

## 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 company 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 you 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 money to buy them food; we will keep on giving it. But that money is eaten up. Here is a chance to help Russian industry get started so that Russia will be self-sustaining. Money invested in this company will not be eaten up; it will keep going the wheels of textile mills and clothing factories, it 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 say so with hard cash.

President Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

### The Russian-American Industrial Corporation

Sidney Hillman, President. 31 Union Square, New York City

#### LENIN'S MESSAGE TO YOU

Moscow, June 7, 1922.

SIDNEY HILLMAN, RUSSIAN-AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL CORPORATION:

YOUR COMMUNICATION IN REFERENCE TO R. A. I. C. CAMPAIGN RECEIVED. SOVIET GOVERNMENT SATISFACTION. ASSURING ALL POSSIBLE SUPPORT SOVIET GOVERNMENT URGES EXERCISE ALL EFFORTS SPEEDY REALIZATION YOUR PLANS.

(Signed)

RYKOFF,  
ACTING CHAIRMAN COUNCIL LABOR AND DEFENSE (Substitute for Lenin).

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. They are worth between \$2,500,000 and \$5,000,000.

Sidney Hillman inspected these factories and found that they are in good condition, turn 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 \$1,000,000.

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 is a people's enterprise.

Russia has plants, workers and raw material in great abundance. She needs working capital and technical aid.

Russia has gone to foreign governments and bankers to get the money and the aid. These bankers are eager for the profits waiting to be made. But they will make bargains only on conditions that Russia does not wish to accept.

They want Russia to abandon all communistic ideals. They want the debts of the Tsar to be paid. They want control over Russian courts and other impossible things.

Cannot American working people furnish the necessary capital without depending on the bankers to do it for them? Instead of putting your money in the bank, invest it in the Russian-American industrial Corporation.

#### RUSSIAN-AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL CORPORATION

32 Union Square, New York City

I want.....shares of your stock at \$10 a share, for which I enclose \$..... I want further information about the plan. I want..... copies of your literature to distribute to my friends.

Name .....

Address .....

City .....

State .....

L. H. 8 22

# THE LABOR HERALD

Official Organ of The Trade Union Educational League



SEPTEMBER 1922

99

15 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 men 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 "pit their enormous organization against the employing class, end 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

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799 Broadway, Room 405  
New York City

## LITERATURE AGENTS, SPECIAL NOTICE

Because of the seizure of our books by the police in an attempt to frame-up against me in connection with the Gary train wreck, it is impossible for us to send regular statements to those having accounts with THE LABOR HERALD. We are therefore compelled to appeal to you to figure out your own account, on the basis of the bills sent you last month, deducting any payments made, and adding for copies received, and to promptly send us the amount due. Remember the September Herald costs only nine cents per copy. We appeal to your solidarity to act immediately in this matter and to remit the full amount due us. When the authorities are making desperate efforts to destroy our League and THE LABOR HERALD, the militants should make reply by at least paying their accounts promptly. We know you won't fail us in this matter.

Wm. Z. Foster



# NATIONAL CONFERENCE NUMBER THE LABOR HERALD

Published monthly at 118 N. La Salle St. Subscription price \$1.50 per year. The Trade Union Educational League, Publishers.  
"Entered as second-class matter March 23, 1922, at the postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879."

Vol. I.

September, 1922



No. 7

## First National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League

Chicago, Aug. 26-27.

### First Day's Proceedings. Morning Session

The Conference was opened at 9:30 a. m., August 26th, in the Labor Lyceum, 2733 Hirsch Blvd., by Sec'y-Treas. Foster.

Del. Johnstone of Chicago was unanimously elected chairman.

Upon motion the chair was instructed to appoint the following committees of three members each: Credentials, Resolutions, Organization, Finance, Defense.

### Report of Credentials Committee

The Credentials Committee reported credentials of 45 delegates from the following 26 cities: Milwaukee, Boston, Buffalo, Winnipeg, Montreal, Toronto, Guelph, New York, Cleveland, Minneapolis, San Francisco, Seattle, Los Angeles, St. Louis, O'Fallon, Chicago, Grand Rapids, Pittsburgh, Cisco, Moline, Omaha, Kansas City, Astoria, St. Paul, Youngstown. The delegation included many of the most active and influential militants in the American trade union movement. Adopted.

The following communications were read:-

AMALGAMATED UNION OF BUILDING  
TRADES WORKERS OF GREAT  
BRITAIN AND IRELAND

London, England, August 10th, 1922.

Mr. Wm. Z. Foster,  
Trade Union Educational League,  
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Many thanks for the copy of THE LABOR HERALD you were good enough to send me together with an invitation to contribute an article to this fine publication. I enclose an article on the lines you suggest and also a photograph which may be useful. Best wishes for the success of your National Conference. Your movement is in line with the most keen expression of working class educational life here. Please convey my fraternal greetings to the Conference.

Yours Fraternally,

(Signed) George Hicks,  
General President."

### WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

Philadelphia, Pa. Aug. 25, PM 6 13

Trade Union Convention,  
Educational League,

Regret our inability to send delegates to convention but can't refrain from sending you our heartiest congratulations and wishing you success in the work you are undertaking.

Shop Delegates League, Waist &  
Dress Industry,  
B. Baroky, Secretary."

### Report of Organization Committee

The Organization Committee submitted the following rules and regulations for the national and local leagues:

### RULES FOR THE TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE

1. This body shall be known as the Trade Union Educational League.

2. Its aim shall be to carry on an intensified campaign of educational work within the trade unions to the end that the natural development of these bodies to ever more clear-sighted, cohesive, militant, and powerful organizations may be facilitated, and thus the labor movement hastened on to the accomplishment of its great task of working class emancipation.

3. Only good-standing members of recognized trade unions can hold office in the League and participate actively in its business meetings.

4. Nationally the League shall consist of the following industrial sections: Amusement Trades, Building Trades, Clothing Trades, Food Trades, General Transport Trades, Lumber Trades, Metal Trades, Mining Trades, Miscellaneous Trades, Printing Trades, Public Service Trades, Railroad Trades, Textile Trades, and Local General Groups. Each of these national industrial educational sections shall consist of militant workers from all the recognized trade unions in their respective spheres. Each of them shall have a national secretary. Locally the League shall follow the same general scheme of organization, the various local groups choosing secretaries and specializing themselves according to the above named industrial sections. The national league shall consist of four territorial districts, (1) Eastern States, (2) Central States, (3) Western States, (4) Canada. The boundaries of the districts shall be determined by the National Committee.



P. & A. Photo

POLICE AGENTS RIFLING THE OFFICE OF THE LEAGUE IN AN ATTEMPT TO CONNECT US WITH A GARY TRAIN WRECK.



5. The League is purely an educational body, not a trade union. It is strictly prohibited for any of its national or local branches to affiliate to or accept the affiliation of trade unions. No dues shall be collected from individual workers nor per capita tax from organizations of any kind. The revenues of the League, national, district and local, shall be provided through voluntary donations, meetings, entertainments, sale of literature, etc. No membership cards shall be issued to individuals co-operating in the League.

6. The League shall hold National Conferences yearly, at such times and places as may be determined on by the National Committee. The system of representation shall be based upon the local general groups, which shall be entitled to one delegate for and from each local industrial section organized in their respective localities, and one for the local general group. Delegates shall have one vote each. During the national conferences, meetings shall be held of the various national industrial sections to map out their respective programs.

7. The national officers of the League, shall consist of a Sec'y-Treas., and a National Committee composed of the 14 secretaries of the national industrial sections specified in Sec. 4. The Sec'y-Treas. shall be the secretary of the National Committee. He shall be elected by the National Conference. The industrial secretaries shall be elected by their respective sections during the National Conference. A sub-committee of seven, including the Sec'y-Treas., shall be selected from among the membership of the National Committee, to act as an Administrative Council, selection to be based upon proximity to the national headquarters. All good-standing members of recognized trade unions shall be eligible for the office of Sec'y-Treas.; the members of the National Committee shall be good-standing members of recognized unions in their respective sections.

8. Between National Conferences the National Committee shall execute the national policies of the League. It shall control the work of the Sec'y-Treas.; select the editor of the national official organ, THE LABOR HERALD, and supervise the latter's policy. It shall meet quarterly, or oftener when necessary. When such meetings cannot be held, the National Committee shall conduct its business by referendum.

9. The Sec'y-Treas. shall be duly bonded with a reliable surety company. He shall issue annual and quarterly financial statements in THE LABOR HERALD. His books shall be audited quarterly by a Finance Committee of three chosen by the local general group in the headquarters city. Other national and local officials of the League handling the funds, shall also be bonded.

10. These rules may be changed only by National Conferences.

#### Rules for Local General Groups

Recommended as basis for the work of local general groups.

1. The name of this organization shall be the Trade Union Educational League, local general group of \_\_\_\_\_.

2. Its aim shall be to carry on an intensified campaign of educational work within the trade unions to the end that the natural development of these bodies to ever more clear-sighted, cohesive,

militant and powerful organizations may be facilitated, and thus the labor movement hastened on to the accomplishment of its great task of working class emancipation. To organize all militant trade unionists into local general educational groups;—to carry on the work of amalgamation between the various crafts with the aim of eventually bringing each craft into its natural basic trade industrially.

3. No membership dues or cards will be used,—only a special receipt for subscription to THE LABOR HERALD. (a) All subscribers to THE LABOR HERALD who are also members in good standing in some recognized trade union, and have passed a local examining board, shall be considered members in good standing. (b) The local general group shall consist of members from all local industrial groups.

4. The local general group shall elect on the first regular meeting in January of each year, a chairman and a vice-chairman, a secretary-treasurer (who shall also be the literature agent for the local general group), and a sergeant at arms. On the first regular meeting in January, the following committees shall be elected: (a) Educational and Entertainment, Auditing, Rules and Grievance and Finance Committees. (b) The Organization and Membership Committee shall consist of the secretaries of all the affiliated industrial groups who shall be elected by the members of each industrial group on the last meeting in December of each year. In sections where only general groups exist, these committees shall be elected by the general group.

5. The duties of all officers shall be those generally devolving on said officer. The Educational and Entertainment Committee shall have charge of all entertainments and general meetings of an educational character. The Auditing Committee shall audit the books of the sec'y-treas. and literature agent of the local general group every three months. And at any other time they may be ordered to do so by the local general group. The Rules and Grievance Committee shall handle all grievances and assist when requested by a written call from the officers in any local industrial group, to handle any grievances of said group. This committee shall pass on all rules governing the local general group. The Finance Committee shall devise ways and means of securing finances for the local general group. Process of bringing charges against officers or members:—No charges will be entertained by the chairman of the local general group that is not presented in writing and signed by a member in good standing in some industrial group where group is formed. (a) Said charges must first be presented in the local industrial group of the member presenting same, or if of a general group nature, then presented to the group through its local secretary in writing. (b) If the local industrial secretary or the general group secretary is directly interested in charges being presented, then charges must be brought through some member of the local industrial group delegated by said group.

6. These rules may be amended by a majority vote of the delegates to the local general group at any regular meeting. All changes in rules must first be referred to the Rules Committee, who shall make a report at the next general meeting, which shall be a called meeting.

## Another Frame-up Started

*The arrest of more than a score of men well-known for their progressive views and activities in the labor movement, on the charge of violating the so-called "Criminal Syndicalist Laws" of Michigan, creates a crisis that cannot be ignored by anyone concerned either in the maintenance of civil rights, or in the struggle of the workers for a decent standard of life.*

*The forces which engineered the spectacular raids, headed by a notorious labor-baiting private detective agency, singularly cloaked with the mantle of Federal authority, are of the very same character as those employed by railroad owners and coal operators to stamp out all labor unionism in these industries. The men under arrest are well known for their efforts to strengthen the unions through amalgamation of the craft organizations and their greater coordination in the struggle.*

*Some of the men were arrested hundreds of miles away from the scene of the alleged illegal meeting. That the Chicago arrests involve only men active in the Trade Union Educational League, and that its offices and convention were made the scene of spectacular police raids, shows clearly that it was a police frame-up to hamper the work.*

*Those arrested in Michigan are charged with nothing further than parliamentary discussion and decision. No overt act of any kind is held against them. Their opinion is their crime. Yet unless Labor becomes active in their behalf, long sentences await them.*

*We consider the Michigan alleged Syndicalist case a grave violation of American civil rights and declare that it bears all the ear-marks of a police conspiracy to suppress the work of able and honest labor organizers. Everyone who opposes such action on the part of the authorities should give all possible help, financial and otherwise, to the defense of those arrested.*

*All contributions and communications regarding the defense of this case should be addressed to*

*Emergency Labor Defense Committee  
Room 307, 166 W. Washington st.  
Chicago, Ill.*



7. Order of business. Reading of minutes of previous meeting. Roll call of officers. Report of officers. (a) Report of sec'y-treas., literature agent. (b) Reports of secretaries of industrial groups. (c) Reports of standing committees. Reading of bills and communications. Unfinished business. New business. Good of the order.

#### Industrial Secretaries

The Organization Committee recommends that the

delegates in each local industrial section of the local general groups constitute themselves an unofficial committee for their industry and organize themselves for this purpose by selecting one of their number to act as corresponding member for their group.

Adopted.

Report of Organization Committee adopted.

## Report of the National Committee

The report of the National Committee was submitted by the Sec'y-Treas. Before going into a detailed statement of the standing of the League, Sec'y Foster stated that the organization now has so great an influence in the labor movement that the powers that be are determined to crush it. One effort in this direction was the deportation of himself from Colorado and Wyoming by the authorities. This has been lately followed by a raid on the national office, supposedly in connection with a train wreck in Gary, and finally by the arrest of several members of the League relative to the supposed holding of a radical convention in Michigan. Inasmuch as there has been a defense Committee appointed to look into this "legal" attack on the League, definite action on this matter will no doubt be taken before the Conference adjourns. He stated that a letter had been received from the Civil Liberties Union, signed by Norman Thomas, Roger Baldwin, Robert Morss Lovett and Scott Nearing, pledged the moral and material support of that organization in this crisis.

The Sec'y-Treas. gave a brief history of the development of the general idea of the League. In the early days of the American labor movement the militant elements quite generally functioned within the mass organizations. But along about 1890 a dualistic tendency began to develop. Chiefly under the intellectual guidance of Daniel DeLeon, the idea began to spread that the way to build a real revolutionary labor movement was to forsake the conservative mass organizations and to start a new labor movement. This program acquired almost complete domination among radicals generally, and organization after organization was inaugurated to put it into effect. It is not too much to say that virtually the whole revolutionary movement subscribed to this plan.

But about 1911 a new development took place. Largely influenced by events in France, an element began to advocate that the rebels stay within the old trade unions. At first this agitation, furthered by Tom Mann among others, manifested itself in the I. W. W., and there seemed a

prospect that that organization would abandon its dual union program and turn itself into a purely educational league. But the outbreak of the Lawrence strike and several others in Little Falls, Paterson, Akron, etc., gave a new impetus to dual unionism and all hope of changing the nature of the I. W. W. had to be abandoned. Consequently the Syndicalist League of North America was organized to propagate revolutionary union principles among the craft organizations. This body soon secured quite a foothold, locating groups in most of the important cities. It had four journals, The Syndicalist of Chicago, The Unionist of St. Louis, The International of San Diego, and the Toiler of Kansas City. The groups of this organization developed considerable influence in various localities, notably Kansas City, but eventually the movement expired because the radical element generally were still too deeply imbued with the secessionist idea to carry on constructive work within the trade unions. An attempt was made by the Emma Goldman group in New York to steal the thunder of the S. L. of N. A. by organizing a syndicalist league of their own. But it was still-born.

The next effort at organizing the radicals to work within the trade unions took place in 1916, when the International Trade Union Educational League was organized. This body set up a few groups here and there, but did not acquire the vigor of the earlier Syndicalist League of North America. It died shortly.

Still another effort was made in November 1920, when the present Trade Union Educational League was organized in Chicago. For over a year this body lingered along more dead than alive, due as usual to the dualistic attitude of the rebel element. But then a tremendous change took place in this respect. Almost overnight the great body of revolutionary elements arrived at the opinion that the old method of setting up dual unions was wrong and that the proper place for the militants is among the masses. The experiences of the Russian Revolution contributed greatly to this unparalleled

change of sentiment. The general consequence was that the Trade Union Educational League immediately took on great life and importance.

#### Work of the League

Active work in the organization of the T. U. E. L. practically began in February, 1922. Live spirits were located in all the principal cities in the country and then encouraged to form local groups. These were the "1,000 secret agents," made famous by Mr. Gompers' erratic statements in the capitalist press. At the present time, the League has groups and connections in practically all the important industrial centers of the United States and Canada. It is carrying on a militant campaign everywhere for the revamping of the present lacklustre trade union movement into a genuine fighting organization. Already it is wielding a decisive force in shaping the policies of Labor.

One of the first movements in which the League played a part took place in the mining industry. During the big agitation over the expulsion of Alexander Howat a strong sentiment existed among radical elements to split away from the U. M. W. of A. The League, with hundreds of connections in the miners' union, turned all its efforts to averting such a calamity. It is safe to say that had it not been for the League very serious division would have occurred, which would have greatly jeopardized the success of the then impending strike. In the metal industry the League has been particularly active in the Machinists' Union. It got behind the candidacy of Wm. Ross Knudsen for president of the organization. Although Brother Knudsen advocated a very radical program, standing for all the T. U. E. L. principles, he polled approximately 15,000 votes. Had the election been conducted fairly, he would undoubtedly have defeated his opponent. In the printing industry, the League is also actively pushing the movement for a consolidation of all the crafts into one body. This movement is going forward from one victory to the other, and will soon result in giving the printing trades workers one of the most up-to-date organizations to be found anywhere. In various other industries and localities the League is also very active. Its amalgamation resolutions have been endorsed by central labor councils and local unions all over the country. The latest important instance was in the case of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, which went on record for amalgamation despite the most vigorous opposition of the old Gompers' machine.

But, the greatest showing of the League has been in the railroad industry. There the amalgamation movement started by the T. U. E. L.

is running like wildfire. The whole mass of the rank and file are stirred up over the proposition. All sorts of railroad groups, such as system federations, Plumb Plan Leagues, etc., have endorsed consolidation and are circularizing the country about it. Particularly effective work is being done by the Minnesota Shop Crafts Legislative Committee, which has mapped out a definite plan of amalgamation, published it in leaflet form, and circulated it by scores of thousands of copies, with the result that hundreds of local unions in the whole 16 railroad crafts have gone on record for amalgamation. All the power of a reactionary bureaucracy will never be able to stop the wonderful amalgamation movement started by the T. U. E. L. in the railroad industry.

Among the clothing workers the League is also a power. It has its groups in all the unions in the needle trades. They exercise a profound influence in the course of these organizations. They are particularly driving at the consolidation of all the unions into one body and the establishment of the shop delegate system.

Naturally, carrying on this militant work, the League is meeting with great opposition from the old guard. But this will be unavailing to stop its progress. The conservative bureaucracy is intellectually bankrupt. It has absolutely nothing to offer the rank and file to help them out of their difficulties. With the labor movement confronted by the greatest crisis in its history, the Cincinnati Convention of the A. F. of L. could do nothing more than reaffirm its old antiquated 1901 declaration against industrial unionism. With the League proposing living policies which the rank and file stand in burning need of, it should not fear the opposition of the reactionaries. By stirring up the mass, it will compel the leadership to act whether it wants to or not.

#### Organization of the League

In founding the league considerable difficulty was experienced because it was impossible to assemble a national conference and properly launch the movement there. Hence it was necessary, up to the opening of this Conference, to allow the Chicago local general group to function as the national organization. It mapped out the Rules, elected the National Committee, organized THE LABOR HERALD, audited the Sec'y-Treas.' books, worked out the general policies to be applied in organizing, and generally functioned as the directing body of the whole League. The National Conference will now take over this direction from the Chicago group and proceed formally to establish the organization, giving it a constitution, officers, etc.



When THE LABOR HERALD was organized as the official journal of the Trade Union Educational League, it was handled through the Labor Herald Publishing Company, a stock company, because it was felt that this would furnish the best method of organization. . . But as time went on it seemed that the state authorities were laying difficulties in the way of THE LABOR HERALD, so much so that technicalities multiplied upon technicalities and the operation of the stock company became practically impossible. Then the stock company was dissolved and the ownership of THE LABOR HERALD turned over directly to the League membership, where it now is. It is most vitally essential that the League do everything possible to extend the circulation of THE LABOR HERALD. That is the principal phase of our activities. Given a powerful journal, our organization will soon exert a most healthful educational effect on the whole trade union movement.

In conclusion the Sec'y-Treas. pointed out that the League up to this time has not charged any dues or per capita tax. Neither has it issued any charters to affiliated groups. He recommended that these regulations be adopted as the settled policy of the national organization, in order that no charge of dual unionism could be sustained against the T. U. E. L. He then submitted the following financial report, which is as extended as is now possible, because the books of the League which were seized during the raid on the national headquarters, are now in the hands of the police.

**Financial Report from October 1920 to Aug. 26, 1922**

	Receipts.	Expenditures.
October, 1920 .....	\$ 100.00	
November .....	10.00	\$ 9.90
December .....	114.30	2.80
January, 1921 .....	556.00	61.35
February .....	132.00	80.80
March .....	10.00	725.95
April, May, June, July, August and September, nothing doing.		
October .....	840.32	192.75
November .....	183.40	633.35
December .....	738.08	26.55
January, 1922 .....	1,700.45	1,171.23
February .....	588.51	1,560.59
March .....	1,473.40	1,182.69
April .....	1,696.41	1,643.37
May .....	1,296.26	1,594.17
June .....	1,288.72	1,234.99
July .....	1,516.97	1,066.25
August .....	1,208.55	1,240.63
Totals .....	\$13,453.37	\$12,430.41
Cash on hand Aug. 26th.....	\$ 1,022.96	

**Report of Finance Committee**

The Finance Committee has gone over the receipts and expenditures of the Trade Union Educational League, from Oct., 1920, to Aug. 26, 1922, and find a balance on hand of \$1,022.96. less a small item of bank exchange for August, 1922.

Owing to the fact that the League ledger is now in the hands of the police, your committee is unable to make a complete and thorough auditing of the books, and recommends that a local league Auditing Committee of three be selected to make a complete and thorough audit as soon as the ledger can be procured from the police, or a new ledger constructed, which latter will probably take a month's work.

H. E. Keas,  
Chas. Blome,  
S. T. Hammersmark,  
Financial Committee.

Adopted.

The Finance Committee further reported the following proposition for developing financial resources for the League, which was adopted.

**Sustaining Fund**

There shall be a T. U. E. L. Sustaining Fund created. Anyone may make contributions thereto, but such contributions of themselves do not entitle the donors to League membership. The national office is authorized to accept donations from sympathizers in all localities. Upon direct authorization of the National Committee, local general group secretaries may also accept contributions in their respective territory. However, all moneys so collected must be turned over in their entirety to the Nat'l Sec'y-Treas., who shall then remit 50% of the amounts to the local general groups sending them in, and issue regular receipts to the original givers. The Nat'l Sec'y-Treas. of the T. U. E. L. shall use the general Sustaining Fund for the regular work of the League. The local general group secretary shall use the local Sustaining Fund for the local work of the League, and both shall keep separate accounts of the same. A detailed report shall be made quarterly in THE LABOR HERALD by the Nat'l Sec'y-Treas. on all funds so collected. The National Committee shall have the right to revoke the commission of the local group secretaries to accept donations, should the occasion demand it.

**Report of Pacific Coast District**

Del. Schneider reported for the Pacific Coast District. He stated that long before the League was formed they had in San Francisco an organization known as the "A. B. C.'s," which followed out pretty much the program now being put into effect by the League all over the country. When the League campaign was organized, the San Francisco militants took to it very readily and have succeeded in developing an organization of considerable power in the local labor movement. He stressed the disastrous effects that have been inflicted upon the movement out there by the mixing of the local trade union leaders in capitalist politics. One unfortunate feature of the situation is the building trades. Having gone

through an unsuccessful strike, marked by treachery on the part of the building trades leaders, a split developed and an organization known as the Rank and File Federation was created. Many, animated by the customary dual union ideas, put great hopes in this organization. But it has disappointed them almost completely. At present the organization has approximately only 3500 members, of which but 1900 are paid up. Efforts are now being made to bring these seceding workers back into the old building trades unions. In the metal, needle and provision trades, good work is being done. Councils of the affiliated organizations are being set up, strengthened, and used towards educating and awakening the workers generally.

On July 25th and 26th, the Pacific Coast District held its first conference. Delegates were on hand from San Francisco, Los Angeles and Seattle. The entire situation was canvassed and action outlined to bring about solidarity between the workers in the various industries. It was particularly pointed out that just at present there

was a splendid opportunity to organize the metal miners all through the Rocky Mountain states. The District Conference elected officers, who will proceed to coordinate the work of the groups all along the coast.

Del. Rogers called attention to the split that has taken place recently among the longshoremen. This grew out of dissensions in the old organization and could have been avoided. Del. Knudsen outlined the recent struggles of the metal trades workers and pointed out the efforts now being made to reorganize the scattered ranks. He was of the opinion that if the League had been established on the coast a year or two ago, the splits in the building trades industry and among the transport workers would not have occurred. All told, the situation in the district for the League is now good. The railroad men particularly are taking to the League program like ducks to water. It is safe to say that before long the Pacific Coast District of the T. U. E. L. will be a living factor in the western labor movement.

## First Day's Proceedings, Afternoon Session

**Report of Canadian District**

Del. Buck stated that to get a fair idea of the Trade Union Educational League and its Canadian development, one must first realize what an utter hash the whole trade union movement of Canada is. Imagine a vast country with comparatively small cities separated by enormous distances, with a total population of only 8,000,000, and only 600,000 actual industrial workers. Sectarian tendencies have been carried to a point absolutely unprecedented. Only 313,000 workers are organized, of which 44,500 are in the National Catholic Syndicate, 24,000 in the so-called Canadian Federation of Labor, and the remaining 244,500 are split between 98 international unions and 27 independent organizations of all degrees of militancy, reaction and apathy. Split by secession and rumors of secession, demoralized and weakened by distrust, the trade unions during the past year and a half have been going down the toboggan at an alarming pace. Wage cuts have become the order of the day and now attract little or no attention. Outside of the railroad shops, trade union conditions have become for the metal trades merely a legend.

Jobless and disheartened, the rank and file have been quitting the unions in droves. During the past year no less than 300 local unions, 10% of all the locals in Canada, have passed completely out of existence, and in metal mining scarcely a trace of the former organization now exists. The

railroad shopmen, who until 1919 were the hundred percenters of the Canadian trade union movement, were so hopelessly split until recently as to almost completely demoralize them. It was no uncommon thing in western Canada to find four organizations competing with each other for the men of one craft in one shop, with resultant utter confusion and weakness. From being the stronghold of the militants and the vanguard of organized labor in Canada, the west became a region torn with dissension and reduced to a confused babel of freak organizations, and in many localities the stronghold of reaction. To some extent the miners of Nova Scotia and Crows Nest Pass have escaped this wave of demoralization. Efforts were made by the O. B. U. to establish secession movements among them, but these did not take root. The miners succeeded in maintaining their solidarity.

**The League Comes to Canada**

Del. Buck stated that because of the enormous expense of carrying on a new movement in Canada, the T. U. E. L. started slowly, the first several groups perishing of inanimation. Finally a few groups were started in Ontario and one in Montreal, also one in Edmonton. Then, at a meeting of the Toronto general group early in June, 1922 the matter was gone into very carefully and it was decided that if the League was to progress the message had to be carried to the shops and locals. Enough money was raised to



send a delegate to the convention of the Nova Scotia miners, District 26, U. M. W. A., He went among these miners and appealed to their spirit of solidarity. Consequently they wholeheartedly endorsed the League, its program, its ideals and its tactics, with the enthusiasm of which only born rebels are capable. Groups have been formed in almost every mining town, and the power and militancy of the whole district have become inextricably interwoven with the League in its work. The convention endorsed amalgamation and invited the cooperation of all other labor bodies to create a unified front of labor against the master class. The Nova Scotia miners also voted to affiliate with the Red Trade Union International, and to send a delegate to its coming congress.

In the west, the T. U. E. L. success was just as phenomenal. Notwithstanding the opposition of the reactionary bureaucracy, in many places the philosophy of action aiming towards amalgamation spread like wildfire. "Respectable" labor papers like the Alberta Labor News, the Western Labor News, the New Democracy, and many others, in company with the greater part of the international officialdom, attacked the League bitterly on account of its progressive policy, while the supposedly radical officialdom of the One Big Union, seeing in our policy of consolidation through amalgamation the end of their splitting tactics, assailed us even more viciously than the international officials dared. But to no avail. The thinking elements among the rank and file have learned the folly of secession and grasped at once the essentials of the League. They repudiated at once the conservatism of their

old union leaders and the secessionism of the O. B. U. officialdom.

One reflection of the changed sentiment was seen in a huge meeting organized by the Winnipeg group on July 5th, at which Brother Foster spoke. Winnipeg, the stronghold of the secession movement of North America, the home and headquarters of the O. B. U., the city where international officials were howled down so regularly that for a time they did not even try to speak, and the "A. F. of Hell" was anathema, prepared with mixed feelings to hear this apostle of consolidation through amalgamation. One well known radical gravely informed Del. Buck that bringing Foster to Winnipeg would doom the whole League to failure. Prediction of what the spokesmen of the O. B. U., the idols of Winnipeg, would do to this guy, were very definite. Foster came, he presented the League program, he conquered his audience, and for the first time in four years the officialdom of the O. B. U. were howled down by an audience of their own following. Like wildfire the League spread over the west. The shopmen, who are among the best fighters on the North American continent, have seized upon it enthusiastically. An earnest of their spirit is the fact that they themselves are financing organization work from coast to coast. Amalgamation has become the talk of the hour. The League today is a definite power in the Canadian trade union movement and its influence grows constantly. The militant workers of Canada have learned in the bitter school of experience the fallacy of secession, and today they are placing their hopes on consolidation through amalgamation and in the program of the Trade Union Educational League.

## Report of Resolutions Committee

### Official Terrorism

The First National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League finds itself meeting in an atmosphere of terrorism created by a whole series of lawless, brutal and unjustified raids, seizures and arrests, including a raid on our Conference itself and the arrest of several delegation visitors, an outrageous proceeding inaugurated by the police of Illinois acting apparently in conspiracy with the officials of other states and the U. S. Department of Justice, all of which have but one purpose, namely, to prevent the orderly and fruitful deliberations of this conference.

We protest with all our power against this naked exhibition of lawless dictatorship by the capitalist lackeys used openly to suppress the class-conscious workers, and we call these facts to the attention of the trade unionists of America. We know that protests to the governing class are useless and that only a wide awake militant trade union movement,

which knows its own power and is prepared to use it, can abolish this terrorism and oppression of the workers.

The First National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League declares that it will not allow itself to be turned from its purpose by any such attacks. The trade union movement is practically leaderless, save for the senile and reactionary bureaucracy typified by Samuel Gompers, which is forcing the movement backwards. The workers of America are awaiting the program of this gathering, and this program will be carried to the rank and file by the Trade Union Educational League, notwithstanding all illegal attempts at suppression by the constituted authorities.

Adopted.

### Mooney-Billings Case

Notwithstanding the utter collapse of every shred of evidence against them, Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings are still being kept in prison.

This is a crying outrage and a blot upon American civilization. It is a bitter crime not only against the men imprisoned, but the whole working class. The Trade Union Educational League herewith goes on record in definite protest against the outrages perpetrated upon Mooney and Billings and demands their release forthwith. To this end, it proposes the following action:

1. That we make the Mooney-Billings case a burning issue in all the trade unions with which we are affiliated, and that we unceasingly strive to stir up the rank and file to protest.

2. That we urge all organizations over which we have any control or influence to send letters to the Governor of California demanding the unconditional release of our imprisoned brothers. We condemn in unmeasured terms the indifference and neglect being shown by the trade union leaders generally in respect of this case so vital to the interests of organized labor.

Adopted.

Brother Craig representing the Mooney Defense Committee spoke briefly on the Mooney-Billings case. He brought greetings from the imprisoned brothers and urged that the Conference give them its undivided support.

### Statement on Mooney-Billings Case By Defense Committee.

The present situation of the Mooney-Billings case is unparalleled in American court history. All the principal witnesses for the prosecution have either confessed to having committed perjury, or have been definitely exposed. Legally the case has collapsed, but Mooney and Billings are still in jail. Under the laws of California a criminal case cannot be reopened once the record is closed, no matter how much evidence of perjury and conspiracy is discovered after the defendant is sentenced.

The judge who sentenced Mooney has asked that he be granted a new trial. His request has never been acted upon, the courts confessing themselves powerless to act. On April 18th, 1922, District Attorney Brady, successor to the notorious Fickert, who railroaded these men to prison, requested that Governor Stephens pardon both prisoners on the grounds of proven perjury and fraud in their trials. More than four months have elapsed since the district attorney made this request, yet Mooney and Billings remain in prison. Scores of labor organizations have requested that the governor take this action, but he refused to stir.

The situation is further complicated by the utter absence of assistance on the part of the majority of California labor leaders. Had they raised their voices in protest in the beginning, the frame-up never would have been successful, and today, more than six years later, we find them still indifferent, if not actually working against the defense forces by endorsing Stephens for governor and working for his re-election, notwithstanding his attitude in the Mooney-Billings case. The indifference of the leaders is naturally communicated to the rank and file with the result that the defense finds itself handicapped by a general lack of co-operation. The defense is keeping up interest in the case through the medium of its general publicity work and its official organ, Tom Mooney's Monthly. But the militant

workers in the country must go further and make the case a live and burning issue throughout the entire labor movement.

We appeal to the delegates of the First National Conference of the T. U. E. L. to go back to their respective organizations and stir up interest in the Mooney-Billings case. We also urge that the delegates strive to increase the circulation of Tom Mooney's Monthly. Moreover, they should see to it that a flood of resolutions are poured into Governor Stephens' office, demanding that he release the prisoners. We appeal to you, the advance guard of the militant labor movement of the future, for concerted, intensified action in behalf of Mooney and Billings.

Adopted.

### Sacco-Vanzetti Case

Whereas, Sacco and Vanzetti are living under the shadow of the gallows, having been unjustly convicted on perjured evidence, and

Whereas, their only crime was in being faithful to the working class by organizing the down-trodden and oppressed workers of the New England states, therefore be it

Resolved, that the First National Conference goes on record as denouncing the frame-up conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti and pledges its entire and whole-hearted support in the task of securing their release.

Adopted.

### Political Prisoners

Whereas, there are over 90 political prisoners confined in the various penitentiaries of America in violation of every principle of freedom and humanity, therefore be it

Resolved, that we emphatically protest against this deplorable state of affairs, and call upon all militant workers to do their utmost to create such a body of sentiment that the government will be compelled to release the victims now so unjustly kept in duress.

Adopted.

### Russian Famine Relief

Whereas, the working masses of Russia have had added to their already overwhelming burdens the additional task of meeting a most terrible famine, and

Whereas, the workers of the entire world have a vital interest in assisting their Russian brothers, who have borne the brunt of the world fight against capitalism, and

Whereas, all relief from capitalist organizations is a potential menace to the rule of the workers and a practical interference in their affairs, therefore be it

Resolved, that we call upon the trade unions of America to contribute liberally to the various workers' famine relief organizations, and that we particularly commend to them the work of the Friends of Soviet Russia and the Trade Union National Committee for Russian Relief.

Adopted.

### Russian Workers' Republic

The industrial workers of Russia, allied with the toiling peasants, have overthrown their oppressors and established the first Workers' Republic, the Soviet Government of Russia. In spite of the backward-



ness of the industries, the ruin of the world war, the allied invasions, the innumerable counter-revolutionary movements, the blockade, the famine, the pestilences, and the treacherous desertions of the reactionary labor leaders of the world, the Russian workers by their heroic deeds and untold sacrifices, have preserved the Soviet Republic through five years of misery and struggle.

In destroying the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and in suppressing their armed counter-revolutions, the workers of Russia found it necessary to oppose to them the dictatorship of the proletariat. This measure, providing for the complete dominance of the working class, was a primary factor in maintaining the workers' control. Without it the revolution would have been long since destroyed.

The Soviet Government of Russia stands today as the supreme achievement of the working class movement of the world. It is the very front line in the struggle against international capitalism. Should the forces of the exploiters succeed in the nefarious schemes to destroy it, the workers of the world would be overwhelmed by a wave of the blackest reaction and oppression. As the barrier between the capitalists and their unbridled exploitation, the Soviet Government of Russia demands the protection of the labor movement of the world.

The Trade Union Educational League, assembled in its First National Conference, sends its warmest greetings to the Russian workers and calls upon the workers of the entire world, and especially the workers of America, to show their solidarity with them in every possible way.

Adopted.

#### Russian-American Industrial Corporation

The most pressing problem of the embattled workers of Russia at this particular time is the rehabilitation of their ruined industries. In facing this task, they must be given assistance in a material way by the workers of other countries. The world's labor movement should make it a first order of business to aid in getting Russia's industrial mechanism into operation again.

One of the most effective and practical means to this end is the Russian-American Industrial Corporation recently launched upon the initiative of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of North America. This organization, proposing to invigorate the clothing industry of Russia, offers a real program to all interested in establishing the new society. Moreover, it presents an opportunity for profitable investment of the spare savings of the working class generally, therefore be it

Resolved, that the Trade Union Educational League gives its full and hearty endorsement to the Russian-American Industrial Corporation, and urges all workers everywhere to support it energetically by subscribing to its funds and program.

Adopted.

#### The Federated Press

The press is the biggest force in the control of public opinion. In the main it is owned by anti-labor forces and used in their interest. Press associations, such as the Associated Press, are the most powerful and vicious enemies that the working class has. Their poisonous influence extends to the outermost ramifications of society, and makes the fight of the workers incomparably harder.

Two and a half years ago there was formed a news gathering agency known as the Federated Press. It is owned and controlled by the editors of labor papers. Its slogan is, "The news in spite of the newspapers." Already it is serving over 100 papers in this and other countries. In addition to its work of gathering and disseminating truthful news regarding the activities of Labor, the Federated Press has inaugurated a plan by which all industrial communities may establish free labor papers controlled by the rank and file, under what is known as the chain paper plan. Already eight of such rank and file papers have been established. Therefore, be it

Resolved, that the Trade Union Educational League heartily endorses the work of the Federated Press and that the local Leagues be urged to make a part of their program the extension of this workers' press association by carrying out the following definite propositions:

1. That pressure be brought to bear upon local labor editors so that they may be got to subscribe for and use the Federated Press Service. The unions should insist that this be done.

2. That in localities where there are no papers controlled or endorsed by the workers, efforts shall be made to establish chain papers of the Federated Press.

3. That League members use their influence to have their local organizations subscribe to the Federated Press Daily News Service sheet and use it as a means of information and education for the membership.

4. That wherever possible financial assistance be secured for the Federated Press, both from the unions and sympathizers.

5. That the local Leagues assist the Federated Press in gathering authentic news of the labor movement by each appointing a reporter to keep the Federated Press informed of the local activities.

Adopted.

Mr. Tom Tippet and Miss Maude McCreery both spoke at length on the work of the Federated Press.

#### Unemployment

The greatest immediate menace to the workers today in all the capitalist countries is unemployment. Unemployment means starvation and death to the workers. Against it the ordinary means of struggle are unavailing. Insidiously it undermines the fighting strength of the workers and lays them helpless before the onslaughts of the "open shop" drive of the capitalists. The workers of America particularly are suffering today from this evil and new means of combating it must be found. Failing this, the workers will suffer even greater hardships.

Unemployment exists at all times and is the very basis of capitalist exploitation. In times of crisis in the capitalist economic system it becomes acute, ravaging and destroying the lives of the unfortunate workers. The most acute industrial crisis known exists today, and as a result millions of unemployed walk the streets of America. This was immediately caused by the economic dislocation brought about by the war. The industrial balance of the world has been destroyed. America cannot produce because the markets of Europe cannot buy.

The productive forces of capitalism are international. America cannot segregate itself from Europe and produce only for her own consumption. Production is for the world market under capitalism. There can be no national solution for the unemployment problem while capitalism continues to exist. Nor can there be an international solution under the capitalist system, because, in addition to unemployment being a "normal" condition of capitalist production, today the capitalist economic system has been hopelessly dislocated.

The fight against unemployment must therefore take the form of a fight against the capitalist control of production. The organized workers must wrest, point by point, the control of the process of production. In order that this be begun, there must be first a realization by the labor movement that unemployment must be attacked by all the workers, not alone by the unemployed. There must be solidarity between the employed and the unemployed.

The workers in each industry must place the burden of continuously sustaining the workers usually employed therein, directly upon the capitalists of that industry. For this purpose agitation of all kinds must be organized, and the entire mass of the workers be brought to make this demand. Demand must be made upon the government to enforce this principle, and if necessary, strike movements inaugurated to compel the maintenance of the unemployed in each industry.

The workers must further demand the right of inspection of the books and records of industry. In countless cases the stopping of factories and shops is deliberate sabotage of production by the capitalists in order to force the workers to accept lower wages and longer hours. Where this is the case the workers must demand that the industries be taken out of the hands of the private owners and operated by the government. Special committees should be organized to handle the problem of unemployment throughout the labor movement. They should consist of unemployed as well as employed.

Direct pressure of the working class against capitalist control of the productive processes, is the only means of effective struggle against unemployment. Only insofar as this pressure is effectively exerted will the evil of unemployment be minimized, and only when capitalist control of industry is entirely abolished, and that control placed in the hands of the workers, will the final solution of unemployment be achieved.

Adopted.

#### National Amalgamation Conference

Inasmuch as the sentiment for amalgamation of the trade unions into industrial unions has grown so rapidly, it may be necessary to call a large, general conference of all labor elements favorable to this project. Therefore be it

Resolved, that the National Committee be authorized to call a national amalgamation conference of the Trade Union Educational League for the purpose of bringing before the American Labor movement the necessity of amalgamation, and to lay plans of education whereby this inevitable development may best be hastened. Such conference shall be called only if in the judgment of the National Committee it becomes necessary and offers an effective

means of propaganda for drawing the trade unions together.

Adopted.

#### Political Action

In the daily struggle of the working class it is found that the powers of the government are regularly used against the workers and in favor of the capitalists. Hence, universally, trade unions naturally try to exert pressure upon the governments of their countries in order to win them over or at least neutralize them. In the United States this natural political movement, ordinarily productive of highly educational values, has been thwarted and misdirected by the Gompers' policy of "Rewarding friends and punishing enemies." This policy, which hooks the labor movement as a tail onto the capitalist political kites, literally poisons the trade unions. It introduces directly into their ranks all the corrupt influences of capitalist politics, besides keeping the organizations committed to the promulgation of capitalist economics. So long as it persists the workers cannot acquire a clear understanding of their class position in society. And without this militant labor organization is impossible. Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Trade Union Educational League, in its first National Conference, unequivocally condemns the Gompers' political policy as fatal to the success of the trade union movement and calls upon the workers of America to take the necessary steps for engaging in a militant campaign of independent working class political action.

Adopted.

#### Shop Committees

Whereas, The prevailing system of local union organization of all workers of a given category, without regard to shop or factory units, leaves untouched one of the sources of latent solidarity which should be brought into play in the life of the unions, namely the natural cohesion of the workers on the same job, and

Whereas, It has been found by experience that a system of organization by committees from each shop, or each chief division of each shop, combined together to form the local unions for each locality, has the effect of reinvigorating the organization, handling the workers' affairs incomparably more efficiently, and of bringing newer and wider elements into active participation in the life of the organization, Therefore be it

Resolved, That we support the principle of organization on the basis of shop committees, or shop delegates in all industries where such a plan can be worked out effectively, and we recommend to our members that such practical plans be developed and the united support of them by all progressive elements be secured through the T. U. E. L.

Adopted.

#### Industrial Unionism

The First National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League declares whole-heartedly for the principle of industrial unionism. The prevailing type of organization by crafts no longer can fulfill the needs of the working class in its struggle for a higher standard of living and more freedom. Consolidation of the workers along the lines of industry is one of the most imperative needs of the present situation in the class struggle.



In the early days of the capitalist system, when the industries were small and undeveloped, and when competition raged among the employers, craft unionism was a legitimate form of organization. But now the situation has completely changed. The many separate trades, and their little shops to correspond, have been fused together into modern gigantic industries and plants. Labor has been specialized to an undreamed of degree, and craft skill has been wiped out in many industries. In addition to these factors, so unfavorable to craft unionism, has come another even worse, namely the elimination of competition from industry. Today competition in the basic industries is almost a thing of the past. Great, gigantic industrial combinations occupy the field everywhere. Against these the trade unions are almost powerless. Their method of striking one trade at a time would be ridiculous, were it not so tragic. If labor organization is to continue, the workers' unions will have to take cognizance of these profound changes in industry and reorganize themselves upon the lines of industry rather than craft.

The international labor movement, realizing the need of the hour, is everywhere reorganizing itself. Great, departmentalized industrial unions are being set up in many countries. The United States alone is lagging in this great work and clinging to the outworn system of craft unionism. We must shake ourselves from this lethargy. The day is past when the workers can make headway as crafts. They must combine on the basis of industry. More than that, the situation is such that the workers in the various industries will have to move in a common body. Confronted by a united capitalist class, they will be compelled to unite all their own organizations into one and act as a class against the exploiter. In this manner alone can substantial headway be made toward the final goal of emancipation. Industrial unionism, carried to its ultimate of one organization for the whole working class, is an indispensable necessity for the labor movement.

Adopted.

#### Amalgamation

As the method of bringing about industrial unionism, the Trade Union Educational League endorses the principle of consolidating the old craft unions until they become industrial in character. In taking this position it is acting in harmony with trade union experience all over the world. Labor history proves beyond question that normally the workers develop their industrial unions by remodeling their original craft organizations and joining them together as fast as they perceive the necessity for a more united front against the employers. Industrial unionism is essentially a growth from craft unionism.

Labor unionism, with rare exceptions, passes through three distinct phases, which may be called isolation, federation, and amalgamation. In the first, or isolation stage, the workers, knowing nothing of class interests, organize on the basis of their respective crafts. The resultant craft unions go along practically, upon an independent basis, paying little or no attention to each other's struggles. But as the employers consolidate industry and eliminate competition, the workers feel the need of more united action. Then they enter the second, or federation stage, by forming the various craft unions in their respective industries into alliances which make more or less a common struggle of it. But

as time goes on, it becomes apparent that even these alliances are not sufficiently compact to withstand the ever-increasing power of the employers. Then the workers break down the walls between the craft unions making up the alliances, and fuse the whole mass into industrial unions, which in turn first act alone, then federate, and finally amalgamate.

Dozens of great industrial unions all over the world have gone through this evolution. In fact, this is the only way that industrial unions have been built anywhere. The American labor movement is now quite generally in the secondary, or federation, phase of development. That is the meaning of the many building trades councils, printing trades councils, metal trades councils, railroad system federations, etc., etc. The big task now confronting us is to develop these federations into amalgamations. To this end the Trade Union Educational League urges its members and sympathizers to work ceaselessly. The rank and file of the trade union membership are in favor of the amalgamation plan, once it is presented to them. The only important opposition comes from the reactionary leadership, which fears to lose its good paying positions in the event of a general reorganization. But this opposition can be readily broken down by a vigorous and well organized appeal to the rank and file. The amalgamation of the old trade unions into industrial unions is one of the prime tasks in the labor movement. To it the Trade Union Educational League will lend all possible assistance.

Adopted.

#### Secession and Dual Unionism

The Trade Union Educational League flatly opposes the general policy of dual unionism as a means of bringing about industrial unionism. It holds that this policy runs counter to the natural laws of development of the labor movement. It is wrong in theory, and disastrous in practice.

This conclusion is amply justified by labor experience. For at least 30 years the revolutionary and progressive elements in our labor movement have quite generally followed the policy of quitting the old unions and trying to reorganize the workers upon a newer, supposedly more scientific, basis. Demoralization, weakness and disruption have resulted. On the one hand, the seceding militant elements have largely wasted their efforts, as their dual unions have seldom developed into anything more than small sects. On the other hand the trade unions, stripped of many of the best elements among the workers, have vegetated along under the uncontested control of the old bureaucracy. Consequently stagnation and reaction has been their portion. Dual unionism has been a curse to the American labor movement. No one has profited from it except the employers and the reactionary labor leadership. Dual unionism by the rebel elements has been one of the principal props of the Gompers regime.

The militant elements are the source of all real progress in the labor movement. Their place is in the mass unions where they can reach the rank and file with their propaganda. Under no circumstances should they allow themselves to be detached from these basic organizations. To do so means to condemn themselves to sterility. In the normal struggle between the radicals and reactionaries in the labor movement, both sides recognize this fact, and we

always find the line-up to be that the radicals fight to remain in the organizations where they can function effectively, and the conservatives fight to split them off into detached and isolated groups. Splits may sometimes be unavoidable, but intelligence demands that the militant elements do everything possible to avoid them. With vigor and emphasis, the Trade Union Educational League condemns the policy of dual unionism and urges the militants to stay within the mass at all costs.

Adopted.

#### Expelled Members

As the militants develop their active campaign of education in the old unions, it may be confidently expected that the bureaucracy will attempt to destroy their work by expelling them from the unions. This has happened in many other countries, and it has already begun here. It is necessary that our members know how to parry this dastardly attack.

In the first place, under no circumstances, should the expelled militants or locals set up dual organizations. They should direct their efforts towards being reinstated in their old unions. A big issue must always be made of such matters, and vigorous appeals sent out to the whole rank and file of the organizations concerned. As a whole the workers are fundamentally opposed to the principle of expelling men, no matter how radical, because of their political or other opinions, and if this sentiment is cultivated it is always quite easy to create such a situation of protest that the bureaucracy guilty of the expulsions are glad to take the ousted members back again. T. U. E. L. militants need not seriously fear expulsion. By virtue of their vigorous battle for progress in the unions they will speedily build themselves up such a following that it will be impossible for the reactionaries to expel them.

Adopted.

#### The Gospel of Work

Previous revolutionary movements have depended primarily upon talk to win the support of the working class. Consequently they got almost nowhere. The method of the T. U. E. L. departs radically from this. Our organization is a movement of work. It is the duty of League militants to become the most active members of their respective organizations. They must do all the hard and unlovely work connected with the carrying on of the labor movement. They must serve on all committees, be elected delegates to everything, and generally make themselves more than useful in the tasks of their organizations. The posts of danger in times of strife they must claim the right to occupy. In short, they must be the practical leaders of the workers in their everyday struggle. If they will do this they will soon win the confidence of the masses, and once this confidence is acquired the transference of radical ideas to the masses will be a comparatively simple matter. Sympathy between the teacher and the pupils is the basis of education, and this necessary sympathy can be set up between the militants and the masses by the formers' unflinching and un-

ceasing service in the everyday fight of the class struggle. The slogan of the Trade Union Educational League is "work, not talk."

Adopted.

#### Red Trade Union International

To successfully struggle against the forces of world capitalism the labor movement must establish international solidarity. One of the principal weapons of the capitalist class is their ability to use the workers of one country against the workers of another. Until this weapon is taken from them, the capitalists of the world cannot be beaten. In time of war they use the workers of the different countries to slaughter each other. In time of peace, they use the products of Labor in one country to break the strikes of Labor in another. Only an international organization of labor unions which will unite the struggle of the workers of all countries along one single front against capitalism, can fill the need of the world's working class.

Workers everywhere understand this instinctively. Exploiting their natural desire for international solidarity, there was established the Amsterdam International, the International Federation of Trade Unions. Organized under the tutelage of the capitalist League of Nations, and headed by such leaders as Leipart of Germany, who compromised the German revolution for a mess of reform pottage; such as Jouhaux of France, who split the French labor movement from top to bottom rather than to let it slip from his reactionary grasp; such as Thomas of England, infamous for his part in the "Black Friday" debacle which cast the English labor movement demoralized before the capitalist offensive,—this Amsterdam International is not an international at all in the true sense of the word. It has no program except compromise with capitalism, and no logical outcome except the continued enslavement of the working class. It represents the forces of international capitalism entrenched within the very ranks of labor.

The Trade Union Educational League repudiates this pseudo international and warns the American working class to beware of it. It has nothing to offer except defeat.

The real international of labor unions is the Red Trade Union International. Organized in 1920, and holding its first World Congress in Moscow in July, 1921, where there participated 384 delegates from 42 countries representing 15,000,000 organized workers, it has united the militant, active, class conscious elements of the world labor movement, such as the unions of Russia, Finland, Norway, Bulgaria, Chile, Latvia, the Balkans, the majority in France and Spain, large minorities in Germany, Italy, Austria, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, England, Japan, the Far East, and throughout the world. It is the international of struggle against capitalism, and its goal is the establishment of the rule of the working class.

The First National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League greets the Red Trade Union International, and calls upon the labor unions of America to affiliate to it. To this end it pledges its unremitting support in a campaign of agitation and education.

Adopted.



### The Railroad Strike

The Trade Union Educational League expresses its complete sympathy and solidarity with the striking railroad shopmen. The railroad companies, typical capitalistic exploiters, have no regard whatever for the human needs of the workers. They are animated only by their own greed. They want profits and more profits, regardless of the fact that their insatiable lust for wealth means the enslavement of the great mass of the people. In self-protection the workers must resist the encroachment of the parasitical owning elements. We note with satisfaction that the shopmen are developing a true understanding of the real situation and are defending themselves accordingly.

But we must also point out one great lesson in the present struggle. While the seven shop unions are valiantly battling the united exploiters, nine other organizations, numbering some 1,000,000 members, have remained at work and are helping the companies in their fight against the striking shopmen. This is an inexcusable situation. Nothing but profound stupidity, or worse, on the part of the trade union leadership, is responsible. We call upon the nine crafts still at work to rally to the support of their striking brothers, and we urge the railroad workers as a whole to prevent such a sad state of affairs developing again, with part of their number working and the rest striking. This can only be accomplished by merging all the railroad unions into one body. The very life of railroad unionism demands that this be done.

Adopted.

### The Coal Strike

The First National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League congratulates the coal miners on the splendid spirit manifested by them in their recent great strike. Never have the workers of this country risen to greater heights of solidarity, never has the country been made to understand more clearly the debt that it owes to the toilers. Although the struggle has not resulted in a complete victory, at least the violent drive of the "open shoppers" has been checked. This in itself is no mean accomplishment in these days of black reaction. But this truce, now coming to pass, is only temporary. Soon the employers will be on the offensive again. And when the next great struggle develops the miners must be ready to fight even more valiantly than they have this time. By their gallant struggle the coal miners have undoubtedly preserved the whole trade union movement from destruction. Had they been faint-hearted and had they yielded in the battle, the employers, tremendously encouraged thereby, would have waged against all other trade unions until the movement generally was crushed. We hail the battling miners.

Adopted.

### The Workers' Republic

Capitalism must go. The system of production for private profit, whatever justification it may once have had, has outlived its usefulness, and today is the direct cause of such misery, crime and social injustice, as history has never before recorded. With

modern methods of production and scientific distribution of the goods thus produced, there would be no excuse today for one human being to be in want. Yet we find in this, the richest country in the world, hunger and want rampant, and the most appalling ignorance and degradation, unparalleled unemployment, and a general social demoralization. Millions of workers on the street, millions of women and children reduced to bitter need. Poverty and humiliation for the workers, while the parasitic idle rich revel in luxury such as human history has never known before.

Production for private profit, which, by its insensate greed, its anarchic tendencies and its ruthless disregard for the most elemental rights of its slaves, causes these fatal contradictions, must go. It must be replaced by a scientific system of production for use and distribution according to need. The accomplishment of this task presupposes the creation in the minds of the workers of an ideal of emancipation and the development of working class organizations to the point where they can win from the master class control of industry and all which that implies.

Workers' control of industry must inevitably develop into a workers' republic. Here is the revolutionary ideal for the working class: Workers' control of industry; production for use instead of profit; abolition of the capitalist system; and the institution of a workers' commonwealth.

Adopted.

### Report of Defense Committee

Reporting on a letter received from the American Civil Liberties Union, signed by Norman Thomas, Robert Morss Lovett, Roger Baldwin, and Scott Nearing, offering the services of that organization to the League to contest the action of the federal and state authorities in arresting Foster for alleged participation in a secret convention in Michigan, the committee reports that the offer be accepted and thanks extended for the same.

The Committee further recommends that the T. U. E. L. take an active part in defending all its members who may be arrested in this deliberate attempt of the authorities to destroy our movement, and to this end it proposes that the Sec'y-Treas. be authorized to raise a defense fund and to keep a separate account of same, and that he take the necessary steps to engage counsel and to make all other provisions to assist in the defense of any members of the League who may be persecuted on account of their activity in the movement. In addition, the delegates to the Conference are urged to work for protest meetings and other expressions by central labor bodies in their respective vicinities.

Adopted.

The time of adjournment having arrived, and as the Chairman of the Conference was about to close the session, several detectives representing the states' attorneys' office and the Department of Justice, entered the hall and took charge of the meeting, announcing that they intended to arrest certain parties present.

## The Raid on the Conference

(By M. M.)

To get the full significance of the raid on the Conference, one must review recent past events. Since its inception but a short time ago, the Trade Union Educational League has secured a grip upon the minds and vision of not only the radicals but also the mild progressives in the A. F. of L. In all the principal industrial centers of the United States and Canada the workers are reaching out for the plan of the League and thousands of copies have been sold of its official organ, THE LABOR HERALD, not to speak of the great mass of other literature circulated. The whole movement has become affected by its dynamic propaganda.

Alarmed by the progress of the League, the powers-that-be are determined to crush it. One of the first moves made in this direction was during the recent western tour of Sec'y-Treas. Foster. The latter was billed to speak in Denver on August 6th for the local branch of the T. U. E. L. About an hour before the meeting began, and as he was resting in his room in the Oxford Hotel, three State Rangers, acting under the direct orders of Adj. Gen. Hamrock, arrested him without warrant and spirited him away by automobile to Brighton, some 20 miles north. There he was kept all night, being denied the right to communicate with either lawyers or friends. In the morning the three Rangers again took him in charge, and the party went by automobile to Greeley, where, in spite of Foster's protests, he was photographed, weighed, and measured. After this outrage the Rangers then took him north again by automobile to Cheyenne. In Cheyenne the Colorado police, who were illegally holding him on Wyoming territory without a warrant, learned that the Wyoming sheriff was waiting back on the road 12 miles at the state line. The Rangers then drove Foster back to the state line where they turned him over to the sheriff. The latter, a typical corporation rat, instead of putting Foster on an eastbound train as he was supposed to do, drove him 100 miles by automobile to the state line of Nebraska, to a place called Torrington, where he dropped him on the road six miles from town. Foster, stripped of most of his luggage by the Colorado authorities, there took a train for Omaha, where he arrived in time for his scheduled meeting.

The general public was treated to lurid headlines over this incident. Hamrock boasted of his illegal actions, stating that "no law had been consulted." But public opinion did not side with him. From all over the country came protests. Friends of free speech and common decency publicly offered their services in a legal fight against Hamrock. The incident became a political issue in Colorado. And at this writing there is a strong demand for Foster to come back to Denver to speak at a gigantic protest meeting. Hamrock declares that if he does he will be arrested the moment he puts foot on Colorado soil. There the matter rests for the time being.

This Colorado-Wyoming incident was clearly a blow aimed at the League. And it was not long until it was followed by another. On August 20th, there was a train wrecked at Gary, Ind. So anxious were the authorities to disrupt the League that they,

without any justification whatsoever, made a raid on its headquarters that very night, seeking evidence to connect it up with the wreck. This raid was staged in true Palmeresque movie style. Coming like burglars in the night, an assistant states' attorney and a dozen police broke into the League offices and ransacked the files and desks. So that none of the effect might be lost, they came equipped with flashlight and took pictures of themselves searching the office. The next day the newspapers carried the plot further by announcing in eight column headlines the connection they declared they had established between the League and the Gary train wreck. They informed the trusting world that tons of radical literature had been seized, pictures of Lenin and Trotsky, confiscated, etc.

But this attack fared no better than the one in Colorado and Wyoming. After examining the correspondence and other documents found in the League office, the states' attorney was compelled to come out and admit that he could show no connection between the League and the wreck. He had to state that the so-called tons of literature were no more than a few letter files and the League's books. Thus this attempt at a frame-up collapsed.

Undeterred, however, those seeking to "get" the League were quick to make another attack. On August 22nd, the newspapers carried a lurid story from Michigan that a group of alleged communists had been arrested there at a supposed convention, and that another larger body had succeeded in escaping, Foster among them, and were then fleeing through the woods and sand dunes pursued by the army. Meanwhile Foster, supposedly making a desperate getaway in the wilds of Michigan and Indiana, worked daily in the office of the League. Finally, when sufficient of a sensation had been created, the police arrested Foster and held him under \$5,000 bond for extradition to Michigan, as one of the participants in the alleged convention which was supposedly in violation of the Michigan anti-synicalism act.

All these events created an atmosphere of terrorism, and no doubt the authorities, acting purely as agents of the industrial interests, thought that the T. U. E. L. Conference, scheduled for August 26-27, would be postponed. But the meeting went ahead exactly as proposed. Quite evidently even more pressure had to be brought to bear upon it, and this was done by raiding the hall where the Conference was being held. Just at the moment of adjournment, three men entered the hall from the rear. A tall, very thin one, a short, stubby one, and a burly, heavy jowled one, quickly recognized as detective sergeant McDonough, known for his under-cover activities in the I. W. W. and subsequent part in the trial and conviction of members of that organization. The three detectives then combed the audience one by one, examining each person present. The net result was that eleven delegates and visitors were arrested and taken to jail. There all were made to run the gauntlet, during which they were severely beaten. Later all but two, Earl Browder and Phil Ahrenberg, were released. The latter were held for



extradition to Michigan on the pretense that they had participated in the alleged Communist convention.

Even this violence did not disrupt the Conference. As soon as the police had disappeared, the gathering reconvened and by a unanimous vote decided to go ahead with the program. Not a delegate flinched, not one yielded to the terrorism of the officialdom.

## Second Day's Proceedings, Morning Session

Meeting opened at 10:30 a. m. Del. Knudsen elected Chairman.

Motion carried that inasmuch as the interference of the authorities in the work of the Conference has made it impossible to draft up completely all the resolutions that were intended, there shall be an Editorial Committee selected to write up, after the conclusion of the Conference, suitable resolutions on secession, dual unionism, amalgamation, expulsions and international relations, the same to be introduced into the proceedings of the conference under the head of Report of the Resolutions Committee.

Dels. Knudsen, Carney, Wortis, Buck, Foster, appointed to serve as Editorial Committee.

### REPORTS OF INDUSTRIAL SECTIONS

#### Building Trades

Del. Johnstone submitted a project for organizing the Building Trades Unions upon an industrial basis. Upon motion the plan was adopted and the Sec'y-Treas. instructed to use his best efforts to get it printed in leaflet form and circulated widely among building trades workers. The plan, as adopted, is to be found elsewhere in this report.

#### Railroad Trades

Del. Keas reported on the railroad situation, proposing the adoption of the plan of amalgamation issued by the Minnesota Shop Crafts Legislative Committee, with recommendations for definite action to put it into effect. Upon motion the recommendations were concurred in. The plan, together with the specific propositions to realize it, are to be found elsewhere in this report.

#### Metal Trades

Del. Knudsen reported on the Metal Trades and read a statement of the actual situation and a project for consolidating the many unions into one industrial organization. This section caused an extensive debate, in which the present demoralization of the metal trades workers was indicated. It was the opinion of the Conference that in the reconstruction of the metal trades unions careful consideration should be given to including the steel workers proper as a definite department of the metal workers industrial organization. Del. Knudsen's project was adopted and is to be found elsewhere in this report.

The Trade Union Educational League had its first test by fire and it came out with all colors flying. The raid on the Conference, and the many other incidents of terrorism that preceded it, instead of demoralizing the movement, have given it new spirit. The League, convinced by all these events that it is getting real results and that the masters fear it, will go ahead with renewed energy and confidence.

### Printing Trades

Brother Wicks, a member of the Typographical Union, being present at the Conference as a visitor, was invited to outline the situation in the printing trades. He made substantially the following statement:

My organization, the International Typographical Union, is going to hold a convention in Atlantic City in a couple of weeks. It will be one of the most important conventions in the American Labor movement. For a long time the printing trades, particularly the Typographical Union, was recognized as the backbone of reaction. It was the most powerful union financially and is yet, and it was very conservative. Its members, the so-called brains of the printing trades, looked upon the rest as being inferior persons that needed no consideration. But some lessons have been learned. The "open shop" drive has hit the printing trades especially hard, and with the exception of the Typographical Union, the other unions have been gravely damaged. Some of them have been completely wrecked. The pressmen's union has been destroyed. All of which inclines the workers to listen to progressive suggestions.

The militant elements began action in the Typographical Union about two years ago. I am a member of the Trade Union Educational League, and I was a member of the Typographical Union at that time. The campaign did not start exactly from the League, but those of us who are interested in the League have been pushing it to the very limit. When we began, the tremendous opposition to amalgamation from the reactionaries completely swamped us. They were able to hypnotize the masses with phrases. But by constantly hammering away and taking advantage of every crisis in the organization, we showed them that we were really working toward the betterment of the rank and file. The struggle in Chicago resulted in a victory, because we insisted upon all the trades acting together. It was a concrete illustration of our program.

At the Quebec Convention last year, for the first time, we were able to put through a resolution to the effect that the International Union favored the complete amalgamation of all the printing trades into one union. This year the Convention will be held at Atlantic City. We are going there, and we believe we will have a majority. We have the practical assurance of many delegates that they will support the proposition of complete amalgamation. At the Atlantic City Convention, we are going to endeavor to bring into actual life the resolution adopted at the Quebec Convention calling for the reorganization of the entire printing industry into

one union. If any union is to take the lead in this matter, it must be the Typographical Union, and the proposition we are making is to bring all the other organizations under its jurisdiction. The success we are having has not been the result altogether of the tremendous agitation we have carried on, but the conditions of life have actually forced the situation. The printing trades workers have found through practical experience in the everyday struggle that they absolutely cannot obtain victory acting separately. Even the reactionaries are being forced to accept the program of amalgamation.

Asked to explain the origin of the so-called progressive movement in the Typographical Union, Brother Wicks said:

The progressive movement developed out of the "outlaw" strike of the printers in 1919. The workers demanded a 44 hour week. The employers refused, and a strike situation threatened. At this time Marsdon G. Scott, International President of the Typographical Union, and a tool of the former corrupt president Lynch, hastened to New York and said: "You dare not go out on strike, I demand and insist that you remain on the job." The local men refused to obey this mandate and, going over the heads of their national officials, called the outlaw strike. Then the officials threatened to expel them. But the men got into communication with Chicago Local No. 16, who declared they would back up the New York local, to the point of seceding if the latter was expelled. There were about 10,000 members in the New York organization, and 6,000 in that of Chicago, so the officialdom did not dare expel the "outlaws." So the strike proceeded, with the result that in a few weeks the employers capitulated and granted the 44 hour week. Then the struggle spread all over the country, and eventually, on May 1st, 1921, an order was drawn up to the effect that the 44 hour week would go into effect throughout the entire jurisdiction.

Consequent upon this situation in New York, a strong movement developed throughout the organization. The progressive element rallied together, notwithstanding the attacks of the reactionary papers published by the officialdom. So when the election came around we put up John McParland as candidate for president against Scott, as well as a full ticket against the whole machine. But unfortunately the only one elected in 1920 was McParland. This gave us the president, but not a single member of

the Executive Council. In Consequence, McParland was in an exceedingly difficult situation. He was confronted with a Council that would not support a single one of his measures. Every step he took was sabotaged by them. But this year we did better. Again we put up a full ticket, and instead of getting only one, we got all but one, or the entire Executive Council, and we re-elected our president.

If the radicals in the labor movement will handle such situations correctly; if they stick and refuse to allow the officials to stampede them into disrupting the organization by dual unionism, it is possible to win against the old reactionaries. At the present time we have practical control of the International Typographical Union, altho we do not know whether we will be entirely successful at the coming convention. This is because of the antiquated system of representation prevailing. Organizations having between five and six thousand members are entitled to only four delegates, while small locals with only eight or nine members are entitled to a delegate apiece. Thus sometimes there will be four men from small town districts representing 28 members with just as much of a voice and vote as the four men representing 10,000 New York members. Naturally the old machine seeks the perpetuation of such a condition.

Answering another question as to whether or not it was proposed to departmentalize the industrial union of printing trades workers, Brother Wicks said:

We would have the amalgamated union departmentalized pretty much along the same lines as the industry is organized now, a department for the pressmen, the compositors, the bookbinders, etc. But each department would be represented on the Executive Council, which would act for the whole organization.

In connection with the printing trades situation, Del. Rogers pointed out the vital necessity of organizing the newswriters. These men occupy a very strategic position in social life and great efforts should be expended towards bringing them within the pale of the labor movement. Up to this time very little has been done in this respect by the Typographical Union, the organization having jurisdiction over the news writers.

## Second Day's Proceedings, Afternoon Session

### Needle Trades

Del. Wortis, reporting for the Needle Trades Section of the Trade Union Educational League, submitted the program of the militant element in the clothing industry. After considerable discussion, it was adopted by the Conference. It is printed elsewhere in this report.

### Transport Trades

There being no delegates from the Transport industry present at the Conference, the discussion of the problems in this branch of

industry was thrown open to the Conference. It was pointed out that within the past two years serious movements of dissension have developed among the longshoremen and sailors on both the Atlantic and Pacific coast following the unsuccessful strike movement in these trades. As a result, secessions have developed, fragments of the discontented workers have been absorbed by the I. W. W. here and there and various other dual unions. But as far as the main body of the transport workers are concerned, namely, the street car men, teamsters, etc., they are controlled by



the old trade unions. It was recognized that the transport workers generally are one of the most backward and reactionary groups in the American labor movement. They have not yet advanced to the point of understanding their common interests to set up even the mildest form of a federation. The Conference, not having sufficient data on hand to map out a definite program of action in the transport industry, voted to leave this matter to the incoming National Committee.

### Coal Mining

Del. Gill reported on the situation in the coal mining industry, where the great national strike is now apparently coming to a close with an unsatisfactory truce. Over this a general discussion arose in the Conference, during which the following basic principles were outlined as a skeleton program for the militant miners in their efforts to strengthen their organization and the policies of the United Mine Workers of America.

1. Alliance between Miners and Railroad Workers: There must be created a real fighting alliance between the men who dig coal and those who haul it. This must not be merely a weak affiliation like the present arrangement, which produces merely an exchange of friendly telegrams during times of trouble, but a well-knit organization which will provide specifically for joint strike action of the two bodies. What could be a more deplorable spectacle than that to be seen all through the coal strike, when the railroad workers hauled mile after mile of cars of scab coal, to their own detriment as well as to that of the miners. Sympathetic action by the railroad men would have ended the coal strike in a hurry. The miners and the railroad workers must be united in one organization.

2. National Agreements: "No district agreements" must be the slogan of the miners. Coal mining is a basic national industry, and it must be handled upon a national scale, notwithstanding all the operators' arguments about competition between the various fields. Their cry for district agreements is founded upon the desire to divide the workers. They know that if they can reestablish the system of one district striking while the rest are working, the power of the United Mine Workers will be destroyed. The union officials who echo the demand of the bosses for district agreements, as many did during the big strike, are agents of the employers and traitors to our cause. In the early days agreements were made between individual operators and local unions, then by sub-districts, next by districts, eventually by inter-districts, and finally a national settlement was arrived at. All this was progress in the right direction. To retreat now from the principle of national agreements would be a step backward and a disastrous mistake.

3. Intensive Organization Campaign: It is vitally necessary that plans be laid to bring into the organization the great army of non-union miners. During the big strike these mavericks, who amount to one-third of all miners, threatened the cause with destruction. Most of this unorganization has

been kept in existence deliberately by the international union officials. The latter, seeking control of the union at all cost, have found it very profitable to keep certain districts in a demoralized condition. Such district organizations, poverty stricken and hard pressed by the employers, need the assistance of the general organization and will do almost anything to get it. At the national conventions the representatives of such districts, trying to curry favor and support, are as putty in the hands of the ruling officialdom. They vote as they are told, regardless of the issues involved. Every administration for years past has used them consciously as a weapon to keep itself in power. On the other hand, the districts that are organized 100% are the ones with independent spirit. They alone have the courage to stand for progressive policies in the union. Had the administration really desired it, all the miners in the country could have been organized easily during the war time. It is indeed time that this state of unorganization, so fatal to us during strikes and so disastrous to progress in the union, be brought to an end. Thorough organization of the whole industry must be achieved at all costs.

4. Direct Election of Organizers: A most necessary reform in the organization is to bring about the election of the organizers by the rank and file in the respective districts. At present the big staff of field workers are appointed by the administration, with the result that they are to a large part simply an electioneering machine to keep the former in power. They spend most of their time running around the districts playing politics and seeking to develop sentiment in support of the administration. And when the conventions assemble, they flock in and literally swamp them. The only remedy for this state of affairs, which is extremely demoralizing to the union, is for the rank and file in the individual districts to directly elect such organizers as may be necessary for their territory. The "pay-roll vote" must be abolished in the United Mine Workers of America.

### Metal Mining

Several delegates reported on the situation in the metal mining district of the west. This industry has undergone a stormy development during the past dozen years. Originally highly organized, it has now lost practically all its unionism. Here and there is a remnant of the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, formerly the Western Federation of Miners, a powerful organization. There is also some sentiment in the industry for the I. W. W., although this body has little or no real organization. The One Big Union likewise has a small following. The speakers all agreed that the industry is now booming and that a splendid opportunity for organization exists. Wm. F. Dunne, of Butte, was generally agreed upon as the one man best capable of conducting such a campaign. The incoming National Committee was instructed to do whatever it could to inaugurate a campaign for organization among all branches of the metal miners.

### Boot and Shoe Trades

Del. Canter gave a partial report on the situation in the boot and shoe industry of New England. He stated that the propaganda of the Trade Union Educational League is having a profound effect on the independent unions in this industry. But a short time before, the tendency was for them to split and split again, as the different factions developed. Now, however, due largely to the League's work, a new spirit of solidarity is showing itself. The independents are getting together to form a new organization, to be known as the Amalgamated Shoe Workers of America. This body will start out with a fair-sized and militant membership. Likewise, considerable of the former bitterness against the A. F. of L. union, a feeling bred from many unfortunate experiences in the past, is now disappearing. Instead of wanting to destroy the old organization, the sentiment is now developing for an amalgamation with it. Sec'y-Treas. Foster stated that he had received a very complete report on the unions and recent struggles of the workers in this industry, but unfortunately could not present it to the Conference because it had been seized by the police during the raid on the League headquarters. By a motion, the conference instructed the incoming National Executive Committee to get in touch with the militant elements in the boot and shoe industry, in order that a practical plan of operation might be worked out to produce the necessary solidarity among the demoralized workers in this important industrial branch.

### Textile Industry

Sec'y-Treas. Foster reported that some two weeks before the opening of the Conference, he had received a complete and authoritative write-up of the complicated situation in the textile industry, but that report, like the one on the boot and shoe industry, had fallen into the hands of the police, hence it could not be presented to the Conference. Del. Canter was then called upon to give a general view of the situation in the New England section of the industry. He stated that the textile industry is one of the two most important in New England. There are a number of independent unions, as well as the static organization affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. The same get-together spirit manifesting itself in the boot and shoe industry is also at work among the textile workers. The need for a consolidation of the scattered forces was strikingly illustrated in the great textile strikes. These were conducted principally by the United Textile Workers (A. F. of L.),

One Big Union, and Amalgamated Textile Workers. The One Big Union secured quite a grip in Lawrence, Mass. This is a radical center, and has had a stormy experience with unionism. In the early days the old United Textile Workers had big strikes there. Then, in 1912, came the historic walk-out of the I. W. W. After that, in 1919, the Amalgamated Textile Workers succeeded in winning the support of the workers and leading them into a big struggle. And in 1922, it was the One Big Union to which they principally attached their hopes in Lawrence. During the recent strikes much jangling took place between the rival organizations. This bitterness reached the point where the organizations picketed each other's headquarters. Now due largely to League influence, a better spirit is developing among them. A big wave of amalgamation sentiment is spreading over the industry. The workers are tired of the old program of splitting away and forming new groups. They now want to affiliate together. So far this amalgamation sentiment has not made the best headway in the United Textile Workers, but the determination is to see to it that the militant workers penetrate this organization as well as the independents, so that it can be infused with the new spirit. On motion, the National Committee was instructed to take the necessary steps to work out a definite plan of consolidation in this industry.

### Food Industry

There being no delegates from this industry present at the Conference, the discussion of it was of a general character and inconclusive. It was recognized that the broken-up condition of the unions, with several independent organizations operating in competition with the A. F. of L. body, that the question of developing a united front is a real problem, one that can only be worked out after a careful consideration of the situation. Accordingly, the National Committee was commissioned to survey the industry and to get into touch with all the militant elements possible preparatory to enlisting them in a definite work of bringing about solidarity and organization of all branches of the food workers.

### Amusement Trades

No delegates being present from this industry, the same course was taken as in other industries where no definite survey was before the conference. The matter was referred to the incoming National Committee to work out a program. Del. Walker urged that the moving picture industry be given consideration when such a program was being considered.



Moved and seconded that inasmuch as, because of a shortage of delegates in some of the various industries, it is impossible to select secretaries for them, said secretaries to constitute the National Committee, the present National Executive Committee shall continue in office and function in this capacity until the next Conference, helping to develop new groups and handling the various problems confronting the League during that time.

Adopted.

Its business being finished, the Conference proceeded to close. In the final discussion, Dels. Carney, Schneider, Foster, and several others, declared that the Conference had been a big success. The T. U. E. L. is based upon a conception of organizing the left block in the trade unions. This means to bring together into cooperation men of the most diverse political opinions, admittedly a difficult task. But this Conference proves that it can be done. Although the delegation was made up of elements from all the progressive and

radical movements, nevertheless the deliberations were marked with the utmost harmony. Not a word of bitter contention was uttered. All the factions joined together wholeheartedly in solving the industrial problems confronting them. And the harmony was an easy one, for after all, the industrial side of the workers' struggle is one that all honest, forward striving elements can readily agree upon. Particularly is this the case in this country, where the movement is in a state of such utter reaction that an organization like the T. U. E. L. finds itself confronted with the most elemental problems of organization. In breaking up, the delegation expressed the general feeling that the First National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League was a great success, and that it will prove an historic gathering in the life of the American labor movement.

Conference adjourned at 6:00 p. m.

Fraternally Submitted,

Wm. Z. Foster,

Sec'y-Treas.

## Program of the Building Trades Workers

Never in the history of the building industry has such a determined effort been made by the employers to wipe out organized labor. The situation is, indeed, critical. Something has to be done to stop the retreat of the building trades workers, and done quickly or else the building industry throughout the country will be manned entirely by non-union labor, which means that our standard of living and our working conditions will gradually sink down to a slavery level.

In the past, when individual trades did business with single contractors, the craft unions, if well organized, were generally speaking able to gain something for their members. But, when the contractors united and formed contractors' associations, the individual trades found it impossible to fight successfully these new and more powerful organizations of employers. Hence the different trades federated for mutual support, and building trades councils came into being throughout the building industry. Under this new and stronger form of organization, the building trades workers benefited materially. The standard of living was raised, the eight hour day became general, and great changes for the better were made in general working conditions.

But the law of change is ever at work. The employers have so strengthened their organizations that federations of crafts are not only unable to better the conditions of the building trades workers, but are actually in full retreat. They are forced to accept wage cuts and to relinquish working conditions that we have won in many a hard fought and bitter struggle. The cause of our disastrous defeats is that we have failed to keep pace with the times. Although the employers have gone on steadily consolidating their organizations, we have neglected to do so with ours. Our present great need, and the

one thing that we must have if we are to prosper and progress as a body of workers, is the complete amalgamation of all the building trades unions into one organization covering the entire industry.

### British Industrial Unions

In joining all our scattered forces in one organization, we are only following the lines that building trades workers and others have taken in European countries. In Great Britain, for example, the building trades workers are far ahead of us in the point of consolidation of their forces. They have one principal organization known as the Amalgamated Union of Building Trades Workers of Great Britain and Ireland. It is a fusion of 16 different organizations. These organizations, numbering about 500,000 members all told, now do business under one head. No argument is required to prove that the general organization is much stronger and better able to protect its members than any of the individual crafts were. Dealing with the general subject of consolidation in a recent issue of the official journal, *The Operative Builder*, Gen'l Sec'y-Treas Hicks had this to say:

"I am sure that the great campaign of 1911 to 1914 for full and complete amalgamation of all building trades into one industrial organization, had a most marked effect in developing the minds of the workers to bigger and better forms of unity. It helped them to realize that it was not sufficient simply to desire better things, but that if they wanted to realize them, they had to work for them. Complete amalgamation has not yet been realized, but again let me say, I feel as confident of its coming into being as of daylight following darkness."

This getting together movement in Great Britain is not confined to the building trades workers; it is a general movement in all the basic industries. The

National Union of Railwaymen of Great Britain is a general amalgamation of all railway workers into one organization. One feature of this organization, which is of paramount interest to our industry, is that it is divided into four departments to facilitate the proper handling of the varied business of the many crafts making up the industry. These four departments are as follows: (1) Locomotive, (2) Traffic, (3) Goods and Cartage, (4) Engineering Shops and Permanent Way. This body has a membership of over 400,000. Another type of great industrial union is the newly formed National Transport and General Workers' Union of Great Britain. This organization, which has a membership of 500,000, is rapidly completing the industrialization of its forces. It was formed by an amalgamation of 12 crafts. On the same principle as the N. U. R., it is divided into five national departments for the efficient representation of the workers. These departments are: (1) Docks, (2) Waterways, (3) Clerical, (4) General Workers, (5) Road Transport.

### German Building Trades Workers' Union

Like the British, the German workers in the building trades have made great strides towards the creation of an industrial union. Their principal organization is known as the German Building Trades Federation. It was formed in 1909 by an amalgamation of the brick layers and building laborers. Since then the pavers, stucco workers, plasterers, and several small crafts, have joined forces with it. It is out to include within its ranks all the trades in the building industry. At present it has a membership of 477,285, composed as follows: Foremen 2,935, Bricklayers and Masons 192,121, Tile Layers and Terrazo Workers, 1,446, Plasterers 9,290, Cement and Concrete Workers, 7,179, Isolaters and Stone and Wood Pavers 1,961, Helpers 185,706, Hoisting Engineers, 1,033, Excavation Workers 75,664.

In its official organ, "*Der Grundstein*," of March 11, 1922, the following six reasons are urged why all the building workers should amalgamate in the general organization.

1. Amalgamation would result in a uniformity of the entire forces of the union administration, and with it a rationalization of all trade union work of the building workers' Union. Uniformity of management would mean a great saving of time, energy and finance, as well as a better utilization of all union forces.

2. Through amalgamation jurisdictional disputes now existing between the various crafts in the building industry would be automatically eliminated.

3. Through amalgamation a feeling of solidarity of building workers would be promoted, which would not only create a necessary idealism, but would have a great practical significance.

4. Through amalgamation the negotiation of wage agreements of those crafts which already have agreements in common would be simplified and conducted at a much lower expense.

5. Through amalgamation the building trades laws beneficial to building workers could be better utilized.

6. Through amalgamation a solid basis could be established for the socialization of the building industry.

Up until its convention of 1922, the German Building Trades Federation was a general mixed union. But at that time, in order to systematize its business

and to attract the still outstanding crafts, it departmentalized itself along the lines of the British unions mentioned above. The following are the departments as established: (1) Architects, engineers, technicians, foremen, surveyors; (2) Excavation workers, tunnel workers, etc.; (3) Building material workers, cement workers, brick makers, lime kiln workers, quarry men; (4) Stone cutters, stone setters, rammers and pavers, asphalt workers; (5) Bricklayers, masons, plasterers, tile layers, concrete workers, mosaic workers; (6) Trades engaged in the installation for heat, light and water; (7) Carpenters and other wood workers; (8) Roofers and chimney sweepers; (9) Painters and decorators.

The German Building Trades Federation is now carrying on a vigorous campaign for complete amalgamation of the several crafts still outstanding. Some of these, notably the painters, have voted to go along with the proposition. But the carpenters are the big stumbling block. Their officials are fighting the proposition tooth and nail. But the heads of the amalgamated organization are carrying on the campaign for solidarity regardless of them. Already they have succeeded in winning the support of many of the local organizations of carpenters. Recently their official paper declared: "The cause of delay toward amalgamation has generally been the personal opposition of union officials. Amalgamation must come, if not with them, then in spite of them."

### A Plan of Amalgamation

As early as 1913 the need for a greater solidarity among the building trades workers was evident, and Del. O. A. Tviemoe succeeded in having the Seattle Convention of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. endorse the principle of amalgamation in a resolution calling for the fusion of the many building trades unions into six groups, viz., Mason group, Iron group, Pipe Fitting and Power group, Building Finishing group, and Wood Working group. Had this resolution been put into effect, the whole history of the building trades struggle would have been different. But as it was not, we have suffered accordingly. What we must do now is to proceed substantially along the lines indicated by the Seattle resolution, by joining all the building trades unions into one body consisting of a number of specialized departments, based upon the same principles as those of the European unions above noted. We propose the following grouping of the trades in these departments, not as a blue print proposition to be followed exactly, but as an indication of the general course to be taken. Whenever two organizations have voted for amalgamation, these two should immediately join together and set the example for the others. The proposed departments are:

(1) Building Material Dept., brickmakers, quarry workers, gravel pit workers, mill men; (2) Building Finishers and Maintenance Dept., painters, paper hangers, decorators, glaziers, art glass workers, composition roofers, asphalt, slate and tile roofers, janitors, elevator operators, front cleaners, window washers; (3) Wrecking, Moving and General Laborer Dept., general laborers, wreckers, sewer and tunnel miners, teamsters; (4) Wood Working Dept., carpenters, cabinet makers, lathers, pile drivers; (5) Pipe Fitting and Power Dept., asbestos workers, electrical workers, fixture hangers, hoisting engin-



eers, steam shovel men, plumbers, gas fitters, sprinkling fitters, pipe and drain layers, steam fitters; (6) Iron Dept., bridge and structural iron workers, boilermakers, sheet metal workers, machinists, elevator constructors, machinery movers, (7) Technical Dept., technical engineers, architects, surveyors, time keepers, draftsmen, clerical force, etc.; (8) Mason Dept., bricklayers, masons, plasterers, marble setters, cement finishers, marble, slate and stone cutters, polishers, rubbers and sawyers, mosaic, granite and terrazzo helpers, tile layers and helpers, hod carriers, tuck pointers.

#### Advantages of Amalgamation

One of the main arguments used against amalgamation is that trade lines would be completely broken down and the wages of the skilled would sink to the level of the unskilled. But this is contrary to the facts. Wherever the workers are organized industrially, the wages of the skilled are higher in that industry than in those industries where they are still doing business along the old craft union lines. The reasons are obvious. The craft union is a much smaller organization. Its vision is narrow, it depends solely upon its own efforts, it neither gives nor receives support from the other crafts in the same industry. 50% of its energy is used fighting other organizations over jurisdiction.

An industrial union, on the other hand, in the building industry would mean a membership of over 1,000,000, it would end all jurisdictional disputes and bring about co-operation between all the trades. With the duplication of the work of officials reduced to a minimum and all the hitherto lost energy turned toward the upbuilding of the organization, it would be incomparably more fitted to protect the interests of the workers than are the present craft unions.

## Program of the Railroad Workers

As the first National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League assembles the railroad workers find themselves in a desperate situation because of the weakness of craft unionism. They are in the position of being sadly divided in the face of a highly united and altogether militant enemy. While the seven shop crafts, assailed with desperation by the companies, are fighting valiantly for their rights, nine other unions are at work helping the companies to break the strike. It is a pitiful exhibition of working class division, and the leaders responsible for it are guilty of criminal stupidity. They knew full well that such a condition was bound to develop sooner or later, what with their craft policy of each organization or group of organizations going it alone.

Such a shameful state of affairs, which may result disastrously for the whole labor movement, must never be allowed to happen again. The railroad workers must put their organizations into such shape that one section of the

Departmentalized as suggested above, with one general headquarters, one set of general officers, and one united front, the present confusion in the building trades would be eliminated. Departmental conventions could be held in the same place and just prior to the general convention. All questions relating to their individual trades would be handled by them, but all questions or laws affecting the entire industry, such as general working conditions, wage agreements, etc., would be determined by the general convention, and when decided upon, would be enforced by the entire organization. The general result would be a much more efficiently organized state of affairs than now prevails in the building industry. The present chaos would come to an end.

Building Trades Workers! To remain separated as we now are is suicidal. Amalgamation is the next logical step and is in harmony with progress. It will eliminate the disastrous jurisdictional disputes, and prevent forever such shameful situations as now exists in the building trades of Chicago, where one-half of the craft unions are fighting against the "open shop" while the rest have accepted it. Amalgamation will increase our industrial power enormously.

Amalgamation will be brought about only when the rank and file awaken and force the issue upon the reluctant officialdom. At every local meeting it should be discussed. Every candidate for union office should be asked to state his position on this important question, and opposition should be made against anti-amalgamationists. Amalgamation should be discussed in all our journals and made a live issue throughout the entire building trades industry. Amalgamation is the one thing that can put our organizations in such a condition that they can effectively maintain a successful front against the militant employers. Amalgamation is the key to the fight in the building industry. Let us bring it to pass.

workers cannot be played off against the other as is so flagrantly the case in the present critical struggle. And the only way that the necessary solidarity and community of action can be secured is through the merging of the many railroad unions into one united body of all railroad workers. To this end the Trade Union Educational League heartily endorses and recommends the adoption of the following plan of amalgamation issued by the Minnesota Shop Crafts Legislative Committee and by them scattered broadcast among thousands of local railroad unions. It is herewith reproduced in full.

#### The Minnesota Plan

**R**AILROAD UNIONISM is in danger. The full force of the "open shop" drive is now upon us. The companies are determined to wipe out the unions on the railroads and to establish a condition of serfdom for their workers. And they are all too successful in their efforts. Even the most powerful unions cannot resist their onslaughts, and as for the weaker ones, they are being crushed outright. Conditions are being worsened rapidly in every branch

of the service. Wage cuts, lengthening of hours, abolition of overtime rates, re-establishing of piece-work and straight time for Sunday work, and the general elimination of union conditions, are the order of the day. Faced by a militant and relentless foe, railroad labor is in disastrous retreat.

In this great struggle, the companies are winning because they are thoroughly united, while the workers are not. All the important railroads in the United States are controlled by a dozen New York banks, which, in turn, are in the hands of a few financial pirates. Railroad Capital is one gigantic organization which fights as a unit all over the country. But railroad Labor is split into many fragments, into sixteen autonomous unions, amongst which real solidarity and concerted action is impossible. Against our mighty foe, we fight in little detachments, developing only a fraction of our power. That is why we are losing the battle. To oppose the mighty railroad combination of capital with single craft unions or loose federations of them is about equal to fighting the modern battleship with bows and arrows.

#### Unity the Supreme Need

We must look the situation squarely in the face and act accordingly. There is one way, and one way only, in which we can defeat the offensive of the companies, and that is to develop our full power by thoroughly uniting our own forces. We must bring about unity of action among the entire army of railroad workers, from the engineer to the section hand. Like the employers, we will have to act as a solid body all over the country. To do this requires imperatively that we draw together our scattered and divided forces into one enormous organization of all classes of railroad workers. Such a gigantic combination would not only stop the "open shop" drive of the companies, but it would also enable the workers to forge ahead to new conquests. It would be invincible. With the 1,800,000 railroad workers standing united and making common cause together, there would be no industrial power in the country able to withstand them. The creation of this powerful organization would begin a new era of accomplishment, not only for railroad workers but for the whole labor movement.

Such a great railroad union would be strictly feasible. The employers have been able to combine the financial and technical sides of the industry. Surely, then, the workers have the intelligence to unite the human side of it. Indeed, the best proof that it can be done, is the fact that in many countries the railroad workers are already organized in single great unions covering every category of the service. All that is needed is the will, and a little horse sense. Yet the thing must be gone at intelligently. To simply desert the old unions and to try to organize offhand a perfect organization, is a fatal mistake. That way lies dualism, disruption, and demoralization. We must act in accordance with trade union evolution. We must stay in our old unions and work diligently to merge them together through amalgamation. For almost forty years the railroad organizations, in a hundred different ways, have been gradually uniting their forces and expanding their fighting front. Their ultimate, inevitable goal is a solid organization of all workers in the railroad industry. That is the real meaning of the development of the system and division fed-

eration movements, the organization of the Railway Employees' Department, the agreements between the four Brotherhoods, and now the consolidation of the B. of L. E. with the B. of L. F. & E. We must fall in line with this process and recognize its inescapable conclusion, which is one union for all railroad workers. Our task is to work ceaselessly for and to everlastingly insist upon the amalgamation of the sixteen railroad unions into one mighty, all-inclusive organization.

#### Some Benefits of Amalgamation

Many advantages would come to the workers through a general merger of the sixteen unions. Chief of these, of course, would be far greater industrial power. Amalgamated organizations are always infinitely stronger than federated bodies. The great war furnished a striking illustration of this principle. At first the Allied armies operated practically as autonomous units. But there was too much confusion and too little power. Enemy pressure soon forced them to federate. But even this did not give the smooth working mechanism necessary to concerted action and maximum power. So finally, when it seemed as if the war was almost lost, they all had to amalgamate into one body under one general staff. This brought results. Thereby the strength of the combined armies was trebled or quadrupled, and the fate of the Central Empires was sealed. And so it would be were the railroad unions amalgamated; their present strength is hardly an indication of what their great might then would be. It would be the old story over again of the strands of hemp, which, while separate, are easily broken, but which, bound together into a rope, cannot be torn asunder. Complete amalgamation would give the railroad workers many times the power of the present craft unions.

Another important benefit of amalgamation would be the elimination of jurisdictional disputes between the railroad trades. For years these internecine quarrels, a cancer of the labor movement, have sucked the life-blood of railroad Labor, while the companies have chuckled in glee. But amalgamation, the broad highway to solidarity, would put a speedy end to them. Once the railroad workers are all in one organization, there would never again be seen the sad spectacle of one group of trades working while the rest are striking. That disgrace would be gone forever.

#### Solidarity, Efficiency, Economy

A further advantage of amalgamation would be the practical ending of dual unionism. The long-standing tendency of sections of workers splitting off from the unions and starting new bodies is a serious menace. It has weakened the unions greatly by withdrawing thousands of good workers from them. So serious is this menace that same day, unless it is checked, it may burst forth into a devastating conflagration that will destroy railroad unionism altogether. Dual unionism is peculiarly a disease of craft unionism. For the most part it is a striving, however ill-advised, for greater solidarity. Amalgamation, by achieving this solidarity, would destroy the very foundations of dualism. The launching of a general amalgamation would be the signal for most, if not all, of the independent organizations to join forces with it.

Still another advantage of amalgamation would be great financial economies in the operation of the



organization. Consider the saving in rent and other expenses that would result from combining the many headquarters into one. Likewise the economy of merging all the journals, each of which has a separate editorial staff, into a single great publication. The fusing of all the executives, organizing staffs, system chairmen, etc., into one general management, would avoid the tremendous criss-crossing and duplicating of work now prevailing, thus making for great economy. It is safe to say that the business of the railroad workers could be handled much better in one union with a much smaller official family than is now the case. Considerable numbers of the officials, at present duplicating each others' work, would be rendered available to organize the great numbers of unorganized in the industry and to carry on the highly expanded general activities of the amalgamated union. At present another item of huge expense is conventions. Some of these cost almost fabulous sums. The outlay for the last convention of the B. of L. F. & E. was \$600,000, that of the B. R. C. of A. \$500,000, and the B. of R. T. and others in proportion. The amalgamated union would make immense economies in this respect. Basing its representation upon the system federation, instead of the local union, it could, with much more efficiency and just as much democracy, hold conventions not larger than any one of the several crafts does now. It would save at least \$1,000,000 per convention over the present system. All told, a general amalgamation would bring about economy in management to the amount of probably a couple of millions per year. This money could be put to real use in building up the organization. Besides its other virtues, amalgamation is especially a measure of great efficiency and economy.

#### A Plan of Amalgamation

Three things we have made clear so far: First, the imperative need for one organization to include all railroad workers; second, that this industrial union must be brought into being by merging the existing sixteen trade unions; and third, the tremendous advantages that will accrue from amalgamation. And now let us consider how this amalgamated union should be constructed.

The objection most seriously urged against a general union of all railroad workers is that it would be such a confused body that it could not properly represent and defend the interests of the great number of trades employed in the complicated railroad industry. These interests, it is claimed, can only be taken care of by separate organizations, one for each trade. Then it is further argued that an amalgamation would be a physical impossibility because of the widely differing standards of dues and benefits now prevailing in the many organizations, the contention being that it would be out of the question either to get the section men and other low dues-payers to assess themselves the three to five dollars per month that the train service men pay, or to induce the latter to abandon their insurance features so that their dues might be reduced to the lower levels of the other trades.

But those who reason thus know nothing of modern industrial unions, as exemplified by organizations in many parts of the world. In a general railroad union there would be no confusion of trades, no indiscriminate mixture of all classes of

workers. On the contrary, there would be far more regularity and order in this respect than is now the case. Such a great union would be divided into a number of sections or departments, each one consisting of two or more closely related trades. In our diagram we have worked the thing out on the basis of six such departments. Practice might demand one or two more or less than this, but to elucidate the principle we will follow the number stated. Within these departments natural trade lines would be preserved. Men of similar callings would meet together and discuss their common problems. Their demands and needs would be efficiently developed and taken care of. But the several departments would have no autonomy in wage negotiations. They would all act together as parts of the one great machine.

#### Unity, Order, System, Regularity

With its various departments, the amalgamated union would be built something similar to an army, minus, of course, the latter's stringent discipline. An army has many natural sections, such as infantry, cavalry, artillery, air service, signal corps, commissariat, etc., etc. The lines between them are kept distinct, but all are nevertheless definitely dovetailed together so that they make up one compact unified organization. The whole thing is a model of system and order. Think what a helpless muddle an army would be if it allowed the various sections to operate independently. Yet, with our sixteen autonomous unions, we are doing exactly that impractical thing. It is indeed no wonder that we are so weak. Amalgamation would not bring confusion; we have that now with our chaotic system of craft unionism.

At the head of the general organization would stand an executive council of forty-eight members, together with the necessary secretaries. Each department would elect eight members to this council, and of the eight, two would come from each of the four natural divisions of the railroad industry, West, East, Southeast, and Canada. Thus the executive council would be thoroughly representative, industrially and geographically, of the whole railroad service. Made up of delegates of every trade and every locality, it would be competent to formulate the demands of railroad workers as a whole and to organize a united battle-front to make them prevail. Essentially the same system is now in effect in the famous National Union of Railwaymen of Great Britain, and it is a pronounced success over the old system of craft unionism. In the departmental form of organization, there would be no element of confusion. It would be incomparably more scientific and efficient than our present outworn, haphazard system of trying to do business through sixteen more or less jangling and disconnected unions, which find it impossible to stand together even under the severest pressure from the companies.

#### Problem of Dues and Benefits

The departmental form of organization would also solve thoroughly the problem of union benefits or insurance, which we hear urged so often as an insuperable obstacle to amalgamation. There would be no pressing reason why this insurance, and the dues which are so closely related to it, should be standardized and made the same for all classes of workers. On the contrary, after establishing a basic

rate of dues to cover the fundamental activities of the union, it would be not only practical but advisable to have different rates of insurance and dues prevailing in the several departments, according to the workers' ability to pay and to the customs and traditions of their respective trades. This could be accomplished readily by setting up a special office section to manage all the union's insurance features and to supervise the varying schedules in the several departments, or possibly sub-departments. Due to more economical management, the amalgamated union could furnish better and cheaper insurance than is now the case. The whole thing would be a simple business matter, much simpler in fact than that which is daily carried on by insurance companies everywhere. Without any special technical difficulty, these companies operate vast systems of insurance involving millions of beneficiaries and hundreds of rates and premiums. To say that railroad Labor cannot do as much with its compara-

tively simple insurance problem and to urge that the latter is an insoluble objection to amalgamation, is to put a mean value indeed upon the abilities of the workers. It means that we railroad men have not even a fraction of the intelligence of an every-day insurance company.

Another favorite objection of the anti-amalgamationists is that the formation of a general railroad union would gravely injure the Machinists', Blacksmiths', Boilermakers', Electrical Workers', Sheet Metal Workers', and Stationary Firemen's unions by splitting off the sections of their members who work on railroads from those who do not. But there is nothing to this. Amalgamation emphatically would not disrupt those organizations. What would happen to their membership affected is this: Thereafter the railroad workers in those unions would directly elect their representatives to the executive council of the amalgamated union, which, thenceforth, would have full charge of all negotiations for them with

### PROCESS OF AMALGAMATION

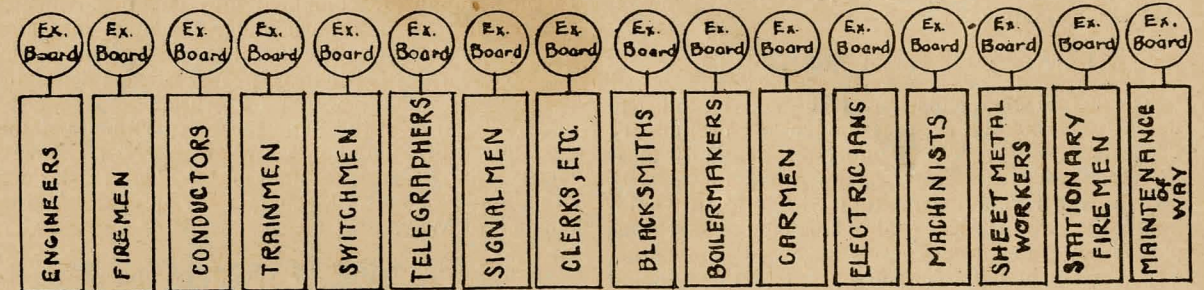


FIGURE 1—PRESENT STATUS OF UNIONS

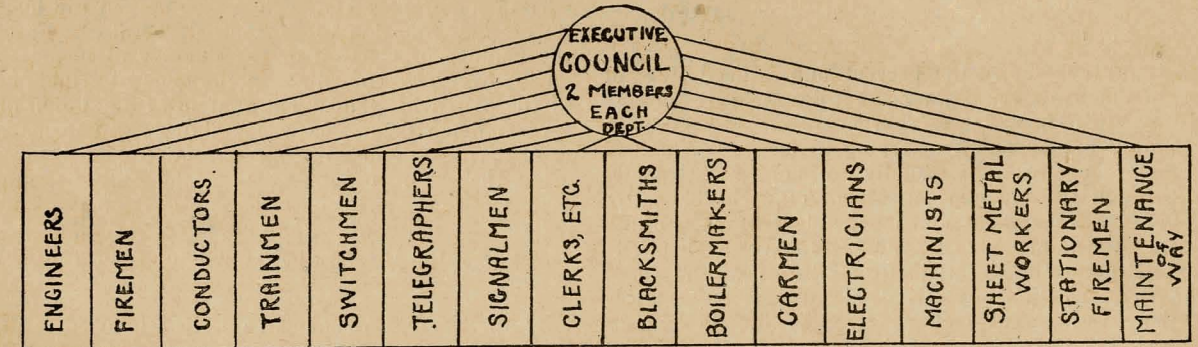


FIGURE 2—FIRST STAGE OF AMALGAMATION

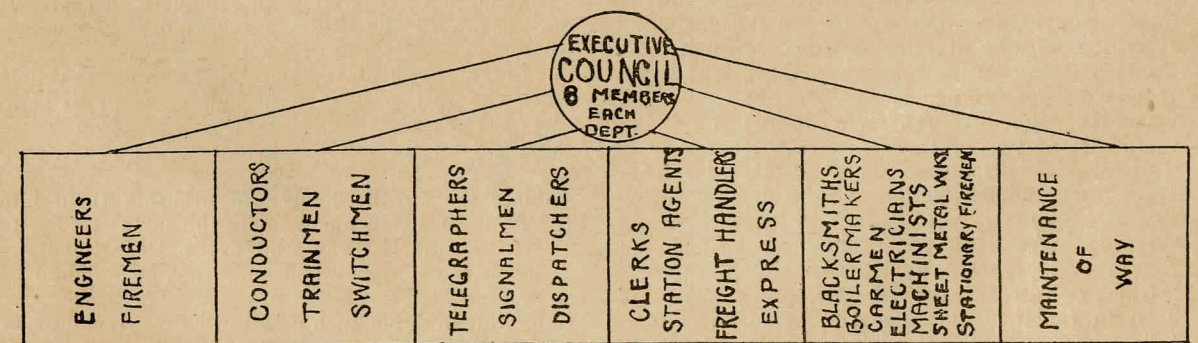


FIGURE 3—FINAL STAGE OF AMALGAMATION



the companies, and which would have control of their strike activities. The greater part of their dues they would pay into the railroad union, as it would be the most active in their behalf, but they would also continue to pay a portion of them into the old craft unions, to help finance the latter in their battle to maintain good conditions for these trades in other industries. That is to say, they would have a double affiliation, belonging to both the railroad industrial union and to their respective craft unions, to correspond to their double interests as railroad workers and of craftsmen who are likely at any time to be working in other industries. This principle is in harmony with the best practice all over the world in working out this problem. Instead of injuring the type of unions of which only one part of the membership work on the railroads, the amalgamation proposed would actually strengthen them.

There are no real arguments against amalgamation, but there are a hundred reasons in favor of it. All the unions on the railroads, even the strongest, have much to gain by merging with their sister organizations. Further progress of railroad workers as a whole depends upon the realization of a general amalgamation.

#### How to Bring About Amalgamation

The actual amalgamation of the sixteen railroad unions will involve a great amount of preliminary educational work. The membership generally must be made to clearly understand what the project means. When this is done, they will be for it wholeheartedly. The tactical goal of this educational campaign should be the calling of a general convention of the railroad unions, at which all of them should be merged into one compact body. The diagrams attached herewith will help us to understand some of the moves that the convention would probably have to make.

Figure 1 shows the present unorganized state of our unions. Even a glance at it demonstrates clearly how ill-prepared we railroaders are to make a united fight. Think of trying to map out a unified policy against the solidly organized companies through the medium of sixteen different executive boards, autonomous and independent of each other, save for faint "understandings" among the Brotherhoods and the unsatisfactory alliance of the shopmen in the Railway Employees' Department. This thing is impossible on the face of it. So long as such an unscientific condition exists, the railroad workers will never be able to put up a united front against the companies. The first task of the amalgamation convention would be to end this deplorable state of affairs by literally breaking down the walls between the executive officers of the various unions. It would have to provide for the election of an executive council to represent all the trades, and to consist of two or three members from each organization participating. This would bring about unity in the administration and enable the workers to stand together as one body. Merging the executives would in itself constitute half of amalgamation. With that accomplished, the sixteen organizations temporarily could be left practically intact, each to function as a department in the general railroad union, and each maintaining its own standard of dues, benefits, etc.

#### Completing the Amalgamation

Figure 2 indicates the situation that would prevail after the sixteen executives had been combined into one body. With this done the rest of the work, viz., the extension of the amalgamation to the various ramifications of the organizations, could proceed in a slow and careful fashion. A commission might be appointed to conduct it. Gradually the elaborate organizing forces would be joined together into one mechanism, and the many journals combined into one powerful publication. Likewise the system and division federations would be changed and expanded in accordance with the new relationships. But most important of all, the barriers between the various closely related trades would be gradually dissolved, nationally and locally, and the number of departments reduced. At first, as we have pointed out, the sixteen organizations could act as so many departments of the general organization. But as the amalgamation became perfected and the trades came to know and understand each other better, many of these departments could be merged to good advantage. The Engineers and Firemen might be combined into one department; the Conductors, Trainmen and Switchmen into another; and as fast as the metal trades unions amalgamated nationally their respective departments in the railroad unions would be consolidated accordingly. Eventually the number of departments could be reduced probably to as low as six, viz.: Engine-men; Train Service; Train Control; Office, Station, Freight and Express; Mechanical Trades; and Maintenance of Way.

Figure 3 illustrates the completed amalgamation. We make no claim that it is absolutely exact in detail. Experience may demand its modification in certain minor respects, such as changes in the lineup of the groups in the various departments, or in the manner of election or the number of members on the executive council. But the general principles of the plan will stand. The system of one union of several departments, each containing two or more related trades, and with one executive council covering the whole organization, is the only possible means for the railroad workers to develop the solidarity and unity of action necessary to cope successfully with the mighty combination of railroad capital.

If all the sixteen unions cannot be induced to go into this project simultaneously, as many as possible should be brought in. The plan fits partial amalgamations as well as a complete merger. If only a few of the trades agree at first to amalgamate, they can go right ahead organizing themselves on the departmental plan and awaiting the time when the rest see the light and come in to complete the organization. In fact, we should do everything possible to further all movements to close up the ranks of the railroad unions. Movements to consolidate the Brotherhoods and to bring them into the A. F. of L., to amalgamate the metal trades, to strengthen the Railway Employees' Department by giving it more money and authority, etc., should be heartily encouraged as steps in the right direction. But in doing such detail work we should never forget our ultimate goal of eventually bringing all the existing railroad unions into a joint convention

and there merging them into one great, mighty and all-embracing union of railroad workers.

#### BROTHER UNIONISTS:

Amalgamation means greater power to the organization, more efficient and economical management of our affairs, lower dues to the membership. It will put more bread on the railroader's table and better clothes on his children's backs. It is a recognition of the patent fact that as we have only one highly organized enemy to fight, we ourselves must be in only one organization in order to fight effectively. It means for us to stop backing up and to begin going ahead. It spells victory instead of defeat.

Don't be misled by fake arguments against amalgamation. Don't let standpatters fool you with the old nonsense about the Knights of Labor, the American Railway Union, the Industrial Workers of the World, and the One Big Union being proof that our project won't work. Those organizations had absolutely nothing in common with amalgamation. The Knights of Labor was merely a mass organization, hastily thrown together in the midst of great strike movements. Practically no trade or industrial lines existed within it, and it had almost nothing in common structurally with modern industrial unions. And as for the A. R. U., I. W. W. and O. B. U., they were secession movements pure and simple, dual organizations which had no chance for success. The amalgamation here outlined is neither a mixed mass organization like the K. of L., nor a secession movement like the A. R. U., I. W. W. and O. B. U. It is a scientific coming together of the existing unions into a departmentalized organization, infinitely more powerful, and infinitely better able to take care of the interests of the various trades, than the present craft unions.

Likewise you must discount the arguments of those who say that federation is the highest type of organization. Now, federation is all right so far as it goes. It has done much to acquaint the trades with each other and to teach them that they have a common fight to make. But it is only an intermediate stage between the primitive state of craft isolation and that of the final amalgamation of all trades. We must go on beyond federation and actually join all our unions together. That is the inevitable course of labor development. This is coming to be better and better recognized. Within the last couple of months the Chicago Federation of Labor together with scores of other central bodies and hundreds of local unions, have endorsed the principle of amalgamation. At their recent conventions, the International Typographical Union and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks did the same. Likewise the B. of L. F. & E. have just decided to fuse with the B. of L. E. Many other organizations will soon take the same course. Amalgamation is now the greatest issue before Railroad Labor.

Amalgamation is the only effective answer Railroad Labor can make to the "open shop" drive. Indeed, the issue is clear and sharp. For us it is either amalgamation or annihilation. Which shall it be? It is up to you to determine. We are confident of your decision.

Discuss this matter in your meetings; take it up through your international journals; instruct your officers and delegates to work for amalgamation wherever they may be; have your local unions, local federations, system federations, division organiza-

tions, and international union and brotherhood conventions adopt the following resolution:

**RESOLVED:** That we favor the amalgamation of the sixteen standard railroad unions into one organization covering the entire railroad industry, and that we call upon our general officers to take the necessary steps so that a joint convention of all these organizations (or as many of them as possible) can be assembled to put this amalgamation into effect.

For further information, write to

O. H. WANGERIN, Secretary-Treasurer,  
411 Dakota Building,  
St. Paul, Minnesota.

Copies of this Amalgamation Plan may be had at the rate of \$1.50 per hundred. See to it that every member in your organization receives a copy.

**LET US HEAR FROM YOU ON THIS PROPOSITION.**

The T. U. E. L. is convinced that every possible effort should be put forth to bring about the realization of the foregoing amalgamation plan at the earliest possible date, and to this end it advocates the following practical measures:

1. That amalgamation committees shall be created in all important railroad centers, the same to consist of representatives of the sixteen crafts and to carry on an intensive work of amalgamation education.

2. That the thousands of local unions, system federations, etc. that have endorsed the plan insist upon the opening of all the craft union journals to a discussion of amalgamation.

3. That a special weekly publication be established to carry on and systematize the propaganda for amalgamation of the railroad unions.

4. That vigorous efforts be put forth looking to the taking of referendum votes in the respective railroad unions for the calling of a general railroad amalgamation convention.

If these measures are applied intelligently and aggressively it will be only a short while until the great body of sentiment for amalgamation now existing among the railroad workers is amplified and organized so that it will lead directly to the achievement of the inevitable and indispensable goal of the merging of all the railroad unions.

*The appearance of THE LABOR HERALD was delayed by the police raids, in addition to the delay caused by awaiting the results of the National Conference. Readers will pardon the unavoidable inconvenience, and rest assured that nothing but further interference of the same kind will cause delay in the future.*



## Program of the Metal Trades

Craft unionism was born in the village. The village has since grown into an industrial center, but lagging behind, away in the rear, we find the craft unions, unable to move forward, stuck in the mud of the intellectual bankruptcy of their leadership. This is the condition generally of the American Labor Movement, and especially is it true of the metal trades.

In the small, undeveloped machine shop of early days, the machinists' union functioned fairly well. Around the corner was the blacksmith's shop and in it the members of the blacksmith's union, and down by the river bank stood the small foundry employing members of the molders' union. As long as this condition existed, the various craft unions functioned effectively and were ideal and logical. But now things have changed fundamentally. The machine shop in its growth has added one department after another, first a drafting room, then a foundry, and as the industrial development advanced there followed in quick succession a boiler shop, blacksmith shop, carpenter shop, pattern shop, pipe shop,—making of the former primitive machine shop a gigantic institution, the modern metal industry.

### Consolidation of the Metal Industry

Prior to the Revolutionary War, iron and coal beds were discovered in the territory of the Atlantic coast colonies. Primitive methods of smelting iron, developed in England, were applied. With the invention of the high furnace and the use of coal as fuel, the industry expanded rapidly. In various cities there grew up small smelters, foundries, etc. These little institutions struggled along, leading a doubtful existence, trying to make a fair grade of puddle iron. Then came the new processes of making steel, the improved blast furnaces, tube and rolling mills, and with this development a better article.

The invention of the steam engine and its use in the locomotive and steam boat, naturally produced a further growth of the metal industry, making necessary the creation of larger plants and newer methods of work, and bringing about a high degree of specialization. The little puddle smelters grew with leaps and bounds. The favored mills crushed out or absorbed the rest, and eventually the industry developed into the gigantic combinations commonly known as the steel trust.

The substitution of metal in construction work brought forth the development of the machine shop, blacksmith shop, boiler shop, etc. Their development followed close upon the heels of that of the steel industry, but their concentration into fewer hands did not proceed with the same swiftness. Nevertheless we now find almost the entire metal industry concentrated into a few gigantic firms. Left behind or on the side lines, here and there, facing a terrific struggle, are the small struggling shops and mills characteristic of early times. Little independent steel mills are almost extinct. It is true we still have with us small independent machine shops, foundries, blacksmith shops, etc. But their days are numbered, the undertaker is already knocking at their doors.

### Concentration of Ownership

In the last 30 years a great change has taken place in the ownership of the metal industry. A generation ago, the bulk of the plants were owned by individual employers engaged in cut-throat competition with one another for trade. But now competition has been virtually eliminated. Capital has been consolidating itself. The individual employer has long since given way to the joint stock corporation, and these corporations are rapidly merging into trusts. Against these latest creations of the capitalists the craft unions are absolutely helpless.

### Growth of Labor Unions

The industrial growth and development have profoundly modified the structure of the metal industry, and have made necessary a complete change in the structure of trade unionism. To what extent have the metal trades unions followed this growth?

With the establishment of the steel industry, trade unions naturally took root. As industrial development went its way, and machine shops, boiler shops, pattern shops, foundries, etc., came into being together with the general repair shops in the railroad industry, there followed in their course trade unions of machinists, boilermakers, patternmakers, molders, etc., formed to resist the economic pressure bearing down upon the several crafts in the various shops.

The birth and early development of the metal trades unions followed the economic law; but after they were once set up, forces came into being which succeeded in halting them in their path, almost completely arresting their further growth. As the industry changed its forms and consolidated in every conceivable manner, the unions should have changed and consolidated likewise. But due to the intellectual bankruptcy of their leadership, who desire to maintain their well-paid jobs at whatever cost, to corruption, etc., almost nothing was done towards moving the unions along the road of progress. Under conditions of cut-throat competition, strongly organized craft unions of skilled workers could win concessions from the employers and improve their conditions of life. Those conditions that gave craft unionism a fighting chance against the employer, have now practically passed away.

### The Penalty of Stagnation

Consequent upon the failure to develop the structure of the unions, this took place: When the small shops grew into industries they were lost to the organizations. The present metal trades unions, outside of the railroad industry, have only maintained a grip in what are called small contract shops. Nowhere in the large plants is there to be found an organization. Only the barest fringe of the metal trades are organized. The heart of the industry remains completely shut and it can only be opened by the key of amalgamation. As the industry develops and grows the craft unions are shoved farther off the stage, because it is impossible for them to function under modern conditions. They face the problem the Indians faced, with their bow and arrow against the shot gun, or the horse cab against the taxi.

Another factor making against the effectiveness of craft unionism was that as the industry developed specialization set in and the skilled workers were gradually replaced by cheap, unskilled labor, and such labor began to be imported from Europe in ever increasing shiploads. Craft unionism does not stimulate these unskilled to organize. No place exists for them in many organizations. According to the 1920 census, there were 4,000,000 workers employed in the metal trades, not counting the 400,000 railroad shopmen, or the Canadian metal workers. Yet, today, in the whole of North America there are less than 400,000 workers, or 10% organized in the various metal trades unions, and four-fifths of these are railroad men. In the gigantic steel industry, employing over 400,000 workers, not more than 10,000 are organized in the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. Nowhere is there an organization in any of the large corporations. Craft unionism in the metal trades is dead, the undertaker must be called. Our present form of organization is a crime against metal tradesmen.

### The Folly of Craft Division

The metal trades are divided into the following principal organizations: Machinists, Boilermakers, Blacksmiths, Molders, Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Steel Car Workers, Smelter Workers, Furnace Brick Layers, Structural Iron Workers,

Pattern Makers, Sheet Metal Workers, Electrical Workers, Elevator Constructors, Foundry Employees, Stationary Engineers, Stationary Firemen, Metal Polishers, Stove Mounters, Auto and Air Craft Workers, Mechanical Engineers and Draftsmen, Jewelry Workers, Watch Makers, and many other organizations of minor importance.

All these unions, going a hundred and one different ways simultaneously, create confusion worse confounded. Consider for a moment a group of musicians, with violins, drums, horns, clarionets, harps, bells, etc., and each performer playing whenever he felt like it, quitting whenever he wanted to, with one playing jazz music, while another rolled off a classic piece by Wagner. Under such circumstances one would deem the musicians fit only for an insane asylum. Yet craft unionism is just as foolish, with one union striking while the others stay at work, and never co-operating on anything, except when they engage in a fight among themselves.

This situation must be changed. We must, so to speak, develop an orchestra in which each individual plays his part, where each remains a unit, but nevertheless a section of an intelligently directed machine. Just as an orchestra is brought together to produce wonderful results in harmony, so must the metal trades be brought together. Working as a unit, yet functioning as crafts for technical reasons, they can be combined effectively into a scientific, unified organization.

### A Mighty Organization

All the metal trades must be combined together. To give an idea of what a tremendous organization this would create, all that it is necessary to do is to examine the 1920 census. These show the enormous battalions of labor that are eligible to such a union:

Machinists	801,901
Millwrights	37,669
Tool Makers, Die-makers, Diesinkers	55,092
Molders, Brass, Iron, etc.	123,681
Pattern Makers	27,720
Blacksmiths, Forge, Hammer, Welders	221,421
Boilermakers	74,088
Electricians	212,964
Metal Polishers, Buffers, Grinders	59,785
Metal Trades Apprentices	53,691
Jewelry Workers, all grades	83,753
Stationary Engineers	242,096
Stationary Firemen	143,875
Cranemen	37,888
Automobile Factory, semi-skilled	343,115
Gunsmiths	4,645
Semi-Skilled Mechanics	273,369
Machinery Oilers	24,612
Designers, Draftsmen & Inventors	70,651
Mechanical & Electrical Engineers	64,766
Agricultural Implement Employees	19,168
Car Shop, semi-skilled and helpers	151,622
Ship Building, semi-skilled and helpers	166,862
Iron & Steel Factory, semi-skilled & helpers	425,057
Semi-skilled, not specified	80,712
Electrical Supply Factories, semi-skilled	91,630
Other metal factory, semi-skilled	14,513
Tinware factories, semi-skilled	36,961
Lead and Zinc factories, semi-skilled	11,391
Brass Mill help	35,967
Painters in Metal Factories	50,356
Copper Factory Help, all kinds	13,879
Steel Workers, Furnace men, Smelter men, Heaters, Ladlers, Pourers, Puddlers, Blast Furnace Ladlers, Blast Furnace semi-skilled Help, Rollers, Roll Hands, Annealers and Temperers	421,237
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>4,476,137</b>

These millions of workers are not organized because we are so blind that we have not yet constructed our metal trades unions so that they can be organized. Once united, this tremendous mass would have such enormous strength that they could soon put an end forever to the damnable conditions under which metal trades workers as a class now live.

## Program of the Needle Trades

### Preamble

At a period when the working class is being dealt heavy, crushing blows by the arrogant exploiters; when the unions led by partly corrupt and generally cowardly officials are succumbing one after another to the onslaughts of the capitalist class, the Trade Union Educational League is the only hope for a regeneration of the American trade union movement.

The League is uniting in its ranks the militant workers of all trades; those elements who alone are willing and

### A Departmentalized Union

Misinformed persons believe that industrial unionism is a sort of crazy quilt or mulligan stew. This is a false conception. With a scientific plan of amalgamation, the crafts will not lose their identity. The general body would be divided into several sections, as follows, each of which, if necessary, would have a number of sub-divisions:

1. Steel Workers.
2. Machinery and Engine Builders.
3. Ship Builders.
4. Automobile Constructors.
5. Shop Crafts on the Railroads.
6. Jewelry and small instrument workers.

Such a departmentalized industrial union would be able to take care of the interests of the affiliated crafts far more efficiently than at present. Results already attained by amalgamation prove this conclusively. In Germany for instance, the metal workers are all in one union, which is highly departmentalized. Each craft functions alone in its own field, and yet by virtue of the fact that all the crafts are united in one industrial organization, with only one executive the whole of the 1,800,000 members can at a given moment be moved as a unit. Last year the German Metal Workers' Union signed agreements with 73,000 firms, covering all kinds of metal work from jewelry making to locomotive building. The interests of each craft were taken care of to the smallest detail. In America, where outside of the railroad shops we have scarcely an agreement at all, this wholesale signing up of the employers seems almost unbelievable.

The various former craft unions which amalgamated into the German Metal Workers' Union, had a multitude of insurance and fraternal features. To enumerate all the different schemes of dues, premiums, funeral and unemployment benefits, and others would make one dizzy. Yet these were all handled without the least friction, and at less than half the original cost, through a separate fraternal benefit department. Dare anyone suggest that American brains are not capable of an equal degree of intelligent organization?

The objection that amalgamation of the metal trades and railroad trades would split the crafts and break asunder various natural combinations of labor, is ridiculous. The metal workers, on the railroads for instance, would still be members of the metal workers' union. But they would also be affiliated with the railroad workers' union, paying part of their dues into both organizations. For example: machinists and blacksmiths leaving a contract shop and going on to a railroad to work, would merely transfer into a local of the railroad department, and thereafter, instead of all their dues going to the metal workers, part would be paid to the railroad workers. They would become part of the railroad industry, and while there would be subject to the jurisdiction of the railroad workers' union so far as strikes are concerned. But they would be primarily members of the metal workers' union. Both metal workers' union and railroad workers' union, would be benefitted by such an arrangement.

### A Plan of Action

Amalgamation should become a burning question in the order of business at every local meeting of all the metal trades. In organizations having referendum, local unions must commence to place the various organizations on record. All delegates to the district and international conventions, should be instructed to have those conventions go on record for amalgamation. All candidates for international officers should be forced to voice their position on the question. When two or more unions go on record favorably, immediate action should be taken to see that they amalgamate. This will help move the more backward organizations into action. Let amalgamation be the question of the hour.

Metal tradesmen! Progress calls you to action. Concentration of capital, industrial development, are moving forward with terrific speed. Step on the throttle of amalgamation. Get off the bumpy road of craft unionism, and enter upon the broad boulevard of departmentalized industrial unionism.

capable of reorganizing the workers and stiffening their power of resistance. Its program of amalgamation is the crying need of the movement. It is absolutely right when it declares that the labor movement is confronted with the alternative of amalgamation or annihilation.

In the struggle against the reactionary leadership of the American trade union movement, the unions of the needle trades can play an important role. Composed as they are of a more class-conscious and militant element, they should set an inspiring example to workers in other industries. Before this can be accomplished, however, these unions them-



selves must be reorganized on a new basis and infused with a new spirit. To carry on this necessary work of reorganization; to further the agitation for the amalgamation of the unions in the industry and for the establishment of the shop delegate system; to make the workers of the needle trades realize that they have a vital part to play in the American labor movement;—that is the purpose and work of the needle trades section of the Trade Union Educational League.

#### Amalgamation

Why are we, the workers belonging to the Trade Union Educational League, in favor of the amalgamation of the unions in the needle industry? It is true that the unions in the needle industry have more of an industrial form of organization than the typical American trade union. In our industry there is no open scabbing of one craft upon another. The principle "one shop, one union," is already a fact. We are for amalgamation because we wish to extend this principle of "one shop, one union" to "one industry, one union."

The problems and interests of the workers in the needle trades are so closely bound together that there is absolutely no reason for the existence of more than one union in the industry and a crying need exists for our amalgamation into one powerful organization that can better protect and further our interests. That the interests of the needle workers are identical has been proved conclusively during the past few years. The victory of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in their 44-hour week strike made it possible for all other needle trades to win this concession. On the other hand, the employers quickly took advantage of the defeat of the Furriers' strike in 1920 by attacking the other unions in the industry. The defeat or victory of one union reacts upon the other needle trades immediately. Their interests are one.

Amalgamation of all needle trades unions will greatly increase the fighting strength of the 350,000 workers in our industry. Amalgamation is a question of more power for the men and women engaged in making clothes. A really consolidated union of all the needle workers will prove to be a source of creative power for the good of the workers. Federation will not do. In fact, a loose alliance is a dangerous undertaking in the clothing industry. It would not add one iota of actual strength to the unions, but it would arouse the employers and stimulate an even greater degree of consolidation of their ranks. An alliance would provoke the employers to unite still further without giving a corresponding increase of power to the unions.

Federation as proposed by some of the union officials, may or may not be a step forward in the case of the typical American craft union. In the case of the needle workers, however, it is not a step forward. What is necessary, and what the situation demands, is a closely knit unification of all the needle trades.

Amalgamation of the needle trades will increase the strength of the general organization enormously. In times of industrial strife in any department, the employers will be faced with an array of power and determination to win which the unions now, acting separately, do not possess. The entire moral and financial strength of the unions would be thrown on the side of the workers, assuring their victory. Moreover, amalgamation of all the needle trades into one solid union will not only strengthen the needle trades themselves but will blaze the pathway for the amalgamation of all the other craft unions in other industries.

One amalgamated needle trades union, organized on the basis of the present lines of division, such as ladies' garments department, men's clothing workers, furriers, cap-makers, etc., with one central fund and one central staff in the national office, one district council of all trades in each district—would eliminate waste, duplication of effort, overlapping of administration, and make the union generally more effective.

To bring about this amalgamation the militants in every local union in the industry must begin to agitate for the calling of a special convention of all the unions in the needle trades, which shall formulate definite plans for amalgamation. Representation at such a convention should be on the basis of at least one delegate for every 5,000 members.

#### Shop Delegate System

The present form of local organization in the needle trades has outlived its usefulness and can no longer serve the purposes of militant unionism. The numerous local divisions tend to cause dissension in the ranks of the workers and to develop in them a spirit of local patriotism which is detrimental to the workers as a whole. The local union as the unit of organization might have served a useful purpose when the unions were first organized and the membership small. But now the local unions are largely political clubs and mostly lifeless. Usually a local with a membership of 10,000 can boast of no better attendance at meetings than

from 100 to 200. Through the local union meetings only a small fraction of the membership actively participates in the affairs of the organization. As a result it becomes possible for a group of paid officers to usurp all power. To the average worker the interests of the shop are distinct and separate from the interests of the union. The union is to him too often merely an office where he pays compulsory dues.

To establish a closer bond between the shop and the union, to arouse the initiative and individual activity of the rank and file, to transfer the power from the hands of the paid officers into those of the workers in the shops, and to abolish not only the local but also the craft divisions,—the present system must be changed and the shop delegate system established in its place. With the shop as the basic unit of the organization, the union will be conducted and controlled by the rank and file.

What is the shop delegate system? Under this system the workers at their regular shop meetings elect committees which administer the affairs of the shop and act as representatives of the workers in that shop at local councils, consisting of a specified number of shop representatives. The delegates in these local councils formulate policies, elect and control officers to the higher units and report back to their respective shops, thus linking up the problems of the union with those of the shop. In this way the union becomes the true expression of the needs of the workers in the industry. The Needle Trades Section of the T. U. E. L. states as one of its principal goals the establishment of the shop delegate system.

#### Program of Immediate Demands

As active workers in the union and the shop who are faced with the daily struggle, we propose a program to improve the working conditions in the shop while we are agitating for the amalgamation of all our unions into one industrial unit and the bringing about of the shop delegate system.

Week Work:—We declare the speed-up system in the form of piece work to be a method introduced by the capitalist class in order to exploit the workers more effectively. The piece work system is injurious to the health of the workers, and the competition which results from it is destructive of their solidarity. We will fight unceasingly for the abolition of the piece work system.

Standards of Production:—The militants in the needle trades unions will fight any proposal of week work with a standard of production. We recognize this system as only a disguised form of piece work, which will not abolish the evils of piece work. "Week work with a minimum wage" is our slogan.

Consolidation of Locals:—There are entirely too many local unions in the needle trades. We stand for the unification of all the locals of one craft, such as operators, pressers, etc., and of all the locals of one trade, such as coat makers, dress makers, etc.

Employment Bureaus:—We advocate the establishment of employment bureaus in the unions of the needle trades to eliminate the present acute competition of the workers when they apply at the shops for jobs advertised in the newspapers. This will give the unions control over the jobs in the industry, as already has been demonstrated by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

Shop Chairman in an Advisory Capacity:—Realizing that only through the establishment of the shop delegate system can the present evils in our unions be eliminated, and as a step in that direction, we advocate the establishment of a shop chairman body to meet regularly and to act in an advisory capacity in the unions. We will also support all progressive measures in the unions, such as recall of officers, referendums, proportional representation to the higher units of the organization, etc.

Injunctions:—The American labor movement since its beginning has fought against the use of injunctions. The injunction is the most powerful weapon the exploiters are using to crush labor unions. The American workers must destroy that weapon. For any union to use the injunction or to recognize its legitimacy, as did the International Ladies' Garment Workers, in the recent cloak makers strike in New York, confuses the workers and weakens their fight against the injunction. We will use all our power to oppose the employment of the injunction by any union in the future.

To familiarize the workers in our industry with this program, and to make the measures advocated a fact in the life of our organizations, groups of militants must be organized in every local union. All these groups should work jointly for the purpose of carrying on the educational campaign effectively throughout every branch of the industry.

With this program, the Needle Trades Section of the T. U. E. L. comes to the workers in the clothing industry. We ask those who are serious in their desire to make the union a strong weapon in the class struggle, to join hands with us in the fight for a better, stronger union controlled by the rank and file.

# 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

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