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By Wm. Z. Foster

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The Building Trades Problem

By Arne Swaback

The Building Trades unions are face to face with a terrific war, intended to break their power. A complete combination of all the hitherto scattered forces of the bosses is out to establish the so-called "open-shop," and the unions are in retreat before the assault. The committees of the bankers, the manufacturers, the captains of industry, carefully prepared the union-smashing campaign and are taking one industry after another. Having driven the unions out of the steel mills, slapped the railroad unions in the face, and lined up the forces of Government and the press, they are now engaged in battering our hitherto strongly entrenched building trades unions.

The fight was started in city after city, throughout the country, and extends from coast to coast. In some places the bosses have made rapid headway against the unions; in others the workers have put up a most determined resistance. In every case a well worked out plan was followed, involving the daily newspapers, the courts and legislatures of the various states and cities, and the special organizations combining all the employers' forces, variously named "American Plan" associations, "Citizens' Committees," etc. The newspapers began the campaign of propaganda: "Rent is too high! That is caused by building trades wages, which must come down. Then the building industry will begin to boom." This was the key-note, to obtain the support of the public. The pale, faint-hearted clerks and the other white-collared wage slaves echoed: "Wages must come down." Public opinion was created, and the employers could proceed with the next step.

Then comes an avalanche of legislative investigations, charges of graft and corruption, wholesale arrests, commissions of inquiry; and finally the decision not to renew contracts with the unions, but to cut wages, destroy union regulations, and put the industry on the "open-shop" basis. "Arbitration" proceedings put the seal of official approval upon the schemes, and the battle is on, with the employers on the offensive. These attacks have everywhere thrown confusion into the ranks of the workers. The bosses have cleverly taken advantage of the divisions between the crafts, played off one against the other, and broken up the solidarity of the Building Trades. The workers are beginning to wake up to this situation, and today we are given some cause for encouragement by the sight, in a few cities, notably Chicago, of the workers recognizing the immediate necessity for complete unity.

The Chicago Building Trades Struggle

Resistance to the "open-shop" drive is seen at its best (and also examples of its worst) in Chicago. The most emphatic protest yet made by Labor in this struggle was registered in the great parade held Saturday, April 29th. This day will be marked in red letters in labor history. It was a monster demonstration and protest against the encroachments of capitalism, embodied in the so-called Citizens' Committee and the Landis Award. A parade was arranged by a joint publicity committee of the building trades unions; more than 125,000 workers marched shoulder to shoulder. Their banners registered their solidarity and readiness to fight to the end against the menacing enemy. Traffic was stopped for hours in the heart of the city by this demonstration of the United Front of the building workers. It registered a decided move forward by Labor.

Already this is being felt, even by the bosses. It was a solemn warning to the "Citizens Committee" that the workers are preparing to stop their retreat. True, the bosses were able to get in their underground work even in this parade. Their agents managed to keep some of the unions from taking part, by playing up old grudges and prejudices at the last moment. But it was made so evident to all that the workers were preparing themselves for action, that the simple show of strength, marching down the streets shoulder to
The militant mood of the workers is shown by the condition of the union halls. Samuel Gompers was in town for the occasion. One of his henchmen asked permission to have an automobile in the parade. He was notified that all must be on foot parade. Gompers declined to do so and the parade went its way without him.

In another looking up to this demonstration, many stormy events took place. On May 1, 1921, the employers noticed service of wage reductions. The unions resisted, and many of them were led by the socialist, after a week of struggle, arbitration was agreed to, with the usual detrimental effect to the workers. Judge Livingstone, by consent of a number of the smaller unions. The carpenters, painters (whose agreement had not expired), and three other unions, comprising in total membership a large majority of the building workers, refused from the beginning to submit to arbitration.

Landis, in his notorious "award," not only judged the questions in dispute; he also enlarged the scope of his decisions to cover the unions not parties to the proceedings, and assumed jurisdiction over working conditions, writing the following "open shop" conditions into the award:

"There shall be no stoppage of work individually or collectively under penalties prescribed."

"There shall be no restriction against any manufactured material, except prison made."

"In case of scarcity of help, non-union men may work with union men until such time as union men may be obtained."

These clauses meant breaking the power of the unions, and their ultimate destruction. The workers protested violently. For a time there were many spontaneous strikes. But a number of the leaders began to maneuver their unions into accepting the "award." Meanwhile, the capitalists had organized the "Citizens Committee" to enforce the award, raised a war-cash of millions, set up a scab-supplying agency, mobilized bank credits against the small contractors, and completely united their forces. Unions refusing to work under the award were declared "outlaw" and a bitter war began; armed guards were placed on the jobs to protect imported scabs, who were working side by side with union men. The strike has been marked by extreme violence. Bombing, burning of unions and non-union workers have taken place. The "Citizens Committee" has declared publicly that it will slug two union men for every scab that is beaten up. As we write this the police of the city are raiding the building trades offices on a great scale, arresting hundreds of union officials and members, charging them with complicity in the killing of two policemen during a bombing affair. The owners have worked for years in deadly emnity toward other crafts, boid of the fear that their jurisdiction might be infringed upon. Acquainted by this convention meeting, to form new advantages for their own craft at the expense of others, it is only another step to find themselves working with the bosses under each other. Thus they lose sight entirely of the broader aspect of the common fight against exploitation.

Most of the other evils which hold back our unions derive their strength from the great power, also finding their breeding ground and natural habitation in craft division. Countless opportunities are open to the dishonest few, that element which can always be found in any group of men. With the rich openings for graft, it is often the most unsuspicious business capitalist who can build up the most power. If he is willing to enter into an alliance with the employers, he is able to keep his adherents at work, while those who have the temerity to question his control at the union meetings, they walk the streets in idleness.

This petty tyranny has created an atmosphere in some unions which has proven fruitful for the poisonous seed of the "open shop" propaganda of the employers. All these forces work for the boss, who cleverly makes capital of them; and all can be traced directly back to the fundamental cause of craft division.

What has happened in Chicago indicates fairly well the general situation in the building trades. True, in many places the unions have not fared so well, and have been almost completely defeated; in Chicago there is still struggle. But everywhere the workers are in retreat; Seattle, Butte, Salt Lake, Denver, Boston, San Francisco, and other cities, bear witness to this. The employers are united with millions of dollars to spend to break the unions. The unions are divided, and their treasuries are rapidly being emptied.

Division Causes Workers' Defeat

The source of our weakness is readily found. Our industry is a veritable chaos of craft unions, pulling in different directions and fighting each other. Within many of these craft unions are split-hair divisions, where members are confined to certain branches, and fight about the inner lines of demarcation. Our industry will not be amalgamated until the contractors. But no longer is the craft division. Countless opportunities are open to the dishonest few, that element which can always be found in any group of men. With the rich openings for graft, it is often the most unsuspicious business capitalist who can build up the most power. If he is willing to enter into an alliance with the employers, he is able to keep his adherents at work, while those who have the temerity to question his control at the union meetings, they walk the streets in idleness.

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Craft divisions are largely responsible, in turn,
Call for National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League

Militants! At last the time has come for us to draw up our programs and to organize forces throughout the labor movement. The Trade Union Educational League is about to hold its first National Conference. The meeting will take place in Chicago on Aug. 20th and 21st. Militant union workers from every locality and industry are herewith cordially invited to attend.

The labor movement is now passing through the most serious crisis in its entire history. With unprecedented aggressiveness, the employers are smashing one section of it after another. Orthodox trade union methods and tactics are unavailing to stop this "open shop" drive. Draastic new measures will have to be applied, or the labor movement will be annihilated and the working class left helpless in the grip of the exploiters.

The multitude of craft unions must be amalgamated into a series of industrial unions. The prevailing concept of unionism is out-of-date and obsolete. It no longer conforms to industrial conditions. It prevents real solidarity and it must give way to a type of organization that will include all the workers in a given industry. The multitude of craft unions must be amalgamated into a series of industrial unions. The prevailing concept of unionism is out-of-date and obsolete. It no longer conforms to industrial conditions. It prevents real solidarity and it must give way to a type of organization that will include all the workers in a given industry. The multitude of craft unions must be amalgamated into a series of industrial unions.

The Trade Union Educational League is opposed to principle of dual unionism. It is not a labor union itself, nor does it propose to become one. It is solely an educational body. It aims, not to split the mass organizations, but to unite and strengthen them in every possible way.

The proposed conference will not be held for the sake of another new organization of unions. The proposed conference will not be held for the sake of another new organization of unions. Representation will be based upon the aims, not to split the mass organizations, but to unite and strengthen them in every possible way.

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of the A. F. of L., in 1908. This was a definite recognition of the common interests of all unions in the building industry, and a step toward unification.

The organization of the Building Trades Department was a very "radical" step. The writer remembers quite well the fights that raged around this issue. Many of the same arguments now used against the program of the Trade Union Educational League were then hurled against the idea of forming the Department. But in spite of the reactionary fulminations, the "radicals" of that day went ahead and established the Department.

The new body was intended to eliminate the worst features of jurisdictional wars, and to bring about greater unity among the various craft unions. It was a great step forward. At least it got the unions in touch with one another, and laid the basis for some approach to common action. But its results, especially under the pressure of the employers' present organization, have not justified the high hopes placed upon it. It has exhibited the fundamental weaknesses of all federations. In moments of greatest crisis, when strength is needed most, it has a disconcerting habit of giving way, leaving the unions in dire confusion. The wars of jurisdiction raged on. The Department is only another field of jurisdictional disputes; the other is the program of dual unions advocated by the I. W. W. and others. Unknown mischief has been done by both of these quack medicines of unionism.

The movement for a national board to arbitrate jurisdictional disputes was launched by engineers and employers. The proposal for such a board, composed of architects, engineers, employers and employees, was brought before the Atlantic City convention of the Building Trades Department. One delegate, speaking for the adoption, said that he believed it would go far toward eliminating the radical element from the building trades. The proposition was adopted. The organization which this same delegate represented is now out of the Department because of defiance of this board of awards. Differences between the unions cannot be settled by any outside agency. They must be eliminated by the growth of solidarity inside, and the unification of the various unions. Instead of solving problems of jurisdiction, the board of awards has been a tool for further dividing the workers against one another. Those unions which, like the Carpenters', refuse to accept its decisions, are given the fundamental instinct of the trade union movement not to allow non-workers to dictate solutions to their problems. The program of building new "ideal" unions, to replace the imperfect craft unions, has been one of the chief evils of the labor movement. Disgruntled and rebellious elements have thought to counter-revolution by breaking away and starting all over. Actions of this kind have done nothing but increase the confusion and weaken the labor movement. Today it is plain to all intelligent men, that progress cannot come in this way. Every one of the many efforts in this direction has failed, and dual unionism is dead in the building trades. The militant union movement has learned to be on the watch for this tendency, and to root it out in its beginnings.

For Building Trades Unity

The way out of our present mess lies along the road of amalgamation, the unification of all building trades workers for common action on wages, hours, and policies in the industry. One union covering the entire building trades is required. Such a plan will not mean wiping out craft lines, wherever these meet some need of the worker. On the contrary, it will take the form, outlined in 1913 by the famous Tveitmoe resolution adopted by the Building Trades Department but not carried out, which groups together the closely related crafts, such as the mason trades, pipe trades, iron trades, wood-working trades, etc. In a Building Trades Industrial Union these groups would form departments, under the general executive which would have supreme power on questions of wages, hours, disputes, etc. Within these departments the old craft units could be retained as sections and separate locals, so long as handled purely craft matters. Related crafts will also have the machinery for handling their own penalizing problems, in the departments. But in the struggle against the bosses, they will all be united under one executive committee, concentrating the entire power of the building trades workers.

The technical obstacles to this program are not great. Unlike the railroads, the building trades (with the exception of helpers and laborers) are very close together in wage scales. The adjustments necessary are easily provided for by the department and craft sections. The advantage of this is immediate, that they are completely overshadowed any little objection that may be raised.

A great source of weakness today is the thousands of workers in the small towns, where there are not enough of their craft to make a live local union. The small-town worker is just as good material for unionism as the ordinary union man in the city, but he does not have the association of numbers of his fellow craftsmen to keep him in line, as the city worker has. Imagine what would happen to our great city local unions if they were divided up into little groups of three or four, or even 15 or 20. The organization would die out. That is what happens, particularly in the smaller crafts, when you leave the large centers.

The Building Trades Industrial Union could immediately rally all these workers to the union. The cities like New York, Chicago, and the like, would need little change in the local unions. The next smaller cities could unite the little fragments of locals together into big locals of a size and strength and a feeling of power. The little towns could have department locals, or even one local of all building workers in the villages, even if there should be only one or two in each craft, and have a fair size local union which could be alive and healthy. Consider that this would eliminate the necessity of dues, relied upon by the bosses in fighting the union, and judge the value of such a united organization in increasing the power of the building trades worker in the country would soon be a union man with a paid up card and membership in a live local.

Greater power for the union, that is what amalgamation means. The employers are out to smash our unions. They do not discuss the right or wrong of it—they have the power. The only thing that will save our unions and defeat the bosses is greater power. When, instead of a score or more of executive committees at the top, each making a different decision and pulling different ways, we have one committee unifying in itself the combined power of the building workers, then we will stop our retreat and move forward to new victories. Amalgamation is the road to that goal.

Take this up in your union and urge action be taken to get all our unions together, for the purpose of consolidating their forces. Get your local union to act; take it to your district council; then put it up to your international executives for approval and conventions. Demand that your officials take action. Vote for those union men for office in your union, who stand for this program. Help to defeat those who oppose it. Discuss the question wherever building trades workers get together, and make this the dominating issue in the entire industry.
A Tale of Two Cities

By J. B. Salatsky

The Conventions of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union
and of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in Cleveland and Chicago.

There is nothing easier than to label a thing or an event. A living, complete reality is thus easily reduced to a formula, and thereby它的实际意义被认可和忽视。但当什么-那事情。然后，什么是运用知识的逻辑。因为它在那里，有它：仅仅是对它进行分类和识别，它和该事实是无价值的，除非该事实被构想出来并被认识到。裸露的真理，只是一种在历史和生活中的事实，没有新的结构。那么我们怎么知道？即使向前进一步，我们也会得出什么结论？

A mere fact in history or in life, which is recorded in a number of happenings due labeled, and the movement is ready to proceed to other unfinished business, is somewhat devoid of much meaning. The knowledge of the fact is conceived and there you have it: merely catalogue it and what follows it. Naked facts, torn out of context, are of no significance whatever unless it generates new force and determines development. And so is the knowledge of the fact in its living connection with what had preceded it and what follows it. Naked facts, torn out of their immediate environment, are but incidents or accidents devoid of much meaning. The knowledge of facts outside of their historical soil is fruitless, barren of results, and the labeling of facts, perhaps at times an easy pastime, is at all times a waste of time. Yet it passes quite often as judgment and it helps to create what the market is willing to designate as public opinion.

The convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union and of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in Cleveland, the seats of the two conventions, yet measured in units of political and social advancement, as evidenced in the two needle industry conventions, it would seem that there is a quarter of a century of distance between the two cities. That much may be readily admitted if judgment shall be based on appearances. But it is right to do so? Does judgment by appearances lead us anywhere? Hardly, as a matter of truth.

But let us have a glance at facts. The convention of the I. L. G. W. U. ran under the sign of fight on the left wing. In the convention of the A. C. W. of A., the left wing felt quite at home. As one observer termed it, there the opposition was extremely anxious not to be in the administration, otherwise it was rather comfortable. It would be interesting, then, to discern the objectives of the opposition or the left wing in either case. And this is not at all easy to do, as it was shown in an article in the preceding issue of The Labor Herald. The opposition in the needle industry is not homogeneous. It then had the happenings duly labeled, and the "movement" is ready to proceed to other "unfinished business," most likely to "finish" it in much the same way.

The convention of the International Garments Workers was reactionary throughout, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America was the one bright spot on the marred background of the American labor reality. Thus public opinion summed up the two enormous labor gatherings, and that is all so many of us are satisfied to know. But when we know all this do we know? Even if a step farther is made and personalities are introduced to supplement the facts, we still are none the wiser. Suppose we accept, without critical analysis, the verdict of newspapers like the Herald Tribune of New York, as in the case of the convention of the A. C. W. of A., is a decided-leftist reactionary, and Sidney Hilman, of the A. C. W. of A., is the spiritual incitement of the opposition, what then? How much more do we then know?

In the preceding issue of the Labour Herald, the reports were rather misleading, in so far as the Chicago convention of the A. C. W. of A. as concerned. While the press had it, that "the left wing met with crushing defeat on the issue of international affiliation," the truth is in the case. There were introduced a number of resolutions advocating affiliation with the Moscow Council of Trade Unions. These resolutions came from locals and the delegates stood instructed by their mandate of election to have these resolutions brought before the convention. However, in the convention resolution No. 67 evolved, it met with the unanimous approval of all the left wing delegates. It was also favored by the administration and it was carried unanimously. None of the other resolutions which the left wing had any support from either unions or votes. It inevitably would follow, that there could be no "crushing defeat" under the circumstances, and there was none.

Resolution 67 reads, "Whereas, the whole tendency of modern times is toward the international co-ordination of all labor movements and enterprises, whether they be of labor or capital; and Whereas, these are times of monstrous combinations of capital, over-reaching all national boundaries, engaged in sinister attempts to defeat and crush the labor movement both within each nation and on an international scale; and Whereas, A. C. W. of A. has always moved to defend the sacred cause of labor by co-ordinating the many labor organizations on an apparently broad international scale shown in the communications to the Amsterdam Trade Union International from the Moscow International of Labor Unions, inviting the former to participate in the formation of a United Front of all the labor unions of the world; therefore be it Resolved, That the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, in its Eleventh Convention of the Sixth Biennial Convention assembled, express its approval of the efforts for a United Front of all labor organizations of the world, and give its heartiest co-operation in the fight against organized capital. Adopted."

A Tale of Two Cities

The convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union and of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in Cleveland and Chicago, are illustrations of the convention of the A. C. W. of A. Revolutionary.

The two conventions of the two large unions in the needle industry held the other day in Cleveland and Chicago, are illustrations of the truth that with so many wish is the father of the thought. The I. L. G. W. U., whose defenders—right or wrong—talk a great deal of unity, would not stand for any "Moscow nonsense," even be it a genuine effort to bring about unity of all labor. If the actions on the just enumerated three cardinal points (for unity, for the left wing) had not been judged there would be reasonable ground for the notion that the I. L. G. W. U. turned reactionary and the A. C. W. of A. has governmentally radical in those convention days. But is it really so?

Why the Difference in Attitude

One cannot escape facing the following question, and the question is to be answered if we are to understand what’s what.

The question is—What is really responsible for the difference in attitude taken by the A. C. W. of A. and the I. L. G. W. U. on a number of points of great significance? Was it due to a difference in leadership or was a different composition of membership responsible for the difference in attitude? Or—perhaps there was really no such great differences, after all, in the attitude of one organization or the other? As a matter of fact, some ten years ago, one would find an exactly reversed situation with regard to the attitude of the two conventions. The I. L. G. W. U. was then the one radical organization, and the United Garment Workers of America, the parent body of the present Amalgamated, was reactionary in many respects. Since then the leadership of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union has changed and in so far as the personnel is concerned the change was rather toward the more progressive type. And the split that has taken place in the United

THERE is nothing easier than to label a thing or an event. A living, complete reality is thus easily reduced to a formula, and thereby its actual meaning is ignored and its significance is lost. But when we know all this do we know? Even if a step farther
Garment Workers of America and caused the growth of the Amalgamated was not a split along lines of radicalism, or industrialism, or internationalism, only questions of autonomy and leadership were involved in that controversy. Why then the great change?

The make-up of the two organizations, in so far as the membership is concerned, is not different. The same racial groups, practically distributed in the same ratio, make up the I. L. G. W. U. and the A. C. W. of A. The industry, that is the market, the technique, the earnings are closely neighboring, except that the system of work prevailing in the women's wear industry still retains a greater part of mechanical skill, whereas in the production of men's clothing the operations are further simplified by a wider application of machinery and by a minute specialization and division of labor.

Logically speaking, there should not be room for a great difference in tactics, if actions of large bodies are motivated by environment.

Of course, it is inconvenient to discuss the problem of leadership since it involves the analysis of personal motives or abilities. Yet it would be nothing short of violation of truth to attempt to say that the leadership of the two organizations differs very widely on the point of radicalism, at least in so far as formal profession of faith is concerned. In point of fact, the leader of the I. L. G. W. U. is a prop of the Socialist Party and President of its most powerful daily paper publishing company, whereas the head of the A. C. W. of A. is politically non-attached.

There is, however, one difference in the make-up of the leadership of the two organizations, and rather a vital one. It lies not in any official label but in the conception of leadership. In one case it is an attempt to boss a situation that is underlying the policy of the leadership, whereas in the other case the tendency is to lead, to control the situation by creating or accelerating the conditions of the situation. Benjamin Schlesinger is a red-card Socialist, and Sidney Hillman will tie himself with no political group or philosophy. Yet the one succeeded in having many members oppose his policies, whereas in the other case, the administration appears to be the expression of the living spirit of the entire organization. It is the great, old yet ever new problem of leadership that is to be looked for in the search for light in the situation.

The administration of the I. L. G. W. U. had its convention under its complete control. It could have its way without resorting to wholesale political murder of opposition delegates. Yet it did so. The spirit of vindictiveness was manifest throughout the sessions of the body. And also did the administration of the A. C. W. of A. have the convention under its full sway. The opposition was numerically weak, consisting of the disgruntled elements, controlled by the politicians of the Jewish Daily Forward, politics foreign to the life of the organization; and of the left wing groups who had constructive or misguided notions of organization reform, but throughout confined to the problems of the union. But the administration did not seek to antagonize the opposition by fighting their ideas because of the spiritual fatherhood. It tried to meet squarely every issue as it arose, and the result was exceedingly gratifying. No one left the convention "labeled," unless he came for what he was not supposed to get there. A "defeat" on a point of principle, in a union, is never a causa bellii, never causes animosity, if the fight for or against the principle is a gallant one. That much in favor of the A. C. W. of A. leadership will be conceded by any one who saw the convention in operation.

To sum up: The two conventions did not differ very widely in point of radicalism. Both remained on the safe ground of reality in so far as the actual problems concerning the life of the organization are considered. But, whereas one body, blinded by a partisan animosity and by a perverted notion of bossism instead of leadership has created ill-feeling and narrowed down the sway of the convention to the degree of pure-and-simplism of a most exciting type, the other organization managed its way through difficulties and presented a right sound in the practice of the American labor movement. It was not so much the actual difference in the attitude taken by one organization or the other, on one point or the other, as the solution of the problems of the movement that divides the two otherwise similar organizations.

**Chile**

True industrial, commercial, and agricultural employees of Chile have just combined themselves nationally into an organization called the Association of Industry. It is headed by a General Council, composed of one delegate from each province, and one from each industry. The Association intends "to take all possible steps with a view to protecting the legitimate interests of employers and workers." It declares it will "defend the right of the individual to work by all means in its power and will give assistance to members who are faced with difficulties owing to sympathetic strikes and similar disputes."

Dr. Joseph Goldstein, "Russian expert," is quoted by the Chicago Tribune to the effect that "End of Soviet Regime is Near." Where have we heard these "news" before?

**From George to Dick**

Dick Harridan, Engineer, St. Louis, Mo.

Dear Friend Dick:—

We all reached home sober and feeling better for the trip. But since coming back from there I have been thinking over some of our kindred discussions regarding unions, their policies, etc., and I want to put my side up to you in a workable form so you wont fail to understand clearly the point I wanted to make. Here it is:

You are an engineer and probably understand an engine and what it will do better than I do. Now suppose you had a heavy train, say 2,000 tons, to move, and it was all ready and you were anxious to move that train to its destination in the least time and at the least cost; and suppose your future more or less depended upon your making a good showing on this particular trip.

You will find it will take equal to a 160 ton engine to do the work, and you are told to select your power to make the run. Suppose you go over to the roundhouse and find that they have 16 engines of 10 tons each, and one engine of 160 tons, ready for the road. Would you take one engine of 10 tons and make 16 trips? Or would you take the 16 engines and make one trip, taking coal 16 times and water 16 times, and calling 16 more tallow pots, and taking chances on 16 sets of machinery getting out of order and chances of all not starting together, or some being in reverse when you started, or maybe an engineer asleep on the job, or playing hookey to some steam.

Or would you take the 160 ton engine, where you had the whole power necessary concentrated in the one lever under your own hand? To ask you as an intelligent engineer which of the three would you do?

There can be no question at all about your answer. You would take the big engine. You would do the job in a workmanlike manner. Sure, you would.

Now the railroad workers have just this kind of a practical proposition before them at the present time, and they are trying to combat the railroads by using the 16 little engines, or Brotherhoods, against the companies who are using the biggest engine they have on hand, and who are trying hard to control one still bigger by misusing the power of Government, if necessary, to whip us. You might not be able to get all the power out of the big engine, or general amalgamated union, at first, but you would soon be able to handle it and to get definite results.

If we cannot combine all our organizations into one, as you seem to fear that we can't, then we must admit we haven't as much intelligence as the railroad companies have. If such is the case we are a bunch of incompetents and our coal is dug under any circumstances. Think it over, and look around your yards to see if you haven't got a railroad spy among you and the boys, suggesting the ideas you expressed the other night, because such ideas are in perfect accord with those that the Government, if necessary, to whip us. You might not be able to get all the power out of the big engine, or general amalgamated union, at first, but you would soon be able to handle it and to get definite results.

With kindest regards for yourself and all union men and the friends that assembled Saturday night, I am, As ever.

GEORGE
The League Under Fire
By Earl R. Browder

Since the lid was flung upon the League months ago, which was only headed-off by most strenuous efforts of “Bolshevik Gold,” the invitation to destroy the League, boldly proclaiming a program of “real labor solidarity,” and denouncing its “secret” organization, has been given an enthusiastic welcome. It is the first sign of real life in the labor movement, and as such it rallies those in whose hearts hope still springs. It is not a violation of confidence to say that one of Gompers’ principal sources of worry is the knowledge that a surprisingly large number of high international officials in the unions are sympathetic to the League, and are quietly supporting its program. Hardly a week passes without several of these men, from various sections, dropping into the office of the League to wish it success and pass a word of encouragement. They want to see some constructive work done, and they know the old machine offers no hope. The reactionary officialdom has a keen sense for this atmosphere of wholesale “disloyalty” to their rule; they do not know how to meet it. So, with Gompers at the head, they launch a mock reign of terror. They do not realize that these very tactics are forcing many union men into the ranks of the League who would not otherwise go the whole way upon the League program. Today Gompers is forcing the issue,—“Gompers and Shermanism” or “The League and progress.” All of which is the best possible testification to the correctness of the League’s position and the effectiveness of its work.

The Merits of the Argument

We have grown accustomed to have our regular “May Day” thrown into us each year by A. Mitchell Palmer and similar “Department of Justice” officials. Accompanying the warnings of “revolution” and bombings, it became the regular procedure to announce a devious plot financed by the unholy Bolshheviks and their everlasting gold supply. The game was played long ago. In June, 1922, the capitalist politicians evidently considered that it was too stale for further use.

Not so Gompers. With a spriighthood surprising in one so old he is sending springs in the vacated place of A. Mitch. Palmer and dons his discarded mantle. The columns of the great capitalist press of the big cities open wide, and with screaming headlines the manifesto of Gompers to a waiting world is brought forth. Under the blazing heads is carried two columns of such nonsense that even the capitalist papers have been unable to refrain from joking about it. Gompers’ charge against the League is in the form of an advertisement, and reads as follows:

“Mr. Gompers, who had no money, went to Moscow and came back and announced that he was building a great secret machine to undermine the American labor movement and turn it over to the Red International, owned by Lenin. He began publication of an expensive magazine and proclaimed a thousand secret agents in a thousand communities.”

Disregarding the direct lies contained in this paragraph, which are apparent to any reader and which were dealt with in the last issue of the LABOR HERALD, we will deal only with the indirect statement that the League is financed by Bro. Lenin of Russia. We have already pointed out that Gompers has no money, or, if he had, the opportunity to go to Moscow and hijack Lenin. In Chicago, to examine the books of the organization, but he refused to do so. In the face of this, the repetition of such a stale and mostly charge is distinctly in bad faith. The League demands that he produce proof of his assertions, or cease his slander.

Mr. Gompers, in all his decades of opposition to everything smacking of progressive or radical tendencies, has never before displayed so much bitterness or anything so viciously, as he is now attacking the Trade Union Education program of the Chicago branch of Justice’ officials. Accompanying the use of most of the conservative trade union journals, he needs must turn to the capitalistic dailies. The latter, significantly enough, gladly give him all the space, he can use, and on page from coast to coast they eagerly print and circulate these innulations.

Gompers himself, and a flock of his “organizers,” have been getting from place to place, denouncing the League and organizing the opposition against it. But his only weapons are still, as they have been from the beginning, slander, prejudice, vilification, and untruth.

Strangely enough to those who do not know the latent discontent in the trade unions, all of these spectacular, wish-boring organs of Mr. Gompers, so far from hampering the work of the League, have proved the most decided stimulant to its work. Dulled by past failures, and discouraged by the reactionary official characteristic of their unions, many militants had failed to awaken to the call sent out by the Trade Union Educational League when it was organized. These former fire-worshippers had lost hope, and looked upon the League as another forlorn cause, doomed to futility. It took the demonstration of reactionary officialdoms in a panic of fear to convince them that progress is not only possible, but waiting to be called forth to transform our labor movement into a living, growing power.

Samuel Gompers can no longer hold back the tides of progress by empty words. The workers are getting ready to go forward, and cannot be much foolish. If the pathway to the future carries them to industrial unionism, to the dismembering of ills like Gompers, to affiliation with the Red Trade Union International, they are not afraid of these things or their names. The time has passed when the scare-crow of rationalism and the bogey-man of revolution, manipulated by the hands of Gompers or of Palmer, can longer block the road to better organization and more working-class power. The Chicago branch of Justice’ officials has pointed the way along this road, the masses in the union begin to see the way, and now that they have started it will take more than vows to stop them.
The Railway Employees' Department Convention

By Wm. Z. Foster

FROM the standpoint of constructive work, the convention of the Railway Employees' Department, recently held in Chicago, was an almost complete failure. This was because it neither understood the supreme need of railroad labor, nor did anything to satisfy that need. What railroad workers require above all is a solidification of their ranks, a unifying of their forces so that they may make effective resistance to the powerfully organized employers. But to bring about this vital measure the convention did virtually nothing. Judging it by results accomplished, it was a standpat, visionless gathering which refused even to express a desire for real solidarity.

But, strange to say, if the convention achieved little or nothing in a constructive way, it nevertheless displayed a great volume of radical sentiment. From first to last there was a strong minority which, on a couple of occasions actually became the majority, fighting steadily and consistently, if not always wisely and effectively, to strengthen the bonds between the affiliated organizations and to draw them into amalgamation. In fact the business of the convention was little else than a constant struggle between this minority seeking to progress on towards industrial unionism, and the international officials striving to maintain the present craft alignments. It was a case of industrialism versus craftism. Over it hung the cloud between the two forces ranged ceaselessly and manifestly itself in every conceivable fashion. It was the bone of contention in the jurisdiction, amalgamation, admission of unions, and to increase it to long way solidifying the organizations. Hence, the international officials turned their heaviest guns against it. Practically all the Presidents denounced it, likewise many Vice-Presidents and Organizers. But, notwithstanding all the alarmist oruries that its adoption would wreck the whole movement, the resolution actually got the votes of a majority of delegates, so strong was the desire to unify the ranks. The vote was 141 for and 138 against. The project was defeated only by an appeal to the International system of voting by craft units. The six important crafts split three and three on it, but two delegates, one casting the vote of the whole Clerk's organization, and the other of the Switchmen's, made the unlawful three votes for and five against. The thing was lost.

Another battle raged around the question of increasing the per capita tax paid by the International to the affiliated organizations. They had not been increased in 10 cents per member per month. The proposal was to increase it to 10 cents. This was another industrial measure. Giving the Department more power to strengthen it and giving it independence in the face of the craft unions. The International Presidents perceived this very clearly. They wanted to keep the purse strings in their own hands, to keep the Department poor and thus weaken the bonds between the affiliated or-

The Fight Begins

One of the first big clashes came over a proposition to enable the Department to elect its own Executive Council. As long as now stand the International Presidents, or their spokesmen, took the floor and stated that if the increased per capita tax was adopted their organizations would quit the Department. Such tactics, together with all sorts of wild denuncia-
tions, it took to force the delegates into line so that a majority could be scared up to defeat the proposition.

Real Revolt Looms

The never-ending battle of the progressives for solidarity of the railroad trades manifested itself sharply again on the general question of affiliation of all of the various unions with the Department. Once again the instinctive tendencies to this end were brought to evidence: one to bring into the Department all the real railroad unions, and the other to exclude, as far as possible, the craft unions that were unwill-
ing to edge their way in so that they might ex-
pand at the expense of the existing organizations. Under the latter head the Painters and the Steamfitters were barred, because their entry meant merely to divide and weaken the railroad workers, not to unite them. Under the former an invitation was extended to the four Brotherhoods to become part of the Department, and the Stationary Firemen were taken in over the strenuous opposition of the administration. This action was taken because it was felt that the Firemen could extend the strength of the Department by coming in.

But the real fight occurred over the request of the Maintenance of Way for readmittance into the Department. The committee reported that this should not be granted until the organ-

The fight started by Del. Kutz moving to amend the Committee's report so that the Mainte-

The appeal was taken, and though polling 8a votes as against 7g, failed to get the requisite two-thirds vote. Undeterred by this preliminary defeat, the progressives waged dangerously radical. One delegate got vociferous applause when he declared:

"I believe the time is here and now when we should decide who is going to affiliate with the Railway Department, and who is going to decide which organizations shall come in" - Are we going to let the carpen-
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The General Strike Vote

All through the convention the reports of the committees and speeches of the delegates were replete with details of how seriously the organizations are suffering under the "open shop" attacks of the companies. This, in fact, was the basis of the strong radical sentiment prevailing. Most of the delegates realized that the unions were fighting a losing battle and they were eager for almost anything that would solidify and strengthen them. A streak of desperation ran throughout all the convention's proceedings. This came strongest to the fore in the discussion on the question of a general strike of the six shop trades as a means to put a stop to the road organisations and the building of road unions. The general air of expectancy and (for the industrialists) alarm was violently put forth by the industrialists. But the convention reacted against it. They would have none of its policy and they were anxious to head off amalgamation. A streak of desperation ran throughout all the convention's proceedings. The delegates realized that the unions had no money to finance such a strike, and they were told that the men were hungry now and they might as well starve striking as working. Others called attention to the fact that some of the roads had signed contracts with the shop unions, but the contention that the road was interested was so far from the minds of the delegates, that the unions should consider it sacred, that the sentiment was laughed out of court. It was, indeed, the time of the radicals. In their determination to fight and to fight and again to fight they had swept all before them. The Jewell Administration amendment was overwhelmingly heathen and the original resolution providing for a national strike vote unanimously adopted. It was the one victory of the rebellious spirit of the convention, and it was a veritable triumph.

The Amalgamation Scare

From the opening day of the convention it was apparent that amalgamation of the many railroad unions would be one of the most important questions at issue. The delegates, most of whom realized the imperative necessity of doing something to greatly strengthen the unions, were full of the subject. They talked of it all day and when it came time to take the strike vote, it was scab upon those that were on strike. The sentiment was overwhelmingly for a united stand against the common enemy. So strong was this sentiment that not even the International Presidents dared oppose it. For the most part they confined themselves to straddling and to pointing out the difficulties of the plan and about the impossibility of a national strike as a call. Some urged that the unions had no money to finance such a strike, and they were told that the men were hungry now and they might as well starve striking as working. Others called attention to the fact that some of the roads had signed contracts with the shop unions, but the contention that the road was interested was so far from the minds of the delegates, that the unions should consider it sacred, that the sentiment was laughed out of court. It was, indeed, the time of the radicals. In their determination to fight and to fight and again to fight they had swept all before them. The Jewell Administration amendment was overwhelmingly heathen and the original resolution providing for a national strike vote unanimously adopted. It was the one victory of the rebellious spirit of the convention, and it was a veritable triumph.

The general air of expectancy and (for the industrialists) alarm about the amalgamation movement increased as the first days of the convention passed and the big fights developed over various projects tending towards industrialism. Especially the battle over the election of the Executive Committee directly directed the convention adrift. The road organizations and the building of road unions were cited as horrible examples of the folly of amalgamation. Even President Wharton, who used to be a moderate and was not afraid to call things by their true names, was quoted as saying, "The amalgamation movement, promising as it does some real progress in the unions, may be judged by his lengthy plea that the delegates should not allow themselves to be made "the tail of a donkey," and that amalgamation might be adopted. But little came of it. When the movement to close the debate on amalgamation, which did, it would be a waste of time and space to analyse his trivial remarks on the subject at issue. But the standpatters made no real arguments against amalgamation it must also be admitted that the latter's proponents made few in favor of it. They were too much on the defensive. It is not too much telling what it was not and too little telling what it was. Outside of a couple of speeches, there was very little meat in the many talks favoring amalgamation, of little substance. It has been a little overshadowed by the violent campaign made against it by Mr. Gompers and other officials. Also, two mistakes were made by the minority of the Law Committee. The first was in reducing the proposition to merely an amalgamation of the eight trades affiliated to the De-
Struggles and Difficulties in the German 
Labor Movement

By Fritz Heckert

Before the war, the German trade unions were counted as the most progressive labor organizations in the world. They stood under the immediate influence of the Social-Democratic Party. But even more rapidly than did the party, they passed from the policy of revolutionary class struggle to that of reformistic opportunism. With the outbreak of the war the leaders of the German trade union movement became unquestioning followers of the militarists. They threw themselves into the arms of nationalism and did all possible to increase national hatred and to further the war slaughter.

From the beginning of 1915 we find the trade union leaders carrying on a sharp struggle against the anti-war elements. "Whoever is not for the war policy of the unions is our enemy and must be relentlessly fought," so said Fritz Paeplow, president of the Building Trades Union. The head of the Sailors' Section of the German Transport Workers' Union, Paul Muller, wrote after the capture of Antwerp: "The black-white-red flag waves on the walls of this old seaport, let us hope forever," and the editor of the workers' journal declared: "The immediate influence of the Social-Democratic parties, the Social-Democratic parliamentarians and theoreticians, who abetted the struggle of the workers to revolutionize the economic system. The great strike of the Ruhr miners and iron workers in the Spring of 1919, fought to socialize the mines and the steel works, was betrayed by the trade union leaders and drowned in blood by the Social-Democrat, Noske. The central organ of the Social-Democratic Party, "Treuwerte," directly demanded the assassination of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, saying: "Four hundred dead in a row, and Rosa and Liebknecht not there, not there!"

The principal theoreticians, Kautsky and Hilferding, told the workers that socialization of production is not possible. They compared the broken down German industry with a quarry and "Quarries cannot be socialized." Then, to deceive the workers, a socialization commission was established. Up to this day it has done absolutely nothing. With the lie that socialization is at hand, the German Government managed to save itself from the assaults of the workers in June, 1919, and to escape an overthrow.

Although the trade union movement had shrunk to only 700,000 members at the end of the war, in 1919 it grew to over 9,000,000 members in the Socialist trade unions and almost 4,000,000 in the others. With only a total of 13,000,000 organized workers represent an irresistible power. But the trade union leadership has never understood how to use this power in the interests of the workers. Yes, apparently they have never even had the intention to do so. It is no wonder, therefore, that the employing class, which after the collapse of its imperialistic dreams was completely helpless and exhausted, has been able to take courage, to reorganize itself, and to begin to wire from the workers one after another of the latter's hard-won concessions. Indeed, an opposition in the movement sought to win the trade unions for another policy, to give them a new leadership. And it appeared as if this opposition would overthrow with success, the opportunists. Under the leadership of the Independent Socialist, Robert Dussman, the great Metal Workers' Union, numbering 1,800,000 members, was conquered. But soon the membership of this big organization learned that Robert Dussman was only a "ward-radical," who from the moment he arrived at the head of the Metal Workers' Union, pursued exactly the same opportunistic policy as his Social-Democratic predecessor.

In 1920, the opposition split: the Right-Independents, under the leadership of Dissman, went back into the camp of the class-cooperationists about Karl Legien: while the Left elements afflicated themselves with the small Communist opposition in the trade unions. It was clear that the right wing of the opposition, although publicly pledged to the postulates, "revolutionizing of the trade unions," and "dictatorship of the proletariat," really had no other goal than the winning of a few easy-chairs in the labor movement. When this end was reached it ceased its struggle and joined hands with its former enemies. On the other hand, the left wing of the opposition expended its energies to give the entire labor movement a new fighting spirit and to make it more capable for the struggle. Ever clearer became the differences between the two factions: Arbeitergemeinschaft and class cooperation on the one side, and relentless class struggle on the other. The more the right-wing trade unionists became prisoners of their class-cooperation policies, the bitterer became their struggle against their opponents. Where they could, they drove the latter out of the trade unions.

At the end of the war the buying power of the German mark equalled 45 pfennigs of pre-war time. In the course of a year its value had fallen to 1.6 pfennigs. Wholesale prices, according to official figures, were 43 times as high in 1922 as in 1915. To offset this wages had
The policy of the trade unions, serving only the interests of the capitalist class, has led to the formation of the revolutionary trade unionists are, therefore, devoting their entire efforts to unite the scattering fights, and that the Socialist trade unions enunciated ten demands for the workers to fight for, and which should save the working class and the national economy from collapse. The chief demand was the seizure of 25% of all wealth. That meant confiscation, for State purposes, of Capitalist property to the extent of 50 billion gold marks, and the socialization of the mines and other natural resources. With this help the ruined industrial system was to be set right again. The solidarity demonstrations of the workers of all shops, the revolutionary trade unionists who turn their backs on the latter's loan of a billion gold marks, could not have been refused. It suited me better to remain a slave than to become a free rebel. Next? The office of the American Railway Union, based upon the State. Consequently the workers have been deprived of their means of livelihood, and from that day to this I have been the relentless and uncompromising foe of capitalism and wage-slavery.

By Eugene V. Debs

There was never a time in my life when I was not with the weak and poor and against the rich and strong who oppressed them. At seventeen I was a wage-worker in a railroad shop. My pay was fifty cents for a four-hour day. I had my lesson in wage-slavery early in life and never forgot it. In later years many offers came to desert the ranks and climb to the "top" but they were all refused. It suited me better to remain a slave than to become a master. Upon that point I never had a doubt.

I joined the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen as a charter member of the Lodge instituted at Terre Haute. In 1893 I resigned the office I held in the Brotherhood to organize the American Railway Union. The craft no longer satisfied me. The great body of railway employees were not organized at all and the American Railway Union, based upon the industrial principle, embraced them all. The railway managers recognized the menace of the new industrial power of their united employees in the Pullman strike in 1894 and combined to destroy it. The federal government, subservient to the railroad, gave willing support. The strike had been won cleanly and the victory was complete. Not a wheel moved. The roads were paralyzed and the managers helpless. What followed? Injunctions, arrests, and federal troops with shotguns and orders to kill. Next? The brotherhood officials in alliance with the railway officials and orders issued to the craft unions to fill the places of the strikers in the office of the American Railway Union raided without warrant of law by government thugs, the clerks driven out, the records carted away, and the officials thrown into jail in accordance with the law and order program of the railway corporations. My blood boiled as I sat with my associates in the foul, rat-infested jail at Chicago. A six-months' sentence followed, jury trial having been denied. In jail there was time for sober reflection. Revolutionary literature came through the bars. My blood cooled and my head cleared. The class struggle came into bold relief and I saw clear as the noonday sun how and why the government came to do the bidding of the railroads abjectly as a trained monkey obeys his master.

In the darkness of a prison cell I saw the light, and when I walked forth I was a socialist and from that day to this I have been the relentless and uncompromising foe of capitalism and wage-slavery.

By Wm. Ross Knudsen

Fresh out of High School, with a bourgeois psychology and fame as a roller-skater, I was well dressed and with a beautiful crimson necktie as a headlight, I put on my best efforts to the "top" but they were all refused. It suited me.
When I was young I was taught ideals. I was taught them very earnestly, and I took them seriously. As I grew up I tried to apply them, and I discovered that the world did not mean for them to be applied. Neither the ideals of Christianity, which I learned, nor those of the poets whom I was taught to love, had any place in the practical world of affairs. Naturally I wanted to know why this was so, and I kept on inquiring and speculating about it. So inevitably I came to realize that our whole industrial and financial system is founded upon a set of ideas diametrically opposed to those of Christianity and of humanity.

Our political system was supposed to be better: that is to say, cooperation and the rights of humanity was supposed to prevail there. But our politics were corrupt, and I discovered that it was big business which did the corrupting. When I realized this, and spoke out about it, I found that the spokesmen of the present system invariably either ridiculed me, or became indignant with me. So gradually I became a rebel, and I am kept in the mood of rebellion by everything I learn about the present world; by every
THIRTY years ago when a dozen of us metal mechanics were delegated to organize the council in Chicago, the initial step was taken in the evolution of the idea that, in the near future, is going to reach its culmination in the amalgamation of all our unions into one metal trades organization. That was the first step. It was for the future to determine the practicability of our move and to carry the idea further if it failed to fulfill the need.

The idea of the most advanced of us at that time was a Metal Trades Council that would take full charge of our relations with the bosses and swing all unions behind the demands of each. It was for the future to determine the practicability of our move and to carry the idea further if it failed to fulfill the need.

We did not know to what extent our separate International union relations would interfere with such a plan. It had to be tried out first. In fact, we never thought that our crafts unions might be improved upon. It was not up to us, at that early date, to have such a far-off idea as such a plan. It had to be tried out first. In those days, that funds will be forthcoming in case of joint action at any given point with the bosses.

We have tried to carry out this idea of unity of action through our M. T. Councils, but our success has not been at all what it should have been. Not that the councils are at fault. The councils are all right, and must remain as the local central bodies through which our various local unions will function, for example, the carpenter's district councils. The trouble is that the power behind the councils is scattered and we have a dozen different constitutions, or whatnot, when we propose amalgamation to the helpers and now, with the exception of the foundry, we are down to one union in each department. The molders amalgamated with the core makers, but somehow left out the foundryworkers.

Thus far only we have gone in the way of actual amalgamation in 30 years. However, our 30 years of association in our Metal Trades Councils have prepared the way for the greater amalgamation. We have learned a few simple things about our relations with each other and about our joint relations with the boss, that is worth the years of effort.

Not Craftsmen, Just Employees

We have learned that as union men all of us have the same point of contact with the boss. Whether we be skilled workers, machinists, boilermakers, patternmakers, engineers, firemen, or whatnot, when we approach the boss with an agreement our craft distinctions disappear and we become, as naturally, the first step. It was for the future to determine the practicability of our move and to carry the idea further if it failed to fulfill the need.

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    a thing is utterly impossible. There can never be unity of action where there is not unity of control and direction.

Lost if Present System is Continued

We metal trades workers know very well that there is no use for us to hope for us to get anywhere as individual unions. We haven't got a ghost of a show going up against the big corporations. The fact is that we must make no improvements at all. The few members we have in their employ are working under cover, a sad comment on our twentieth century unionism. Pretty soon there will not be anything except big firms; then where will we get off at?

With the industry concentrating into big corporations, whose managers organize for the purpose of fighting unionism, it is little short of criminal for us to continue in the old way, each union for itself and the "open shop" swallowing us all. We working men are the slowest creatures in creation. We get into a rut and stay there till we wear the bottom out of it. The bosses don't wear out any sole leather beating down the rails. They have long since not only seen the value of greater unity but are rapidly putting it into practice for the better exploitation of us, the producers, and the consuming public.

However, we do move in time. The machinists have already taken action on the question of amalgamation, with the result that they are ready at any time to elect a delegate to an all-metal trades convention for the purpose of amalgamating our different unions into one. It is well that the machinists should be the first to make the call, they have the largest council. It is now up to the live men in the other unions, the men who without glory and without pay, after their daily grind in the factories, have carried the burden of the movements and a dozen sets of International officers. The result is, that it is almost impossible to get joint action at any given point with the assurance that funds will be forthcoming in case of joint action at any given point with the bosses.

The logical procedure in amalgamation is to form a working code so long as they have separate treasuries and separate rules; such
THE GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA has many times stated as his excuse for not taking action in the Mooney Case that "Labor is not interested" in the freedom of Mooney and Billings. The entire case against these two men has been shown, point by point, to have been a frame-up. Every piece of substantial evidence brought against them has been proven ranker perjury. No one doubts that they are completely innocent of the charges upon which they have been in prison for years. District Attorney Brady has requested Governor Stephens to pardon them. But the Governor answers, "Labor is not interested." Does any one doubt that he would have been released long ago? No case in modern times has been so shameless a miscarriage of justice, even the famous Dreyfus affair is not to be compared with it. There is not the shadow of a reason for the men's continued imprisonment.

The Mooney Case is only the most glaring of our many travesties upon labor justice cases before the courts. Hundreds of other labor men are still in prison on frame-ups suffering only in degree from this same injustice, and similarly, symbolizes the whole struggle against a corrupt and heartless capitalistic machinery. Unfortunately, there is a germ of truth in Governor Stephens' statement, that "Labor is not interested," in the freedom of Mooney and Billings. The Governor answers, "T"ruth is uninteresting to most of our entire system of "justice," which has two souls: one of conviction, and another of indifference, that "Labor is not interested." The case is in the hands of Organized Labor. The LEAGUE CONFERENCE ELSWHERE in this issue is printed the Call for the First National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League. The call was made by the League as a "fatal blow to the Labor Trade Union," and for that reason was passed and launched the national movement and its organization. This gathering will be the first time in our labor history that practically all of the aggressive, forward-looking, radical and progressive groups have come together for the purpose of planning, on a large scale for the educational work which is to consolidate and strengthen our trade unions, making of them the fighting instruments which we must have if we are to stop the present retreat of our organizations and make a forward instead of a backward move. In addition to the delegations from the League groups, who will make up the conference proper, there will be delegates from sympathetic and radical organizations in a consolidated capacity. It would be hard to overemphasize the importance of this gathering of the American Labor organizations. Out of this conference of the active unions of the movement will come a New Charter for Labor, holding up for the guidance of the radicals everyWHERE, a "true" charter, a charter that embodies all the principles of militant trade unionism, and the ideal and goal toward which our organizations must strive, and which give meaning and value to the trade union movement. Into the darkest corners of the labor movement, light will go, giving new hope and courage, and adding strength to the arms and brains of all who work in the cause of Labor's emancipation. Every militant union man will at once become active, and make sure that his locality has representatives at this, the most important labor gathering of the period.

THE TEXTILE STRIKE THE wonderfully heroic struggle of the textile workers is being waged against terrific odds. From week to week it has gone on, with no signs of a settlement. The textile workers, by their strike, symbolize the whole struggle against a corrupt and heartless capitalistic machinery. Unfortunately, there is a germ of truth in Governor Stephens' statement, that "Labor is not interested," in the freedom of Mooney and Billings. The Governor answers, "T"ruth is uninteresting to most of the militants everyWHERE, a "true" charter, a charter that embodies all the principles of militant trade unionism, and the ideal and goal toward which our organizations must strive, and which give meaning and value to the trade union movement. Into the darkest corners of the labor movement, light will go, giving new hope and courage, and adding strength to the arms and brains of all who work in the cause of Labor's emancipation. Every militant union man will at once become active, and make sure that his locality has representatives at this, the most important labor gathering of the period.

GOMPERS' CHALLENGE THE challenge issued by Mr. Gompers, during the recent conference of the League groups, was detailed in our May issue. No reply has come from him. Instead, Mr. Gompers has thrown out the gauntlet of a new battle and restorted to the use of the capitalist press to slanderously attack the League groups. How long does he think that progress can be dammed up by waving the red flag and scaring the membership?

CATHOLIC INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM THE National Catholic Welfare Council has issued a call to the Catholic Worker, endorsing the general proposition of organization of labor by industrial crafts, "purely as a matter of conscience." Many people will be surprised to see the Church undertaking to advise the workers on matters of organization.

Both main branches of the Christian Church, Protestant and Catholic, have for some time had a social conscience, and are demanding upon the capitalistic system, much more fundamental than that of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. Such conditions exist nowhere else in the world. Everywhere but in America the labor movement is ahead of the churches in social action.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Church, having a more advanced social action than the standpads Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, is now undertaking to teach the unions how to improve the structure of their organizations.

BUILDING BOSSES AMALGAMATE WHEN the Chicago Federation of Labor went on record for amalgamation, the reactionary leaders roared in protest. And no section of them howled louder than those in the building trades. They could see the end of all things sane and holy in this outlandish, Bolsheviklike proposal to unite the two forces of Labor. But the bosses look at each other more intelligently. While the uproar about the Chicago Federation resolution was on, the building trades contractors quietly announced the amalgamation of their two principal organizations into one united body. They know, even if Labor does not, that in solidarity lies power, and they will not allow us to overstate the power of a united and organized and violent and violent trade unions. And in the amalgamation Board of the new American Federation of Labor, the employers are keenly awake, and are rapidly consolidating the forces of Labor. The employers were not so sharply in need of unity in the past. They are determined to add to their enormous wealth, and are determined to add to their enormous wealth, at the expense of the workers. As a matter of justice, what difference does it make whether Labor is interested or not? What is this got to do with the case? What is this got to do with the case? There is not a deplorable lack of unity among the labor movement. Well, let him hear it his way. Unfortunately, there is a lack of unity among the labor movement. Well, let him hear it his way. There is not a deplorable lack of unity among the labor movement. Well, let him hear it his way. Unfortunately, there is a lack of unity among the labor movement. Well, let him hear it his way.
car after car of scab coal. The Coal Kings are
ment of steel, mines, and railroads, are owned by exactly
prices, with the assistance of the railroaders. In
miners' strike, they could not work more effectively
the need for one
city has not received a date for a meeting, write
the Coal Kings are
that their interests are class interests, not craft
interests.

"I, haven't said much, but you must
know that my heart is pumping fast with en-
thusiasm for the marvelous thing you are doing.
And I'm very happily amused with seeing that
you smoked Sam out. I hope you printed a big

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' CONVENTION
(Continued from page 19)
word amalgamation and they replied that they had
no plan to offer. The greatest argument against amalgamation is that in
advocates to adequately present and defend it.

The convention accomplished absolutely noth-
ing in a constructive way, save possibly the or-
dering of the strike vote, and that could have been
done about as well by the Executive Coun-
cil. Of course, the Administration was content to defeat the progres-
and this statement accompanied the
official statement accompanying the
proposed statutes, says:
"in working out the present constitution, the
Provisional Administrative Council has been
inspired constantly by the necessity of placing
the entire confederated union under the direction of the member-
ship;—Henceforth, the C. G. T. U. will live, not
merely through the activity of its superior or-
ganizations, but by setting in motion all
its cells, by the initiative of all its members.

In the new statutes many means are proposed to	
by the initiative of all its members!

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I

THE LABOR HERALD June, 1922

FRANCE

THE Provisional Administrative Council of the
Unify General Confederation of Labor—C. G. T. U.,
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1922

TUE INTERNATIONAL

THE FRANCE

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The whole con-
vention has this to say about the functions of the
regional organization:

"The regional unions fill an evident need; they arise irresistably out of the industrial eva-
sion they are trying to recognize the type of organization for which they have been able to control and get results
from, in this case the regional unions.

The regional unions are local trade councils. They are based upon the location rather than political or
gistorical character. They are like the local unions of the national industrial unions, in that they will lend themselves more easily to
raider and file control. Under the new plan they are given full autonomy and are held responsible for the con-
trol of the workers in their respective jurisdic-
tions. Quite evidently, if they grow and prosper, their prime weapon will be the local general strike
of all trades. Nationally they are linked together in the National Confederal Committee, the highest
committee in the C. G. T. U. In fact, they make up the whole committee, whereas the national indus-
trial unions, such as the American railroad men's, have all other labor unions denied, are divided among the
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This move followed upon the heels of a consolidation of the employers forces.

The merging of the Swedish Federation of Butchers, a new organization has been formed, called the Swedish Federation of Food Workers. Further amalgamations of important bodies continue to co-ordinate the national trade unions. Further amalgamations of important unions, including the Federation of Metal Workers, bronze workers, motor engineers, and tin smiths. This move followed upon the heels of a consolidation of the employers forces.

The aim is to transform the present loose national federation of trade unions, controlled by bureaucrats, into a compact class organization dominated by the rank and file. At the 1923 convention of the Norwegian Federation of Labor the following resolution was adopted:

"The congress recommends that the Federation of Labor be reorganized on the basis of local trade union councils. These local councils will in all essentials preserve the rights and duties of the present trade unions. The Federation will be divided into groups corresponding to the great industries." A committee of nine was appointed to investigate this proposal, and its report is now before the various organizations for consideration. The question will be definitely settled at the trade union convention in 1927. Two plans have been submitted by the committee for the proposed re-organization. One, endorsed by the majority, provides for the local trades councils as the basis of the labor movement. These bodies, each of which is to be made up of the local unions in its locality, will have a large degree of autonomy in handling trade disputes. The local trades councils are to be organized nationally in the Norwegian Federation of Labor. The latter will take over complete control of the whole labor movement. It shall be divided nationally into eleven sections, one for each of the basic industries. These sections shall be composed of amalgamation of the present trade unions and their industrial lines that extend down to the trade councils. In addition to these eleven industrial sections, the Federation will have four technical sub-divisions, as follows: statistical, social information, socialization, and shop committees. The Federation will be completely in the hands of the membership. The Federation shall always be conducted by the local unions and the Federal Council, the members of which shall be elected by the membership. It is intended to provide for the representation of the various industries, and to this end a committee of nine was appointed to investigate the plan. They number approximately 300,000 workers. Other unions are now balloting and will unquestionably decide to join. Thus is rapidly coming to fruition many years of work and propaganda by Australian rebels. The latter have been successful in their methods. For a long time past they have concentrated their efforts upon the old unions, seeking to merge them together and to infuse them with revolutionary ideals. Success is now being achieved. The new organization, built of the old ones, is distinctly revolutionary in character and promises soon to play a most important part in the industrial life of Australia.

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FINLAND

The Finnish trade union movement has voted to affiliate with the Red Trade Union International. This is an indication of the rapid growth of radical sentiment in the former organization. During the past year the Communists have succeeded in securing a majority of the Executive Board of the Confederation of Trade Unions, and of several important national unions, including the Sawmill Workers, and Laborers.

ARGENTINA

An amalgamation plan is now being carried out to fuse together the unions in the metal industry, including the Federation of Metal Workers, bronze workers, motor engineers, and tin smiths. This move followed upon the heels of a consolidation of the employers forces.

SWEDEN

Following the merging of the Swedish Federation of Bakers and Pastry Workers and the Swedish Federation of Butchers, a new organization has been formed, called the Swedish Federation of Food Industries. Further amalgamations of important groups of unions are looked for in the near future as part of the workers' program to effect the growing power of the employers by strengthening their own ranks.

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