Is quoted throughout the world as

**An Authority on the American Labor Movement**


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

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*July 1922*
The Railroaders’ Next Step: AMALGAMATION

By Wm. Z. Foster

This 64-page pamphlet, written by a practical railroad man of many years’ experience, fills a long-felt want of railroad unionists. Phase by phase and step by step it scientifically and irrefutably establishes the case for amalgamation. Place this pamphlet in the hands of the rank and file and it will not be long until the fusion of the sixteen railroad unions into one body is an accomplished fact.

Writing in “Advance,” Solon De Leon says:

Here is a model of trade union pamphleteering. In the seven chapters into which the 64 pages of this booklet are divided are combined deep research, cool analysis of fact, broad knowledge of the industry and of its history, unflinching determination to move men and conditions upward and onward. From the opening sentence, “The supreme need of the railroad men at the present time is a consolidation of our twenty-five years’ experience, fills a long-felt want of railroad unionists. Phase and step by step it will not be long until the fusion of the sixteen railroad unions into one body is an accomplished fact.

A feature of the pamphlet is a beautiful cover, designed by the well-known artist, Fred Ellis.

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Trades Unionism in Canada

By Jack McDonald

THE trade union movement in Canada has developed under the social and economic conditions created by its peculiar position. Canada is dominated by two great powers—England and the United States. Politically a part of the British Empire, Canada is becoming more and more dependent in finance and industry upon Wall Street. Downing Street and Wall Street being at times in conflict, Ottawa (capital of Canada) is bent and torn between them. Moreover, the farming interest is raising its voice, and having some peculiar interest at odds with both Downing Street and Wall Street, complicates still further the situation. Capitalist Canada is not a unit; it is a house divided against itself. And the labor movement is just beginning to make itself heard.

Canadian Labor also is greatly influenced by two great labor powers, the British Unions and the United States Unions. Partaking of the philosophy and traditions of the British, yet it is organically hooked up with the United States unions because of the close economic connection between the two countries. The great bulk of Organized Labor in Canada is part and parcel of the International Unions with headquarters in the United States—yet the Canadian, like the British rather than like the U. S. movement, stands for the Labor Party in politics and is affiliated to the Amsterdam International.

Thus the Canadian Labor movement stands somewhere between the British and United States movements. It finds it impossible to progress as far as the British, but neither can it remain as backward as the U. S. It stands somewhere in between, but, while the British influence of ideas and programs is strong, undoubtedly the U. S. influence of economic relationship is the most vital and important.

Independent and National Unions

According to available statistics there are approximately 300,000 trade unionists in Canada. The vast majority of these are members of the “Internationals,” of the great unions with headquarters in the United States, mainly of the American Federation of Labor. In addition to the Internationals, there are also a few independent unions, or federations, which are nationalist in character. Those in the railroad industry are described in another article. Some of the other most important ones are as follows:

The Canadian Federation of Labor is a federation of purely Canadian unions. Its title is more pretentious than its strength warrants, as very few unions are affiliated, and these are weak. The pioneers of this movement were the Pressmen who seceded from the International Typographical Union nearly 15 years ago, at the time of the struggle for the eight-hour day. A Toronto local of Electrical Workers, formerly of the International, now the Electrical Workers of Canada, is the strongest unit in the Federation. This local seceded from the International about two years ago. Toronto, Ontario, is the center of the Federation. Small units come and go, and its total strength is never more than a few thousands. A short time ago an official publication was launched, Canadian Federationist, which, according to late reports, is in bad financial straits. Generally speaking, the secession unions which make up this federation are imbued with a narrow nationalist spirit, and have a deep prejudice against being governed “from the other side.”

The National Catholic Unions are of recent origin, and are located solely in the French-Canadian Province of Quebec. Born and reared under the direct control of the Catholic Church, they are an attempt, (1) to prevent the organization of the Quebec workers in the same unions with fellow workers in the other provinces, and (2) an attempt to bring the question of religion into the economic organizations of the workers. They are confined solely to members of the Catholic faith. Their strength has been gradually increasing, and is now around 35,000. There is a strong sentiment among the employers in Quebec against the International Unions. Quite recently the Premier made a bitter attack upon them, he was infuriated at the strong stand taken by the Typographical Union. The question was
to horrorgrmization, with friction, and took their present name. In spite of k-

gam. delegates combination.

conference did register.

section 3 of the policy committee report is also interesting:

"in the opinion of the committee it will be necessary to establish an industrial form of organization . . . according to the conference held in March, 1919, at Calgary, Alberta. About 230 delegates from Trades Councils and local unions of the Internationals of the four Western Provinces—British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba—met and made some momentous decisions.

The Western delegation at the Annual Dominion Trades and Labor Congress had always comprised the radical or left-wing. Apparently becoming impatient at the slow progress of their ideas amongst the Eastern workers, and without foreseeing the disastrous effect that their decision was to have on the movement in general, this conference decided to sever all connections with the International organizations.

The One Big Union has changed greatly in its short life. Today its most intense propaganda is against industrial unionism. The Bulletin of May 11th carried a long editorial, since reprinted as a pamphlet, which is that "the advocacy of one union for one industry is a reactionary step." It may therefore be of interest to know what was the attitude of the Calgary Labour Committee towards the One Big Union Resolution No. 2, which was carried unanimously.

The Real Labor Movement of Canada

The vast majority of organized workers in Canada belong to the International. The group of new federations which we have designated the One Big Union in the labor movement of the country, is undoubtedly the railroad unions. The building trades, metal trades, and miners, follow in order of importance. The One Big Union, as we have defined it in previous discussions of industrial unionism, is to enforce any demand they consider essential to their maintenance and well-being.

Resolution No. 3, carried, read as follows:

"Resolved that this Convention recommends to its affiliated members the merger of the affiliated organizations with the International organizations, and that steps be taken to form an industrial federation for Canada, the East.

Section 5 of the policy committee report is also interesting:

"in the opinion of the committee it will be necessary to establish an industrial form of organization . . ."

In May of that year came the memorable Winnipeg general strike. While this was one of the most magnificent displays of working-class solidarity in North America, culminating in the imprisonment of the strike leaders, it also gave stimulus to the formation of the O. B. U. which came in June. The movement, under the slogan of industrial unionism and secession from the Internationals, virtually swept the Western Provinces. Officials figures placed the membership at around 40,000. However, it failed utterly in its effort to invade the East. When we recall that the Eastern advantages are the high industrial manufacturing provinces, containing the bulk of the population of Canada, it is clear that this fact doomed the O. B. U. Since then there has been progressive decay in that organization. Reports of membership are conflicting, but certain it is that it does not exceed 4,000 and in Winnipeg alone does it have any strength. There is not a trace of it left in Vancouver, while in Regina, Edmonton, Calgary and Saskatoon, all former strongholds, nothing but the name remains. Today, when the O. B. U. is denounced by the Unions International and the Red Trade Union International, we find most of its former spokesmen are now against the policy of dual unionism, and are for industrial unionism through amalgamation, and for the program of the Red International; among these may be mentioned, Kavanagh of Vancouver, Mogridge and Lakeham of Edmonton, Mills of Saskatoon, and a few other names. As a whole, all now realize that the first prerequisite for even defensive struggle is a unification and consolidation of the existing organizations.

To the very major of organized workers in Canada.
First National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League

THE First National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League will meet in Chicago, August 26th and 27th. Responding to the crying needs of the present situation in the labor movement, it will bring together all the organized groups of militant union men within the trade unions. At this gathering will be worked out the national policies for the radical improvement of the situation. The Conference of the A. F. of L. reports a loss of membership for the year of over 700,000 members. This is an average loss for the year. The exact figure at this time is certainly well over 1,000,000. Never before has the labor movement suffered such a loss in strength.

In the matter of wages and hours, the retreat of years is clearly visible. The drastic lowering of standards of the railroad workers, 1,200,000 of whom are now voting on a strike indicates the situation throughout the field of industry.

Political enslavement has increased along with the decreasing power of Labor. Injunctions of the type of those issued by Judge Anderson are becoming established as "normal." Laws aimed at Labor particularly are being passed in every state, and by the national Congress. Within a few days the Supreme Court knocked out the Child Labor Law, and decided that union treasuries could be attached for damages to employers because of strict strikes. The drastic lowering of wages and hours become the order of the day. The drastic lowering of standards of the railroad workers, 1,200,000 of whom are now voting on a strike indicates the situation throughout the field of industry.

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The First National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League will be one of the most important gatherings in the American labor movement for a long time. It will mark the birth of a new organization, crystallizing a new type of union. The most important item to come before the Conference will be the permanent organization of the Districts, of which there will probably be four—the Eastern, the Central, the Pacific and the Canadian. Where there is more than one delegate from any locality, they should be chosen to represent the area in Question. This will make the Conference thoroughly representative. If your local League is not yet fully organized, get busy at once to complete your work, and prepare to elect your delegates.
in some cases where it has a foothold, the priests act as business agents. The reason given for its separate existence is that the International Unions are too "radical," and hence have a tendency to alienate their followers from the Church. They claim to have 40,000 members, accepting all classes of workers. Their principal strength is in the province of Quebec. How strong they are on the railroads is problematical; they have some shopmen and clerks, but in no instance are they a considerable factor on the railway systems so far as wage movements or negotiations are concerned.

The Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees

This organization, like others in this field, is largely "national" in character. But while emphasizing its peculiar Canadian nature, it has had, paradoxically enough, to cross the line into Minnesota in order to organize the clerks on the Canadian Northern Railroad, which has a branch into Virginia and Dahuth. Thus is strikingly demonstrated the fallacy of "national" unions on the railroads, all of which cross the international border.

At its inception in 1899, this organization was not a dual union, in the strict sense of the word. At that time the clerks, freight-handlers, laborers, boiler and engine room employees, etc., were totally unorganized. The international unions with jurisdiction over these fields had not made any energetic headway in Canada. It was only a short time, however, until the Canadian Brotherhood threw open its membership books to all railroad employees of every craft. From time to time it has secured a toe-hold among the shop and other trades, only to lose it again after a brief period.

At present the Canadian Brotherhood has the majority of the organized clerks and freight-handlers in Canada. It negotiates with the Canadian National Railroad for that group of workers, and also to some extent for the boiler and engine room employees and shop laborers on that road. In the last few years, however, the Clerks' International has organized that group on the Canadian Pacific Railroad, and carries on their negotiations. For the last four years, both unions have been making great efforts to secure complete control, with the result that the hostility between them has become pronounced. This situation is deplorable, and keeps many workers out of both organizations, continuing disorganization.

The sign of progress here is, however, that there is a move under way to amalgamate these two unions into one organization.

American Federation of Railroad Workers, and the International Brotherhood of Station Employes

The American Federation of Railroad Workers made an attempt to get a foot hold with the organized railroad workers in Canada, and secured a few members on that portion of the New York Central, Wabash, and Pere Marquette Railroads that run through a section of Canada. Here their influence stopped, and has at all times been negligible, except for the prevention of unity.

The International Brotherhood of Station Employees is one of the three unions into which the clerks and freight handlers are divided on the Canadian section of the Grand Trunk Railroad, and during recent negotiations for that group of employees all three organizations laid claim to being the proper one to represent them. The result was that the officials of the railroad proposed that there be a joint committee from the three unions, which was done. It is certainly some situation when the boss has to advise the workers to get together, and it is not hard to imagine the state of chaos that exists among these workers on the Grand Trunk Railroad.

The One Big Union

All of the dual and secessionism unions mentioned above have been conservative or reactionaries, either on account of their nationalistic position or their general philosophy of the labor problem. The One Big Union differs from all the others in this respect. It has always been a "radical" union, with a philosophy of the class struggle, and internationalist leanings. However, the practical results of its organization activities have been to continue and extend the deplorable disunity and division.

The One Big Union, contrary to the opinion of many people, never made any large successes on the railroads. Very few railroad men, other than shopmen, ever joined it at any time. The shopmen did get some all in Western Canada (west of Port Arthur and Fort Williams), and their numbers were not more than 50% of the shopmen involved. This means that at the strongest, the O. B. U. had no more than 15% of the Western railroad workers at the height of its power. Never did they obtain enough power to function as an ordinary union in this field. The organization has now lost most of its members, and has degenerated into a baseball pool establishment. The pools conducted by the O. B. U. Bulletin have done much to keep that organization in existence. The Bulletin is being sold in immense numbers, for the pool tickets that are printed therein; but the influence of the organization as such is rapidly dying.

All this complication of unions has resulted from the original mistake of quitting the old organizations. The membership, instead of working to improve these organizations and to make them function effectively, has run off to all sorts of union tangents, with the confusion we see. The situation will never be corrected until the original mistake is made good by the active spirits going back to the trade unions again and taking the mass of seceders with them. Except this is done there is no immediate hope for solidarity among Canadian railroad workers.

Brothers to the Boss

By Jay Fox

A FRIEND writes me to ask: "Why a trade union educational league? Aint our national school system sufficient for all practical union needs without you brothers handing us out some new-fangled stuff to torture our tired brains about?"

The trouble with this brother is so much like the trouble of the rest of us that we had better talk the thing over in public. First, he is a victim of capitalist propaganda—the most pernicious pest the world has ever known. Second, he dislikes to use his brain—a plague second only to the other.

Now, let us go down to bedrock. The bedrock fact of our subject is that there are two classes in the world: those who work for wages are in one class, those who own the jobs constitute the other. The line of demarcation is so distinct that it would seem almost unnecessary to point it out. Where the capitalist propaganda combines so effectively with our mental laziness to keep us from learning a basic truth, a knowledge of which is absolutely essential.

See how vehemently the newspapers and educators, the preachers, politicians and capitalists deny the existence of classes and denounce as enemies of society all who point out the self evident fact. "Sure," they say, "there are capitalists and working people, but they are not enemies. They are the mutually dependent producers—two branches of one great industrial family—brothers, in fact, with common interests and aspirations." And the great mass of us believe that bunk in the face of all the evidence to the contrary; and we will continue to believe it so long as we refuse to torture our tired brains doing a little thinking of our own. ("Tired brains," I would say, for it is quite evident they don't get tired from use."

If any worker doubts my statement let him look at the lineup in the coal strike. On one side are the coal barons, the fellows who "own" the mines (the jobs), the court trying strikers on the charge of treason, the newspapers and capitalists in general. On the other side, the miners, supported only by their worker friends. Now I didn't make that lineup. It is there by
reason of the economic law which "the pillars of society" say does not exist.

Now it will be asked: since classes do really exist why are the capitalists and their retainers so persistent in their denial? The answer to that question is also self evident. The capitalists know that as soon as it becomes generally known amongst the workers that classes exist there will be a lineup in this country that will stir things ests? The capitalists use their brains, while we know that as soon as it becomes generally known us don't want to "torture our tired brains" by exist why are the capitalists and their retainers meet and pay the landlord for the privilege of living in the houses it built.

How else could it be done, since the mass of us don't want to "torture our tired brains" by taking any thought of our own material interests? The capitalists use their brains, while we use our hands and work even under their direction. We might as well not have any brains at all. A man with a horse makes the animal do all the work he is capable of doing and does himself a solid front when opposing those things the horse cannot do. The capitalists have a better grait. They train us workers to do all their work and give us grub only while we work. The horse has the best job, his grub is continuous.

If there is still more proof wanting that this is a capitalist-owned society, let us pursue the subject a bit further. The jobs upon which our living depends are "owned" by the capitalists, who have the legal right at any time to cut off our food supply and leave us to starve to death; and we have no recourse in law. We may die of hunger and the men who cut off our food supply are not held for murder. The jobs are their private property and the government stands behind them with its courts and jails and hangmen, its cosacks, machine guns and poison gas.

We are compelled by the necessity of food, clothing and shelter to go to these capitalists and meekly ask them for permission to work at the industries that we have created, paying for the privilege all we produce over and above the scant wages which the capitalists have agreed to pay us. That is the condition of labor in "free America" and it is the purpose of our present movement to change it. We are determined that labor shall be free in free America. And it is our opinion that the burden of liberating labor lies in its own hands and no where else. We are convinced that the first article of freedom is the right to work without the permission of any man. This means that in order to be free, labor must control the industries. Such a emancipation can only be attained by the organization of the workers of each industry into industrial unions, such unions to be formed by the amalgamation of the present trade unions.

The Trade Union Educational League of Chicago is cooperating with the four Russian Famine Relief organizations which are putting on a joint tag-day throughout the city on Wednesday in favor of the Russian children. The organizations are, The Trade Union Committee, the Friends of Soviet Russia, American Committee for Russian Famine Relief, and American Relief for Russian Women and Children. 5,000 women will be on the streets collecting funds. Volunteers should send in their names.

Railroad Workers! To Action!

The railroad workers are faced with the supreme decision—struggle or slavery. We must fight, or we will be fastened with chains and use our hands and work even under their direction. They will not allow that they could, by any possibility, be beaten just as we begin our struggle. Let us join our issue, and win or lose together; our fighting power will be thus increased a hundredfold!

If we measure up to the fight, we can make it the turning point in the present disastrous period. We can, joining hands with the miners, begin finally the struggle which will carry us forward instead of backward as we have been going for two years. We can turn our present retreat into an advance. We can become the advance-guard of the entire army of Labor, which, inspired by our example, will make a general assault upon the forces of capitalist reaction.

All together—against the railroad companies, against the Railroad Labor Board, against the capitalist class and their lickspittle Administration.
They Move an Inch
A Story of Four Railroad Conventions

By Wm. Z. Foster

I
It is a basic law of life that all organizations, social as well as animal, when confronted with a new environment must either change to meet the new conditions or perish. That is exactly what the railroad unions are now up against. Their environment has changed mightily in the last few years. The employers have become enormously stronger financially and better organized; they have taken on a high degree of class consciousness and are out to destroy all unions. Unless the unions can meet these new conditions by revamping their methods, structure, and social conceptions they must die. For them it is either evolution or extinction.

The situation on the railroads, from a union point of view, is about desperate. The companies have wiped out the national agreements. The enormous upheaval in the industry has gutted the eight hour day, and the middle class of railroad workers set up on various roads. All the organizations have taken some action, but so far the Brotherhoods, it is true, have moved forward an inch nevertheless, and in our stagnant labor movement that is not to be sneezed at.

Facts About the Organizations

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, and to a lesser extent the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, failed badly to move up to the needs of the situation. The Firemen and Trainmen, they did move forward an inch nevertheless, and in our stagnant labor movement that is not to be sneezed at.

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there appears an editorial, doubtless with Stone's O. K., in which Gompers is laced as seldom before because of his brutal Russian policy. In his scorching article the writer declares that Mr. Gompers, "Like the blood-headed generals of France, wants peace, but first he wants his bucket fore because of his brutal Russian policy. In his of Bolshevik blood." He states further that the generals, the horde of ex-Russian landlords, propaganda bureau in New York sponsored by "Opposing them are the bloodthirsty Czarist eminent Wall Street bankers and labor haters. itl
lows." Stone made no issue of Russia in his convention addresses. The Clerks were the only one of the organizations to take a favorable stand in the matter, and they demanded the recognition of Russia and the establishment of trade relation with her.

Co-operative Banking

At the various conventions Stone made propaganda for another one of his measures, namely, labor banks; but so far as the writer has learned this fall, the only one to respond to it was the Brotherhood Railway Conductors, subscribed their entire membership in a sort of pressing and even frantic calls through their respective journals urging the membership to subscribe for it. But the Locomotive Engineers, which is to say Stone, were the first to really take the matter seriously. At their last convention he posted them a minute and a-half to their entire organization for Labor. Stone then took up the propaganda for it in the organizations, advocating it in his recent convention speeches. It now looks as though the Clerks will take the paper en masse. Within a year or two it will probably be one of the widest-read labor journals in the country, and one of the get-together tendencies now agitating the railroad workers. Unless it falls short of its true mission it will some day supplant the conglomeration of 16 railroad union journals that are now in the field. Although now cold and official, it should finally become the one great paper of the one all-inclusive industrial union of railroad workers.

Reorganizing the Conventions

Particularly demoralizing to the railroad unions is their system of holding conventions, the chief feature of which is the custom of having them in different cities each time. This reduces the gatherings to mere junketings and picnic parties. The habit is for the delegates to spend more time in sightseeing than in considering organization business. Another bad feature is the system of allowing one delegate from each local union, with all expenses paid by the general organization. One effect of this is, in the larger unions, to make the conventions practically into mobs of 100 to 1500 delegates apiece. Real business is out of the question. And the expense is fabulously high. At their last convention the Firemen spent over $600,000, and the Carpenters, Conductors, Clerks, and others expended about the same. The result is that conventions become fewer and fewer as the delegations grow larger and the junketing spirit develops. And even when held they are practically worthless.

For some reason Stone has singled out this abuse, and during the recent conventions he broke a few lances against it. At the Firemen's gathering he panned them (also the Conductors) for their antiquated convention system. He stated that the Engineers had reduced their delegation one-half, likewise their expenses. Besides, they now hold all their conventions in the home city, Cleveland. He declares that it took a long fight to put the thing through in the face of the opposition of the cheap delegates, ever present at conventions, who battled to get as much out of the organization as possible for their price. He said, "We tried to get it through three conventions. We finally got it referred to a referendum vote of the membership, and by an 80% vote it was defeated in favor of a reduction of delegates. This meant the end of having conventions for the purpose of having good times and junketing trips. The Firemen, with their convention going on at least a minute and a-half due to last a month, saw the point and appointed a committee to work out a plan along the lines suggested.

In addition to holding all the Brotherhood conventions in one town, Stone aims to center their headquarters in one place also. At present three of them, the Engineers, Firemen, and Trainmen, are located in Cleveland. Stone has invited the Conductors to move in from Cedar Rapids, Iowa, so that all might get together without much difficulty. But in this he was defeated, the old fogey Order of Railway Conductors refusing, for sentimental reasons, to leave their ancient home. They promised however to take up this weighty matter again in their 1925 convention.

The Old Guard Re-elected

Few changes were made in the various administrations. Fitzgerald of the Clerks was re-elected unanimously. Shepard of the Conductors also got by without difficulty. Carter of the Firemen refused to run again, a fact which will help amalgamation of the two engine service organizations. Gompers' followers have become a historic fact of his Brotherhood at the full salary he got as President. His successor is D. B. Robertson. Bill Lee had opposition in the Trainmen, Val Fitzpatrick running against him. But Lee came out handily. The fine spirits on his branch of the service who should have been there to fight him are now out of the organization; they quit during the ill-starred "outlaw" strike of two years ago. Lee was able to take much credit from this affair, proving as the saviour of the Brotherhood. He is the man to have the "outlaw" railroaders of the country will be affiliated with him for another three years unless the unexpected happens.

Noteworthy was the absence of the Pumbl Plan from the conventions. Though some railroaders continue to do reverence to this guild system, it is losing its practical utility. Sam Gompers had a large share in its killing. Carter said of it in the Firemen's convention, "The propaganda that has been spread against it by the railroaders of the country and the big financial interests has rendered it impossible to establish its principles under the name "Pumbl Plan.""

Such, in the main, was the work of the conventions. A little was accomplished, but in view of the prevailing crisis it was pitifully inadequate. In one summary we have mentioned the work of Stone often, and his influence was undoubtedly ly great. None of the other big leaders had a thing to offer. It was the old story of the one-eyed man being king in the land of the blind. But some also felt the influence of our League in the conventions. By discussing the Clerks' convention the Illinois Tribune said, "With a vote that left no misunderstanding this convention went on record in favor of the amalgamation plan which the Trade Union Educational League has been advocating, and by the same kind of a vote recognition of Soviet Russia and the establishment of trade relations by this Government were demanded." Such mild advances as were made will not suffice. Nor will the oncoming strike settle matters, though that must of course be fought through to victory. The only thing that can fully meet the needs of the railroad workers is the realization of the program of the Trade Union Educational League. First, the entire army of railroad workers must be fused together into one body, and then this organization must be inspired with a revolutionary purpose. Only when this is done will the railroad workers really be fitted to make progress towards their eventual goal of emancipation.
THE LABOR HERALD
July, 1972

The Revolution in the Office
By Earl R. Browder

HUMAN life is a changing thing. Among the many changes of the past hundred years or so, none has been more complete than that of offices and office work. Machinery, the great transformer, has been busy in the office, to a degree almost without parallel, so that it has been at work in the shops. Social and political life has been made over into something quite new, so far as outward forms are concerned, and the life of the office workers has kept pace.

How great the change has been is hard to realize. But we can get some small idea of it, if we go to our bookshelf (or to that of a friend, as the writer had to do), and dig up one of the old favorite books, to read again the description of an office in the year 1780. I have picked up a book by Charles Dickens, and read of the Office of Tellson's Bank, by Temple Bar, London.

The Office of Yesterday and Today

"It was very small, very dark, very ugly, very incommodeous... the partners in the House were proud of its smallness, proud of its darkness, proud of its incommodeousness. They were even boastful of its eminence in those particulars, and were fired by an inverse conviction; if it were less objectionable, it would be less respectable..."

"Thus it had come to pass, that Tellson's was the triumphant perfection of inconvenience. After hungering upon a dinner in a ridiculous obscurity with a weak rattle in its throat, you fell into Tellson's down two steps, and came to your senses in a miserable little shop, with two little counters, where the oldest of men made your check shake as if the wind rustled it, while they examined the signature by the dimmest of windows, which were never uncovered, after a rain, till the cold mud from Fleet street, and which were made the dingier by their own iron bars proper and the heavy shadow of Temple Bar. If your business necessitated your seeing "the House," you were put into a species of Condemned Hold at the back, where you meditated on a mispent life, until the House came with its hands in its pockets, and you could hardly blink at it in the dismal twilight.

An obvious caricature, you say. Granted. We do not need to insist upon the superlatives of Dickens. A caricature is an exaggeration, but no one, so far as I know, has accused Dickens of creating something which did not exist at all. Recalling that the guilt still flourished in those not so far-off days, and that the steel pen was not yet in use, and the brightest picture possible of the typical office of our great-grandfathers will seem quite primitive--which caused the writer to dig up this description of Tellson's Bank office came when, recently, he had occasion to drop into the counting room of a large modern bank. There, in a large, well lighted room, were 30 or 40 machines, with electric motors, going at top speed, filling the room with bursts, click, and hum, and the atmosphere of a small factory. Attending each machine was a young man, model of sartorial art, engaged with intense concentration in summing up the day's business of many millions of dollars. Here was a battery of adding machines, totalling the transactions of the various departments; there was an array of bookkeeping machines, swiftly and mechanically segregating the items and posting them to individual ledger accounts.

Passing into a private office, one waited while the cashier complete a letter which he was writing on a Dectaphone. No crude stenographer present, to interfere with the privacy of the interview. Yes, there was a stenographer elsewhere in the office, if wanted, as one could tell from the sight of a Stenotype Machine at another desk. Just outside the office door, was a spruce young lad, feeding letters into a machine, which turned them out sealed and stamped in a jiffy. The paper which I was carrying needed the signature of a man in another part of the building; but no boy was called to send it. It was dropped into a proud and with a whirr and click was back in a moment with the necessary endorsement. The people in the office moved with a jerky precision, and went through standardized motions as if they were used to doing the same thing over and over again, thousands of times a day. The whole effect of the place was that of a cross between a modern machine shop and a sterilized, disinfected hospital or toilet room.

Quite an extreme contrast with Tellson's Bank! Perhaps all offices today are not like it, just as all offices in 1780 were not like Tellson's. But both are typical of their times, and the contrast tells the story of a revolution of methods in industry as a whole.

Office Workers

What of the human stuff which lives its life in these contrasted environments? Has it changed as these outward forms have done?

The office worker of 1780, according to Dickens' sample at Tellson's, was a miserable being. "Crammed in all kinds of din cupboards and hutches at Tellson's, of the oldest of men carried on the business gravely. When they took a young man to Tellson's London house they bid him somewhere till he was old. They kept him in a dark place, like a cheese until he had the full flavor of the old London atmosphere upon him. Then only was he permitted to be seen, spectacu-

larily poring over large books, and casting his breeches and gaiters into the general weight of the establishment."

The ripe-cheese aspect of the Tellson bookkeeper is, of course, sufficiently in contrast with the present snappy, flashy, peppy office clerk. C. Dickens, however, did write heavy upon this scroll. But Dickens gave us no light upon the soul beneath the heavy exterior of Tellson's creatures. We have to turn to another bookkeeper in Dickensland, to see, touch, and taste of the eternal spirit of the office-worker, the unchanging and undying soul of the bookkeeper. The name of this immortal office clerk, this epitome of the bookkeeper through the ages, is Uriah Heep.

"Me, Master Copperfield?" said Uriah. "Oh, no, I'm a very unimportant person."

"It has often been said, about his hands, I observed; for he frequently ground the palms against each other, as if to squeeze them dry and warm, besides often wiping them, in a stealthy way, and in a sort ofmn moment."

"I am well aware that I am the least important person going," said Uriah Heep modestly; "let the other be where he may. My mother is likewise a very unimportant person in this firm, an unimportant person, Master Copperfield, but have much to be thankful for. My father's former calling was humble. He was a screen-washer on solid ground! Here is something stable, unchanging like the rock of ages. Uriah Heep is not dead; he is immortal. He can be seen in any city, in almost any office, still humble, still thankful. Sometimes, indeed, he takes the form of the other sex, and is called Pollyanna. He is ever present and everlasting. He is the office worker.

Far be it from the writer to slander those unfortunate who are condemned to spend their lives in an office. Himself spent many, the best, years of his life there. He knew many another in the same unholy calling who, like himself, were strangers there, seeking always for a way out to anything. He speaks not for the office workers, the office workers. It is for the one office worker, the one insignificant office worker, the one who, from choice and fitness, finds a career in this unbluest of fields. Such a person is Uriah Heep, immortal.

Even Uriah Heep Changes Today

Imortal, we said. But such a term is not strictly true. The revolution in the office has been working its effects. In spite of Uriah Heep, and in spite of Uriah's boss (who is another story, deserving separate treatment), the machine is marching forward feet by feet, but surely its transforming power enters, and the radiance of its energy plays upon the soul of Uriah Heep, the office clerk. Under this influence, Uriah is gradually becoming Uriah Heep. He is becoming a real human being, a proletarian. This is how it is being done:

The change in the office which has wrought the greatest transformation in the worker, has been higher organization and greater numbers. The old bookkeeper was almost a self-sufficient working unit. This is no longer so. The modern worker is a cog in the office machine. The office cannot run until each man is at his place, for one depends from moment to moment upon the other. The division of labor in a modern office rivals that in a factory. Every hour of work impresses upon the young man today, that he amounts to little at all except as part of the great machine which produces the growth in numbers. The general office man, handling the entire accounting process and general correspondence, is of little account. His numbers are small, and his influence is small. No one pays any attention to him. The field is dominated by highly organized, minutely divided, offices of trusted industry, gathering from tens to hundreds under the same roof in the same integral organization.

With this new condition, office workers play a more and more important economic role. The office has become a nerve center, coordinating the every action of the industrial machinery from moment to moment. Always a strategic point, it now becomes as vital to business as the solar plexus is to the body. The entire reflex action, the normal physiological processes of the body of industry, are stimulated and regulated by the office. More than any other phase of the industrial process, the office is vital. Cut off the office and the industry withers and dies. A general strike of office workers would create more consternation in business than a strike of the miners for three months.

Under these modern conditions of the machine-made office, the office worker has become a proletarian, so far as his occupation is concerned. But his soul, the soul of Uriah Heep, has stubbornly resisted the forces of change, and only in this generation can we see the beginnings
The Dawn Of Social Revolution

If asked to name the most revolutionary union in the world today, the writer would point to the fact that office workers are beginning to organize into unions—into labor unions affiliated to the Red Trades Union International. The total vote cast in the office clerks of the time of Dickens, and the same person today, there is all the difference between the amoeba and the pithecanthropus, or ape-man. And such a marvelous evolution, in such a short time, gives us the definite assurance that this spiritual “hairy ape” of the modern office worker is assuredly going to continue his progress. He is going to go onward and upward, proceeding firmly up the ladder of evolution, until he blossoms forth as a real human being, a proletarian, a union man with a solid organization of his own.

All hail this budding marvel of progress! Nature is grand indeed! On that fair day when we welcome the class-conscious, revolutionary International Union of Office Workers, affiliated to the Red-Trade Union International, voting for a general strike of all capitalist industry and the setting up of the union shop, it is hard to realize, being a short time, gives us the definite assurance that this spiritual “hairy ape” of the modern office worker is assuredly going to continue his progress. He is going to go onward and upward, proceeding firmly up the ladder of evolution, until he blossoms forth as a real human being, a proletarian, a union man with a solid organization of his own.

THE MACHINIST GRAND LODGE ELECTION

The final vote in the late Machinist Union election was

WM. JOHNSTON... 41,837
WM. ROSS KNUDSEN... 14,998

This was the first attempt in any A. F. of L. union to test the real revolutionary spirit. Knudsen, with some of his followers, recently voted the total of those standing on the class struggle, unconditional surrender of Capitalism and Affiliation with the Red Trades Union International.

Knuudsen, of course, received only the votes of the leaders of the movement. The present condition of the labor movement here, and it can only be dealt with on the basis of the whole human family toward a larger, freer life is oftentimes obscured. In Russia the goal of a great struggle has been reached; the working class has accomplished that the faint-hearted say is impossible—they have thrown off the chains of class oppression within Russia, and their destiny is in their own hands.

We found, tempering the exultation of victory, the agony of the Russian workers, enduring with fortitude all the sufferings that the hate of the capitalist world could inflict. Many of the delegates were from other countries where the conditions were ripening for revolution. No one knew what the day might bring. Seemingly miracles occurred, like the veiled women of the East, who came bearing International greetings. There were crowds, cheers, and banners, and wreaths laid on graves. And over all there loomed a new terror—the black shadow of famine.

An emotional setting was created by all these things, which I realize the reader cannot feel. It was the impossible experience for those who lived it, but here in America it is hard to realize, because there is nothing like it in our life. What can be understood is, that we must look beneath the environment and revolutionary phraseology to get at the real work of the Congress.

Unemployment

Some of the subject matter and considerable of the discussion has no application to the present status of the labor movement here, and it would sound startling and confusing to many, because it concerns only people who are engaged in the actual, revolutionary transition from one state of society to another. But the main work of the Congress embodies a sound, adequate, coherent, practical program which the trade union movement of America must understand and adopt, if it is going to find itself and continue to serve the working people of this country.

Unemployment is the weakest spot in the capitalist system. It is a great, growing canker that the old methods of trades unionism are powerless to counteract. The end of the war brought unemployment wherever there had been a great destruction of capital goods, but in the United States it prevails for quite a different reason, labor being so productive that, at the scale of living now, the working classes, the product of full time labor can not be consumed.

The greatest prosperity that our workers ever enjoyed was during our greatest waste. Unemployment is a disease inherent in the capitalist system, and it can only be dealt with by a labor movement that is not afraid to attack the system itself.

There can be no sane consideration of the unemployment evil until we lay bare its root and discover it to be the fact that all production is carried on solely for the purpose of making profit, and with no responsibility on the part of the profit takers for the lives of those that create the wealth. Heckert, of Germany touched this point when he said, “From the moment when the capitalist ceases to extract profits and begins to incur losses, he loses all interest in production. We are witnessing it in France, where a big French statement carried on at the working class, was asked why he had put out his blast furnaces and thrown thousands of workmen into the streets. He answered: “I produce only while production is profitable, otherwise I am unable to produce any more.”

In its manifesto on world conditions the Congress drew the following picture of the economic situation in America:

“A very similar picture we find in the U. S. A. Five million unemployed. War profits have ceased. Factory after factory is being shut down. The workers in large masses now find themselves thrown out in the street. They may go now; they were not wanted any longer. The chances are packed. Democracy is celebrating its victory, and is beginning to introduce the “open shop,” simply employing unorganized labor. What are they doing who were supposed to give warning of this misery inflicted on the working class? The leaders of the trade unions do nothing: They consider it inevitable like the ocean tide, and, like obedient serfs they kiss the boots of the rich and powerful.”

Workers’ Control

What, then is to be done? This is considered in the tactics outlined under the heading of
"Workers' Control." But the first thing of all things to be done—the essential pre-requisite to the success of any tactic—is to begin to act like men, and not like boys, in word and degree, at least, of courage and intelligence. And here I wish to quote again the apt words of the Congress:

"If the capitalistic class dares to be aggressive at the present time and throw millions of workers on the streets, it is because the working class feels itself inferior, and imagines that the gigantic capitalistic machinery is simply unquenchable. It only looks up to the capitalist class. Many of you consider the established division of labor quite natural—the rule of one class and the subjection of another. Arise from your knees, and the capitalist class will not appear so strong to you as before."

The subject of Workers' Control was reported to the Congress by Tajarovich of Russia, but the idea ran thru every subject on the agenda, and may be said to be the keynote of the Congress. Especially is it related to the subject of unemployment. Heckert, in his discussion of factories and workshops said, "Comrade Zipes and myself have put great stress on the importance of the present unemployment of the working class and the subjection of another. Arise from your knees, and the capitalist class will not appear so strong to you as before."

The following are a few extracts from the report of Zipesovich, adopted by the Congress:

“There is no necessity for me to dwell upon the details of the crisis which all capitalist countries are now living thru. The crisis is the most characteristic expression of the fact that the capitalist class is unable to master the chaos in production, which itself established as an organizer of production. . . . There developed a crying conflict between the misery and despair of the working class and the luxury of the capitalist class. This gave birth to a new thought which suggested to the consciousness of masses that the capitalist regime is a regime of destruction and wholesale ruin, and that it is necessary to create some new forms of mutual relations between labor and capital—forms which would do away once and for all with the existing system of oppression—and the idea of workers' control has rapidly developed.

Now, it may be that you think that these words have been said over in the remote future, and that it is merely a repetition of the usual demand for social revolution couched in the formulas of political socialism. Not at all. I am saying that in proposing a practical plan of action for the trade unions now, a plan to cope with unemployment, lockouts, jurisdictional disputes, and the breakdown of your organization due to the struggle for jobs.

It is not expected that in the present time in America we should aim at anything more than cibically seize any factories. The first revolutionary step must be taken is strike for the right to work.

What is the situation in which we are placed in America at the present time? The richest natural resources in the world, the most highly developed machinery for production, and millions upon millions of people because they are shut off from the opportunity to work. We have also the most powerful and arrogant capitalist class in the world, and a labor movement weak and inefficient because it does not know how to meet the situation. The leaders of the Red Trade Union International are telling you how to meet it. I commend you the words of Tom Mann:

"Every industry should carry its full complement of workers, and carry them constantly. If, as is sure to be the case, there are fluctuations in the amount of work to be done, such fluctuations must not be met by discharging a percentage of the workers, thereby depriving them of the means of sustenance and precipitating them into social distress. Such fluctuations must be met by the adjustment of working hours over as much of the industry as may be desirable; if need be, of course, over the whole industrial field.

Unemployment insurance, he says, is "miserablely inadequate, the full wage is what must be demanded, and it will be obtained, or abolish the wages system." This is a much needed step, and which, in my opinion, ought to be written into the strike demands of every important industry.

"Accept responsibility for all unemployment in the industry, and work to be done, such fluctuations must not be met by discharging a percentage of the workers, thereby depriving them of the means of sustenance and precipitating them into social distress. Such fluctuations must be met by the adjustment of working hours over as much of the industry as may be desirable; if need be, of course, over the whole industrial field.

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The four points covered here are closely related, and form an immediate trades union program so essential that I beg to remind you of them once more by summarizing them in four short sentences:

1. The trade union movement is becoming impotent under the curse of unemployment.
2. A progressive assumption of Workers' Control is the only remedy.
3. Successful assertion of Workers' Control requires industrial unions.
4. Those who believe in this program must stay within the existing unions to accomplish it.

We Demanded Bread But Got a Stone

The program of the Trade Union Educational League has been getting a startlingly neglected in the unions, in the last few months. Gompers and his Crown Prince Woll, cannot be blamed for being worried somewhat. Their campaign of calumny which was reported in the last two issues of THE LABOR HERALD continues unabated. But even their stupidity is not so complete that they cannot see its failure. Gradually they are being forced to answer the demands for more solidarity. The rank and file are demanding the bread of amalgamation: Gompers, Woll & Co. offer them the stone of federation.

"Efforts of the A. F. of L. for the future will be to strengthen labor alliances and form a closer co-operative organization of trade groups," says Woll in a copyrighted article for the Cosmopulitan News Service. He adds: "The sentiment of this convention of the A. F. of L. is most emphatic in opposition to amalgamation and the doctrines preached by Foster and other groups."

Such lip-service to labor solidarity while denying its substance, which can be achieved only at the expense of craft autonomy, will not solve the problems of the labor movement. Gompers and Co. are in the position of answering, not the questions of THE LABOR HERALD but the questions which history presents and which are repeated in threatening tones by masses of the workers. Sophistry will not help them.

How can the unions get more power? That is the question before the movement. Our troubles arise from our weakness. We must have strength. Gompers, says we will get it by being good little boys, and not offending the Chicago Tribune; THE LABOR HERALD and the Trade Union Educational League say that we will get it by uniting all our scattered forces into one union for each industry, and bringing all these industrial unions together like regiments in an army. The forces opposing amalgamation must get into a realization of the absolute necessity of this amalgamation. Nothing can take the place of pow-
er, not even the sophistical arguments of Gompers or Woll.

The fire which has been built under the reaction

officials is causing further frantic gymnastics

in their propaganda. A few weeks ago THE LABOR HERALD was said to be in league with League officials and that the Soviets was so

solemnly insinuated that the employers were financing its operations. And now, to keep up the entertainment, the Communist spokesman.

"It is a recognized fact that Foster is a member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union of America and apparently is being financed by the League in its campaign of "boring from within" for no other reason than the self-aggrandizement of Sidney Hillman."

Aside from the fact that Foster is NOT a member of that organization, that the League is NOT being financed by that or any other body, but by the individual rank and files, and that the modest Sidney Hillman, although president of one of the most progressive organizations on the continent, is NOT receiving aggrandizement from its work—aside from these falsehoods, the statement may be correct.

It is the natural instinct of the reactionary to thus blindly attack all signs of progress. Woll lumps the League, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, the government, the Federated Press, and every other achievement of the militant workers, into one general menace to himself and his kind, the hucksters of capitalism. And in this he is no doubt correct—but he makes a fundamental mistake when he identifies the interests of reactionary officialdom with that of the rank and file of labor. The rank and files know better, anyway. This is illustrated by a letter written by Local Union No. 59, of the Molders, to the Editor of their International Journal:

A Word From the Rank and File

"Local 59, I have read the article by Matthew Woll, in the Journal, entitled "Foster Scheme for Ruinship," etc., desires to enter a protest against this unwarranted and scurrilous attack on the organization movement by resorting to lies and vilification against its chief spokesman."

"We have endorsed the movement for amalgamation in this country, because we have learned by bitter experience that the old craft method of warfare against the modern industrial capitalist is antiquated.

The entire article, Matthew Woll makes no attempt to answer the arguments of amalgamation advocates; but instead resorts to personalities, which have nothing to do with the subject. We might accuse Woll, in like manner, of being governed by ulterior motives in this matter. We might accuse him of belonging to that detestable set known as "Swivel Chair Artists" who are so numerous in the American labor movement today, and who tremble with rage because they know their picks and pokers will be no more when the workers amalgamate. We might accuse him of being in league with big business to keep the workers divided. Of course we don't accuse him of these things personally—but these are the very tactics he uses against the amalgamation movement adherents."

"Now we are of the rank and file of the labor movement and we know that the workers want amalgamation; it is peculiar that the International officials of all the unions, almost without exception, are opposed to it. They have never yet given any logical reason as to why they are against it, while the Trade Union Educational League gives a long array of facts and reasoning as to why it should be done. THE LABOR HERALD, of which Woll speaks in such venomous language, expresses the spirit of the workers—this we know—that is why it is so popular."

This letter is signed by the president and corresponding secretary of Local 59, Charles O'Leary and Louis Schneider, respectively. It is a good example of the spirit which is raging throughout the labor movement which is responsible for the rage, fear, and desperation, with which these powerful officials are throwing their entire resources into battle with the little baby organization, the Trade Union Educational League, which has only been able for a little over four months to even publish its magazine.

Keep the Reactorries Hopping

If any assurance were needed that the program of the Trade Union Educational League offers hopes of the future, that assurance has been given in the strongest possible way by all these attacks. When the bankrupt leadership of the American labor movement, in a period of retreat and de-

moralization, go before their Convention with no constructive proposals of any kind whatever, and consider it necessary to spend their time and energy in denouncing a little educational organ-

ization, it is because they know their own bankrupt- cacy and know who is bite coming close to its attacking them. And we give a special place Messrs Gompers and his Crown Prince, that the fire which makes them so uncomfortable will con-

tinue to burn. The demand for amalgamation, which is the great issue for industrial unity and for the Workers' Republic, will continue to grow until it overwhelms them and their kind, takes control of the labor movement, and begins the workers' forward march to all power.
path would save much precious force for our movement.

One night I was arrested on 39th St. and Broad- way, was a prisoner of a policeman, bailed out by a saloon keeper and given some fatherly advice by the Irish magistrate on the futility of preaching Socialism to Broadway. Of course this was a delightful shock to me, but I eventually resorted in my enlisting actively in the labor movement.

It must have been about this time that I heard Deb's speech on "the new society built by the organized workers— not along geographical but industrial lines.

I have unlimited faith in the liberty it holds out for the future. I remain a factory worker before I could read. It was not from what I read, because I was partial to striking workers. I was impressed by the many strikes in the United States as English Tyranny seemed as natural to hate capitalism as it was to have a relation to art, of this and into a "nice clean" camp near Philadelphia.

Unable to get work at carpentering or sign painting, I found a job as carver for a small daily newspaper. This was my entrance to a trade that has taught many a man what a rotten core is inside a social system. I didn't notice it at first, but was for some time absorbed in the rapid ambitions of the newspaper life. I got a better job on a big St. Louis newspaper.

The smallness of the wages of a sign painter's apprentice, along with the small Temple of Art, to start learning the carpenter's trade. Here I contracted the peculiar pride of the carpenter. Carpentering seemed to have a relation to art, and I felt I would have to strike while the iron was hot. My relatives got me out of this and into a "nice clean" job in a railroad office, with a chance to work up to be a foreman in the road. But I couldn't stand it. I was already bored by the drudgery and started to look around. I quit and went off to wander on freight trains as a hobo laborer. Fifteen hours a day on a farm, at fifty cents a day, soon gave me my fill of agriculture; and I drifted into easier jobs at ten hours a day with pick and shovel. This was the serious beginning of the opening of my eyes. One day an old mule-freight teamster caught up with me on a lonely Texas road and told me I could work for him. On the wagon he gave me a long tirade on the wrongs of the working people and the need of the working class to stick together and make a revolution. His words sank into my memory to stay.

At camp fires in railroad construction camps I heard the freight trains and in the "shanties," the conversation of wandering laborers from all quarters of the earth gave me my "cosmopolitan culture." Here I learned the indestructible beauty of that spiritual fraternity of communism which was poured a few years later into the songs and the deeds of the old-time I. W. W.

When I returned to my native town to work at the carpenter trade and joined the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, my rugged trade class loyalty got a slightly more definite form. Two members of the Union puzzled me by endlessly talking Socialism; of their hifilatin words I couldn't remember a thing except the constant refrain of "Carrol of the commerce of the country." But I learned more definitely what a scab is. The order came for all hands to a different scale of wages, which was not being paid. I was the only Union member on my building job, and I walked out on strike alone. I never got another job at the carpenter trade.

I wandered about Texas and New Mexico on freight trains, looking for work living by handouts, learning the peculiar bitter lesson of the unemployed man sleeping on the open ground in Winter.

Unable to get work at carpentering or sign painting, I found a job as cartoonist for a small daily newspaper. This was my entrance to a trade that has taught many a man what a rotten core is inside a social system. I didn't notice it at first, but was for some time absorbed in the rapid ambitions of the newspaper life. I got a better job on a big St. Louis newspaper. But about this time the trial of William D. Haywood at Boise, Idaho, came to disturb me—to awaken all of the old-time dreams—the call of my class. Simultaneously I met a Russian Jew, the first one that I had met. The strange talk of this man changed my understanding of what life is. He filled me full of the fever of a different kind. He gave me the tools of my trade, and for years it has been the greatest love of my life. I drift into easier jobs at ten hours a day with pick and shovel. This was the serious beginning of the opening of my eyes. One day an old mule-freight teamster caught up with me on a lonely Texas road and told me I could work for him. On the wagon he gave me a long tirade on the wrongs of the working people and the need of the working class to stick together and make a revolution. His words sank into my memory to stay.

At camp fires in railroad construction camps I heard the freight trains and in the "shanties," the conversation of wandering laborers from all quarters of the earth gave me my "cosmopolitan culture." Here I learned the indestructible beauty of that spiritual fraternity of communism which was poured a few years later into the songs and the deeds of the old-time I. W. W. And I learned the dreadful curse of God upon a scab. When I returned to my native town to work at the carpenter trade and joined the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, my rugged trade class loyalty got a slightly more definite form. Two members of the Union puzzled me by endlessly talking Socialism; of their hifilatin words I couldn't remember a thing except the constant refrain of "Carrol of the commerce of the country." But I learned more definitely what a scab is. The order came for all hands to a different scale of wages, which was not being paid. I was the only Union member on my building job, and I walked out on strike alone. I never got another job at the carpenter trade.

I wandered about Texas and New Mexico on freight trains, looking for work living by handouts, learning the peculiar bitter lesson of the unemployed man sleeping on the open ground in Winter.

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went into the Socialist Party. I was elected to the City Central Labor Council, but drifted out of the party as it began to change its character, about 1912, and began to take an interest in the Anarchist movement.

At the age of 29 I got my first opportunity to study art, and went to Paris with my saved-up workingmen's wages. I could not associate with the foul bourgeois in the art academies. In which the "World" wanted to have exactly the same motives as the working-class point of view, I was ordered against it, I was reduced to the meanest job of sign painting, I had nothing to do, but the "World" wanted to fasten guilt for a while upon Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman. It was an affair with which they had nothing to do, but which the "World" wanted to fasten upon them in order to keep up its circulation drives. For refusing to participate in this, and perhaps also for suggesting that I might publicly protest against it, I was reduced to the rank of cartoonist for the evening edition of the "World." I take space to mention this only because it is illuminating to show how a man is literally beaten altogether out of all the rest of the class struggle. I was allowed to make anti-war cartoons to my heart's content in the Evening World. Then a strange thing happened: all the great newspapers in America (except the Hearst press) were suddenly lined up FOR the war on the English-French side, and I was turned out of my job as one of its draw-ings. I went over to the New York Call, where I thought I could make revolutionary cartoons.

Later, I went to Europe as correspondent for a "liberal" newspaper syndicate. There I saw as plain as daylight the beginning of the "trans-formation of the Capitalist war into civil war and revolution"—the event of which Lenin's little group in Switzerland was the prophet. This pre-diction of course ran like a red thread through all of my writings and stuck out in my draw-ings. The newspaper syndicate quit printing my stuff. I came home in the steerage "second class," among other "merry" kind—[no more of which]. I had learned that soldiers, and not unarmed people, make revolutions. It opened wide vistas of thought.

The last underpinnings of respect for the "democratic" social organization as revealed in the Mooney case. I happened to be in California and was drawn into the organization of the Mooney defense. The Chamber of Commerce, which was anyway crying evil, that of the dual union ideas, as well as against the re-actionary policies and officers.

International Solidarity

The packinghouse workers have established a real union, with some kind of power in the industry, they will immediately have another problem, that of international solidarity. The great packing trust has established itself in Australia, Canada, Brazil, Argentine, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile, Venezuela, New Zealand, Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy and Denmark. The trust is becoming more international every day. While the undertakings in other countries are not so extensive as those in the United States, they are ever more important, and form a constant resource for the employers in the fights against the union. For the basic economic reason, without considering at this time the other compelling forces, we must decide the question of international affairs. The Red Trade Union International offers the only opportunity for this international unity.

The packinghouse workers have shown by word and deed that they want a leadership of broader vision and ideals than that with which they are now beset. Not only must we struggle for living wages and human working conditions, but we must also look forward to the time when a new system of society can be brought into being; a system of society that will put an end to this miserable struggle for bare existence—a time when we can abolish the exploitation of man by man, and establish the Workers' Republic.

THE LABOR HERALD

PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS' CONVENTION

By Tom Matthews

July, 1922

THE struggle of the packinghouse workers has convinced me that the unions must be reorganized upon an industrial basis. This policy of running away from the fight has injured the trust. Fortunately, this is being overcome. At the coming convention the progressive elements must fight against the remaining dual union ideas, as well as against the reactionary policies and officers.

Francoise.

Pierre Dumarchey, Well known as an Anarchist, has become a royalist. He is now affiliated to the group supporting the notorious Journal, L'Action Francaise.

Buffalo, June 8, 1922

"A splendid meeting took place here last Sunday and reports of actual accomplishments were given. All discontented laborers who were brought back to the Central Trades and Labor Council last year reporting as the first to have taken this step. Will have lots more to report when all our members get busy."

Fraternal, F. H. S.
A Militant, Constructive Monthly
Trade Union Magazine
Official Organ of the
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W.M. Z. FOSTER, EDITOR
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CAPITALIST'S DEFANCE TO LABOR

COMING as a climax to the "open shop" drive, the Supreme Court has just delivered two smashing blows in the face of Labor. Right on the eve of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, it was considered the proper time by the Supreme Court acting in its classic role of friend to capitalism, to knock out the Child Labor League, and to declare that union funds subject to seizure for damages to capitalists by strikers are by 66,000 miners on strike, 100,000 textile workers out, innumerable strikes and lockouts in other industries, unemployment rampant, and rents soaring to new heights. In other words, the old formula of the employing class and its servants would be completely changed, so that they have reason to feel secure.

Why should they be afraid? Only through united action, through the workers acting effectively resist. This unity and solidarity can only be achieved through the existing labor unions. And if the capitalists are not afraid of any action at the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, because they do not plan to act, they are wrong. These, they know, even if the workers do not yet, that the leadership of the A. F. of L. is intellectually bankrupt. It has no policy with which to meet the attack. It is so completely emasculated itself, with political intrigues with capitalism, and lack of co-operation with the employers, that it is incapable of action.

So long as labor will not learn to reason, they will have to learn by bitter experience. To change their strategy, this must be changed. If they cannot stir their brains from action within, then the job must be left to the capitalists. The latter will jar the thinking machine of the workers into motion by hitting them repeatedly over the head. Surely the last blows will start something.

AMERICA'S TAFF VALE CASE

The decision by the Supreme Court against the Child Labor League, June 8th, if it is not overruled by June 15th, will probably take a place in labor history as America's Taff Vale case. Rendered by Judge Taft, of injunction notoriety, it delivers the Unions to the tender mercies of any capitalist court that may wish to emasculate their treasuries. The legal basis is laid for destroying the trust in the 12 hour day.

Great Britain's famous Taff Vale Case, in 1901, marked the beginning of a movement in the British labor movement. The decision in the case was, that labor union funds could be attached to reimburse employers for losses through the goadings of children. In the same way, and to be of a great and real value upon them, and must be fought and fought with all weapons new and old until that its application fall into abeyance. The union men of Britain received a lesson in class consciousness that was never forgotten. They learned that it was fatal to continue their adherence to capitalist parties. From their reaction against the Taff Vale decision was born the British Labor Party.

It is significant that Taft, in his latest decision, cited this same Taff Vale Case for its argument in its pronouncement. He called attention to the fact that the British decision was "affirmed by the House of Commons," and perhaps he thought that the blow would be softened should Labor be made to realize that the club which capped its hand had been cut and striped "by the Hands of Lords," a body which seems of great authority to Taft.

The action of the Supreme Court is not surprising. It is right in line with the traditions of American courts.

The decision by the Supreme Court is a bad one, and the first perfidy of the perfidy against the Labor movement. The insubordination of Taft and his kind is justified by the insubordination of the labor movement. The labor movement, the working classes, the great industrial masses of America, are apparently in favor of the Taff Vale decision, which is the first of its kind. The movement is led by a body of people who have always been against Labor.

They are an integral part of capitalism. The same Taft, for whom this latest blow, is the first perfidy of the perfidy against the Labor movement.

The insubordination of Taft and his kind is justified by the insubordination of the labor movement.

The latter will use the matter for another slogan in their absurd parade of the next day, were it not for the destroying of the friends.

The rank and file of Labor will get the full force of the blow, with no possible redress until the United States government, by an act of Congress, has declared it is an open shop drive, help to drive this lesson home and clear the air is a little. Can any intelligent union man long be made to think with the nation's interests policies? Can any question the tragic need for a complete revision of our futile and absurd craft divisions, and the policy of co-operation with the capitalists and their political parties?

BY GRACE OF GARY

When Gemmill Harding dined with the 50 steel trust executives, headed by Judge Gary, the feast was doubtless a bounteous one. Unquestionably, also it was topped off with excellent cigars. But there was no real exhilaration in such a gathering, our "worthy" president proposed the toast. It is a part of the patriotic lore that a holiday, at least the hour before the holiday, ought to be changed a little bit. In a burst of gener
city, Gary accepted the proposal "in principle." It was agreed that all capitalistic holidays must be replaced by a new hour, "if and when applicable."

Luckily, the outlook of the steel trust did not begin to hold their breath until the event. The mortality in such an event would have been de
parable. Instead they laughed. And the laugh has reechoed over the entire country, reflection of the distorted sounding boards of the capitalist press. Every one knows Gary's promise for what it was, a horrible and obscene joke.

A proposal to put a grand piano into every workman's home and send his children to college, can easily get the same kind of endorsement—"if and when applicable."

Such a proposal has just the same chance of becoming reality as the story in the "New York Times." Equally they depend upon the power of the workers, organized or otherwise. The "if and when" will be made definite only by the action of the workers, by their organized power.

The workers will have to demand and obtain from the children adequate education, when they have prepared themselves to take their place. Similarly, the 12 hour day will be abol
ished, not by the good grace of Gary, but by the power of Labor.

GOODBYE BORIS!

Boris Bazhanov, the ambassador of the de
fect Russian Capitalists, has gone. The 1875
United States Treasury Department is also gone. For five years this person, who did not even have credentials from Kerensky, has posed as the representative of a defect Government and spent the money which is now charged up against the Soviet.

We cannot pretend to be sorry that Boris is gone. Neither can we pretend to believe that his going in
dicates any change of heart in the Administration at Washington. But it does add another one to the many signs that slowly the capitalists of the world are beginning to understand that Soviet Russia has come to stay. The revolution has established itself, and what temporary profits are to be made from Russia cannot be through Balchmeteff and his like.

THE STEEL MERGER

Did you think that the steel magnates, with their endless mergers, with their "open shop" drive, with their soft-hearted? Think again! They were merely getting ready. They are going to make both the public directed to something else while they quietly arranged further steel mergers, closer amalgamation of their already few organized companies. The Steel Corporation's mergers have been united, and the consolidation of the United, the Republic and the Midwest companies, is under way.

With the United States Steel Corpora
tion, these constitute the strongest organization in the world.

Again we see that the capitalists are not afraid of amalgamation. They know that in amalgamation of their organizations they obtain more power. They are already so highly organized that in comparison, the labor movement isorganization without particular cohesion. But they keep on improving and perfecting their organizations.

When the labor movement learns this simple lesson from the capitalists, as they must sooner or later, the present deplorable condition of wage-cuts, oppressive laws, judicial assaults, "open shop" drives, will no longer be an excuse. The ruthless trust, the oil trust, and the mother of all, the money trust, the labor unions must pit their own forces against those organizations. Amalgamation is the means to that end.

A GENIUS GONE WRONG

Adam Behrens, the Chicago Tribune, was a genius. He was a high-class professional. He was the king of "open shop" columnists. He never knew his life before. He made a specialty of robbing millionaires' palaces on the "Gold Coast," until he was shot to death recently.

Moved by Prochowski's masterful ability, the "great
capitalist's" newspapers, the Chicago Tribune, declared that Prochowski was "a genius gone wrong." And the Tribune was right. Prochowski made the mistake of becoming an outlaw. He should have become a business man, go to stock the law, a bold fellow willing to exchange shot for shot with the "open shop" columnist. His risks were great and his gains comparatively small. He could have gone into industry, exploited the "open shop" columnists, by forming alliances with newspapers and corrupt politi
cians. He could have made a fortune out of the appalling out of the "open shop" union and member of the employers' union, he could have stolen half the wealth of Chicago and been hailed as a hero.

Yes, the Tribune was correct. Prochowski was a genius gone wrong. The modern high-class criminal knows that his life is made up of a number of parts, and that he should go into the copside of industry and finance, where talents such as his are better appreciated.

LABOR IN EUROPE REORGANIZES

LAST month we carried several stories regarding the projects of reorganization under way in the labor movements of Australia, France and Norway. In their determination to solidify their forces against the predatory capitalists, the unionists of these countries have undertaken most drastic and radical inventory of their unions for the purpose of remodeling them to fit the pressing needs of the moment. The three instances reported are outstanding examples of a spirit that prevides the entire labor movement of Europe. They are all striving after a new order.

Contrast this fearless probing into the problems of organization with the timid progress, with the reactionary and moss-back stand
dist of the American labor officials. The most care
ful efforts of the most important unions are deter
ned by the Gompers type of leader as an attack upon "salarization." Projects for amalgamation which would otherwise be welcomed are haggled over as the most constructive measures, are denounced as undermining the American Federation of Labor. "Bolshevist propaganda" is becoming synonymous, in the campaign of Mr. Gompers, with everything that smacks of cooperation with Com
gress Woll & Co., even the reformist and jingoistic reactions of Europe look like extremes.

Such a deplorable condition may be very effective in keeping these officials in their jobs for the time being, but it is not preventing our unions from making even a show of resistance to the vicious attacks being made again and again. The trade unionists in the country who think our organizations must be broken, the unionists who see everything is reorganized, or we will go for
ward only to disaster.

LABOR'S PRISONERS

Word comes to us that the two outstanding cases of Labor's prisoners today, the Mooney-Billings Case and the Sacco-Vanzetti Case, are both at a crisis which demands action from the labor move
ment.

In the Sacco-Vanzetti case, support to which has been given by the great bulk of the American labor movement, great, straitened circumstances of the work of the Defense Committee, the work of the Red Cross, have made it impossible to raise funds for a little money. Important investigations have been made, but with the complete collapse of any charges against these men,
had to be suddenly cut off because there were no funds to pay the cost of investigating. The Sacco-Vanetti Defense Committee, Box 37, Hanover Station, Boston, Mass., is in need of money. Readers of The Labor Herald are urged to donate to this fund.

Amidst all this confusion, there is a rising feeling of a sort of crisis, but one requiring action by the unions also. As stated in this paper last month, Governor Stephens is refusing to act on the question of a pardon on the grounds that "Labor is not interested." The Chicago Federation of Labor, and bodies of other labor movements, have sent telegrams demanding action from Stephens, but his refusal has not yet gone far enough. Telegrams and letters should be poured in to Governor Stephens, State Capitol, Sacramento, California, and to the State Board ofParole for Mooney and Billings. Send copies of the convention report to the national headquarters of the Labor Defense Committee, Box 344, San Francisco, California. The future fate of these men is in the hands of the labor movement.

FRAME-UP EXPOSED IN CENTRALIA

No tender frame-up has been exposed in the case of the members of the J. W. W. sent to prison in a result of the Centralia War. Trial, battle with members of the American Legion who were raiding their hall. Five members of the jury convicted these men have now made public statements to the effect that they were betrayed innocent by the entire jury, but a verdict of guilty was pronounced in the main aspects.

This frame-up is becoming more and more gangland and established part of the American court procedure that it no longer is a novelty of a few years ago. This is a very dangerous situation. More and more men are being charged with crimes related to against union men. The most complete exposure is that of the Mooney-Billings case. Quickly timed came Sacco-Vanetti, who have been declared by hundreds of thousands of union men to be innocent. Now come the usual story, verified by unanswerable evidence, regarding the Centralia affair.

The time is coming, if it is not here when the labor movement has to do something more than pass resolutions of protest against this menace of the frame-up to stop the use of such weapons must be prepared.

G. A. R. VETERAN IN THE FIGHT

"I am nearly 83 years of age. Have long been a Black Tom elder, and my fight with the government of war has been warlike and tragic. Your magnificent enterprise and brave battle exposing the Gompers band of Labels and monopoly ownership, and the American Economic Review, by the American Economist's Asso- ciation, in support of his view that trade union agreements form a "constitutional government in industry," we cannot follow him. The well-known facts of ordinary trade unionism would justify rather the term "government under temporary pressure" or "government under truce." Constitutional govern- ment implies a common acceptance of a common basis; trade agreements are determined by mutual power on either side, and their terms vary from time to time according to the labor market. No peace is possible except the truce, until one of the parties has been eliminated. And that is hardly "consti- tutional government," as the term is commonly understood.

BAR SHADOWS, by Ralph Chapin, with an introduction by Scott Nearing.

This little volume, written by Ralph Chapin in Leavenworth Prison, is a challenge to the Government of that era. Imprisoned for his devotion to the cause of Labor, Chapin indirectly revives the ideal of class revolt into songs, beautiful, tender and defiant. When Chapin and his fellow prisoners were told that the post-fighter worker will, we know, again take his place among the leaders as the hottest fighting is going on. And that's the kind of a post everybody loves.

POLAND

If the International Correspondence Association of America claims to be a trade union movement, the organizations are badly split, as the following example shows. The Central Commission of Class Unions (Socialist) in its 3rd report of the conference of National Trade Unions (Patriotic) 600,000 and Chris- tian trade unions. Moscow and other centers of organization quite generally prevails among the vari- ous federations and trade unions affiliated with the Central Union of Industrial Workers. The Communists are very active in the trade union movement, particularly the Socialist section of it. They have secured a majority in a number of organizations, including the Building Trades, Leather Workers, Wood Workers, and Paper Workers. They also have large organized minorities in the Metal Workers, Factory Workers, Food Workers, Railroad Workers, Tobacco Workers, etc. In addition they have won control of the Central Labor Council in the important industrial centers of Warsaw, Bialystok, Pozen, Kalisz, etc. The better struggle for control is going on between them the workers and the reformist center, the latter being a coalition of hundreds of Communists from the unions. This struggle is particularly acute in the Philadelphia area, where the Communist trade union movement is trying to decide whether or not it should organize a new trade union movement. They voted to stay and work within the old unions, not at all sure how it can be organized. The leaders of the movement are still trying to get control of the unions, and it is feared that the leaders of the movement will be able to force their readmission by the old organizations.

BOOK NOTES

Constitutional Government in American Industries, by W. M. Lasseter. Reprinted from American Economic Review, by the American Economist's Association. In spite of the excellent volume and subject, the conclusion, in support of his view that trade union agreements form a "constitutional government in industry," we cannot follow him. The well-known facts of ordinary trade unionism would justify rather the term "government under temporary pressure" or "government under truce." Constitutional govern- ment implies a common acceptance of a common basis; trade agreements are determined by mutual power on either side, and their terms vary from time to time according to the labor market. No peace is possible except the truce, until one of the parties has been eliminated. And that is hardly "consti- tutional government," as the term is commonly understood.

THE INTERNATIONAL

GERMANY

The Committee of Management of three members each from the Second "Two and a half" and Third International, and the world's proletariat, has broken up and disbanded. Inability to unite upon a common program was the cause of the break. The case, therefore under the extreme pressure of the bitter reaction, to unite the working class with the reformist Socialists. It is now apparently a struggle to the finish between them for mastery of Labor's forces.

In the United States, the German capitalist has chris- tened one of his new monster steamships "Kord Legion," in memory of the late head of the German Socialist Trade Union, Carl Kord. Kord and Lenin who acted together, saved the capitalist system for the exploiters during the great depression in 1920. Just as the Kaiser fell and the state, army, navy, and industries passed into the hands of the revolutionary workers, these two worthies got their heads together and framed a trade union agreement, covering all industries and the entire working class, which gave the workers a number of concessions and in return for which the trade union leaders agreed to keep the capitalist system going. They kept going even though they had to slaughter 20,000 workers in order to do it. Now, Steinitz, by naming his ship after him, does honor to his friend Kord, the labor traitor, in return for these services.

The Second German trade union movement is also a part of the matter in the world's news, Gustave Notzle. This movement is made up of labor leaders by the so-called Independent Trade Union, being a plain strike-breaker. As head of the Government in Hanover, the home of Von Hindenburg, he re- ceived the greetings of the Emergency Labor Council Technical Aid Association, the white collar shop organiza- tion, who endorsed the action. It was said, because the German trade unions were unreasonable in their demands and had to be held in check. He is still a member of the Majority Socialist Party.

The close of 1922, according to official figures, the strongest action taken in favor of the Red Trade Union International (Socialist) numbered 7,283,417. This is a falling off of 25,525 as compared with the same period in 1921. The number of trade union workers, charged by convention, is 1,975,000, while the number of its adherents is 1,975,000. The greater degree of consolidation of these unions than our is exemplified by the fact that the number they have almost three times as many as the A. F. of L. The Socialists have 7,283,417 members, or about 85% of the total. They follow:

Metal Workers 1,975,000
Factory Workers 861,899
Textile Workers 677,494
Transport Workers 250,131
Building Trades 247,352
Railroad Workers 190,430
Miners 147,491
Wood Workers 136,711
Municipal and State 265,186
Tobacco Workers 127,043
Cheese Workers 58,221
Shoe Workers 194,759

Of the total 7,283,417 members, 1,975,000, or over 26%, are women. The unions with the largest percentage of women workers are as follows:

Textile Workers 1,975,000
Factory Workers 861,899
Metal Workers 720,000
Factory Workers 677,494
Railroad Workers 247,352
Miners 147,491
Wood Workers 136,711
Tobacco Workers 127,043
Clothing Trades 147,491
Baker-Binders 204,579
Transport Workers 127,043

In many of the organizations the women members are in the majority. In the Textile Workers they kill Unions, 10,000 members, in the Book Binders 60,000. The German trade Unions will hold its 11th convention in Leipzig, beginning June 19th.

RUSSIA

Within the past two months three important new affiliations have joined the Red Trade Union International. The first was the Norwegian Trade Federation, with 223,600 members. At the Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions (Am- sterdam), held its third convention in Rome, April 20-26. Over 100 delegates from 26 countries, repres- enting a membership of 16,000,000, attended the conference. The principle subjects dealt with and the action taken thereon are as follows: (1) The conference—this was condemned as a capitalist scheme and demands were made upon it to unconditional subscription of the Second "Two and a half" and Third International. This organization is independent of all government control and contains the bulk of German seamen. Formerly it had a strong German seamen's union which has now disappeared. In Great Britain sentiment develops rapidly in favor of the Red Trade Union International. At a conference organized by the British Eunov euro early in April, 270 delegates were present from all over the country.

ITALY

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The Labor Herald July 1922
of L. had withdrawn its affiliation with the plea that the Amsterdam International was too radical. The old officials, including J. H. Thomas, President, Leon Jaworski, Vice President, and F. Mumm, Secretary, were all recalled. The next convention will be held in Vienna.

DENMARK

Of April 24th, the great lockout, which had lasted almost two months, came to an end. The settlement carried with it a reduction in wages of 15% or 25% among the poorer paid workers, semianual readjustments of wages in accordance with the varying cost of living, reduction of overtime rates to 25% for the first hour and 35% for the second hour, and maintenance of the eight hour day with minor modifications. There is considerable discontent among the rank and file of workers that their conservative leaders have sacrificed their interests.

ENGLAND

The long fought lockout in the British metal trade has come to an end with a defeat for the men. The latter have been forced to accept the employers' terms, which carry with them very heavy wage cuts and much less control for the unions in the shops. The struggle lasted 14 weeks and at one time there were almost 100,000 men involved. The depleted state of the unions' funds, coupled with a terrible unemployment, made the struggle one of the worst in British industrial history. It is a big defeat for Labor.

The great lockout is the aftermath of the collapse of the Triple Alliance a year ago. At that time the highly organized British employers took the measure of the trade union movement. They saw that its leaders, bred in the old Lab-Lab school of unionism are incapable of making a fight of the class because theyerala the word along for a general assault against the whole movement. The attack on the metal trades organization was headed by Sir J. A. Smith, President of the Engineering and National Employers' Federation. He demanded that the Amalgamated Engineering Union accept conditions calculated to break the power of the organization. The leaders agreed, but the men defeated the proposition on a referendum. Result: a lockout of 350,000 machinists on March 11th. Then the employers moved against the rest of the trades, whose leaders they knew were only too willing to capitulate. For a time the 47 other metal trades unions made a show of supporting them, but in the end they gave in, driven by the A. E. U. and labor entered into separate negotiations with the employers on the basis of terms rejected by the A. E. U. But this treason did them no good. The employers, with the assistance of the 47 found themselves locked out also on May 3rd, adding 500,000 men to the fray. After endless negotiations, in which the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation was unable to reach an agreement, the settlement was finally arrived at, first by the 47 unions on June 3rd, and the Amalgamated Engineering Union on June 10th.

The British labor movement is stirred to its depths over this latest blow. A great demand will be made for the amalgamation of the entire labor movement into one organization which shall fight on a class basis. As the Taff Vale decision, at first a great defeat, finally resulted in a victory by producing the Labor Party, so the present disaster will probably change eventually into a great success by uniting the scattered trade unions into one mighty, undestroyable organization. British Labor is now at a turning point in its history.

A CURIOUS illustration of how much further British Labor is advanced than American Labor is furnished by the current issue of "All Power," British official organ of the Red Trade Union International, which contains an article by George Hicks, President of the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives. To get an idea of what this means try to imagine: John Davis, President of the A. F. of L. Building Trades Department, writing for the Liberator or The Labor Herald. That would seem a miracle.

The Federation of Building Trades Operatives made up of 60 organizations with 300,000 members and headed by Hicks, is one of the new types of industrial unions in the making. Though technically still a federation, it is rapidly digerating its many unions heading straight for an industrial union that will include the entire building trades. It was formed as a result of the great amalgamation movement launched by Tom Mann and his comrades in 1913. In the current issue of The Organizer, Mr. Hicks outlines the history and purpose of the organization, says:

I am sure that the great campaign of 1913 to 1914 for full and complete amalgamation of all building trade unions into one industrial organization had a most marked effect in developing the mind of the worker for bigger and better forms of unity. It helped him to realize that it was not sufficient merely to desire better things, but that if he wanted to realize them he had to work for them, and the scope men for such work did not lie in being separated from his fellow man, but in co-operation with him. Complete amalgamation has not yet been realized, but again let me say I feel as confident of it coming into being as of daylight following darkness. We ought to have it now. We will have it as soon as the workers demand it. We must break the outlook of the man beside. One union with one aim—that is to create each other opportunity for improvement of status, to work in co-operation with other unions for mutual aid and protection, to link up and fuse withize the workers of the world to assist in the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Think of an American building trades union chief talking like that! The "old guard" would have him arrested and examined for his sanity.

The London Daily Herald, the big daily paper of Organized Labor in Great Britain, has been saved. The Joint Committee, representing the General Council of the Trade Union Congress and the Executive Committee of the National Labor Party, has come to its rescue by agreeing to take care of its debt until the organizations hold their national conventions, in June and September respectively, when definite arrangements will be made to put the paper on its feet financially. For a long time the Daily Herald has been in dire financial straits, ascribable to internal depression. At the time this relief came it was just about to expire. The recent anti-union twist in Britain's press (hitherto comparatively fair to Labor) has no doubt moved the conservative trade union leaders to save the Daily Herald.