Be a Partner of Soviet Russia

For $10 you can buy a share in a company which has formed a partnership with the Russian Soviet Government. It will manufacture cloth, clothing, etc., in Moscow and Petrograd. Russia furnishes the plants, the workmen, the raw materials and the market; American working people are now furnishing the money-capital and the technical aid. Your money invested in this country will pay for better food for the workers, for additional machinery, and for outside materials. It is hoped that dividends will be paid from the beginning, and the Russian Government guarantees your investment. Any profits over ten per cent. will go to enlarging these factories and running others; so that the possibilities of the project are without limit.

This is not a charity; it is better than charity. If an unemployed man came to you in the street and asked for a hand-out to prevent him from starving, you might give it to him. But you would say to yourself that charity does not solve the problem of unemployment. What is needed is a new deal that will set the wheels of industry going and give the man a job.

That is just as true of Russia as it is of the man in the street. Russians are starving; we have given them money to buy them food; we will keep on giving it. But that money is eaten up. Here is a chance to help Russia get started so that Russia will be self-supporting. Money invested in this company will not be eaten up; it will keep going the wheels of industry and cloth making, and clothing factories will give additional jobs to Russian workmen.

Here is your chance to invest money in the Russian Revolution. Do you believe in the Soviet Government? Do you want to give it an opportunity to make good? Here is a chance to act in concert with hard-core Communists.

President Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, came back from Russia with a contract signed by representatives of the Soviet Government. This contract agrees to turn over to the Russian-American Industrial Corporation six factories in Petrograd and three in Moscow making cloth and clothing. The factories will be turned over to the Corporation and the workers will be paid $2,500,000 and $3,500,000. Sidney Hillman inspected these factories and found they are in good condition, turned out good clothing, and now employ about 7,000 people.

The Russian-American Industrial Corporation has been incorporated under the laws of Delaware. Its authorized capital is $5,000,000. Any one may subscribe at $10 a share. Careful provision is made that control of the Corporation will not fall into the hands of a few large owners. This idea is unique in the world. The Corporation is a united front against these outrages, which are being carried out by Labor Organizers.

LENIN'S MESSAGE TO YOU

Moscow, June 17, 1922.

SOCIETY MILLMAN, RUSSIAN-AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL CORPORATION.

Your communication in refer to agreement between Soviet Government and the Russian-American Industrial Corporation with reference to taking over factories in Petrograd and Moscow, was received. Soviet Government is anxious to interest others in this plan, and asks if you will cooperate.

Sincerely yours,

Leon Trotsky.

Rykov, Acting Chairman, Council Labor and Defense.

The Russian-American Industrial Corporation has been incorporated under the laws of Delaware. Its authorized capital is $5,000,000. Any one may subscribe at $10 a share. Careful provision is made that control of the Corporation will not fall into the hands of a few large owners. This idea is unique in the world. The Corporation is a united front against these outrages, which are being carried out by Labor Organizers.

RUSSIAN-AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL CORPORATION

32 Union Square, New York City

I want to subscribe for

shares of your stock at $10 a share, for which I enclose


copies of your brochure to distribute to my friends.

AUGUST 1922

25 CENTS
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 man at the present time is a consolidation of our many railroad organizations into one compact body,” to the closing prophecy that in time the consolidated railroad unions will “put their enormous organization against the employing class, and the wages system forever, and set up the long-hoped-for era of social justice,” there is not a dull sentence in the book.

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

All railroad groups of militants should make the distribution of this pamphlet a special order of business, and see to it that all railroad unions in their respective localities are plentifully supplied with it. Let us have your orders immediately.

RATES:
Single copies, 25c per copy. We pay postage.
In lots of 10 to 200, 15c per copy. We pay postage.
Over 200 copies, special rates.
To avoid delay, order quickly, as the present supply is limited.

ALL ORDERS PAYABLE IN ADVANCE

Send remittances to the
Trade Union Educational League
118 N. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.
THE printing trades unions have been through a great struggle. Attacks against their wage standards and hours of labor have been most vicious. Taking the industry as a whole, the workers have suffered setbacks and have been weakened. The pressmen, stereotypers, electrotypers, and bookbinders, have lost half their members, have had to take big reductions in wages, and have failed to hold the 44-hour week. On the other hand, however, the biggest union in the industry, comprising more than half those organized, the International Typographical Union, has held its membership well, losing less than 10%, has held the 44-hour week, and suffered no reductions in wages. This has only been done at the cost of millions of dollars and bitter struggle.

The smaller unions in the industry have suffered heavily. They have paid the price for lack of unity among the printing trades workers. They, above all others, should realize by this time that their only hope to protect their interests, and prevent the employers from crushing them, is for them to unite all their forces. One union for the printing trades would be a boon and protection to them.

Strange to say, however, it is the large union, the I. T. U., which is leading the movement at this time for one printing trades union. In spite of the fact that in going alone it fares better than any of the others, it is the first to suggest unity among them all. At the Quebec convention, 1921, it passed the following resolution, almost unanimously:

"Resolved. That this convention favors the amalgamation of the various printing trades unions, to the end that there be but one union in the printing industry."

This resolution is the most concise statement made of the principle of industrial unity, and is the latest statement of the principle which has animated the progressive elements in the printing trades for many years. There has always been a struggle going on between the advocates of unity, and the forces of disruption. Today the movement for one union for the printing trades is gaining much headway, because the logic of membership figures, wage-scales, and hours of labor, is forcing the issue to a decision. It is amalgamation or annihilation for the smaller unions, as the immediate alternative.

How They Got That Way

The International Typographical Union was organized in 1839, of 15 local unions then existing. Membership was small, and the "printers" generally did everything around a composing room from feeding a press to editing the paper. But at about this same time, the steam power press was introduced, and those "printers" who specialized on these new presses, created the first division in the craft. The I. T. U. endeavored to keep unity of organization, and at the Chicago convention, 1868, recommended to all local unions that they encourage the pressmen to unite with them in membership.

Stereotyping was the next important specialization. During the Civil War the printing business attained a development theretofore unheard of, due to the fact that the people at home demanded news from the front. Stereotyping came into general use, and at the Louisville convention, 1864, the subordinate unions were urged to admit stereotypers into the organization in the usual manner.

In those days, and even up until the late '80s, the national body could only make recommendations, as the local unions were autonomous bodies; as a rule, however, these recommendations were generally carried out by them.

The unity of organization did not prevent the growing groups of specialized workers from being adequately represented. In 1886 the I. T. U. gave the pressmen the right to elect the second vice-president to have charge of the interests of pressmen. Their delegation at conventions acted as a committee on legislation for the pressmen's locals, and the report of this committee was made a special order of the convention. By 1887 the International included 266 subordinate
unions—31 presses, 5 stereotypers and electro-
typers, 1 pressfeeder, 1 book binder, 2 mailers, and 276 compositors. In cities where there were
not enough members of a special craft, all were
members of the main compositors' union. There
were a few unaffiliated independent and Knights
of Labor organizations, principally bookbinders.

Secession of Smaller Crafts

The splitting of the printing trades began in
1899, through the connivance of the employers
with the ambitions and craft feeling of some of
the presses. Local pressmen's unions, 11 of them,
seceded and set up the International Printing
Pressmen's Union. There can be no doubt of
the influence of the bosses in this movement.

Vice-President Hall (pressman), of the I. T. U.,
dealing with the matter at the Atlantic conver-
sation (1899), said:

"Eleven unions have gone out from among us
since the date of my last report, and last four
have been added. This has involved the loss of
469 members. The reason for this is to be found
in the avaricious endeavors being made to build
up the International Printing Pressmen's Union
—an organization enjoying the favor of the
Typothetis (the employers' organization). It
was my fortune last year, under date of Novem-
ber 15, to address the pressmen, calling their
attention to the close connection between these
two bodies. My assertions were denied . . . but
striking proof of them is afforded in the fact
that both organizations will meet in Boston on
the first Tuesday in September, 1899, a simul-
taneously determination on the part of those con-
cerned in it.''

The Typographical Union made every effort
to get the seceding unions to come back, and
more than two-thirds of the pressmen stayed with
the main organization. Also five new unions of
stereotypers and electrotypers were added. The
sentiment throughout the trade was expressed at
the Chicago convention a year later, when the
new vice-president, McFarland (pressmen), said:

"In view of the immense strides of invention,
we must view with alarm any effort to divide or
disrupt our present organization. I am firm in
the belief that all persons who contribute labor
to the production of a common output should
be allied together . . . I feel satisfied that it would
be almost an impossibility for any one of our
allied trades to undertake alone the fight for
hours and wages."

This convention discussed the problems of or-
ganization involved by the developing branches
of the trade, and a plan was adopted which,
while fully recognizing the general authority of
the I. T. U., gave a more definite organization
to the pressmen. An amalgamation project with
the German-American Typographic (German
language) was made. The forces of unification
were thus at work even in this period of separation and division of the smaller
specialized crafts.

Allied Printing Trades Councils had been
formed in 21 cities. They were very successful
in securing the wrath of the bosses. The
worst obstacle in the way of the success of the
Councils, was the unsatisfactory relations be-
 tween the various unions. In many cases mem-
bers of the I. T. U. worked for firms whose bind-
eries and press rooms were non-union. Some of
the more poorly-paid workers, such as the
bindery girls and the feeders, were precluded
from joining the I. T. U. on account of the
high dues. However, this was later remedied by
the union, which lowered the dues for these work-
 ers.

The bookbinders were in chaos. Since the
granting of charters to them in 1887, only seven
unions had come into the I. T. U. Some of them
attached themselves to local unions of compos-
itors or pressmen, and many belonged to the
Knights of Labor. In 1892 a call was issued to
these heterogeneous organizations to send dele-
gates to Philadelphia to form a national organi-
zation of their own. To this gathering the I.
T. U. sent a representative with an invitation to
throw in their lot with the printers. But the
many forces of division prevailed, and the invit-
ation was not accepted. On two occasions follow-
ing this, the I. T. U. attempted to open negotia-
tions with the bookbinders, but the efforts failed.

Final Establishment of Separate Crafts

After many years of effort to harmonize the
differences between the various organizations,
and to unite them all, the progressive element
which had been pushing the idea of one union
for the industry, had to give up the fight for the
time being. Rather than have warfare be-
 tween existing unions, who could not be brought
to amalgamate, it was decided that it was better
to enter into an alliance between them all, which
should draw the boundaries of each. Accord-
ingly an agreement was negotiated between the
International Printing Pressmen's Union, the In-
ternational Brotherhood of Bookbinders, and the
International Typographical Union. This alliance
provided for complete autonomy for each, who
was to recognize the jurisdiction and authority
of the others over workers in their respective
 crafts, and completely separated the organiza-
tional and financial machinery. Joint action such
as strikes were to be handled by an executive of
an equal number of each union, and by agree-
ment of local boards after united request of local
unions; any local of either union could strike as
heretofore without the consent of the others, but
could not compel the support of their allies. The
conference was to have control of the label. The
agreement was finally ratified on January 1, 1896.
The stereotypers and electrotypers made their
first move towards separation at the Syracuse
convention (1898), in the setting up of trade
district unions. The next year the Chicago union
seceded on a question of per capita tax. It at-
ttempted to get other unions to do likewise, but
was unsuccessful. At the Milwaukee convention
(1900) some of the remaining local unions pro-
posed to withdraw and set up a separate inter-
 national union. Their proposal was decisively
defeated. The following year, however, the new
president, Jim Lynch, favored the separation,
and with his backing the proposal was carried by
a referendum, the vote being about 10,000 to
5,000.

The same forces which had caused the insti-
tution of separate unions for these small crafts
now made themselves felt among the photo en-
gravers. According to Ryan, a vice-president
and representative of the photo engravers in the
I. T. U., "a most farcical proceeding of a so-
called convention of photo engravers" was held
in New York. This was immediately in conflict
with the I. T. U., which lost some of its local
unions to the new organization. In 1902 some
of the unions which had broken away from the
international realized their mistake, and signed
a willingness to come back. But in January,
1903, a conference between the photo engravers
and the I. T. U. officials was held, and it was
decided that it would be better for the I. T. U. to
give up jurisdiction over the photo engravers
rather than suffer the disintegrating effects of
dual unions and fratricidal strife. The Inter-
national Photo Engravers' Union proposal was
definitely accepted by the I. T. U. on April 24,
1904, and the jurisdiction granted them. This
brought the period of the establishment of the
smaller crafts to a close. The I. T. U. now
stood definitely as a limited craft union, com-
promising the compositors, mailers, newswriters,
and type founders.

The Problem of Industrial Solidarity

The great problem of the printing trades is

ILLINOIS STATE TROOPS MOBILIZED AGAINST STRIKERS
Gompersism in Full Flower

By Wm. Z. Foster

NEVER was a labor movement in more dire straits than ours is now. Viciously attacked on all sides, industrially, politically, and every other possible way, it is literally backed up against a dead wall fighting for its very life. Yet in this supreme crisis its leadership is utterly incapable of even thinking clearly about the situation, not to speak of doing anything vital to remedy it. To those who have hopes of some day seeing the working class master of society, the recent A. F. of L. convention was a tragedy. Faced by a multitude of grave problems, the solution of which would require a conscientious overhauling of the labor movement from the top to bottom, it did nothing but play politics, mumble patriotic phrases, and run around in the same old circles, which are responsible for its present des- perate plight. The Cincinnati convention was the most spineless, visionless, hopeless affair that has ever been staged even by the hard-boiled A. F. of L. It betrayed the complete intellectual bankruptcy of the old Gompers machine and showed clearer than ever its entire unfitness to lead American labor.

Political Stupidity

One pressing problem before the convention had to do with political action. As every one with a spark of intelligence and honest knowledge knows and has long insisted, the only real policy of the labor movement is that of rewarding Labor’s friends and punishing its ene- mies has made a political zero of the American working class. By constantly denigrating the unions into appendages of the corrupt capitalist parties and infecting crooked politicians directly into the ranks of the workers, where they have poisoned all about them, its preconceptions of capitalist con- ceptions have prevented the development of the class understanding and feeling without which no labor movement can prosper. It has also pre- vented the workers from securing any representa- tion in the various local, state, and national legis- lative assemblies. It is one of the best aids to capitalistic class.

We have long paid the penalty for this foolish policy, but especially is its harm apparent during the present. Here again the general anti-labor drive. Having full control of all legislative, ex-ecutive, and judicial branches of the Government and desirous of holding the upper hand, by political, stultified labor move- ment, the employers are ruthlessly destroying the basic rights of the workers. Free speech, free press, free assembly, in the true sense of the word, are now things of the past. Besides, hard- won legislation is fast going by the board; the Seamen’s Act has been practically wiped out; the Federal Child Labor Law has been declared unconstitucional by the Supreme Court, etc.; and now the Coronado Coal Company decision, which will enable the Goliath of Mr. Gom- pers’ eye, is threatening the whole labor move- ment with destruction. It is a grave crisis. If there ever was a time for serious thought and action it is now. The need of the hour is for the workers to cut loose from their old political moorings; to bid defiance to their tormentors, and to launch forth upon a campaign of militant working class political action through a party of their own.

But the hidebound Cincinnati convention did not understand this need any more than it under- stood the other problems confronting Labor. Made up for the most part of petty politicians and dominated completely by the arch-reaction- ary Gompers, it repudiated so entirely the idea of a labor party that the backers thereof dared not even introduce a resolution calling for one. Forty years ago or so Mr. Gompers decided that there should be no working class political party. That settled the matter. No matter how much current events may show this decision to be wrong, he still clings to it with all the stubborn bigotry which characterizes his nature. And this convention, like so many others that has carried in his pocket, dolefully bowed to his will. The best it had to offer was to enlist Labor in a campaign to put across four constitutional amendments clipping the prerogatives of the courts and guaranteeing the workers the right to organize. What a program! To send Organ- ized Labor, demoralized, poisoned, dishonored, and disgraced, by Mr. Gompers’ stupid policy of rewarding our friends and punishing our ene- mies, out to enact four constitutional amend- ments. Were it not so tragic it would be ridicul- ous.

Industrial Incompetency

If the Cincinnati convention failed dismally in the political field, it did no better in the realms of industry. Here again Labor faces a grave crisis. Our trade union movement, beset on all sides, is now actually threatened with extinction. While the press is not at all report the membership of the A. F. of L. of L dropped 710,823 during the past year, bringing the total down to 3,160,615. But everyone knows these figures are jingled. The condition is far worse

Open Shop Drive Forces the Issue

The great attack of the past two years to force down wages, increase hours, and destroy the unions, has brought the matter to a head. It has shown up clearly the necessities of the situa- tion. In the fact that the small crafts have lost the fight after fight, or lost without fighting, is the lesson that the bosses can only be whipped into one another. Big business, the stereotypes and etcheters, and the book- binders, have lost the 44-hour week, have re- ceived shaving wages cuts, and been weakened in membership by one-half, small as they already were; yet the big union which has had the most of the workers in the industry, the I. T. U., has come out of the fight in comparatively good con- dition.

The problem before the progressive forces in the printing industry today is, then, how to bring all the smaller crafts into line with the splendid position taken by the International Typographical Union. This can only be done through an edu- cational campaign, undertaken simultaneously throughout the entire printing industry. Such educational work can be done only by a group composed of the progressive elements from all the local unions who will meet, whenever and from the point of view of all the varied interests involved, and then carry on a propaganda in all unions at once upon the same lines.

Such a body as just proposed, is provided for in the Trade Union Educational League, in its Printing Trades Section. There in each local group would come together the Live wires in the entire printing industry in each locality. The various local groups would then send represen- tatives to a meeting which would elect a national educational committee. The latter, with all in the local groups, work out a com- plete plan for amalgamating the printing trades union, which is a great national campaign for this end in every union. It is the need of the hour in the printing trades. Every militant union man should get busy to put it into effect.

Full Report of the First National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League

Will Appear in THE LABOR HERALD for...

Only a limited number of copies will be avail- able above the amount ordered in advance. If you wish to be sure of a full supply your order must be in our hands before August 25th.
than they show. It is safe to say that in the last twelve months at least 1,000,000 workers, dis- gusted with Commerzien, have turned their backs on the labor movement. It is doubtful if there are over 2,500,000 members in the Federation at this time. If the present rate of decline continues the organization will be wiped out in three years. Could the situation be more serious?

And what did the convention do about it? Almost everything nothing. Above all there is a vital necessity for amalgamation, for the workers to fuse their scattered organizations together so that they may be able to make a united fight. Merger after merger is taking place among the employers. Carelessly their fighting force is being unified and strengthened. But the unions go along in the same old rut of craft division. Our backwardness in this respect is shown by the fact that in Germany the General Federation of Trade Unions, with 8,000,000 members, has this enormous army condensed into 49 national unions, whereas the A. F. of L., with only a third as many members, has 117 national unions. In other words, the degree of consolidation among the German workers is six times greater than among us. But the Cincinnati convention ig- nored this entire situation completely. The best as- sumption was that its fragmentary and split up unions represent the very acme of trade union achievement. A resolution offered by the Right Way Clerks to reorganize the movement upon an industrial basis was voted down unanimously. Not only was it defeated by the weight of numbers, but its defeat was regarded in favor of amalgamation. The convention, characteristicallly revved up its stand of 21 years ago, by which the convention, by the weight of numbers, re-issued its call to the members of the three affiliated organizations to fuse together if they so desire. The powerful employers are cutting the unions to pieces, because the unions are wrongly organ- ized, but our labor leaders, intent primarily only on keeping themselves in office, stubbornly refuse to consider the cause or to adopt the obvious remedy of amalgamation. Not only that, but they denounce and attack anyone who dares to point out the truth. The A. F. of L. convention was as barren industrially as it was politically. It had nothing to offer to the workers, no pro- gram that would rouse them to action to defend themselves from the exploiters. It was mentally dead.

Reaction All Around

Stagnation was inevitable from a single step ahead, the convention endorsed every reactionary proposition and condemned every progressive sentiment. It looked to the past. Oppressed Russia, of course, came in for bitter condemnation. Again Mr. Gompers took his side with the Bolsheviks, Denisov, and the rest of the crew trying to show off the Workers' Republic. In this, how- ever, he had some company and he had to yield to his assistance such good friends of the work- ing class as Herbert Hoover and Chas. E. Hughes, both of whom seriously alarmed Russia. By refusing to endorse the opening up of trade relations with Russia, the A. F. of L. expressed a reactionary position of any labor movement in the world on this question. All the others, so maternal, so paternal, so liberal, in whom sentimental Russiaphiles, at least have the enlightenment to want to give Russia a chance to live. We abuse among the world's organized workers are so barbarous as to try to starve her around to a capitalist point of view. It is a disgrace, a crime against Amer- ican Labor.

Another cause to suffer was that of a genuine workers' press. The program now is to destroy the Federated Press. This is one of the few in- stitutions of which the American labor move- ment may really be proud. It will compare favorably with any labor news gathering agency in the world. It is one of the most hopeful organiza- tions in the country. But because it refuses to associate with Socialists, Communists, the I. W. W., and other radical and liberal tendencies as wild-eyed destroyers of civilization as Mr. Gompers and Crown Prince William were behind this move, and they will pick the "investigating" committee. As both these gentlemen have recently denounced the Federated Press in the public papers, it may be guessed what treatment it will get at their hands in the proposed "investigation." The time is at hand for the radical and liberal elements to rally behind this splendid press service; otherwise Mr. Gompers, who can brook nothing that is even mildly progressive, will stab it to death.

An effort was made to have the A. F. of L. vote to the International Federation of Trade Unions, with headquarters in Amsterdam. This is the world Internationale, which is a loathing to all rebels. Yet the A. F. of L. refused to be- come a part of it, not because it is too conserva- tive, but because it is too radical. The Executive Council is reported to be opposing an attempt to get the laws of the Amsterdam International changed to Mr. Gompers' liking—that is to de- crease the budget. The common interest both of the Executive Council and Mr. Gompers' opinion, is one of the chief functions of the labor movement, even as it admittedly is of the other two.

So far as the American Legion and the A. F. of L. are concerned, their relations have gone be- yond mere friendliness and are approaching an actual alliance. Commander MacNider ad- dressed the convention, not failing to point out in his more facetious, the common interest both organizations have in beating the radicals. To him replied George L. Berry, of doubtful fame in the printing trades. Major Berry, besides being President of the National Union of Pressmen and Assistants, is also vice-comman- der of the American Legion. He seems to be a sort of unofficial arbiter of the two bodies, or, as he quaintly put it, "the two bad controversies," thus taking the place of the harmonizer in those of his older generation. Mr. Gompers also took a hand, saying:

"So long as American Labor will hold its high ideals of freedom and justice and progress and safety for the American Republic, and the American Legion will stand true to its traditions, its history and its declarations under the leadership of a man of the char- acter and type and idealism and practical understanding of Commander MacNider, there can be no division in our joint ranks."

The day following the expression of these true and noble sentiments the convention adopted a glowing committee report endorsing the develop- ing alliance and instructing President Gompers to attend the national meeting of the American Legion in New Orleans next October.

Friendliness was also shown towards the Ku Klux Klan. Since the exposure several months ago by the New York World, hundreds and thou- sands of organizations and individuals with some degree of public spirit have condemned this hideous monstrosity. So a delegate, innocently be- lieving that the A. F. of L. convention might be as progressive as these, submitted a resolution condemning the Ku Klux Klan and its work. The convention of course rejected it, and which merely disapproved mildly of parading through the streets with hoods. What is the ex- planation of this resolution? Why cannot even this American Fascist organization be criticized by Organized Labor? How does its influence reach the councils of the labor movement? Who among the A. F. of L. heads belong to it? Considering the convention action, these are pertinent questions. The A. F. of L. leaders condemn the Federated Press, tried and true fighter for the working class, but they refuse to condemn the vicious Ku Klux Klan. Could anything more clearly illustrate the per- version and degeneracy of the Gompers ma- chine?

The Weak Opposition

More deplorable even, if possible, than the course of the Gompers administration was the attitude of the so-called opposition. It has made up primarily of the railroad trades and the min- ers. Possessed of enough latent strength to have swept the old guard from its feet, it has done absolutely nothing. This was because it lacked leadership and program. Johnston, the soft pe-
“Parties” In the Printing Trades
By Elwood Brewster

In spite of our familiarity with the functions of political parties in Government, the development of definite “parties” in trade union matters may be said to have been so slow in the United States. That is to say, openly recognized political groupings on the basis of trade union issues have not been highly developed. More and more, however, the fight of the employers to crush the unions is bringing this matter to the fore. The future doubtful holds experience along this line for us, and it will be of value to study some of the past events of this kind. The outstanding example of party groupings in the trade unions, is doubtless to be found in the International Typographical Union.

Originally there was but one “party” in the I. T. U., the same kind of party which exists in every union in the country. This was the grouping of active, administration elements, who took charge of the affairs of the organization and had more or less of an understanding about matters among themselves. Such germs of party organization existed everywhere, and out of them came the definite programs and party lines which develop under pressure of severe class struggle. In the I. T. U., these original “stalwarts” were the radicals or militants of their day. They were the men who never missed a union meeting, who made it their business to know about every member, past and present, union issues, etc. They were rather exclusive clubs, and only slowly took new members into their informal circles.

“The Wahneta,” a Union Party

In the loose grouping of the “administration” elements in the I. T. U., the idea grew that something more definite than common interest should bind them together. So a secret organization, with a ritual and all the trimmings was formed, known as the “Wahneta.” Information of an authoritative nature about this organization, is hard to obtain on account of its nature. There has been a great deal said and written about it, particularly in late times. In controversy. In this article we will confine ourselves largely to statements which appeared in The Industriulist, organ of a group of New York progressives in the printing trades (March, 1922), which was quoted approvingly by the organ of the Wahneta, The Whip-Hand of Chicago (April, 1922). As both camps agree that the article in question is a good one, it may be safely taken as somewhat correct.

The Wahneta was launched about 40 years ago, according to this authority. Its object is the control of the policies and offices of the union, local and international. It gathers together previous to each union meeting, to consider all business to come before the meeting. This is obtained concerted and powerful action of all its members and each individual union. It is always one of the main objects, with a majority of all committees, and at least half of the delegates to international conventions. In each local of the I. T. U. where there is a Wahneta organization, one member is leader, having the ritual or “book.” Meetings are seldom held in the same place successively, and the keeper of the “book” notifies the members of the place of meeting. If this information is not given to a member he knows he has been dropped.

The policy of this “ruling class” within the I. T. U. was originally a militant one, within the narrow confines of strict craft-unionism. But with the development of the industry, and particularly with the growth of power of the Wahneta organization, they became more and more conservative and reactionary. Today they are completely “zondpatters,” upholding the bosses against the claims advanced by the more militant membership. It is charged that they work in close cooperation with the employers. The charge is borne out by their attitude toward union policies, which has been stated as: “The present social order, in which labor is a commodity worth what it will fetch in the labor market, always existed and always will. The employer is the “boss” and he should have unimpeached control of his working room in every particular other than in the matter of wages and hours; and, by the policy of arbitration, he is to have his say in what these shall be.”

The success of the Wahneta in attaining its object was almost complete for a long time. For many years it was a common jest that a convention of the I. T. U. was merely an outing for the Wahneta. Nothing came before such gatherings without their prior knowledge. Having complete control of votes they were able to be “generous” in allowing moderate contentions, but their grievances, but the Wahneta decided the issues. Only of late years, with the rise of a rival “party,” the Progressives, has their power been seriously challenged.

“The Progressive Party”

About 20 years ago the Progressive party became a distinct factor in the T. U. It crystallized out of a current of protest against the ruler-
ship of the Wahnetae, existing for some time without leaders or organization. Previous to the definite organization of the Progressives, it had been the practice of the Wahnetae, as resourceful politicians, to have one of their own number become a leader of the progressive faction whenever the opposition became threatening in order to render it harmless to them. This was all the more easy to do, as the Wahnetae were a disciplined organization with a program, while the progressives were a heterogenous collection of anti-administration elements.

The Progressive party has never entirely outgrown this indefiniteness of character. It comprises the most varied currents. The basis of unity is the common opposition to the domination of the "hard-boiled" machine, economy in administration, and more latitude in the official giornal for opinion dissenting from the rigidly official. It might be called a "liberal" party, as opposed to the "tory" Wahnetae.

**The Struggle for Dominance**

The two parties have become commonly accepted factors in the life of the union. They are "acceptable" institutions, in the sense that the leaders generally accept them as necessary instruments for determining the policy of the organization. So true is this that even Frank Mornion, for years secretary of the A. F. of L. and part and parcel of the Gompers machine, considers it in the natural course to be a candidate for I. T. U. delegate to the A. F. of L. on the Progressive party ticket.

The struggle against the Wahnetae first took the form of opposition to the existence of any definite grouping within the union. This more succeeded in writing into the laws of the I. T. U. an obligation intended to suppress such organizations. It reads: "That I do not belong to any society or combination wholly or partly of printers, with the intent or purpose to interfere with the trade regulations or influence or control labor in any way in this union." But this did not do away with the Wahnetae, and the progressives threaten, perform, establish their party organization to make their influence felt.

The Progressive party made the first big dent in the Wahnetae machine in 1909, when they elected John McParland to the position of Presi- dent of the I. T. U. After almost two decades they had at last become a power. But, in the language of the newspaper cartoonist, "then the fun began," the real fight was on. The struggle between the Progressive party and the remaining Wahnetae, holding the presidency and a majority of the Executive, inexperi- enced as a party whatever the qualifications of their officials—and on the other hand, the old entrenched "Wahnetae" with a majority of the Executive, and a tradition of rulship extending back for generations. And it cannot be said that the Progressives have not made a very good showing in the scrap.

It is entirely outside the scope of this short article to give the details of the struggle for control of the union. I only wish to say, however, that the Progressive party made good before the membership, to the same degree. At the elections just held they re-elected McParland president, and won a majority on the executive. The secretary-treasurer's office still remains with Hays, the Wahnetae representative, together with a minority of the executive officers. The voting showed a decided gain in the strength of the Progressive party. They now have the administration powers—and responsibilities.

**What of the Future?**

The Wahnetae has lost. There does not appear any probability of them having the ability to come back. But the "party" history of the I. T. U. is not necessarily closed thereby. The Progressives are far from being a united body of common opinion. As they consolidate their gains, and as the menace of a Wahnetae "come-back" disappears, the future promises a new line of leadership which now lies dormant within the Progressive organization will sprout and grow. But it will be an entirely new party. The future party struggles promise to be much healthier than the past. They will be more nearly struggles upon principles and policies.

The new Progressive administration frankly proclaims itself "conservative." It is willing to tolerate the most far reaching educational work, but wishes it clearly understood that while "they are progressive" they are "in no sense radical."

On the other hand we see those represented by the Industrialist proposing a policy for the Progressive party. "Labor must have the right to determine its hours of work and compensation, to exercise authority over working conditions, to elect the managers of the industry—foremen, superintend- ents, etc.—and to maintain shop rules by self-discipline." Without doubt the present "liberal-conserv- ative administration" will receive the united sup- port of all the elements in the union, just as long as there is a Wahnetae menace, and so long as the administration continues to give its best efforts to the making of a new and different organization is sure to develop some- thing new, in the course of a few years—or less—which should be an amen of progress to all in the printing trades.

**The British Engineers' Struggle**

By Tom Mann

AFTER 13 weeks of struggle the engineers of Britain have gone back to work under the conditions laid down by the employers. It will be valuable to review this fight to see what can be learned from it. First, a memory record, to show any readers that in Britain this term engineer is applied to those workers engaged in constructional work of machine making, engine building, and every kind of mechanical repair work in factories, shops, mills and mines. The number of men so engaged, including shipbuilding, amounts to about 1,000,000, organized in about 60 different unions. The union with the largest membership is the Amalgamated Engineering Union, (A. E. U.), with 400,000 members. The lock-out first took place in connection with the members of this union who were in the employ of the Federated Engineering Employers, affecting rather less than one half of the total membership, the other being employed in non-Federated shops, or in enforced idleness. The particulars of the dispute were given in my article in the Labor Herald for May; we may add the following brief statement from the official document issued by the A. E. U., entitled "Why We Are Locked Out":

"The whole point for which the Union was, and is, contending, is that the necessity of overtime on production work must be agreed upon between the union and the employers before the overtime can be worked; in other words, that there be a joint consultation between the two parties in advance of the actual working of the overtime."

The employers insisted that they were the only competent judges as to when overtime was necessary, but modified their original attitude by undertaking not to make any material change in the management of a works until they had given the workmen ten days notice of such in- tention. The employers, we understand, did not apply to the working of overtime which the bosses claimed ought to be solely a matter for them to decide, but if, in so doing, they violated any agreement with the men, that the men should have the right to bring the matter before the central conference. The lock-out commenced, with the A. E. U., on March 15th, and finished by vote of the members on June 3rd. Partial press reports in the United States press will not do justice to the A. E. U., which was the principal fight, the employers also entered into negotiations with 11 other unions connected with engineering and ship building, over various items of wages and shop management. These other unions were also locked out in April, and although numerous conferences were held no understanding was arrived at for 8 weeks. The whole of these unions, as well as the A. E. U., thus had their members locked out; then after some trifling modifications in the employers' attitude, the Executives of 47 of the unions agreed to submit the boss's proposal to the members to be voted upon, recommending the acceptance of the terms. The members of the 47 unions ratified the acceptance of the employers' proposal, and on the same date the National Conference of the A. E. U. was held, and they made a similar recommendation. All the unions involved voted to accept the proposal except the Boiler Makers and the Foundry Workers, and these have done so since. The last of these unions to accept the terms was the Boiler-makers, who voted on June 15th (just before this is being written) to au- thorize their executive to close the dispute. So, in this third week of all those who have been locked out will return—that is, those for whom there is work—and the lock-out is over.

Lessons From the Lock-out

The big things to be learned from the struggle just ended are the following: The executive familiar with the outstanding lesson being the futility of sectional unionism in coping with the organized capitalist forces. This is the one big lesson which, if it be not learned and applied,
THE LABOR HERALD  
August, 1922

The Swivel Chairs Win

By Jay Fox

AM and the old guard have been re-elected without opposition, and the old policies reaffirmed; thus the convention has been one of the longest held in the history of the A. F. of L. since its formation in 1881. Of course no one at all conversant with the movement is expected to anything else. Not until a new set of delegates are elected to that body may we look for anything new and constructive to emanate from the federation. Next year the delegates will take a juncture trip to far off Portland, Ore- gon, and re-elect and reaffirm, and the workers will pay the bill; and so it will go on to the end of time, unless the workers take a hand in their own affairs and elect men and women right out of the factories to the conventions.

The federation is in itself rather a useless body. It was originally intended to be a means of bringing the various unions together. In that it has failed, utterly. The international officials meet and talk and go back home to carry on their separate craft struggles against the united powers of capital. As a matter of fact all the federation can do is pass resolutions, which the unions may ignore, and which they do with impatience. The penalty of expulsion is seldom carried out, for that would be defeating the object of the federation; and anyway, the unions don’t fear it, since each international is an entity in itself, fighting its battles alone most of the time.

In recent years they have tried to patch up the deficiency in the system by the formation of “departments.” Whatever of good that has accrued to the unions from the A. F. of L. has come thru these departments. But even these have proved to be poor makeshifts in the face of the big combinations of capital. Nobody knows this any better than the men at the head of the unions. But they will not make any move to remedy the defect. They know very well that as the “Department” was the first step in the evolution of the craft union, the next step must be amalgamation, and consequent industrialism.

They know that if a department was a union instead of a dozen unions they could always get

statement of their case and courageous demeanor, they have obtained from the Guardians the necessary of life for themselves and families, and engaged through the whole dispute exhibited solidarity amongst themselves, and cooperated with the Lock-Out Committees. They have not only thus helped to encourage the men to carry on the fight, but have always been ready to take a big part in mass picketing, and have shown such readiness of resource and such plucky behaviour, that no one could but be happy in the unemployed, and particularly those who were unemployable before the lock-out began, have borne a large share of the burden of struggle, and acquitted themselves as class-conscious workers equal to the best. Oftentimes they have been the pace-setters in all forms of militancy.

Herein there is genuine warrant for declaring that class consciousness has developed largely in recent times. Although the opposition forces have many things that favor them, it is most cheering to know that those victims of the capitalist system who have been barred the opportunity of employment, with all that such conditions carry with it, have definitely refused to sell out to the bosses, to the detriment of their fellow workers engaged in class struggle, but on the contrary they are themselves organizing effective meetings and demonstrations, pointing out the chief economic lessons to be learned from the breaking down of the capitalist system. These are the men who make the men.

One-third of them (and in nearly all institutions it is only one-third or less that are active) are definitely out to carry on, not so much to bring into existence a union for the Engineering and Shipbuilding Industry, open to every worker in the industry, regardless of sex; but in the friendly society benefits to be kept separate from the industrial benefits: the object of the union to be, the full control of industry by those engaged in it.

But for the lock-out being on at the time, there would have been a meeting of the A. F. U. for the Revision of Rules in May last. This meeting had to be adjourned owing to the struggle, and will probably be held in September. It is very significant that many resolutions have been sent to us by branches, calling for the broadening of the basis of the union so as to include all workers connected with the Engineering and Shipbuilding Industry.

The result of the lock-out will give point and strength to all of these forces working for progress, and I expect that ere a year has passed the character of the unions, and certainly their bases, will have been changed substantially for the better.
action—united action, and get it quick. They know better than anyone else can tell them that all the links in their department chain are weak, and that if these links were welded into one chain it would be unbreakable.

They know even more than that—they know there is no argument against the welding of the department. There are many keen chefs when it comes to setting up an argument in defense of their position, but in this particular they are filibustered. They have their reasons, yes, but not for publication. They wouldn't look good in print. Even Brother Gompers, who is the king pin of them all, when it comes to debate, was compelled by the exigencies of the situation to delegate his exalted position as leader of the American labor movement by slinging mud.

Sam thanked the boys from the bottom of his heart for re-electing him president of the federation. Having the welfare of the labor movement so much at heart one would think he would be equally grateful to those who would bring forward an idea having as its object the solidification of the labor movement; something so de-votionally to be wished, according to his own speech. At this time above all others, when it is so well known that a nation wide movement is at work to destroy the labor unions, one would think that the leadership of this movement would be straining every effort to whip the unions together so they could present a solid front to the enemy. Instead we have the spectacle of these labor leaders fighting, actually fighting, against the solidification of the unions, knowing as they do so well the present weakness of the unions and their inability to withstand the onslaught of uneducated capital.

We can understand them honestly opposing socialism; men can honestly disagree upon forms of society. But there is surely something radically wrong with the labor leader who, in this hour of concentrated capital, will maintain that a dozen unions shall exist where one should be. And, mind you, theirs is not the opposition of indifference. It is not a negative opposition, an opposition that says: "Go on and try it if you like, but we don't think it can be brought about". It is a positive and intensely active opposition, that indicates plainly they do not want it to be brought about. They do not want the hand of labor to be strengthened. Do they fear lest a strengthening of the hand of labor would weaken their control over it?

All honor to the man who thinks differently from me and states his reason for so thinking; but I cannot have much respect for the man who answers my thinking with abuse. If there are any good reasons why the unions should not amalgamate it is up to these brothers to state them. We want to know. We may be wrong. We are not dogmatists. We are always amenable to reason. Reason is our guiding star. And it is by following her lead that we have arrived at the decision that amalgamation is the only hope of the unions to save themselves from utter destruction at the hands of the all-powerful capitalist money machine that has been evolved for the purpose of crushing them.

Since the brothers disdain to favor us with their reasons for opposing amalgamation and hand us abuse instead, we must proceed to uncover them. For we know they must have reasons hidden behind this smoke-screen of where they have thrown up. Aside from any suspicion of their taking money from the enemy, which is out of the question, let us apply the test of self interest in another direction.

All of them have good jobs, better than they ever had in their lives. How would amalgamation affect these jobs? Under amalgamation one set of officers would suffice for each industry. What a saving ofclerks. That in itself would be a good reason for amalgamation. But it is not the big reason, and we are not enlisting upon its plane, that the new labor alignment will cut out a lot of good jobs, and isn't it reasonable to assume that right there we have the source of official reprisals?

I am not inclined to knock these brothers too hard for wishing to hold their jobs. A job is a thing of value to the fraternity of the mighty unorganised. We have no idea how to have a job, and the best one we can get is not too good. But all of us want to get in on the good deal, to some extent. To continue slaving in the open shop at the mercy of the money lords so our officers may hold down their good jobs and cut off the sickly feet of the sickly duds. Instead of aiming at a job, if they don't give way gracefully, to the pressure of progress, they will be ruthlessly swept aside. The end of all good of the many against the good of the few. All for one and one for all.

The men who hold good jobs in our unions are subject to the same influence as are the holders of good jobs all thru society. The holders of good jobs never want a change, a real change, a change that would deprive them of their good jobs. All progress has been the work of men with hard jobs. There is no room for a man with a good job to want a change. He can't take the chances that go with a change. He sits in his chair, and with the rise in the price of a pound of coffee he imagines a pound of coffee will make a billion. The man with a poor job has nothing to lose but his chains. That's our position in a nutshell; I mean we of the rank and file. So let us go to it and put our program over.

At last the great crisis has come! Finally, Railroad Labor, exhausted beyond endur- ance, has been forced to the decision that amalgamation and the implication of slave conditions, is striking back at its tormentors. As we write 400,000 workers have closed the mines and mills and the great railroad shops of the country have come to a standstill.

The bitter struggle of exploited against exploit- ers, brewing for the past two years around conference tables, has now broken out into open conflict. The very life of the unions and the standards of living of our families are at stake. It is a fight to the finish.

Entering upon this crucial struggle, it will be up to us well to examine carefully the organization of the two great opposing forces. As for our ene mies, the capitalists, this is easily done. They present an imposing array of solidarity and power. Rich and powerful beyond measure, the companies are united in their opposition to us from one end of the country to the other. Moreover, they have the united support of the business interests generally, the Government, the Courts, and the Press. In a word, all the exploiters' many institutions are functioning efficiently as one great machine to beat us. It is a united front of the entire capitalist class to crush militant Railroad Labor.

Capital United: Labor Divided

But how pitiful the showing when we compare our own scattered forces with the mighty organization and unshakable solidarity of our enemies. Organized Labor as a whole, with its invincible millions, does nothing to help us, but stands around twiddling its thumbs and passing sterile resolutions of sympathy. And even Rail- way Labor, with its 400,000 workers, acting as one united body, in accordance with one common interest, we have division everywhere. While the captains of all the single groups of unions is making the good fight, which will settle the fate of railroad unions for years to come, the others, blind to their true interest, are sitting idly, with the result that there will be no unity and can only be solidarity and concerted action, there is separation and mutual betrayal. It is indeed a tragic situation for the working class.

How unite our 16 unions, fighting singly and in separate battle, when the organization of the companies, is made clear as day when we compare our forces to an army. What would become of an army which, faced by a modern military force, should send its infantry into battle alone, while its cavalry, artillery, air force, etc., stood to the rear? And when the infantry was defeated, sent in the other branch one after the other to meet the same fate. Can we expect a united and fore- thoughted if indeed it were not annihilated. Yet we railroad men are following exactly this stupid course when we allow the shopmen to fight alone, while the running trades and the others take no part in the struggle. Being such bunglers, is it any wonder that we do not win?

But we do even much worse than that. What kind of an army would it be which not only fol lowed the foolish practice of utilizing only one branch of its forces at a time, but also permitted the others to have signed agreements with the enemy that they would not help their embattled fellow workers? Or what kind of a military power would this country have been in the late war, if several of the States had had treaties with Germany, agreeing not to war against her when the rest of the United States did? Such tactics would be incredibly stupid, suicidal nonsense, you say. And you are right. But it is just this foolish way that Railroad Labor is fighting this issue. In this hour of supreme crisis, when our utmost strength is needed, have not many of the unions signed treaties with the enemy? Instead of others dodging around trying to peddle the interests of the striking trades so that they, too, may secure similar protection, instead of trying to stop the railroadists and the companies are trying to operate them. Whichever achieves its goal will win. It might be thought, therefore, that all Railroad Labor would unite to bring the railroad trade to a standstill. But the unions at work are directly in the hands of the owners to run the roads, and thus to break the strike. They are as soldiers who have loaned themselves to the enemy so that their own countrymen and therefore them- selves, can be defeated. Can folly go further?

The Employers Command Our Unions

Yes, folly can go further, and we railroadists have found the way to make it do so. Can you imagine a state of affairs, where the President of an army permitted the opposing general to dictate to him which of his troops he should use, and when he should throw them into battle, or
LEAVING THE SHOPS — SOME OF THE 400,000

THE LABOR HERALD

August, 1922

pull them out of it? Such an army would be only a ridiculous caricature of a fighting force, and its commander would be cashiered instantly as an incompetent. This thought exactly thus that the railroad workers' army operates. For all practical purposes of the struggle, we have abandoned the main command of our forces into the hands of the companies. They are the ones who determine which of our battalions and regiments shall and shall not fight. They directly control and manipulate the extent and breadth of our strikers. Now let us see how they do it.

Our organization is split into many fragments of single unions or groups of unions. Being autonomous and imbued with an individualist spirit, these do not recognize the common interest of all, nor do they rally to each other's support. They fight only when their own individual interests are involved, only when pressure is put upon them directly. Aware of this fact, the railroad monopoly, operating through its agent, the Railroad Labor Board, plays them against each other just as it pleases, selecting whichever ones it wants to do battle with and whenever it chooses. The real command of our unions is thus in the hands of the enemy.

Never was this more clearly illustrated than in the present crisis. The Railroad Labor Board, which, we repeat, is nothing but the willing tool of the companies, slashed the wages of the Maintenance of Way to the bone. When the Board did this it virtually organized this organization into barracks, with dissolution as the penalty if it dared disobey the Board's instructions. Moreover, the Board commanded it to fight alone, for it knew very well that the other unions, hopelessly divided against each other, could not rise to the heights of making common cause with the workers. It was just as though General Von Hindenburg had sent this order to General Foch:

"Now we are going to attack your 4th Army as we are ready to whip them. But be sure to keep your other troops out of action until we say the word." Can you imagine Foch or any other general with an ounce of brains issuing such a command from the enemy? Yet that is exactly what our railroad union generals did when they allowed the companies to single out the strikers for slaughter and did not rise in protest against it.

Very well, the Railroad Labor Board, realizing its control of the situation and not greatly fearing the power of the Maintenance of Way, decided they could extend the fight profitably—for the deflation of Railroad Labor must proceed as rapidly as possible. So they slashed the wages of the Hatmen and the Clerks, thus throwing these bodies into the fight as directly as though the Board had wired their headquarters that they had either to strike or dissolve. But, not wishing to take on too big a contract, the Board decided that the train service unions should be kept out of the struggle until it is better able to trim them. So it just tells them to wait around a few months until it has the time and opportunity to settle their deck. And they obligingly do so. It is like Von Hindenburg sending this order to Foch and getting away with it: "Now send in your and my 3rd Armies. We can take care of them as well as the 4th Army, which you delivered promptly as per instructions on the 'steerboard. But do not fail to keep those heavy shock troops of yours, the Brothers and Telegraphers, in reserve. We will let you know in due season when to bring them onto the field of battle so that we may dispose of them with the fewest possible casualties to ourselves."

And now that the battle is on, the Railroad Labor Board has by no means lost command of our forces. Should the situation become threatening, it can pull out of the fight just whichever sections of our army it deems necessary. All it has to do is to grant a few concessions to the group which is about to pull out of action, and the job is done. Obediently they will join forces with the employers and thus help beat the rest whom our Labor Board has decided must stay in the fight.

Let's Seize Our Own Command

Can anybody deny that the foregoing is a true picture of the situation? Who can dispute the fact that the Railroad Labor Board is playing checkers with our unions, throwing these into battle and pulling them out, just as it sees fit by cutting wages here and withholding wage cuts there? Could a situation be more unfavorable for us, with the practical command of our forces in the hands of our enemies? And is it not high time that we put a stop to this ruinous condition by seizing command of our own organizations, so that we, and not the Railroad Labor Board, shall determine the number of troops we shall bring to bear against our opponents at any given time?

And we can seize this command only by amalgamating our many unions into one. So long as we are divided into many sections, the bosses will be able to play one against the other, as they are now doing to our sad detriment. Only when we are all in one general railroad union, only when the whole body of the support of every section of us that may be in trouble, will we actually have charge of our own unions. Now they are controlled in their most vital function by the bosses.

In the present great struggle, two supreme tasks confront us. One is to win the strike. We must and will carry that to victory, regardless of obstacles. This can be done, as the panic of the employers now shows, if we hold fast and extend the strike. In spite of our serious division we have delivered a smashing blow, which if followed up relentlessly cannot fail to bring a favorable result. And the other task is to point out to the railroad workers the need for united action by all of us against the companies, and also to show them that this unity can only be secured by amalgamating our unions together. In one gigantic union, built up of our 10,000 craft organizations, embracing all classes of railroad workers, lies the only remedy for the division and lack of solidarity which is costing us so dearly in this struggle. Amalgamation and victory, should be our slogan.

Railroad Workers' Section.
Trade Union Educational League.

Herrin: A Warning

By Earl R. Browder

THE miners of the United States have had better experience with the gummie and private detectives hired by the operators. Particularly steel fields held or operated by the steel trust and the oil trust, the lawless violence of private armies against the strikers has gone to the limit. Ludlow, Cabin Creek, Calumet, West Virginia, and West Virginia, are still open wounds inflicted upon the miners.

Williamson County, Illinois, has been a peaceful spot during all the recent coal strikes. But the Southern Illinois Coal Co., operating a strip-mining system of the towns of Marion and Herrin, suddenly became militantly active in June, against the strikers. After working, under agreement, in a united union, only upon uncovering the coal while the strike was on, they suddenly announced they would begin to mine the coal itself. The union men immediately walked off the job. Armed private detectives and strike breakers were immediately rushed in, and sharp operations were carried on under charge of C. E. McDowell, a gunman who had "seen service" in the mine strikes of Colorado and whose record was familiar to the strikers.

Then the information began to spread about the steel trust's fat hand in the company and was directing operations. This was borne out by the identical tactics used in the West Virginia coal fields operated by the steel trust. Armed guards began to terrorize the inhabitants; public roads were closed; even representatives of the Chicago newspapers and of the State government, were stopped, and allowed to pass over the highways only under the permit of McDowell. The miners appealed to the State to remedy these conditions. The adjutant general of the State militia sent Colonel Hunter to Williamson County to investigate.

Hunted came, and was also stopped on the highway. When he was informed about the conditions at the mine, the matter of guns and ammunition stored there, etc. McDowell answered, "this is being kept for ducks." When appealed to by the representatives of the State and county to withdraw the gummie, he replied, "I've
having been closed to traffic, and the brutal and cold-blooded murder of Henderson and Picovich, of the warning given by Colonel Hunter to the adjutant general that the gummen would have to be curbed, and the failure of the State to act; all these things combined to make such a clear case that even the capitalist newspapers have had to quench printing "news" and fall back upon editorials in order to condemn the miners of Williamson County.

The people of Williamson County all know the merits of the battle. When a correspondent met the Mayor of Herrin and asked him for some particulars, the Mayor said: "As a matter of fact, the mine office is at Marion, and the mine is closer to there than to Herrin. So Herrin does not deserve, according to your point of view, the honor or the blame."

Williamson County as a whole considers it an honor that it prevented a repetition of the West Virginia slaughter of strikers. When they had the old challenge of the steel trust thrown in their faces they met it and wiped it out. Herrin stands as a warning to the predatory capitalists, that the use of private armed force is not entirely a one-sided game; it is a warning to the Government that it cannot continue to wink at murders committed by detectives in order to break strikes.

When the striking workers have to face the armed forces of the Government thrown into battle for the capitalists, that is one problem which has yet to be solved. But the use of private armies and detectives, thugs, and gummen, has been met by the miners of Herrin, and a challenge has been accepted. It is a warning that the times have changed.
Italian Labor Preparing to Assume Power

By Emilio Luigi

The Italian labor and political situation is characterized by the fact that the capitalist class is attacking, concerted, deliberately and violently, all that Labor has gained during these decades and more of sustained struggle. The capitalist class, ably exploiting the divisions of the proletariat in various factions and parties, is trying to break up the labor organizations and reduce the workers’ status to standards surpassed a long time ago; it arms mercenary bands to destroy the offices of the labor unions and seizes the buildings, factories, machines, shops and crops of the cooperative societies; because, these latter, have made such inroads into the capitalist system of production and distribution that its very existence is menaced at the most strategic points. And this deliberate and organized war is not directed only against communist organizations but is waged with equal ferocity against catholic, socialist or republican bodies. To succeed in breaking up the labor organizations would mean the breaking up of Labor’s political power, the absolute rule of the profiteers.

During the last weeks this reaction has taken such proportions that Labor and Socialism have finally decided to create a new labor organization embracing all branches of the labor movement, and to abandon their traditional and systematic opposition to any government.

A few of the most powerful labor bodies have laid down the foundations for a General Confederation of Labor Organizations (G.C.L.O.) in order “to direct and discipline the working class struggle against the capitalist regime of production and labor; simultaneously the Socialist Parliamentary Group has decided to uphold a Government that will defend Liberty and the labor organizations.”

The executive bodies of the new organization, managing its funds, publishing an official organ, organizing propaganda, realizing in short the latest energies of the whole working class movement.

The creation of this body was a necessity even independently of the steps that are being taken about it by Reaction. Trade unionism on the increase and its growing tendency of assuming productive enterprises and social relations—both financial and legislative—with the State needed central management—coordination and discipline—to organize the confusing and confusion and to become efficient.

This new departure in the field of Labour and Politics is of utmost importance for Italy; it will enable Labor to withstand the capitalist attack and may determine the final resolution characterized by Labor’s assuming responsibilities of Government and by the beginning of the transformation of that body of the country; transformation based on the methodical extension of the productive activities of labor unions beyond the purely cooperative societies in concert.

The functions of the G. C. L. O. are as follows:

a) The League of Resistance (the present General Confederation of Labour);

b) The National Co-operative League;

(c) The Federation of Mutual Aid and Pre-Reimbursement.

The weapon of the labor movement, industrial and agricultural, in its various forms of activity; to coordinate and discipline the unional, co-operative and mutual-aid movement.

b) to maintain the relations with the national and international organizations in the fields of politics, co-operation and mutual aid.

c) to regulate the relations between the unial, co-operative and mutual-aid bodies and to control the people really know what wages are? Some have an idea it is a gift from the boss to them from the goodness of his heart. Others again think it means what they are worth, and that to pay more would be a crime. Then there are many who say they are getting more than they are worth,—and while they believe in that fashion it may be all too true. And with some, because of being somewhat careless, they may get more for what they do than others. Yet that is no answer as to what wages are, but rather a statement of the confusion that prevails among the workers about it. And further, let it be understood that many do not even give, as to what wages are, even a thought. The ignorance prevalent on this question is simply stupendous.

Owing to the teaching some have had, they measure wages only in a religious sense, because it has been dinned into their ears that “the wages of sin is death.” Consequently they cannot see why what they get for working should be confused with the theology they have been taught from childhood. Therefore in order, if possible, to clear the atmosphere of some of this fog, this article has been written. Its intent is solely to make the solution so simple that any worker can understand and think about it, even by reading it once over. Watch how simple it is, then try to remember it. You may learn, like many of your fellow workers, something of importance to yourself. From that knowledge, once you have mastered it, you will gladly join with those you have previously opposed, in the movement to destroy the wages system. Because when you learn how degrading it is, and how inhuman, and what is more—what a hole you have of ever rising out of the ranks of the wage-workers will then realize that your greatest hope is to aid in demolishing a condition of society that denies the workers the right to the fruits of their toil, to say nothing of the denial of an education, leisure to enjoy art, science and literature, and Nature in all her grandeur and beauty.

First we must not allow “salary” and “wages” to be confused, because there is quite a difference. A word in a dictionary, here it is: “Salary, a periodic allowance as compensation for service,” while wages are “payment for services rendered regardless of the divergence—wages for services rendered,” salary a “periodic allow-
The Workers Committees in Great Britain

By J. T. Murphy

It is easier to-day to estimate the significance and importance of the Workers' Committees Movement in Britain than at any time since the War. The Workers' Committees Movement, which resulted from the union movement in the early days of the war period, has passed through a variety of changes and its later stages are as important as the first. It was a movement truly in the factories. To-day it is an Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement so far as independent organisation is concerned.

The failure of the orthodox labor union leaders to remain true to the interests of the masses that compelled the coming into being of independent leadership and organisation of the union elements in the factories. It was the failure of the same leaders and organisations to tackle the problems of the unemployed which compelled the creation of the Unemployed Workers' Committees. To-day in all the important industrial centres where unemployment is a severe problem there is a network of committees operating under their own national leaders striving continually to save the unemployed workers from starvation.

Strange as it may seem neither in the case of the factory committees or the unemployed committees have the masses attached to these organisations fought against the unions in spite of their sometimes violent condemnation of the unions. In the Engineers Lock-out of recent date the organised unemployment have played an heroic part, organising mass pickets with the locked-out men marching into factories, selling out the scabs and stopping firms from working overtime. They have pursued a policy of utilising whatever means lay to hand to assist in the struggle of the workers NOW, attaching themselves to Trades Councils, Lock-Out Committees, union committees, etc., and using them. To have set out on a campaign to smash the unions would have lost them whatever assistance they have gathered from the unions, and also a large proportion of their own members. This they realised even as the Workers Committees of the war period realised.

There never was much support forthcoming for a separatist policy even during the time when they were most powerful. To start off for the building of new unions when large powerful organisations were already in the field has been recognised by the advanced workers as a fatal policy intensifying the problems of sectionalism rather than solving them. To make 52 unions into 53 unions is not the way to get One Union for the Industry. Such a policy stands no chance of acceptance in the trades union movement. It is and because of this fact that the spontaneous movements which rise from time to time in the union movement lend themselves more to an independent organisation than any other.

Before the war only a few unions had shop stewards. To-day every union in the engineering and shipbuilding industry have shop stewards and are committed to the formation of shop committees. The "Shop Stewards and Works Committee Agreement" made between the employers and the unions in 1918 was a big factor in defeating the unofficial Shop Steward and Workers Committees as an independent organisation. But it does not only by committing the unions officially to adopt the factory organization methods which had been the feature of the unofficial movement. Certainly, it took the sting out of the revolutionary movement at the same time, and gave it a new direction, but it committed the unions officially to strive for the control of labor conditions in the factory and to the introduction of new methods of struggle. The unions have now consciously and openly invaded the factories. The question "Who shall control the factories?" has thus become practical politics for the unions. Once it was a theme for the active minority alone. To-day it is in the forefront of the industrial struggle. Witness the Lock-out and the challenge concerning "managerial functions."

More even than this has been gained. The amalgamation of the unions has received an impetus. Big schemes are afoot and the demand for one union for the Engineering and Shipbuilding industry has become a live issue. This demand has been a theme of the Workers' Committees from their inception. A practical idea in the workshops by forming the factory committees to include all the unions represented there, has been a force to be reckoned
Frenzied Labor Journalism

In times past many papers have put on circulation drives, but never has there been one so spectacular as that of the One Big Union Bulletin, published in Winnipeg. A four-page weekly, its circulation leaped from 8,000 to 600,000 in six months. Now it has by far the biggest circulation of any paper, capitalist or otherwise, in Canada.

Whence came this marvelous development? By what strange alchemy did the radical One Big Union Bulletin become so overwhelmingly popular? The answer is easy. It was through the aid of one of the cleverest gamblers schemes of recent years. Several months ago the paper, poor and obscure, in casting about for circulation hit upon the idea of starting a football pool. The thing caught on remarkably well. The number of participants in the pool became larger and larger, and the prizes ever greater. When the football season ended the pool was changed into a baseball pool. It became constantly more and more popular, until the people generally went half "nuts" over it. The prizex increased rapidly until they reached veritable fortunes and the circulation of the paper grew like mad.

The scheme is a simple one. In each copy of the One Big Union Bulletin there appears a most cleverly designed list of 25 baseball games to be played on a given day in five leagues. The readers try to guess the winners, marking crosses after his various selections. Then and most important of all, he sends in 25 cents with each copy. The total money amassed, after deducting contest expenses, is put into the pool and divided among the best guessers, on the basis of 50%, and prize 30%, and 3rd prize 20%. In the week of June 29th, the total prize money distributed was $65,475.000. There were four first prize winners, each of whom received $7,934.87, 47 second prize winners, each receiving $405.18, and 263 third prize winners at $85.00 each.

Canada, from Porth Arthur to Calgary, has fairly gone crazy over this get-rich-quick scheme. The One Big Union Bulletin goes like hot cakes everywhere. In Saskatoon, a city of 21,000 people, 2,500 copies of the paper are sold each week. In Winnipeg, the circulation is much greater than the entire population of the city. Trophys of silver have been set up in the streets, each loaded with the One Big Union Bulletin. The purchaser is hailed with a cry of "How many?" when he buys—far more people purchase them in bunches so that they may get the voting coupons. So large are the sales profits that many newspapers refuse to handle the daily papers. In Winnipeg one often has trouble to get a capitalist sheet, while the "O. B. U." peddles are on every hand. On trains, in offices, in banks, everywhere is the One Big Union Bulletin. When the winners are announced, police have to be on hand to keep people from being crushed. Over 600 people are employed in the Bulletin office sorting and checking the voted coupons. Four of the largest printing shops in the city are taxed to the limit printing the paper, while scouts dig up fresh supplies of paper as far away as Minneapolis. So intense is the interest in the guessing competition that the saying is that "there are only two social classes in Winnipeg, those who select the O. B. U. Bulletin, and those who buy it."

The whole thing is a riot of passionate gambling, much as it has been seen since the days of the Louisiana Lottery.

The O. B. U. officials behind this scheme justify it on the ground that it is the means of getting radical propaganda (the Bulletin) into the hands of great numbers of people. It may get such propaganda into the hands of people who are not asked the political or social implications of their votes, but are asked to cast votes for candidates of the O. B. U. candidates. The Bulletin is being used as a means of getting the public interested in the Bulletin as a whole, and thus to attract new readers. It is a means of spreading the Bulletin to a much wider audience, and of increasing the circulation of the Bulletin.

(Continued on page 30)
THE MINERS HOLD FAST

AFTER three months and a half of struggle, the miners are still holding fast. The coal reserves are being rapidly exhausted, and the country faces a coal famine. The houses are getting nervous, and the Government, acting as its agent, is threatening to take over the mines, conscript labor, and produce coal once more.

Why all this furor about conscripting labor to dig coal? If you want coal you can have it any time. The miners will dig it for you just as soon as you give them their national agreement and the right to strike down to a decent level. Or do you think, Mr. Harding, that men of the calibre of the United Mine Workers can be coerced by your high-sounding words into becoming slaves, bending beneath your whip and accepting your conditions?

If one expects to see the miners dig coal under military orders, let them go out and take another look over the United Mine Workers of America. Don't judge the miners by the men who go into the little conference room with the boss. The U. M. W. A. has thousands of men like those who have been fighting in West Virginia for more than a year. It has thousands of sympathizers in every part of the country, and thousands of those men "industrial conscripts"? Think again.

AN EMPTY BLUFF

AMERICAN Federation of Labor's Remarkable Membership Drive is a primary headline in the A. F. L. of L. newsletter. It is followed by some figures supporting the claim that the organization is increasing its membership. This is an "important increase." It is an empty bluff. It is an optimistic camouflage, used to cover up the complete inability of the present officials to carry on the great tradition, and find a "remarkable increase."

Money and War Billings are still in San Antonio after five years. Money will not carry on the organization. And, find a "remarkable increase."

The answer to the empty bluff is that the "union" is an empty bluff. It is an optimistic camouflage, used to cover up the complete inability of the present officials to carry on the great tradition, and find a "remarkable increase."

The answer to the empty bluff is that the "union" is an empty bluff. It is an optimistic camouflage, used to cover up the complete inability of the present officials to carry on the great tradition, and find a "remarkable increase."

THE TRIALS IN MOSCOW

TEMLIN. The eyes of the world have been turned upon the trial, in Moscow, of the 47 members of the Social Democratic Party on charges of assassination, sedition, and insurrection against the Soviet Government and its leaders. The extraordinary interest in this trial is the fact that the Second International, representing the majority socialists in Christendom, has specifically ordered the Social Democratic Party, the French Socialists, the Swedish Social Democrats, and the Spanish Socialists to constitute a union...
FRENZIED LABOR JOURNALISM
(Continued from page 26)
not into their heads, for the overwhelming mass buy the paper solely for the baseball coupons and pay no attention to anything else. As soon as the newsprint holds their bunch of papers they clip the coupons and ditch the rest forthwith.

In the only town the people don’t ask if the Bulletin has arrived, but if the "coupons" have got in yet. In many places the dealers cut out the coupons and sell them at 5 cents apiece. This saves the buyer the trouble of clipping them himself. Nobody thinks about reading the paper. It is idle to talk of the benefits of the large circle of readers, for it is a dead circulation if there ever was one. The whole scheme is poisonously demoralizing. Baseball of itself is bad enough, as it turns the workers' minds away from the real things of life. But with this gambling attachment it is incomparably worse. The O. U. Bulletin scheme has made multitudes of baseball-made. They are busy day and night "dopping out" the various teams, hoping to get rich quick as a result of their superior calculations.

The O. U. Bulletin, coming a big profit from the sale of its papers, has made a barrel of money from its "gambling content." Naturally many are jealous. Much competition has developed. The Western Labor News, an A. F. of L. sheet, has launched a similar scheme, and two other papers, The Judge and The First Baseman, were started solely for baseball purposes. Four papers in Winnipeg appealed to the gambling system. But the O. U. Bulletin stands far away above all the others put together. Its scheme has caught the popular fancy 100 percent.

But the Bulletin has found an obstacle, far more serious than the competition, in a legal attack upon its scheme. The very first week it was in operation, the Bulletin operators were arrested. Judge Sir Hugh J. McDonald held, however, that the pool was legal. Then the city of Winnipeg appealed to the higher court, which ruled the scheme illegal. The O. U. Bulletin was removed to the Supreme Court, and as their hearing was pending, the Ottawa Parliament amended the Criminal Code so as to expressly forbid all such pools. This finished the game and got a load of money out of the shareholders which said: "There are a lot of disgusting features to the system of capitalism, but we cannot compare anything more objectionable and mean than the actions of some of the business men's organizations in trying to find excuses for their wholesale robbing of working people who, because of the nature of the work, have to be used to stop that harmless form of amusement."

As things now stand the thing seems dead. With the law in effect no money can be collected for prizes. There is $70,000 in hand, on which it will never, which must be divided. This is being given out as free prizes at the rate of $10,000 a week. When it is gone the bubble will be burst. The Bulletin has made considerable money out of its high finance scheme, but its inflated circulation will collapse at once. And the effects of the pool on the general organization, now reduced to about 4,000 members, will unquestionably be bad. Dissentions have already developed over the scheme.

In a resolution recently adopted, the Newsboys' Unit of the O. U. B., which was discriminated against by the Bulletin officials in their efforts to cater to the newsdealers, declared that these official actions have been "utterly unworthy of individuals who claim to be acting in the interest of the working class." Other members and groups are sincerely disgruntled. It takes no prophet to see that in playing with capitalism through the baseball pool, the O. U. B. has made a cardinal mistake, and one from which it will not recover soon. It has squatted poison right into its own body.


FRANCE
The new constitution and laws of the first General Confederation of Labor (C. G. T. U.), which was reported as "taken in tabula rasa" for June, have been the occasion of a communication from the Executive of the Red Trade Union International to that organization, in which the proposed statutes were submitted to a searching criticism. Involved as the matter does, the more so, as the proposed structure of the organization, which will doubtless have a bearing on many decisions in the labor movement generally, this communication is hereon quoted in full. It will be found of the most vital interest.

The letter follows:

After a careful study of the statutes that were published
in the Liberté and in Le Figaro Ouvrier dealing with the French Confederation Générale du Travail (Unitaire Générale Confederation of Labor—C. G. T. U.) the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International considers it necessary to call the attention of the members of the C. G. T. U. to the following:

1. The present draft of the statutes is based upon the decentralization of the struggle of the working class, a fact that must be looked upon as exceedingly dangerous for the French proletariat in the face of the concentrated and centralized power of capital.

2. This decentralization which is seen in the granting of all control over finances to the local unions, as well as the right granted to every union to carry on the struggle wherever and whenever it considers it necessary, will lead the workers of France towards a series of defeats, for the simple reason that the workers will only be able to oppose the well-organized army of capital through local isolated divisions.

3. The statutes contain the mechanical discharge of labor leaders chosen for responsible posts; in fact those leaders who deserve the absolute confidence of the revolutionary proletariat, are in danger of being discharged without consideration. The mechanical discharge of labor leaders is called forth by abstract principles and fear of reaction rather than by the best interest of the working class, because such a procedure would make it impossible for the proletariat to develop a movement under the guidance of well-chosen leaders who understand complicated social economic problems, and whose knowledge constitutes a necessary condition in a successful class struggle. The mechanical discharge of labor leaders will in no way insure any labor organization against bureaucracy or monotony.

4. The statutes are based upon the principle of the equal representation of unions and federations, regardless of the size of their respective membership. With such a form of representation neither the national nor the local congresses, or any of the higher organs of the trade union, will be able to reflect the interests of the working masses faithfully. With such a mechanism it will be impossible for a majority of delegates to reach a decision while the majority of organized working men may be against it. Under such circumstance, the leadership bears the responsibility of the various decisions (and this depends solely upon the activity and revolutionary initiative and not upon the masses themselves), will be rendered considerably more difficult and the most important decisions at the different districts of the Trade Union Executive runs the danger of remaining scraps of paper.

5. The new statutes leave questions of an international character to the Unity General Confederation of Labor (C. G. T. U.), which was reported as "taken in tabula rasa" for June, have been the occasion of a communication from the Executive of the Red Trade Union International to that organization, in which the proposed statutes were submitted to a searching criticism. Involved as the matter does, the more so, as the proposed structure of the organization, which will doubtless have a bearing on many decisions in the labor movement generally, this communication is hereon quoted in full. It will be found of the most vital interest.

5. All the points mentioned make it impossible for the central organization of the French trade unions to become a real fighting organization, and they further exclude the concentration of the whole revolutionary energy of the working class, as well as the struggle of the latter against organized capital.

7. Of course, every national organization has the right to adopt such statutes as it sees fit. The Red Trade Union International cannot challenge this right, but it considers it its duty to express its opinion and communicate it to the members of the C. G. T. U.

MOSCOW, Nov. 13, 1922.

GERMANY In spite of the fact that the 8-hour day is written into the constitution of the German Republic, the employers are determined to abolish it. Dr. Kurt Sorge, president of the National Association of German Industrials made this clear, opening sessions of that organization, when he said:

"We have become an exporting country, with very high production costs. If German industry is to compete in the world to-day it must at least doubt whether she can afford the luxury of a general suspension of the 8-hour day."

About the same time, Borsig, president of the Association of Machine Builders, made a strong declaration in support of the 8-hour day and a systematic reduction in wages. A conference held on the subject, was organized by the Hessian Association of Western German Industrials, urging a campaign for abolishing the 8-hour day.

This is in spite of the fact that the German workers are already so low that the labor unions are deploring the court, as the Tariff Board, part, president of the German Federation of Free Trade Unions, the largest organization of German industry, said: "The purchasing capacity of the German people has declined to such an extent that the 8-hour day is not possible." German industry is slowing up, and unemployment is on the increase. The lack of purchasing power of the workers, combined with the increasing demand for the goods of the free market, etc., is bringing the industrial situation to a crisis. The latest survey of a large bank has shown that business is being intensified, and practically nothing is in hand. Before the last few weeks wages per hour would purchase less than one-fourth of their usual amount of food. The great strike of the metal workers has been lost. The strike involved 190,000 workers, and lasted 8, 10, and 11 weeks in 1922. The cause of the struggle was the employers' determination to
lengthen the hours of labor to 48 per week, instead of 40, the previous standard. The movement was started by the employers' organizations in Bavaria, Wurttemberg, and Thuringia. The workers responded with a vote of 95% to reject this, on the ground that it would immediately mean the loss of the 8-hour day. The fight was taken up with great energy and solidarity, even the Socialist, Christian, and Hirsch-Dimmer unions working together in the fight.

The strikers were defeated, however, by the tactical errors of the national leaders in preventing its spread to other districts and other industries. Instead of bringing wider circles of workers into the battle, they contended themselves with limiting a strike assessment upon the other districts to maintain the strikers. The leaders' persistent refusal to extend the conflict was based upon a fear that the strike would develop into a fight for political power by the workers, and the leaders are closely allied with the greatest capitalist-social democratic government. They tried to persuade the workers that they could win by means of the strike assessment and financial assistance. But when the employers themselves threatened to extend the battle by locking out 30,000 more workers in the Frankfort district unless their terms were accepted, this threatened to make the financial burden unbearable. From that moment the leaders gave up the resistance, and endeavored to and the struggle as quickly as possible. By maneuvering and threats, they finally succeeded in bringing the unions to accept the employers' terms and go back to work on the basis of 48 hours per week.

The next move will be to break down the 8-hour day, which is being openly threatened from all sides.

The annual convention of the Bunker's Central Federation held in Halberstadt early in May, decided to work out a scheme in detail for the creation of an industrial union for the food industries as a whole.

The German Federation of Building Workers, meeting in annual convention in Leipzig early in May, decided by a large majority in favor of the amalgamation of the building trades unions into one organization. The chief arguments advanced in favor of amalgamation were that it would simplify the administrative work, and strengthen the feeling of solidarity among the workers.

A proposal to amalgamate all the printing trades unions into an industrial union, to include the printers, lithographers, binders, and workers in auxiliary branches, was made at the congress of the Federation of Bookbinders and Paper Workers, at Cassel, May 20th. It was referred to a special committee for further elaboration.

ITALY

The Confederazione delle Corporazioni Professionali (the trade unions in the hands of the Fascisti) held a national congress at Milan early in June. This body of strikers, assassins, and thugs (the Italian Ku Klux Klan) claims a membership of 400,000.

The Fascisti gave another demonstration against the labor movement in Italy in May when they struck Bologna, a stronghold of the union and political labor organizations, with an army of goons. Three white saviors murdered, pillaged, and destroyed, their power by class rings. Union leaders were assassinated, battalions and co-operatives were burned. The Communist Trade Union Committee has proposed a united front for a counter-offensive against these outrages, which should lead the General Confederation of Labor Organizations (Alliance of Labor) to a real goal, holding that only by uniting all revolutionary forces and launching them in one general action, that the enemy can be brought to terms.

SWITZERLAND

Here and throughout the capitalist world, the hours of labor are being increased and wages cut. A latest move against the 8-hour day was made on May 19th in the form of an amendment to the Factory Act, increasing the workday in many occupations from 8 to 9 hours.

The printing unions of Switzerland (typographers, lithographers, and binders) at a conference held at Berne in May, reached an agreement calling for the amalgamation of the unions into one organization covering the entire industry. The joint proposal has been submitted to a referendum of the branches of the four federations.

GREAT BRITAIN

The Transport Workers' Federation, which met in annual conference at Cardiff in June, adopted the proposal to bring the railway trade unions into the Federation. The railroad unions had agreed previously with the executive of the Federation that if the new constitution was adopted, the reconstituted Federation would hold its first meeting soon. The proposal was adopted with great enthusiasm by almost every organization concerned. This means that the National Union of Railwaymen and the Associated Society of Engineers and Firemen are now a part of the Transport Federation.

"We must make up our minds to organize towards the one big organization, embracing all workers, breaking down all barriers between them, and making our one united, one objective." These are the words of A. G. Cameron, general secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, at the annual convention in June.


INTERNATIONAL

The Second International, meeting on June 18th in London, abandoned definitely the project of establishing a "united front of the working class against capitalism," proposing instead a "Democratic united front" of the reformist parties to the exclusion of the communist parties and groups.

Despairing, the representatives of the Second International at the trial of the Social Revolutionaries in Moscow, claimed that he had not been allowed a stenographer. Yet, the court did not recognize his special rights claimed under the Berlin agreement, and he was tried in the Russian press, he had withdrawn from the trial. The Congress gave him a vote of confidence, claimed the Soviet Government, and would not try to come to any understanding with the Communist International. Outside of passionately denouncing the "leftist" organization, the Congress of the Second International made no more of note except to invite the 2nd International to join them.

The Labor Herald

Is necessary for those who seek
Facts About the American Labor Movement

For example:

An enemy, Babson's Statistical Corporation, finds it advantageous to subscribe to The Labor Herald. These expert advisers of the capitalist class want to know the facts—and they know where to get them.

A friend, The Labor Bureau, keeps The Labor Herald on file for reference on questions of amalgamation, industrial unionism, and the trade union left-wing movement. These expert advisers to the labor movement also know where to get the facts.

These illustrate the growing interest in the program offered by The Labor Herald to meet the burning questions before the trade unions. A little light is showing in the darkness of the American movement, and all sides now realize that The Labor Herald is the one indispensable magazine.

if they wish to keep a finger on the pulse of events. It is the only journal of its kind on the continent. You will be glad that you sent in your subscription.

The Labor Herald

180 No. La Salle St., Chicago, Ills.

Send this Sub Blank

Today.

Send in the Labor Herald for six months, one year

t with the issue of ... 1922

Enclosed find money order for $2.25 for which send in The Labor Herald for six months.

From your 2.50 for which send in the Labor Herald for one year.