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The Principles and Program of
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THE SITUATION

In every country but one an advanced state of capitalism has produced a highly developed trade union movement. The single exception is the United States. Here we have a very elaborate industrial system and the world's most militant and powerful capitalist class, but, paradoxically enough, a trade union movement which, for general weakness and backwardness, has few if any equals in the predominantly industrial countries.

No matter what vital phase of our trade union movement we consider, we must admit, if we are honest, that the workers in other lands are ahead of us. In the important matter of numerical strength, for instance, we make a wretched showing. At present, considering the ravages made in our ranks by the employers, it is doubtful if we have as many as 4,000,000 trade unionists in this country, or about 1 unionist to each 27 of the general population. England, by contrast, has approximately 7,500,000 trade unionists, or about 1 in each 6 of her 44,000,000 people. Germany shows even better, with over 12,000,000 trade unionists, or about 1 in each 4 ½ of her 56,000,000 population. In other words, the English trade union movement is proportionately about 4 times as strong numerically as ours, and that of Germany 6 times as strong. For the American unions to be as large as those of Germany, considering the difference in the size of the two nations, they would have to have no less than 24,000,000 members. Compare this giant figure with the paltry 4,000,000 members that our unions now possess and one gets an idea of how far behind we are in this respect. In England and Germany (not to mention many other countries) the mass of the working class has been organized. In the United States hardly a start has yet been made.
unionism is in evidence everywhere except in the United States. Here we are still sticking in the mud of craft unionism and progressing at only a snail’s pace. Standpatism has become an ingrained gospel with our trade union officials. There is hardly a breath of progress among them. They disregard the obvious fact that as the capitalists close in upon the workers, the trade unions must either break with capitalism and make it endurable. It has still to learn that the only solution of the labor struggle is by the abolition of capitalism. In this sad position it stands alone, for the workers of all other important countries have long since definitely broken with capitalism. They look upon it as an obsolete social system which must be eliminated. They are looking forward to the establishment of a new proletarian society in which parasitic capitalists will be no more. They differ widely as to how this great goal can be achieved, whether capitalism shall be abolished piece by piece, as the Socialists propose, or all at once, as the Communists and Syndicalists urge. But they are unanimous that capitalism must go. The American trade unions are the only general body of organized workers in the world that have not yet mastered this fundamental labor conclusion. And the result is a tremendous weakening in their programs and fighting strength.

O U R  P O L I T I C A L  I N F A N C Y

Politically our trade unions are also in an infantile condition. They have not yet advanced to the point of even rudimentary political class consciousness. Blindly unaware that the class struggle rages in the political as well as in the industrial field, they are still trailing along in the train of the capitalist parties and shamefacedly begging favors from them. Their Cause is a football for every political crook in the country—to the sad demoralization of the whole labor movement. The workers in other countries were once in a similar boat, but they have all long since got away from it. Some, the anti-political tendency, have adopted the Syndicalist program of direct action on the political field through the trade unions, and others, retaining their belief in political action, have built up extensive labor, Socialist, and Communist parties. But all of them, Syndicalists, Laborites, Socialists, and Communists, agree upon class action in the political field. They would hurl out of court any leader among them who dared advocate the antidiluvian no-class political policy of the American trade union movement. For them the adoption of such a program would mean turning the clock back to a generation. Another striking feature of our labor movement’s primitiveness is its unequal lack of idealism and social vision. It has no soul. It has not yet raised the inspiring banner of working-class emancipation. So far as its vague and conscious expressions go, it is still timidly and blindly trying to adapt itself to the conditions of the world in which it is placed and make it endurable. It still has to learn that the only solution of the labor struggle is by the abolition of capitalism. In this sad position it stands alone, for the workers of all other important countries have long since definitely broken with capitalism. They look upon it as an obsolete social system which must be eliminated. They are looking forward to the establishment of a new proletarian society in which parasitic capitalists will be no more. They differ widely as to how this great goal can be achieved, whether capitalism shall be abolished piece by piece, as the Socialists propose, or all at once, as the Communists and Syndicalists urge. But they are unanimous that capitalism must go. The American trade unions are the only general body of organized workers in the world that have not yet mastered this fundamental labor conclusion. And the result is a tremendous weakening in their programs and fighting strength.

O U R  P I T F U L  C O N S E R V A T I V E M

A striking illustration of this unparalleled intellectual timidity and conservatism comes to light in our trade unions’ relations with the labor organizations of other countries. There are two world trade union federations, one with headquarters in Amsterdam, and the other in Moscow. The Amsterdam International is reformist, and the Moscow International revolutionary. All the important labor movements of the world are affiliated with one or the other of these two Internationals—that is, all except ours. We stand aloof altogether on the ground that both are too revolutionary. Even the Amsterdam International, whose leaders undoubtedly saved capitalism in its greatest crisis by defeating the recent revolutionary uprisings in Germany, Italy, France, etc., is too radical for us. Because its “revolutionary” doctrines might contaminate our pure bourgeois ideas, and for fear that our association with such a “terrible” organization would bring disgrace on us, the American Federation of Labor, not long since, severed relations with the Amsterdam International. This made us the laughing stock of the international labor world, revolutionary and reformist alike. When it comes to militancy of program we stand in a place by ourselves—at the very foot of the processional trail, not trying to get ahead, so it is with many other phases of our movement, which need not be cited here.

The general effect of the extreme political and industrial undevolution of our trade union movement has been to greatly weaken the fighting power of the working class. More than ever this is evidenced by the present world crisis in industry. Whereas the trade unions of other countries are pretty much holding their own, or in some cases even gaining ground, ours are in disordered retreat before the vitorious employers. The latter, strongly organized and controlling the press, the courts, and practically every section of the local, state, and national governments, are smashing the unions which have stood left and making ducks and drakes of the workers’ political and industrial rights. The crisis is serious and so generally recognized that there is no need for us to waste words over it here. Suffice it to say that if organized Labor does not soon reorganize its primitive craft unions into modern industrial unions and infuse them with real fighting spirit it will inevitably suffer crushing defeat, if not actual annihilation.

The Source of Our Troubles

Where comes the ultra-conservatism and extraordinary backwardness of the American trade union movement? What causes the seeming paradox in this country of a very high degree of capitalism producing a very low degree of labor organization?

Many are the answers made to this great riddle of the American labor movement. The chief of these are, first, that the conglomeration of races here, by greatly complicating the organization problem, has effectively checked the spread of trade unionism; and, second, that the workers in this country, because of its banzai development, have enjoyed more prosperity than European workers and have consequently been rendered almost immune to militant organization.

But these answers are altogether unsatisfactory. The first of them is discredited by the fact that some of the very best unions we have, notably in the needle trades, are made up of many nationalities. And the second goes counter to all our labor history. Time and again the workers in this country have given convincing evidence of their aggressive spirit and adaptability to advanced types of unionism. A generation or so ago, during the stormy ’80s, our trade union movement unquestionably led the world for militancy. And since that time our industrial history has been marked with a consistent series of strikes—often better than any ever known anywhere. In view of these facts it is idle to maintain that our workers are naturally unmilitant.

The true explanation for the undevolution of American trade unionism must be sought elsewhere. And it is to be found in the wrong methods used by our progressive and revolutionary unions. Until quite recently they have failed utterly to realize and perform their proper functions. For a generation past they have been warring against the natural evolution of the labor movement. The result is stagnation and ruin all around.

One of the latest and greatest achievements of working class thinking, due chiefly to the experiences in Russia, is a clear understanding of the fundamental value of all labor organization in every country depends primarily upon the activities of a minute minority of clear-sighted, enthusiastic militants scattered throughout the great organized masses of sluggish workers. These live spirits are the natural head of the working class, the driving force of the labor movement. They are the only ones who really understand what the labor struggle means and who have practical plans for its prosecution. Touching by the divine fire of proletarian revolt, they are the ones who furnish inspiration and guidance to the groping masses. They do the bulk of the thinking, working and fighting of the labor struggle. They run the dangers of death and the capitalist jails. Not only are they the burden bearers of the labor movement, but also its brains and heart and soul. In every country where these vital militants function effectively among the organized masses the labor movement flourishes and prospers. But wherever, for any reason, the militants fail to so function, just as inevitably the whole labor organization withers and stagnates. The activities of the militants are the ‘key’ to the labor movement, the source of all its real life and progress.
In other countries the militants, even while they have consciously adopted the trade union bureaucracy, have been its life support. To this end it is necessary to put life and spirit into the trade union movement. This can be done by organizing the militant rebels together nationally, industry by industry, for the accomplishment of this task, the creation of a great and powerful international union of railroad workers by the amalgamation and concentration of the sixteen craft unions. The union leaders refuse to carry out this absolutely indispensable project, so it is up to the rank and file militants to do it for themselves.

The League is campaigning against the reactionaries, incompetents and crooks who occupy strategic positions in many of our organizations. It is striving to replace them with militants, with men and women unionists who look upon the labor movement not as a means for making an easy living, but as an instrument for the achievement of working class emancipation. In other words, the League is working in every direction necessary to put life and spirit into the trade union movement.

How The League Organizes

The Trade Union Educational League groups the militants two ways: by localities and by trades. In all cities and towns there are general groups of militants of all trades are formed to carry on the work of education and reorganization in their respective localities. These local general groups, to facilitate their work, divide themselves into industrial sections, as printing, building, textile, railroad, metal, clothing, transport, etc. All the local general groups are kept in touch and co-operative with each other through a national corresponding secretary. Likewise, all the local industrial educational groups are linked together nationally, industry by industry, through their respective corresponding secretaries. Every phase and stage of the trade union movement will have its branch of this national educational organization.

Let the railroad industry illustrate the general plan: In every important railroad center there will be an federation of railroad men, not of single crafts, but of the whole sixteen in the industry. These local groups will co-operative and each of the railroad men (a volunteer unless the local groups find ways, through donations, to pay him). A national program will be established and a great drive instituted to combine the sixteen squabbling unions into one class body, amalgamation will be made a burning issue all over the country wherever railroad men meet and talk. From the live wire section man in San Diego, California, to the rebel engineer in Portland, Maine, the whole body of railroad militants will realize the necessity of the accomplishment of their task, the creation of a great and powerful industrial union of railroad workers by the amalgamation and concentration of the sixteen craft unions. The union leaders refuse to carry out this absolutely indispensable project, so it is up to the rank and file militants to do it for themselves.

The Trade Union Educational League will make great use of all the trade union journals, etc., in its educational work. Its official national organ is THE LABOR HERALD, a monthly published at $50 per year. THE LABOR HERALD is carrying a burning message of constructive unionism and solidarity to the railroad men and is filled from cover to cover with the living, dynamic organization principles which can find no place in our static, muzzled, dry-as-dust official trade union journals.

The launching of The Trade Union Educa-

tional League marks a wonderful change in the American labor history. It is the beginning of an era in which the trade unions, flourishing under intensive cultivation by their organized militants, will gradually pass from their present hopeless defensive fight into an aggressive attack upon the industrial enemy which can end only with the abolition of the wage system. The program of The Trade Union Educational League is the only possible way to carry the "Open Shop" drive of the employers; it is the sole means by which the American working class can take its proper place in the world battle of Labor.
The Situation in Great Britain

By Tom Mann

In order to live we must eat. To live well we must have enough to eat and to wear. The food we eat and the clothes we wear can only be obtained by labor. Industry is carried on in order to bring into existence the requisites of life, but if for any reason a sufficiency is not produced or, being produced it is not reasonably distributed, it may happen, and it commonly does happen, that many are insufficiently fed and clothed, and inadequately housed.

Time was when man was unable to work effectively to bring into existence a sufficiency for all to have enough. Owing to the growth of knowledge in modern civilized life we possess the power to produce enough for all, not for some portions of the year, but for the whole year round and for every year.

It is not a matter of conjecture, it is a thoroughly established fact, that there is on and in the earth a super-abundance of raw material, out of which all our requirements can be obtained, and it is equally an established fact, that man's power over this material is such, that if this power is wisely directed, an abundance for all can be produced with the utmost ease.

Although these basic facts are admitted, we are confronted with abject poverty in many countries, not less so amongst the most industrially advanced, as well as in those relatively backward.

Europe of course is experiencing exceptional economic difficulties at present, as a result of the Great War, but prior to the war there never was a time when the whole of the people in any country had a sufficiency; in England, concurrently with an ever increasing wealth producing capacity, there has continued as an ever accompanying corollary, a per centage of unemployed workers, who in consequence of unemployment have been comparatively neglected, and therefore subjected to serious privation.

It would seem that notwithstanding the ever increasing power to bring into existence the necessaries and comforts of life, that those who accept responsibility for managing industry never aim at concerted action either to ascertain total amounts required, or at providing a sufficiency for all.

It is left to the chance forces of competitive struggles between numerous sections of controllers of industrial establishments, financiers and others, to conduct trading operations in the interests of the respective sections of financiers, speculators, industrialists, etc., and these sectional interests never by any chance coincide with the interests of the community.

At the present time, middle of December, in Britain there are two millions of totally unemployed workers, and as a large number of only partially employed. The unemployed with their dependents number about six millions of persons, out of a population of fifty millions.

The Unemployment Insurance Act provides benefits as follows: weekly benefit payable: men, fifteen shillings; women, twelve shillings; boys under 18, seven shillings and six pence; girls under 16, six shillings. A married man receives in addition, five shillings on account of his wife, and one shilling each for each of four children. To entitle the workers to this, workers and employers pay the following weekly contributions:

- Men: 7 pence
- Women: 6 pence
- Employers: 8 pence
- Boys under 18: 3 pence
- Girls under 18: 3 pence
- Employers: 3½ pence

In addition those unions that provide unemployment benefits also pay usually from five to fifteen shillings a week, this of course being a settlement of work in the principal trade unions, which have endeavored to guard their members against the worst evils of unemployment, sickness and accident.

One contributory cause of this slump in industry was the outcome of the War settlement, which provided that Britain should have a large percentage of the German ships. These were taken over and sold to British shipowners at a much lower rate than they could be built for; the direct result was to throw many thousands of men out of work in the ship building yards and the marine engine shops. Similarly, with regard to the coal miners. War settlement terms provided that Germany should supply France with many millions of tons of coal annually. The supplying of this coal had hitherto been done by Russian colliers.

The organized workers must really eliminate the causes of unemployment.

Innumerable discussions have taken place as to the best means of alleviating the effects of unemployment, whilst the cure of the causes thereof have been comparatively neglected. The modern conception of trade unionism does, however, undertake this task. It holds that it is no sufficient to organize the workers, except as the preliminary essential to the organization of the work.

The objective of the up-to-date trade unionist is—The organization itself, i.e., the unions, must cease to be sectional, and learn to manifest solidarity, and produce with the highest efficiency, and distributing the product with the truest equity.

Exactly how this will work out there is no need to worry over, but it may safely be assumed that the most scientific methods of production will always be resorted to, as this will fit with highest standard of living, including the fewest working hours consistent with that standard.

I have never known such a large per centage of unemployed in England and especially in the Engineering Industry as we have at present. The Union of which I am a member, "The Amalgamated Engineering Unions," has a membership of 429,500. The returns for November, just to hand, show that the number of unemployed is 9%, 27%, or 25.85%. There is almost as many working short time, and in addition there are 6,842 on sick benefit, and 6,532 on superannuation benefit.

One contributory cause of this slump in industry was the outcome of the War settlement, which provided that Britain should have a large percentage of the German ships. These were taken over and sold to British shipowners at a much lower rate than they could be built for; the direct result was to throw many thousands of men out of work in the ship building yards and the marine engine shops. Similarly, with regard to the coal miners. War settlement terms provided that Germany should supply France with many millions of tons of coal annually. The providing of this coal had hitherto been done by Russian colliers.

It is a matter for wonderment that the employing class is solidly leaning back, partly to its own advantage, and at the same time and with the same result, throwing one in the country on an unemployment benefit, for years on end.

The employing class is solidly resisting all attempts to remove the evil, and at the same time taking advantage of it for their own advantage.

The employing class is solidly resisting all attempts to remove the evil, and at the same time taking advantage of it for their own advantage.

I am pleased to say there are some signs of improvement, though as yet not very pronounced. The tin plate trade of South Wales is reviving. This of course means the steel plates, tinned, for canned goods, etc., and, past experiences show that this trade is usually the first affected. The prospect of a settlement of the Irish problem is also having a good effect, and there is no doubt if it proves to be a settlement of the troubles between the British Government and the Irish, that a substantial quickening of industrial interests will follow—and probably solidarity will characterize the workers of both countries.

It is too early to gauge the probable effects of the Washington Conference, but there are many in this country who believe that the result will be the allaying of international friction for a time, and that there will probably be a few years' spell of industrial activity. It seems to me likely that this will be so, and this will be the time for the workers to perfect their organizations and to become clear as regards ideals. There is no need for despondency. Humanity is slow in traveling upward, but there is no doubt at all about it really traveling. The organized workers must have a greater share in social control than hitherto.

CLOSE UP YOUR RANKS!

The employing class is solidly organized. The workers must likewise close up their ranks. The time has come when we must fuse our craft unions so that there is only one union for each industry. We must do this or be crushed.
The Industrial Court Law

By John Dorsey

I

TIS two years now since the State Legislature passed Governor Allen's law to stop strikes—the Industrial Court Law—but we are still having strikes in Kansas. The miners of District 14 have kicked this anti-strike law around so much that nobody in this part of the country pays any more attention to it. I noticed that the packinghouse workers went on strike when they got ready, and the Industrial Court didn't even try to stop them. No, the law didn't stop strikes in Kansas, and the whole idea of chaining men to their jobs by law has been pretty thoroughly discredited.

We paid a big price for this result. District 14 has been living on short rations for a long time; Howat and Dorchey had to lay in jail for awhile, and so did many of our best rank and file fighters. Our union is fighting for life right now, and I have the consolation: The Industrial Court Law is as dead as a door-nail. The workers of America owe that to John L. Lewis who did the job.

I was in the District Courtroom one day during the strike, and I can still recall the words of President Lewis, all worked hand in hand to drive us back to work; but their combined forces only succeeded in getting a few hundred to break ranks. The District as a whole stood solid and the strike was called off on January 12.

The general strike made the Court look like a joke. Our enemies didn't think we would have the nerve to do it again, after all we had gone through, but we did it. The members of the Industrial Court got cold feet, and went back to Topeka. The business men and the coal operators began to holler for a compromise. They told Howat and Dorchey that they couldn't get the miners back to work. They have got us in jail, but they have also got the strike. You can't stop strikes by law in Kansas because the Kansas miners will not obey such a law.

It was at this point that John L. Lewis took a hand in the game. While Howat and Dorchey were in jail, they were removed from office and expelled from the United Mine Workers of America for life. Our District Executive Board was deposed. The charter of our District organization was revoked, and a so-called "Provisional Government" appointed to take charge. They ordered the miners to go back to work. For three months they tried every means to break the strike. They were frustrated in their attempts and were met with a sort of peaceful demonstration, but they couldn't get the miners back to work.

They took the lunch buckets from the scalps, and threw the contents at them. An Austrian woman with a child in her arms took a fiendish delight in searching the buckets for custard pie. Woe to the man in whose bucket she found it. They tore one fellow's trousers off and sent him flying home across the cold prairie in his shirt, "like a rabbit," they told me. They made the scalps swear allegiance to the strike while they poured cold coffee from their own lunch buckets over their heads. It was not a "tea-party," I suggested to the group of Italian women who were telling me about it, and they worked hand in glove with enthusiastic gestures. "No! No!" they laughed, "coffee-party."

But the strike has been called off now, and Alex Howat is down at the Indianapolis Convention to appeal to the delegates from all over the country to uphold the Kansas Miners and keep them in the organization. For a time there was a little irresponsible talk about an "independent union," but that was quickly sat on. The Kansas Miners are a part of the
Discipline vs. Freedom In Russia

By Paul Dupres

REVOLUTIONS are commonly urged for the purpose of establishing, in addition to many other desirabilities, the most complete freedom of speech, press, and assembly. Yet, strange to right of the people to expression even short of this far short of this their repression even. Capitalists labor leaders like Gompers, theoretical anarchists of the Emma Goldman persuasion, etc., have raised their voices in energetic protest. Each gives his complaint the necessary twist to conform to his particular philosophy or hypocrisy, but all are agreed that the prevailing restriction of popular rights in Russia in an abomination in the face to the sacred cause of revolution generally. Now whence comes this undeniable limitation of free speech, free press, and free assembly? Is it because, as all the above types declare, Lenin, Trotsky and the rest are heartless oppressors of the same stripe as the old Czars? Or is there another and deeper reason? In view of the clamor that has been raised and the unfavorable propaganda made against Russia, it will be well for us to look into the matter a little.

This state of affairs has brought the Russian revolution a lot of miscellaneous condemnation. Capitalists and their hangers-on, yellow Socialists of the Spargo type, petty bourgeois labor leaders like Mr. Gompers, theoretical Anarchists of the Emma Goldman persuasion, etc., have raised their voices in energetic protest. Each gives his complaint the necessary twist to conform to his particular philosophy or hypocrisy, but all are agreed that the prevailing restriction of popular rights in Russia in an abomination in the face to the sacred cause of revolution generally. Now whence comes this undeniable limitation of free speech, free press, and free assembly? Is it because, as all the above types declare, Lenin, Trotsky and the rest are heartless oppressors of the same stripe as the old Czars? Or is there another and deeper reason? In view of the clamor that has been raised and the unfavorable propaganda made against Russia, it will be well for us to look into the matter a little.

For all those who have had to do with the working masses in great struggles, and the Russian revolution is above all a tremendous mass struggle, the situation, is or should be, quite clear and understandable. These practical leaders know that in such severe tests of the workers' courage and endurance the supreme thing that must be striven for is solidarity, a united front against the enemy. This can be achieved only through a rigid discipline, which, in turn, inevitably involves a heavy restriction of the rights of free speech, free press, etc. Every strike makes clear this fundamental proposition of mass action. When we understand why the workers, during struggles against employers under capitalism, deny themselves freedom of expression in their trade unions, then we will understand why they have taken similar action in the Russian revolution.

The Masses On Strike

All strikes are marked with a strong suppression of the workers' rights of free expression in their organizations. In the early stages of such struggles this suppression is the work of the mass itself, later on it is done by a small minority. At the outbreak of nearly all strikes the discipline is practically spontaneous. Deeply infected with strike fever, the masses enter enthusiastically into the struggle. Everything looks rosy to them; they can see victory just around the corner. They are altogether intolerant of dissenters and critics. No matter how temperate or justified the latter may be they are promptly dubbed company agents or fools and then sat upon instantly. Under such circumstances "free speech" is altogether at a discount. What prevails is a spontaneous mass discipline.

A. LOSOVSKI
Secretary, Red Trade Union International

But as the strike wears on a profound change takes place. Week after week goes by and the expected victory does not materialize. On the contrary, there come hardships piled upon hardships. Then the masses begin to weaken; for them it is a dismal prospect indeed. Their enthusiasm, based upon simple emotion rather than upon real understanding gradually evaporates. They lose heart and take on a defeatist attitude. They generate into carping critics, and become a prey to all sorts of propaganda destructive to the strike solidarity. In short they are psychologically licked.

In this critical situation, which comes in every protracted strike, the burden of maintaining the indispensable discipline falls upon a small minority. These are the true fighters. They are the only ones who really understand what the struggle is all about. Their unkillable enthusiasm and inexhaustible energies are drawn from intellectual sources and are very different from the semi-blind impulse which rules the masses. If the strike is to be won these fighters must make their psychology prevail. They must take the discouraged masses firmly in hand and literally make them fight. They must break up all sorts of defeatist movements among the rank and file, which, in turn, means the suppression of free speech to a very large extent. Indeed, only those tendencies are allowed which are directly for solidarity and the continuance of the strike. All the rest are ruthlessly smashed, no matter how many abstract rights are violated in the doing of it. That is the history of all great strikes. It is a fact known to all labor men that most severe industrial struggles that were won have been won after the mass of the strikers were licked; after they had reached the stage of defeatism and discouragement that they would have given up the fight had it not been for the discipline imposed upon them more or less arbitrarily by a small minority of undefeatable fighters.

HOME OF ALL-RUSSIAN UNIONS
Formerly Moscow Nobles' Club

The Masses In Revolution

The foregoing illustration of the course of a strike applies equally well to the course of the Russian revolution. And naturally so, because the latter, like the former, is a case of the masses in bitter struggle. What we have seen happen a thousand times in hard fought strikes is just what is happening in the Russian revolution, except that the latter is upon a tremendously larger scale.

When the revolution began it was attended by the wild burst of emotion always accompanying mass uprisings. The masses were seized by an intense wave of enthusiasm, even as they are to a lesser degree in all great strikes. The thing was unanimous. Arbitrary revolutionary discipline was not to be thought of. Joy, hope, ecstasy, inspiration were the order of the day. Prodigies of valor were performed and oceans of energy expended by the transported masses. The whole people were...
swept away in a mighty, swirling, irresistible torrent of revolution.

This was the dream era, the idealistic period of the revolution. But it had to come to an end, just as does the similar period of unbridled enthusiasm in big strikes. Soon the period of cold, hard, unemotional realism set in, the period of long and bitter struggle. As the months rolled by the heaven on earth expected by the masses did not materialize. Instead, there came a whole series of soul-trying ordeal-wars, blockades, civil wars, poverty, were the people's portion. The revolution proved a hard taskmaster. The masses, with nothing but shallow enthusiasm to sustain them, did not understand. Somehow the revolution seemed a failure. They could not meet its severe requirements. Their revolutionary fervor waned, their original enthusiasm whose revolutionary spirit is inextinguishable, was quenched. They are at the stages of a hard-fought strike. Great sections of the masses are pretty much defeated. For them the glamour of the thing has worn off. They want the easiest way out. If the revolution were left to them, it would be over in a hurry. They would not fight for it; they would not work for it; they would allow themselves to be made tools of by the Vy varieties of sophistry-mongering agents of the reaction. There would be a swift collapse.

But these tired, disillusioned, and disheartened masses are being held to the struggle by the minority of indomitable fighters in their midst, the Communists. The latter are maintaining the discipline essential to the life of the revolution, just as the fighters always do in severe strikes. This could not be done if they allowed absolute freedom of discussion to prevail. If given free rein the reaction, through the instrumentality of its intentional and unintentional assistants, would have easy picking among the rank and file, who, always gullible and easily led astray, are now even more susceptible than ever because of the hardships of the revolution. So the majority on the political, industrial, and military fields would be ended, and serious, if not fatal, damage done to the revolution. Because of this unhappy but inescapable fact, the workers literally have to be protected against themselves by means of discipline. defeatist and disruptive tendencies must be broken up, even if this does involve the limitation of the rights of the individual. And it makes little difference whether such tendencies originate in the brains of scheming reactionaries or in those of impractical Socialist, Syndicalist, Anarchist, or Communist workers. They must be checked just the same.

Successful struggle by the masses unavoidably implies limitation of their rights of free speech in the name of discipline. That is the experience of every great strike; it is likewise the experience of the Russian revolution, the bitterest and most trying struggle ever undergone by the world's working class. Reactionary labor men like Mr. Gompers (whose trade union practice would teach him the logic of the Russian situation if he were not too blinded by prejudice) may rail against this conclusion, and idealists like Emma Goldman (who lived in a realm of cloudy theory and disregards the crass inconsistencies of hard reality) may do likewise. But suppression of free speech is indispensable to the success of the working-class movement which you embody, are the very basis of the workers of the whole land—"To act at once to rescue your prisoners of war!"
A CALL TO ACTION!

Editor's Note: For general outline of the League's program, read article "The Prerequisites and Program of the Trade Union Educational League," elsewhere in this issue.

MILITANTS! The time has come for action! We must now gird up our loins for a great national railroad fighting organization out of which we shall now plunge directly into our vital task of amalgamating the many craft unions into a few industrial unions and of bringing them together in an organized fashion. The Trade Union Educational League has launched its nation-wide campaign to organize the militants everywhere to carry on this indispensable work of education and reorganization, a work for which the hard-pressed labor movement now stands in need of help. True railroad unionists are urged to join hands with the League immediately.

THE League's task of organizing the militants is a gigantic one, one that will require intelligence, industry, determination, and discipline to accomplish. As things now stand the militants are scattered broadcast through many thousands of local unions, central labor councils, etc., and there is scarcely the faintest trace of communication or cooperation between them. It is an utter chaos. And the only way this chaos can be conquered and the army of militants developed into a unified body capable of exerting great influence in the labor movement is by the rigid application of modern organization methods. Such methods are the very heart of the League's program. It proposes not to attack the problem simultaneously in all its phases—which would be a futile project—but to go at it intensively, section by section. It is going to carry out a series of great national drives, month by month, to organize the militants in one industry after another. When the circuit of the industries is completed—which should be in six or eight months—there will exist a well-defined organization of the militants in every trade union and industrial center in the country. Then a general national conference will be held, to map out a complete educational program, to elect League officials, etc. All told, the campaign is one of the most elaborate in labor history, and it must eventually result in making the progressive and radical elements into a determining factor in the labor movement.

THE first of these national drives will be devoted to establishing local general educational groups of militants of every trade simultaneously in all the important cities and towns everywhere. Once established these local groups, in addition to their other activities, will perform the task of carrying on this educational propaganda to the local unions, to the central labor councils, and to the constituency generally. There is no such propaganda already in existence, simultaneously in all the principal railroad centers. All these local railroad groups will be put into communication with each other through the general office of the League, and thus the railroad militant organization will take on national scope. It will immediately embark upon a national campaign to amalgamate the sixteen railroad craft unions into one railroad industrial union. This educational propaganda will be carried out by the militants in the industry by the local railroad groups, or rank and file amalgamation committees. For the first time in their history the militants will be called together in an organized movement to combine their many obsolete craft unions into a single modern industrial union. Month by month similar drives will be put on in the other industries—metal, building, clothing, mining, etc.—until finally the educational organization covers every ramifications of the trade union structure and the rejuvenating influence of the organized militants makes itself felt throughout the entire labor movement.

With this Call To Action the first phase of the League's organization campaign—the setting up of the local general groups—is initiated. Besides being issued publicly, the Call is also being laid directly before more than 3000 live wire unionists in many cities and towns, with an urgent appeal that they immediately call together groups of militant unionists and get our campaign of dynamic education started among them. Considering the present des-
Making and Breaking the Packinghouse Unions

By “A Packinghouse Worker”

The collapse of the national strike of the packinghouse workers at the end of January marks the close of an epoch in the long and bitter struggle to establish trade union organization in the packing industry. Menaced by the establishment of company unions and radical wage cuts, the workers struck desperately in the face of great odds and covered themselves with glory. They succeeded in tying up large sections of the industry for eight weeks. But they did not have a chance; they were whipped from the start. Their organization went into the fight destitute alike of funds and spirit, it was afflicted among them did not begin until the Chicago Federation of Labor began its big campaign to organize the workers employed in the packinghouses of Chicago.

**Organization of the Industry**

The initiative to the Chicago campaign was given by Wm. Z. Foster, who presented a resolution to the Chicago Federation of Labor calling for a joint organization movement on the part of all the trades with jurisdiction over packinghouse workers. This project was adopted on July 15th, 1917, and the Federation at once took serious hold of the situation. It organized the Stockyards Labor Council to carry on the work. John Fitzpatrick was selected to head this body during the organization work, and Foster was made its secretary.

Ever since the great strike of 1904 sporadic efforts had been made to re-organize the packinghouse workers, but without a particle of success. When the big Chicago campaign started the Amalgamated Butcher Workmen had only a handful of members, and the whole industry was demoralized. The prime cause of this failure was low grade leadership. The men at the head of the unions, the other crafts, of craft unionism to this great basic industry, when the only hope of the workers was the most complete industrial solidarity. During the thirteen black years of unorganization, craft after craft made individual efforts to organize, but to no purpose whatever. First it would be the cattle butchers; they would carry on a bit of a campaign and get a few hundred members assembled, when, lo, the packers would turn their tremendous organization against them and crush their budding union as a giant would an egg shell. Then stagnation would reign a while more, until eventually, probably a straggling movement would develop among the sheep butchers, the hog butchers, the steamfitters, the engineers, or some other trade, which in turn would go the same way. In this manner practically every trade got its licking, yet the union heads never learned the lesson from this experience. They could not see that the only possibility for the packinghouse workers to make headway against the powerful packers was through absolutely united action along the lines of the whole industry.

But if the Butcher Workmen and other craft union officials knew nothing of industrial solidarity, the men who organized the Stockyards Labor Council did. The breath of life that organization was unified action by all packinghouse workers. Before it was organized an agreement was secured from all the trades that they would cast in their lot together, and that especially they would not make the mistake they made in 1904, when they had two local councils in the Chicago stockyards, one for the mechanical trades and the other for the packing trades. The jealousies and quarrels between these two councils, resulting finally in one scabbing upon the other, was a prime factor in the loss of the great strike of 1904.

The Stockyards Labor Council organizers were determined that no such blunder should be made in the future. They raised the slogan of solidarity of all trades in the packing industry. With this rallying cry they went forth among the packers and put on one of the most aggressive campaigns of organization known to American labor history. Encouraged by the new program, the oppressed stockyards slaves responded en masse. They poured into the unions by thousands and soon the Chicago industry, then employing 55,000 workers, was strongly organized. The news of this achievement spread like wildfire in every packing center in the country, and soon the whole body of packinghouse workers everywhere were swarming into the organizations. The packing industry, long the despair of Organized Labor, was finally unionized. The whole job took but a few months.

**An Incompetent Officialdom**

During these stirring events the officials of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, the union which controls about 80% of the workers in the industry, were like
Union had been improvements whea guaranteed introduction, and was so poor that it
was all about. Such a slashing campaign of unionism was altogether beyond their ken.

They tried to treat it as an organization of a few thousand meat cutters in retail butcher shops. They had no hope or understanding of organizing the packhouse workers properly. They practically abandoned the leadership of the movement to John Fitzpatrick, Wm. Z. Foster, J. W. Johnstone, and the other men at the head of the Stockyards Labor Council. The floundered about while the latter organized the industry for them.

Realizing that the problem of the packhouse workers was one that had to be handled, the Stockyards Labor Council organizers, once their own men were fairly well lined up, initiated a movement for the establishment of an agreement with the packers to cover the whole industry. Re-luctantly this was rubber-stamped by the Butcher Workmen's convictions. Accordingly, the local agreement between the twelve trades in the Chicago packing industry was expanded into a national agreement and a general committee set up to conduct the fight for the whole community. This committee was made chairman of this national packhouse committee, and Foster its Secretary. As usual, the Butcher Workmen officials sat on the side lines, expressing agreement with what was being done, but taking little part in it. Demands were submitted and, after a spectacular arbitration proceeding conducted by Frank P. Walsh, a settlement secured covering the whole industry.

What had happened from July 15th, 1917, when the Chicago campaign began, until March 30th, 1918, when Judge Alschuler handed down the decision in the arbitration proceedings, was that the packing industry had been organized all over the country; the eight hour day established, heavy wage increases granted, a ten per cent per week guarantee introduced, and other important improvements in the workers' conditions instituted. Besides this, the Butcher Workmen's Union had gained poverty and insignificance to influence and power. When the Chicago campaign started this organization had only a few thousand members and was so poor that it did not contribute a single nickel in money to the campaign until after hundreds of dollars had been turned over to it in membership fees—the Chicago Federation of Labor undertook entirely, to the last penny, the cost of the early work. But when the national drive was finished, the Butcher Workmen were a rapidly growing organization of 150,000 or more, and possessed of a large treasury, the fruits of the drive. They were in the packing industry by the application of industrial solidarity. The mass of workers were set squarely on their feet and given a chance with which they could protect themselves from the packers.

A Treacherous Officialdom

It is no distraction from the work done by organizers in other centers to say that the brunt of the struggle was borne squarely by the Stockyards Labor Council. It planned the campaign, conceived the method of organization, and to a very large extent carried it through from start to finish. Considering what is done for their organization, one might think that the officials of the Amalgamated and Butcher Workmen would have greatly valued the Stockyards Labor Council. But it was exactly the contrary. From the very beginning they looked askance at it. They had no sympathy with its militancy or its doctrine of all-inclusive solidarity. They were craft unionists pure and simple. They stood aside and let it organize the industry for them, but immediately this was done they set about destroying it. Indeed, so eager was the President of the Butcher Workmen, one John Hart, to break it up that just as the national movement was developing he double-crossed all the other trades by secretly sneaking off to Washington and placing the entire matter in the tender care of the Washington office. This nearly wrecked the whole movement. It was saved only by the Stockyards Labor Council forcing Hart to back out of his arrangement with the Washington office and to leave the negotiations altogether in the hands of the combined union again.

Immediately Judge Alschuler's decision was made in the arbitration, the local officials declared open war upon the Stockyards Labor Council. Their chosen way to destroy it was by the organization of a district council of Butcher Workmen locals. They knew very well that the establishment of such a body would pull all their unions out of the Stockyards Labor Council and leave the latter only a shell. It would create a real dualism, the cost of which was ruin to the packinghouse workers' organization in 1904. But little that worried them. They went ahead with their project regardless of consequences.

The forming of the new packing trades council was in direct violation of the agreement between the Butcher Workmen and the other trades; but they continued on. From the inception of the campaign it had been definitely settled that there should be only one local council in the Chicago Packing industry and that it should include all trades. In fact, this was the very heart of the propaganda used to re-inspire and re-organize the workers. They had been definitely promised that the great mistake of 1904 would not be repeated, and that, sink or swim, the whole body of packhouse workers would fight in one unit. They were violently in favor of the Stockyards Labor Council and violently against the newly-proposed packing trades council, known as District No. 9.

The Stockyards Labor Council Destroyed

The technical excuse offered by the Butcher Workmen officials was that the provisions of the constitution demanded it. But there was a mere subterfuge. Their delegates were in a three-fourths majority in the Stockyards Labor Council and could have called on as they liked with that body. Had the Butcher Workmen officials been interested in maintaining an organization in the packing house industry (which in my judgment they were not) they could easily have postponed the matter until their national convention and there made an arrangement that could take care of the situation. The plain fact of the matter is that so long as the Stockyards Labor Council served their immediate ends by swarming thousands of men into their union and vast sums of money into their coffers (of which they had no trouble to go along with it. But just as soon as they thought they were strong enough, as they felt that they had the situation well in hand, they conveniently discovered insurmountable constitutional objections to its going on as before. Then they stabbed in the back.

Even though the veriest tyrant in the movement could see from the sentiment of the workers that to break up the Stockyards Labor Council to maintain the whole packhouse movement, the officials of the Butcher Workmen nevertheless went blindly ahead with the nefarious task. To further their project they sent a flock of "organizers" into the stockyards district to prepare the way for the new council. These sowed the seeds of disruption thickly, undermining the whole structure of the movement. Several severe attempts were made to start the new council, but they all failed as the sentiment of the workers was overwhelmingly in favor of the Stockyards Labor Council. Finally, however, in July 1919, everyone was scared up to form the fatal District No. 9, and it was duly established.

Internal Warfare and Disruption

Immediately turmoil raged among the packhouse workers, who looked upon these efforts to split their ranks as the work of the packers. They refused point blank to affiliate with District No. 9, in no uncertain manner, giving the Butcher Workmen organized workers not more then a 2,000 joined the new body. Then the national office of the Butcher Workmen carried its work of destruction still further by suspending all the locals that refused to accept their dual council. This meant confusion worse confounded. Thousands quit the unions in disgust, feeling that they had been betrayed. Others entered militantly into the many bitter factional quarrels that had been started among the workers by the irresponsible national officials.

Soon the disruptive work of the latter bore its full fruit, soon the former splendor of the workers was destroyed. Instead of the once unified council that carried the big battle through, they now had three: the emasculated Stockyards Labor Council, District No. 9, and a Mechanic's Trades Council. In addition there were a number of independent unions disgust with all these bodies and affiliated with them. The work of disruption was complete. The officers of the Butcher Workmen had done the Chicago movement to death, and with it the movement all over the country, for it is a truism that the status of the packhouse unions every.

JOHN FITZPATRICK

THE LABOR HERALD

March, 1922
where depends directly upon the degree of organization prevailing in Chicago, the heart of the industry. After the installation of District No. 9 the fate of the movement was sealed. Its course was rapidly downward. It was only a matter of time until the packers should deliver a coup de grace which finally came in the recent strike.

As Usual, the Rebels Sleep
Considering the type of men at the head of the big-wide-spread union, the only possible hope for the great movement to succeed was for the live spirits among the rank and file to take the situation well in hand and force their international officials into line or out of office. This was evident from the start, and it became more evident as the movement wore on. For a time the live wires handling the Stockyards Labor Council were able to hold the reactionary national officials to something like a real program. But as the latter became more and more entrenched in the stabilizing of the union everywhere and the extension of their machine, the spreading of the rank and file movement to a national scale and thereby prevent the general officials from wrecking the movement through their stupid methods—to put it charitably.

The burden of organizing this rank and file movement fell upon J. W. Johnstone—before the bitter struggle really got started Fitzpatrick and Foster, the first president and secretary of the Stockyards Labor Council, had withdrawn from the movement to take up other duties. Johnstone was the new secretary of the Stockyards Labor Council and an experienced man in the labor movement. He knew what had to be done and he tried to do it. When the national officials set out to wreck the old council Johnstone undertook to organize the rebels everywhere against them. He and his associates published an independent paper, The Packinghouse Workers, and scattered it broadcast over the industry to counteract the lies spread by the national office. Efforts were made everywhere to line up new plants and new unions.

But unfortunately this work failed completely. The rebels were simply not to be roused. They were still heavily afflicted with the Christianity of dual unionism and could not be induced to take an active part in the fight against the reactionaries. In Chicago and other cities Johnstone appeared before numerous radical groups existing among the packinghouse workers and fairly begged them to come in to the struggle. But in each case all he got was a cold shoulder. The radicals, save for a few notable exceptions, would have nothing to do with the trade union. They preferred to spend their time in contemplation of their beautiful industrial utopias. The cold hard facts of the mass struggle were far from them.

The Rebels Primarily Responsible
Here we come to the crux of the trouble. The real fault for the failure of the packinghouse movement lies with the rebel elements in the industry, and they are many, as the body of workers are foreigners, and the others who held control of the Butcher Workmen’s organization during the critical days were typical craft unionists and therefore altogether unfit to make headway against modern combinations of capital. It would be stupid to expect them to follow any other course than the ruinous one they did, save under pressure. A leopard cannot change his spots. If the movement was to live and prosper the impetus thereto had to come from below, from an aroused and organized rank and file.

But this impetus did not come. The radicals, the only ones who could develop it, were asleep at the switch. Here was a movement going begging for them to control it. The numerous organizations in Chicago were in the hands of the minute group of radicals who did show enough understanding to take part in the movement. And it would have been an easy thing to have secured similar control in other places. The rank and radical elements only been willing to assume such control. Sufficient resistance, at least, could have been developed to prevent the national officials from wrecking the union. But no promise stood aside, callously indifferent, and allowed the organization to be cut to pieces by the reactionaries. The loss of the packinghouse movement originated in failure to organize the workingmen into a strong combination, and not in refusal to stay in the old unions and to so organize themselves as to compel the union, no matter who the officials, to stand at its head. Had they understood this fact three or four years ago and taken charge of the packinghouse movement when it lay wide open they might have increased everywhere, manifesting the whole packing industry. In Chicago it was estimated that fully 75% of the radical workers struck, and in other centers the percentage was even higher. A few of the craft unions, notably the engineers, stockhandlers, etc. who had been thoroughly disillusioned by the Morehouse system in other industries were very active in this movement.

Down the Toboggan
After the wrecking of the Stockyards Labor Council the downfall of the organization was rapid. Thousands quit the trade unions in disgust. Some of the national officials broke the front of the 35,000 members of the standing locals by winning over one John Ki-
kulski, an influential Polish organizer who was later killed by some of his many enemies. Kikulski’s desertion disrupted the rebel ranks. Many of the men with him to the Butcher Workmen, and thousands gave up their affiliation altogether. And what was happening in Chicago was pretty much happening in all the other packinghouses. The mismanagement, if not worse, by the Butcher Workmen officials, throttled the organization everywhere.

By the Spring of 1921 the organization was virtually a wreck all over the country. The only holdout left in the Chicago packinghouse had been willing to assume such control as to the general confusion. They have nothing to offer, in spite of their glowing programs. The only hope of the organization is the changed views of many radicals in the industry. Within the last few months (although too late to appreciably affect the dying movement) they have come to see that it is their part to stay in the old unions and to so organize themselves there as to compel the proper handling of the organization, no matter who may stand at its head. Had they understood this fact three or four years ago and taken charge of the packinghouse movement when it lay wide open they might have increased everywhere, manifesting the whole history of it would have been different. Instead of being crushed and defeated as they now are, the packinghouse workers would still possess a powerful and well-intrenched trade union organization.

As to the Future
What the future has to offer for the packinghouse workers in the way of organization is problematical. After such a crushing defeat, following in the train of so much betrayal and mismanagement by their officials, it is safe to say that they will be seized by profound demoralization and depression. Already the dual unions are gathering to feed upon the corpse of the fallen giant and to add to the general confusion. They have nothing to offer, in spite of their glowing programs. The only hope of the organization is the changed views of many radicals in the industry. Within the last few months (although too late to appreciably affect the dying movement) they have come to see that it is their part to stay in the old unions and to so organize themselves there as to compel the proper handling of the organization, no matter who may stand at its head. Had they understood this fact three or four years ago and taken charge of the packinghouse movement when it lay wide open they might have increased everywhere, manifesting the whole history of it would have been different. Instead of being crushed and defeated as they now are, the packinghouse workers would still possess a powerful and well-intrenched trade union organization.

It is never too late to mend. The rebels in the packing industry must set out at once to break the power of the reactionary leadership of their head of organization. They must see to it that when the next big campaign comes, and it is only a matter of time, the men who conduct it are real working class fighters and not mere place-hunters and incompetent bureaucrats. In that direction alone lies the possibility for success.
The Struggle in the Building Trades

The building trades' fight in Chicago is another glowing example of the foolishness of continuing the old craft union tactics of each separate union. The employers have organized a solid front, backed by Judge Landis, and by the "Citizens' Committee" with its many millions of dollars pledged to break the building trades. The workers have allowed their solidarity to be broken up, each union acting for itself, without any far-sweeping plan. The results are plain, and the cause must be removed before Labor can fight a winning battle.

The present fight started May first last year, when the Contractors' Association refused to renew the wage-scale previously in effect, and locked out the union members. This lockout continued until early August. During this time the unions agreed to submit the wage question to arbitration, and manage their own affairs. In the meantime a tremendous barrage of newspaper attack had been levelled at the unions, and preparations were made to "get them" in the arbitration process. Landis immediately took the offensive by assuming jurisdiction over working rules, in addition to wages. In September he announced his award which slashed wages savagely and completely revised the working rules. The union members spontaneously walked off their jobs, although the unions had not immediately struck. The contractors were willing to re-open the case. The Building Trades Council was capable of handling a dispute with some degree of success so long as the opponent was only the contractors. But this time the Unions were up against something bigger. The "Citizens' Committee" had been formed, containing the financial resources of Chicago, and a war chest of millions of dollars, and they took charge of the capitalist side of the light.

From the beginning of these unfortunate arbitration proceedings, the result of which might easily have been foreseen, the building trades' unions' forces were divided. The unions were not united in the arbitration from the first. Those who were so wise as to participate in the non-sense were divided into those who accepted it with reservations, and the "good unions" who were willing to take their chance. As usual, there was a dragging strike, some of the unions being out for awhile, and then returning to work about the same time that other unions went out. Some of the unions have consistently tried to get the good will of the employers, and have got it by going back to work and staying there. A few of them have consistently stood out against the whole business from beginning to end. Others have wavered between these two positions, going on strike, going back to work, alternating with each other, and increasing the confusion and lack of solidarity.

The Building Trades Council, the body which has brought about what united action there has heretofore been, has been utterly ineffective with this situation. It has been for a strike, then it has been against, then for a strike again; but it has not been able, since the united attack of all the capitalist organizations, to move all its forces one way or the other at the same time. Under pressure of the attack, of the bitter newspaper barrage of lies, of the weight of Judge Landis, and of the force of the many millions of the Citizens' Committee, the slender threads of solidarity woven by the federation of the craft unions of the whole building trades, have given way. As this is being written, the Council has voted to accept the award, while many unions are in bitter rebellion and are refusing to accept it under any condition.

Much bitterness has been aroused in the workers' ranks in the course of this fight. Harsh names have been called, and charges hurled back and forth. Probably some of the harsh names are just; surely some of the charges have truths behind them. But this is the lesson which building tradesmen must learn from this experience, or it will have been in vain: THESE CONDITIONS WILL CONTINUE UNLESS THE TRADES UNIONS ARE SOLIDLY UNITED INTO ONE ORGANIZATION.

Federation of the 25 and more unions into the Building Trades Council is not enough; it has broken down; it does not meet the conditions of today. Nothing short of COMPLETE AMALGAMATION of all building trades unions on an industrial union for the building trades, will meet the situation. Such a union, that Local workers, led by men of spirit and intelligence, would quickly change the present terrible chaos, and would make the present impossible chaos. In the face of a united Building Trades Union, the "Citizens' Committee" and Judge Landis would be pitifully impotent.

BUILDING TRADES WORKERS! NEW METHODS ARE NECESSARY TO MEET YOUR ENEMIES TODAY. GET CLOSER TOGETHER, JOIN HANDS, ALAMALGAMATE YOUR UNIONS INTO ONE COVERING THE ENTIRE BUILDING INDUSTRY.

Order a bundle of THE LABOR HERALD to sell at your union meetings.—In bundles of 10 or more, 12 cents per copy

The Coal Miners Crisis

By A Rank and Filer

This Spring brings with it the most serious crisis ever faced by our organization, the U. M. W. of A. This crisis is of a twofold character, it affects the miners absolutely.

Regarding the external side of it: the employers are determined as never before to defeat us. The "open shop" devotees are so encouraged by their success in driving back the railroad men, smashing the building trades, etc., that they are all set to give us a first class trimming. Indeed, they have already made a substantial start, as the wreckage of our Alabama and Colorado districts began to tell. The situation is such that were we to be wrecked we will have to get right down to business and put up such a struggle as we have never made before.

But our internal crisis is worse even than the external one. We stand in the most imminent danger of a disruption that will lay us helpless before our enemies who are all ready to devour us. The quarrel over the Kansas situation is threatening to split our organization. This would be absolutely fatal. It must be avoided at all costs. Whatever comes or goes, the miners must present a solid front this year.

Lewis' strength is due more to our mistakes than to his own good management. Our side has made blunder after blunder in tactics. Many of them would be ridiculous were they not so tragic. We must sharpen up our wits and sit right into this fight as though we meant business. The fate of the coal miners' union depends on the action of the U. M. W. of A.

Lewis' treatment of Howat and the Kansas miners is a crime, a disgrace that can never be washed clean. They have been driven out of their organization by the capitalist unions.

... (Continued on page 31)
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GOMPERS AND RUSSIA

IN MAKING formal protest against the participation of Soviet Russia in the Genoa Conference, Mr. Gompers has but added one more item to his pitiful "policy" towards Russia. All the world knows that Mr. Gompers has opined its only hope for rehabilitation rests in commerce and the balance of trade. And all the world knows likewise that the whole European economic system is so shattered that it can never be set right by trade. It is Mr. Gompers' "pro-tariff" theory (as he is quoted to say in the Times) as to how the Russian people should conduct their Government, and until they conform to it, Mr. Gompers is willing to let world economies go hang.

Mr. Gompers' attitude toward the Genoa conference is altogether in line with his attitude toward the Russian famine relief work. Here are twenty millions of peasants staring to death under the most awful circumstances, yet Mr. Gompers, although standing at the head of a great movement on the part of the American Federation of Labor to raise funds for their relief, has done absolutely no effort through the American Federation of Labor to raise funds for their relief. They are not even Bolsheviks, but Mr. Gompers is so blinded and unending in his hatred towards everything Russian that he would let them die without extending them a helping hand of fellowship. This is carrying political parsimony beyond the uttermost punit. Even the capitalist politicians themselves, the Hardings and others, have understood that as the blackest reactionaries, they have shown more heart and human sympathy in the situation.

How long shall this shameful thing be allowed to continue? Is it not time that Organized Labor awoke from sleep? That with the old idea of a cut-rate policy towards Russia? Mr. Gompers' sneeze prejudices must be swept aside or overridden. Labor in America as the people's weapon in the fighting of the blockade against Russia, and the extension of every possible assistance to her hard pressed people.

TWO KINDS OF CLASS COURTS

T HE American courts are like the Russian courts, as both in both countries the courts are instruments to keep a class in sub-

mition. But they differ in the fact that the Ameri-

can courts are based on a class principle, whereas the Russian courts proudly boast of it.

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of militantly defending the interests of this class which the Landises serve is an exploiting class, and the suffering, has made absolutely no effort

go hang.

Mr. Gompers' attitude toward the Genoa confere-
cence is altogether in line with his attitude toward the Russian famine relief work. Here are twenty millions of peasants staring to death under the most awful circumstances, yet Mr. Gompers, although standing at the head of a great movement on the part of the American Federation of Labor to raise funds for their relief, they are not even Bolsheviks, but Mr. Gompers is so blinded and unending in his hatred towards everything Russian that he would let them die without extending them a helping hand of fellowship. This is carrying political parsimony beyond the uttermost punit. Even the capitalist politicians themselves, the Hardings and others, have understood that as the blackest reactionaries, they have shown more heart and human sympathy in the situation.

How long shall this shameful thing be allowed to continue? Is it not time that Organized Labor awoke from sleep? That with the old idea of a cut-rate policy towards Russia? Mr. Gompers' sneeze prejudices must be swept aside or overridden. Labor in America as the people's weapon in the fighting of the blockade against Russia, and the extension of every possible assistance to her hard pressed people.

TWO KINDS OF CLASS COURTS

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THE INTERNATIONAL

GREAT BRITAIN

The British trade union movement is now passing through a serious crisis. It has recently lost quite heavily in membership, and conditions of labor have been somewhat worsened all around. This is largely due to the terrible industrial depressions which have been felt in Britain's history. On December 31st, there were 2,000,000 workers totally unemployed and over 2,000,000 on short time. Government figures show that the workers work 8 months of the year and lost last year from this cause at 50,000,000. In addition to these, a very advantageous condition, the trade unions are also afflicted with a considerable amount of demoralization. This set in among them after the betrayal by their leaders in the Triple Alliance strike movement last Spring. The workers have largely lost heart. An illustration of the general state of the movement is seen in the circulation of the London Daily Herald, which has dropped from 300,000 to 200,000 at the present time.

Taking advantage of the situation, so favorable to them, the employers are making a big drive against the organizations. In nearly every trade, transport, railroads, textiles, metal, etc., they are forcing the unions slowly backward. In a few instances they have actually gone so far as to declare the "open shop," which has created quite a sensation in airtight union England.

Unlike our leaders here however, the British unionists are not standing idle and helpless under this attack. They are meeting it by a general tightening up of the lines everywhere. Get-together meetings are the order of the day now in England. The Miners and the Metal Workers' unions are not standing idle and helpless under this attack. They are forcing the unions slowly backward. In a few instances they have actually gone so far as to declare the "open shop," which has created quite a sensation in airtight union England.

Before the war the French General Confederation of Labor was a very revolutionary organization, but during the big upheaval many of its leaders degenerated into typical labor takers. This forced the radicals to organize groups all through the various unions in opposition to the traitorous bureaucracy. The minority organization known as the Revolutionary Syndicalist Committee, or C.S.R., was in line with the Comintern and became the trade union radicals for many years past.

To defeat the rapidly growing C.S.R., the old bureaucracy began to expel local unions connected with it. This provoked further opposition and backlash. At the Congress held last Spring the Lafranca policy of the old officials was rebuffed. But after the Congress it was continued just the same. C.S.R. locals were expelled on all sides. Things went from bad to worse with the revolutionaries trying desperately to stay in the unions and the reactionaries to expel them. The latter think that if the revolutionaries are driven out of the unions they are finished. Therefore the radicals the Government and the employers will show appreciation of the "clesned" unions by giving them recognition and considerate treatment.

Finally the situation got so bad that the organized revolutionaries, to save themselves from annihilation and the destruction of the unions, formed a special national convention to decide upon their next move for unity and a militant labor movement.

At this juncture the First more than an ordinary, international (Moscow), fearing a split, proposed to the American Federation of Labor Unions (Amster dam) that the two bodies meet and compose the differences between the warring factions. But the conservative organization, which is of one mind with the French union stand-patters, declined to assist in keeping the movement intact.

The left-wing unity national convention met in Paris on December 22-24. To pacify the situation, it offered the most democratic of the revolutionary Syndicalist Committee, which was presumably the bone of contention, the choice of its own headquarters in Paris. With their unsatisfactory determination to drive the radicals out even if they had to expel the majority of the whole movement that is lined up with them, they refused the conciliation. Then, seeing that all else was hopeless, the radical convention demanded the calling of a general Congress of the whole French labor movement early this year and in the meantime set up a provisional council to act until the Congress takes place.

As things now stand there are practically two distinct labor movements in France, one radical and the other conservative. Either either has or is busy establishing provincial organizations in all of the industries. It is factional war to the knife. At present the General Council believes it has the best of it. The majority of the workers are on their side, won over by the latter's skillful campaign in the old unions. Unless all signs fail the old guard are doomed and the French movement due for a renaissance.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

"Through the Russian Revolution," by Albert Rhyys Williams, was published a few weeks ago, and the author had a good deal of trouble getting a publisher. In Russia the book went through the first months of the revolution, and was personally acquainted with many of the chief actors. He saw the large aspects of the greatest social upheaval, and at the same time preserved a keen sense of the Russian atmosphere. He gives the reader both in this book. Especially valuable are the colored reproductions of the flaming posters which are the unique contribution of the Communists of Russia to the practice of edu- cation of the masses. Here is working-class art and science, organized by a working-class Government; the thing is laid before one in its original form, together with an amazingly interesting story of the revolution as seen through the eyes of Williams. It is too bad that the book, with all its splendid features, cannot be published at a price which would reach the working class. We hasten to add, that compared with other book prices in the United States, this one is very reasonable.

"Pen Pictures of Russia," by John S. Clarke, is quite a different sort of book, but in its way quite as interesting. The author describes it as "Ram- iques of a journey, historical anecdotes, literature recollections and quotations, and keen observations on things Russian. An interesting and revolutionary," and the story is a curious mixture of narra- tive of the journey, historical anecdotes, literary recollections and quotations, and keen observations on things Russian. An interesting and revolutionary, and the story is a curious mixture of narra-

SPECIAL NOTICE

In compiling the list of 1,000 live wires with which we are communicating to organize THE TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, we did our best to get the names of the most active and reliable workers in every locality. There is no doubt, however, that we have erred in many places and have got hold of the wrong parties. Where such is the case, and where our correspondents do not take the proper action in forming- or organizing new groups, we will realize the difficulties we are under, and will get busy at once to straighten the situation out.

RAILROAD MEN!

Learn why our trade unions are on the retreat and what to do about it

The Labor Herald for April will be a special Railroad Number

Articles by many nationaly known rank and file railroad men outlining the weakness of our unions and initiating immediate action to remedy it.

Every Railroad Man Must Read This Vital Number
**LABOR BREVITIES**

Newport, Ky.—Tanks and troops are patrolling the street to prevent the Steel Treators on account of a strike at the Newport Rolling Mills Co., one of the nation's big companies. An incident, however, prompted a large number of local officials to call on Washington to get the troops out of the city.

Nebraska.—Governor McElvein sent state troops into the packinghouse districts here at the request of the big packing companies, to suppress the strike.

Trinidad, Colo.—Troops which have been patrolling the strike district in Huerfano County coal fields were withdrawn about the first of February.

Denver, Colo.—The State Industrial Commission designed to protect labor from the evil effects of the war, and the punishment of the leaders of the packinghouse workers' union, for their part in leading the recent walkout in the meat-packing trade. Following the Colorado packinghouse workers refused to recognize the "can't strike" law.

San Francisco.—It is rumored that a move is about to be made to heal the split in the Building Trades Council and bring back the unions now outside in the Rank and File Federation. Active unionists say that such a move will be hailed with delight by all sincere union men who deplore the present disruption.

A SUGGESTION

(Editors Note: The leagues in the various cities are requested to give consideration to the following letter):

New York, Feb. 6, 1922.

Dear Sir and Brother:

I see by your Rules of Organization that you have already done away with the capita tax in the TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE. Personally I think this is a very good thing and I am heartily in favor of the proposition.

We must by all means avoid giving any chance for the charge of dual organization to be applied to us. This is accomplished by the rules you have adopted. Certainly no one can say that we are a dual union, when the entire finance will come from literature sales, voluntary donations, etc.

The only point that needs consideration is, how are we to have a definite test of membership in the League. I understand from your Rules of Organization that you are working on for the railroadmen, to get us out of the 'can't strike' law. Following the lead of the Kansas miners, I suggest that each local League make the test to subscribe for THE LABOR HERALD, who is eagerly awaiting the advent of the League, hoping with a great interest.

E. Liverpool, Jan. 29, 1922

Comrade Foster:

That would be a very good test. I am heartily in favor of the proposition. I understand from the rules how this is to be done. We have some live wires here, and all are looking for new and timely articles on the Labor Movement.

J. S. R.

**CORRESPONDENCE**

Chicago, Feb. 18, 1922.

Dear Sir and Brother:

I have carefully read the advance proposals of the TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE and I am heartily in favor of them. I will give all my space to spreading the good news of the movement, and I might add that it will be the unmistakable sign that the situation has passed beyond the stage of life and death struggle; the sure indication that the revolution has triumphed and that the new firmament is securely fixed.

S. H. M.

**Discipline vs. Freedom in Russia**

(Continued from page 14)

The individual of the sake of the mass remains an indispensable necessity of the labor movement, nevertheless. It is an invariable condition of successful movements by the masses at this stage of their development. When the League has its freedom of speech, press, and assembly, for all classes in Russia—and that must soon occur—it will be the unmistakable sign that the situation has passed beyond the stage of life and death struggle; the sure indication that the revolution has triumphed and that the new firmament is firmly established.

**The Coal Miners Crisis**

(Continued from page 25)

Further diggers, no dual unionism, no secessionism. That would be fatal. Beware of the man who tells you to split the union; he is no friend of ours; no matter how well he is manned or how many thousands of men he boasts as members. He must do is organize ourselves within the U. M. W. A. We are just on the verge of victory. Let us go through to the end. We must continue to demand the reinstatement of the Kansas batters.
LIVE WIRES WANTED
To circulate the following Books

The Revolutionary Crisis of 1918-1921 in Germany, England, Italy and France
64 pages, paper bound
By Wm. Z. Foster
Single copies, 25c each; 10 or more, 15c each

The Russian Revolution
155 pages, paper bound, 50c per copy
By Wm. Z. Foster
(Only a few copies left, and no orders filled except for single copies; cloth bound sold out)

The Great Steel Strike
265 pages: Cloth bound, $1.75 per copy; paper bound, $1.00 per copy
By Wm. Z. Foster

The Railroaders' Next Step
48 pages, paper bound
By Wm. Z. Foster
Single copies, 25c each; 10 or more, 15c each

Resolutions and Decisions of the First World Congress of Revolutionary Trade Unions—Moscow
Per copy, 15c

SPECIAL RATES TO AGENTS
ORDERS PAYABLE IN ADVANCE

SEND ORDERS AND REMITTANCES TO
The Trade Union Educational League
118 North La Salle Street
Chicago, Illinois

The IMMEDIATE TASK of the MILITANTS of the American Labor Movement Is to PUT ACROSS the Work

FOR THE RELIEF OF THE FAMINE IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Food is the great need in Soviet Russia.
The only food surplus in the world is in America.
If the Russian famine situation is to be met it must be met by America.
If America is to meet the situation it is the workers who must act.
There is no one else with the desire or the power.
In every shop, mine and factory; in every local union; wherever there are workers, the drive for the collection of funds for the Russian Famine Relief must be made the matter of primary importance.

ONE HOUR’S PAY A WEEK
FROM EVERY UNION WORKER IN THE UNITED STATES WILL SAVE 10,000,000 LIVES IN SOVIET RUSSIA

It is up to the trades unions and the trade union men and women, which means that it is
Up to the Trade Union Militants
To Put the Work Across

The Friends of Soviet Russia has 140 local branches in as many cities. It has collected $400,000, which has been spent for foodstuffs which has been sent to the Kazan District of Soviet Russia in cases marked "FROM THE AMERICAN WORKERS to the RUSSIAN WORKERS and PEASANTS"
The work of the Friends of Soviet Russia must be extended to every city and town in America. The collections must be increased to the very capacity of the American working class, which means that it is
Up to the Trade Union Militants

Send all communications and contributions to
FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA
American Section of the International Workers’ Famine Relief Committee
201 West 13th Street
New York City

This advertisement is donated to the Famine Relief Campaign by THE LABOR HERALD