organization, defeating the administration forces heavily. Even Secretary Baroff failed of election as delegate. What is the meaning of this upheaval, coming so close on the heels of the alleged "injunction victory?" We say to Hillquit and Schlesinger, that the American labor movement wants nothing at all to do with the injunction. It is a boss's weapon and is poison to Labor.

### A FEW KIND WORDS

**W**E GET so many brickbats in the course of a month, that it is only human for us to pay some attention to the kind words which greet our magazine. The following is the comment made by THE WORKER, of New York:

The April number of the Labor Herald is a bright spot in the labor publication field. Every word in it is not only of importance to the progressive and radical elements in the American labor movement but is readable.

In no labor journal we have ever seen is the matter selected with the care shown in the Herald; the articles are excellent but it is their arrangement and selection so that from the first word to the last one thing is driven home to the reader—the necessity of the solidarity of labor.

The leading article—Anvil or Hammer, Which?—says all there is to be said concerning the disastrous results of craft division in the railroad industry; it is an unanswerable argument for unity. Officialdom may ignore but it cannot refute the statements made.

The Labor Herald for April is what American labor has been waiting for—a REAL labor journal.

San Jose, Calif., Mar. 26, 1922

Sanity at last! Received your program. Am thoroughly in accord with you. Too long have we permitted the totally unfit to lead the workers within our Unions. We have a man's job on our hands, but with patience, tact, and determination it can be done.

Awaiting further details and instructions, I am  
Fraternally,  
Roger Bauer.

# THE INTERNATIONAL

## FRANCE

**T**HE yellow trade unionists, who by their policy of excluding hundreds of local unions for affiliating with the Revolutionary Syndicalist Committee, split the movement squarely in two, now seem to realize what they have done and are trying to avoid some of the consequences. Dumoulin, secretary of the General Confederation of Labor, and the man most responsible for the disruption of the movement, has recently issued a statement declaring that the exclusion question is now dissolved, since the rebel local unions have given up their affiliation to the Revolutionary Syndicalist Committee. The militant elements, who now have a separate organization, are not caught with these words, however. They have had a most bitter experience with the old bureaucracy. Moreover, the masses of the organized workers are with them in the new organization. Hence, they are determined to fight the issue out. They are going ahead with their plans to convoke a general unity conference of all the trade unions in France, at which conference they will try to pull away the membership still staying with the old bureaucracy.

## ITALY

**U**NDER the pressure of the iron heel of Capitalism, the Italian labor movement is drawing together its scattered forces. As a result of the initiative of the Railwaymen's Union, a working alliance has been set up between the General Confederation of Labor, the Italian Trade Union Federation, the Italian Federation of Labor, the Railwaymen's Union, and the National Federation of Harbor Workers. The general purpose of the alliance is explained in the following, condensed from a resolution adopted:

"The representatives of the workers' organizations, considering it essential at the present time that the forces of Labor should unite, resolve to oppose to the united forces of reaction an alliance of the forces of the proletariat and to establish a national committee of representatives of all allied organizations. This committee will draw up a practical program embodying all means of trade union action (including the general strike) with a view to developing the full strength of the proletariat. The committee shall consist of five representatives of the General Confederation of Labor and of two representatives of each of the other organizations mentioned. Resolutions unanimously adopted by the committee will be binding on all the allied organizations."

## ENGLAND

**A**T the present time the amalgamation movement in England is going on apace. Many fusions of related trades have either just been completed or soon will be. The National Society of Dyers and Finishers and the Yeadon and Guiseley Factory Workers' Union have merged with the General Union of Textile Workers, which creates practically one organization for the whole wollen industry. By an overwhelming majority the Huli and Grimsby members of the National Union of British Fishermen have decided to amalgamate with the transport and

General Workers' Union. At a national conference of station masters, held in Leeds and representing all districts in Great Britain and Ireland, a resolution was passed calling on all station masters and agents to affiliate themselves with the Railway Clerks' Association, "in view of the wholesale changes that are likely to result from the merging of all the railroad companies into huge combines." The Amalgamated Managers' and Foremen's Association and the Scottish Foremen's Protective Association have decided by large majorities to amalgamate. The combined organizations will operate under the title of the Amalgamated Managers' and Foremen's Association.

Important reorganization activities are taking place among the transport and allied trades. The National Union of Railwaymen and the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen are negotiating to affiliate with the Transport Workers' Federation. The A. S. L. E., however, is rather reluctant, it having a few officials who fear the loss of their jobs by the unions coming closer together. Three other unions working out an amalgamation among themselves are the National Union of General Workers, the National Amalgamated Union of Labor, and the Municipal Employees' Association.

The great lockout in the metal trades and shipbuilding industry, begun on March 11th and now including over 1,000,000 workers, continues with intense bitterness. Encouraged by the defeat they administered to the miners last Spring, and taking advantage of the prevailing industrial depression, which is the very worst in England's history, the employers are determined to smash the unions. The whole British labor movement is shaken by the struggle. As usual the conservative labor leaders are dilly-dallying with the situation, while the militants are urging the masses to defend themselves. The following manifesto was issued by the British Bureau of the Red Trade Union International, headed by Tom Mann.

### To All Trade Unionists

#### REMEMBER BLACK FRIDAY

The members of the A. E. U. are locked out.

Forty-seven Unions, with members in the Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades, are balloting on the memorandum which has been rejected by the A. E. U. They will be locked out in the event of their refusing to accept the employers' terms.

There same Unions are now at grips with the employers over the proposal to reduce their members' wages to the extent of 26s. 6d. a week. Their lock-out seems inevitable.

Once again the Trade Unions are faced with a crisis as great and as significant as that which faced the Miners last March.

Through lack of united action the Miners were beaten. They are now working under "Coolie conditions."

Has Black Friday had no lessons for the English Trade Unionists?

The General Council is the supreme organ of the Trades Union Congress. It represents over 6,000,000 Trade Unionists. It alone has the power and influence, if it will, to extend the dispute. It can

bring about mass action. Only a UNITED FRONT can save the Unions from a colossal defeat.

A COUNTER OFFENSIVE is necessary. We must no longer remain passive under the blows of the employers.

The British Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions, therefore, calls upon all Trade Unionists to close the ranks. It asks them to compel their Executives to empower the General Council to extend the Battle Front. It demands that the following programme be accepted and urges the entire Union Movement to take action for its adoption:—

NO FURTHER WAGE REDUCTIONS,  
NO EXTENSION OF WORKING HOURS,  
TRADE UNION CONTROL OF WORKING  
CONDITIONS AND PARTICULARLY OVER-  
TIME, ALLOCATION OF APPRENTICES  
AND THE MANNING OF MACHINES.

Dont wait to be locked out sectionally. Fight unitedly now for this programme.

COURAGE AND AUDACITY IS THE BATTLE ORDER OF THE DAY.

YOUR ARE FIGHTING WITH YOUR BACKS TO THE WALL.

MAKE THE GENERAL COUNCIL FIGHT.  
STOP THE RETREAT.

British Bureau of the Red International of  
Labour Unions.

#### SOUTH AFRICA

**T**HE Rand miners' strike was one of the bloodiest ever known. The trouble began last December when the coal miners suffered a cut of five shillings per shift in wages. Their wages, in the past few years, had gone up about 50%, but the cost of living had increased more than 85%. The miners resisted the cut, offering to arbitrate. But the mine operators stubbornly refused all overtures. In this attitude they were backed up by the Government, which threatened to throw all its power against the workers. In spite of these menaces, however, a strike was called.

To make matters worse, the mine operators brought in large numbers of native workers to act as scabs. This at once injected the color issue into the strike, and greatly embittered the situation. On January 9th, by a vote of 10 to 1, the entire body of coal and gold miners in the Rand, declared a general strike. They offered a settlement on the basis of maintaining the present conditions of the workers, and reducing wages only in proportion as the cost of living lowered. But this offer was summarily rejected, both by the mine operators and the Government.

When, after several weeks of negotiations, it was finally recognized that there was no hope of coming to any kind of an agreement except the unconditional surrender to the bosses, the strikers pulled out pump-men and all hitherto left in the mines, and began to organize to protect themselves. General Smuts immediately mobilized the army against them, and began a drive against the strike. Immediately the strikers resisted; and that was the signal for airplanes, machine guns, tanks, and poison gas, and all modern instruments of warfare, to be thrown against the strikers. Whole towns were laid waste, and buildings bombed when full of people. On the 65th day of the strike, after tens of thousands had been put into concentration camps, and many hun-

dreds killed, the strike was called off. General Smuts, addressing a gathering of burghers, who furnished the forces to break the strike, said: "There is always a large majority of burghers who are quiet, do not read the papers, and don't always blame the Government, but are ready to respond at any moment to their country's call. You can return to your homes and farms with a clean conscience, and with the knowledge that probably for years the country will have peace and prosperity."

"Peace and prosperity" in the Rand is thus secured for the capitalists, through the shedding of untold amounts of workers' blood.

#### THE MINERS IN BATTLE

(Continued from page 5)

wages supposedly earned by the miners in the past year. These are purely imaginary, existing only in the minds of the mine-owners and their publicity agents. The official figures on miners' earnings for the past year, in the richest coal fields, will show that the men have been averaging \$12 to \$15 per week for the past year. This is actually below the starvation line considering the prices of necessities, and the fact that this wage must usually support a family. In the face of this terrible lowering of the miners' standard of living, the operators now wish to make a further cut of 40% in wages. A bitter and terrible resentment against this move has welded the entire mass of miners together into one great solid body.

In spite of the terrible hardships the miners are undergoing, without regard to the extremely low earnings for a long time past, ignoring the industrial depression which encourages the bosses, the miners are going into this fight with the spirit of winning. They have a grim determination to force the bosses to terms. Their attitude has already won them a tremendous moral victory; already the situation has assumed a more favorable atmosphere for the miners. What the month of May will bring forth in the struggle is not clear, but if the miners can hold on for a few more weeks there is every prospect that they will force a settlement somewhat favorable to themselves. Certainly, they have already vindicated their claim to be the foremost ranks of the labor movement of America, holding the front line trenches against the forces of capitalistic exploitation.

#### NOTICE TO BUNDLE AGENTS

To meet postal regulations it has been necessary to increase the price per copy on bundle orders. Send in your orders, and we will advise you of any small difference between your remittance and cost of paper.

**MINERS' COOPERATIVE TO RUSSIA**

A GROUP of miners in Ziegler, Illinois, organized a cooperative group in connection with the Society for Technical Aid to Russia, consisting of over 50 members with \$15,000.00 for tools and equipment. They sent a delegate, Bocarac, to Russia on February 22nd and a cablegram has just been received as follows: "Coal miners cooperative of the S. T. A. S. R., Ziegler, Ills. is to immediately leave for Petrograd, from where it is to follow to its place of destination." The message was signed by Bocarac, and L. C. A. K Martens for the Department of Industrial Immigration. Coal miners who are interested in taking over Russian mines and operating them on the cooperative basis, may obtain information by writing to Miners' Section, Technical Aid for Soviet Russia, Room 303, 110 West 40th St., New York City.

Omaha, Nebr., Mar. 19, 1922

Put me down for 100 copies of THE LABOR HERALD, but if certain arrangements now pending work out O. K. we will be able to use several times as many. There is a wonderful interest in the League among all the unions here. Other centers had better hurry up and get started if they are going to keep up with Omaha.

Fraternally yours,  
Tom Matthews

Pittsburgh, Pa., Mar. 28, 1922

Just got THE LABOR HERALD, and it is great. How did you do it? I know we can dispose of 100 copies easily during this month. Send them to me at once, and watch our smoke. Next month we are going to be among the top liners in circulation.

Sincerely,

F. H. M.

Alexandria, Va., Mar. 18th, 1922

The whole program you have outlined has my hearty approval, and I want to particularly commend that portion of it that refers to the mistakes of the past, of those of us who have attempted to start secession movements. We must use the means at our disposal to work among the existing trades unions. We cannot make real progress by constantly losing the services of some of our militants by reason of the dual movements that thrive for a time and finally pass away, to leave us in a weakened position. There is at present in the Machinists a real live and active minority that can be depended upon to do real constructive organization work. I refer to those lodges that nominated Bro. Wm. Ross Knudsen for International President of our Association for the coming election.

Fraternally,  
B. L. M.



**GOMPERS ATTACKS THE LEAGUE***(Continued from page 17)*

this meeting Gompers would have had another disappointment. Fitzpatrick stood like a rock; he said that the Chicago Federation of Labor was on record for this resolution and would stand or fall by it. There is no man more master of trade union law and custom than Fitzpatrick, and he cleverly pointed out how the resolution fits in with legitimate trade union procedure, as well as corresponds with the present pressing needs.

Then Mr. Gompers spoke. He prefaced his remarks with a few general observations, and then launched into about one hour's denunciation of the Trade Union Educational League, THE LABOR HERALD, and William Z. Foster. The League he called "an organization attempting to dictate the policies of the labor movement;" THE LABOR HERALD was described as "a monumental, brazen publication;" and Foster was named as one who "wants to become the Lenine of America." Mr. Gompers said that the steel strike, which was called by a committee of 24 union presidents, was started against his advice. It was not clear, however, whether this blow was aimed at the 24 presidents or against Foster, "a self-appointed autocrat" who happened, nevertheless, to hold appointment on the steel committee from Mr. Gompers himself. Gompers' arguments against industrial unionism were so weak that few took them seriously.

**The Lesson for the Militants**

In these events there is a great lesson for the militant trade unionists. If the old officialdom is so interested in opposing the League and its program, this is the greatest possible compliment to the League and a testimony to the correctness of its position. The program of the League touches the heart of the trade union problem; the alarm of the standpatters indicates its effectiveness. For the first time they are forced to face the issue of solidarity on its merits. Hitherto all such movements have been tinged with dualism, and all that was necessary to defeat them was to brand them as secessionism. Although new in the field and just getting started, the League is receiving more attention than did any dual industrial union. Without further ado the rebel elements should understand that their place is in the League. Everywhere they ought to join it at once. Throughout the country the militant trade unionists should get busy immediately, gather together all the progressive elements, spread our education, and raise the slogan in every local union, central body, and international—"Amalgamation or annihilation."

**' TYRANNY AND REVOLT IN GERMANY***(Continued from page 23)*

of the railroaders, of officials as well as workers, and it is absolutely true when a great newspaper of the finance aristocracy, the *Berlin Bourse Courier*, says: "During three years of revolutionary struggle the officials always remained true to the Government. Now they are against the Government and on the side of the revolution. The time of the *putsch* is past, the revolution is now beginning."

Between the reactionary bureaucracy and the workers there is likewise a heavy struggle. In the near future the right-wing elements will be expelled from the officials' organizations, and it will be made impossible for the leaders of the other organizations to again carry on the shameful, treasonable play, which they did in the February days to the advantage of the capitalist Government and the injury of the working class. The Spring of 1922 will bring new and more bitter struggles. The fate of the working class is at stake, and with it that of the present Government and capitalistic system of society.

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

Of The Labor Herald, published monthly at Chicago, Illinois, for April 1st, 1922.

State of Illinois, County of Cook ss.

Before me a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid personally appeared William Z. Foster, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of the The Labor Herald, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1922, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, The Trade Union Educational League, 118 N. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.

Editor, Wm. Z. Foster, 118 N. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.

Managing Editor, Earl R. Browder, 118 N. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.

Business Managers, J. W. Johnstone, 118 N. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.

2. That the owners are: The Trade Union Educational League, a voluntary association; Executive Board; Wm. Z. Foster, Sec'y-Treas.; J. W. Johnstone, Sam T. Hammersmark, Earl R. Browder, and Jay G. Brown.

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

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

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

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 6th day of April, 1922.

RAYMOND J. KENNEDY,

(My commission expires May 24, 1922)

(SEAL)

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Is quoted throughout the world as

## An Authority on the American Labor Movement

A friend, *La Lutte de Classes, Paris, France*, Organ of the Red Trade Union International, regularly reprints from THE LABOR HERALD.

An enemy, *Bulletin of the International Labor Office, League of Nations, Geneva, Switzerland*, finds THE LABOR HERALD essential in compiling its reports on the American trade unions.

These are only two of the many instances that could be recited. While the labor movement of the world, as well as of America, is dividing into two opposing camps of thought, one of which is naturally friendly and the other hostile to THE LABOR HERALD, yet both camps know that it is

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