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 and sell 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 handout 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 will be eaten up; it will keep them going in the street and will not give them a job. Here is a chance to help Russian industry get going so that Russia will be self-sustaining. Money invested in this company will go back to Russia in the form of new factories. They will turn out goods for the people of Russia and will make work for the unemployed. And if you are an American, this is your chance to help the American working and industrial class.


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 A LABOR CAMPAIGN TO THE WORKERS, SOVIET GOVERNMENT, AND AMERICAN UNION LEADERS, IS RECEIVED. SOVIET GOVERNMENT ASSURES ALL POSSIBLE SUPPORT TO THE LABOR PLANS OF THE RUS- SIAN-AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL CORPORATION. THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT URGES THE USA LABOR LEADERS TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE IN RAISING THE MONEY TO WIN THE REVOLUTION FOR PEACE.

(Signed)

RYKOFF

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

Russia has plants, workers and raw materials 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 communist 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

31 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... a copy of your literature to distribute to my friends.

Name: __________________________
Address: ________________________
City: ____________________________
State: __________________________
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

ALL ORDERS PAYABLE IN ADVANCE

Send remittances to the

Trade Union Educational League
118 N. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.

Working Class Education
The Road to Power
Private instruction by a Lecturer and Teacher of National reputation
Lectures and Classes in
Public Speaking  Science
Writing  History
Memory  Psychology
Effective English  Economics
Mastership  Trade Unionism

All the above studies are organized in such manner that each can be mastered in a few weeks. We teach the teachers of the working-class.

Central School of Practical Psychology
Room 3, 1605 W. Van Buren St.
Chicago

“The Worker”
Always abreast of the labor struggle. Special price to new subscribers
20 weeks for 50 cents. (Regular price $2.00 per year)
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“Dictatorship vs. Democracy”
By Leon Trotsky
Just published. Cloth $1.00, paper 50 cents.
A book of tremendous value to workers who realize the necessity of right tactics in the labor struggle. Write for price list of Workers Party publications.

THE WORKERS PARTY
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
Dear Sir and Brother:

I received your handbill advertising the formation of an educational league and your address to the International Conference of the Trade Union Education League, New York, July 10-16th, 1922. I was good enough to send you together with these communications an article on the Trade Union Education League, a publication which has been issued monthly for several years.

Please convey my fraternal greetings to the Conference.

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 work YOU are undertaking.

The most keen expression of working class emancipation.

Please convey my best wishes for the success of your fine publication.

Yours Fraternally,

(Signed) George Hicks,
General President."

The Conference was opened at 9:30 a.m. 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.

Upon motion the Credentials Committee reported credentials of 45 delegates from the following 26 cities: Milwaukee, Boston, Buffalo, Winnipeg, Montreal, Toronto, Cincinnati, New York, Cleveland, Minneapolis, San Francisco, Seattle, Los Angeles, St. Louis, O'Fallon, Chicago, Grand Rapids, Pittsburgh, Colorado, Milwaukee, 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

MR. WM. Z. FOSTER, Sec'y-Treas., 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 line 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."

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 22, 1922, at the postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1917."
5. The League is purely an educational body, not a trade union, and 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 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 policies.

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. The members of the National Committee shall be good-standing members of recognized trade unions in their respective sections.

8. Between National Conferences the National Committee shall have charge of all 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 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 reports to the National Conference. His books shall be audited quarterly by a Finance Committee of three chosen by the members of 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 Conference.

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 moved 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 bringing each craft into its natural basic trade industry.

3. No membership dues or cards will be used. No membership cards or dues will be used. No membership cards or dues will be used. No membership cards or dues will be used.

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, and a member of the Governing Committee for 90 days. The committee shall consist of six members, three of whom shall be elected by the group.

5. The duties of all officers shall be those generally devolved on said officers. The local general group 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 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 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, or if so preferred, the secretary-treasurer in writing and signed by a member in good standing in some industrial group where charge is formed. (a) Said charges must first be presented to 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 presenting the general group secretary is directly interested in charges being presented, then charges must be brought through some member of the local industrial group deleagated 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 union 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 officers and convention were made the scene of spectacular police raids, shows clearly that it was a police frame-up to harm the workers.

These 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 cases a grave violation of American civil rights, and declare that it bears all the earmarks 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.

September, 1922
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. went on steadily from January, 1922. Lives 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 up of clever printers’ errand boys. The League went on the defensive until the "1,000 secret agents" were actually active. It was impossible to keep the members of the League under control.

The League’s methods of organization were on a broad scale. Large numbers of people were organized at once. The League was able to carry on a strong campaign everywhere for the re-vamping of the present lackluster 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. over the question of the League. This body set before the members of the League, and eventually the movement expired because the radical element generally were too deeply infected with the sycophant element 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 T. U. E. L. of N. A. by organizing a syndicalist league of their own. But it was stillborn.

The next effort at organizing the radicals to work within the trade unions took the form of a territorial league in the South. This effort was made by 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 on, but almost over night the great body of revolutionary elements arrange at the organization that the old method of setting up dual unions was wrong and that the proper place for the militants among the masses is.

The experiences of the Russian revolution contributed greatly to this unparalleled

The organization committee recommended that the delegates in each local industrial section of the League name a committee of two or three men to act as corresponding member for their group. This plan was adopted. The Report of Organization Committee adopted.

The report of the National Committee was submitted by the Sec’y-Treas. Before going into detail to a 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 by the League from the Secretary, signed by Norman Thomas, Roger Baldwin, Robert Marion 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 influence of Daniel DeLeon, the idea began to spread that the way to build a radical labor movement was to forsake the conservative mass organizations and to start a new labor movement. The 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 movements 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,if carried by many 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 the important cities. It had four journals, The Syndicalist of Chicago, The Syndicalist of St. Louis, The International of San Diego, and the Toiler of Kansas City. This body developed considerable influence in various localities, notably Kansas City, but eventually the movement expired because the radical element generally were too deeply infected with the sycophant element 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 T. U. E. L. of N. A. by organizing a syndicalist league of their own. But it was stillborn.

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The experiences of the Russian revolution contributed greatly to this unparalleled
When The Labor Herald was organized as the official journal of the Trade Union Educational League, it was the wish of the men of the new organization that The Labor Herald Publishing Company, a stock company, be organized, because it was felt that this would furnish the best method of organization. But as time went on it was discovered that in the hands of the owners, most of whom were laymen, there were many 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 vital 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 wholesome 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 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 follows:

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<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Expenditures</th>
<th>Receipts</th>
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<tr>
<td>October, 1920</td>
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<td>September, 1922</td>
<td>$100.00</td>
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The financial report does not disclose the fact that the financial results of the League in its first year have been encouraging. The report shows a deficit for the year of $1,000.00. This is due to the fact that the League has been organized for only a short time and has not yet reached a point where it can operate on a self-sustaining basis. The report also shows that the League has made a good showing in its first year of operation and that it has a bright future.

The report of the Committee of the League for the first quarter of the year shows that the League has made a good showing in its first year of operation and that it has a bright future. The report shows that the League has made a good showing in its first year of operation and that it has a bright future.

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 months little progress being made. The League in Canada is now in a flourishing condition and is making good progress.

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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 case, as we have seen, is one that has gone on record in definite protest against the outrages perpetrated upon Mooney and Billings and demands their release forthwith. To that end, it proposes that the following action be taken:

1. The members of the Mooney-Billings case 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 masses to action. 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, having been unjustly convicted on perjured evidence, and whereas, their only crime was in being faithful to the working class by organizing the downtrodden 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.

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 seeing that the hungry millions, who have borne the brunt of the world fight against capitalism, and whereas, all relief from capitalist organizations is a potential menace to the soul of the workers and a practical interference in their affairs, therefore be it

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

Adopted.

Russian Workers' Rights

The industrial workers of Russia, allied with the toiling peasants, have overthrown their oppressors and established a Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Government of Russia. In spite of the backward
ness of the industries, the ruin of the world war, the allied invasions, the immovable counter-revolutionary movements, the blockade, the famine, the pestilence, and the treacherous desertions of the reactionary labor leaders of the world, the Russian Revolution, the Bolshevist international sacrifice, have preserved the Soviet Republic through five years of misery.

In destroying the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and in suppressing their absurd counter-revolutions, the workers did what it was necessary to oppose to them the dictatorship of the proletariat. This measure, providing for the complete dominance of the workers, made necessary a major factor in maintaining workers control. Without it the revolution could not be maintained.

The Soviet Government of Russia stands today as the supreme achievement of the working class movement in all the countries. The world labor movement must utilize the lessons of the Russian experience. In 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 working.

One of the most effective and practical means to this end is the Russian-American Industrial Corporation, established to the present by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of North America. This corporation aims at importing the clothing industry of Russia, offers a real program to all interested in establishing the new society. Moreover, the opportunity for profitable investment of the spare savings of the world's industrial workers is available.

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

Adopted.

The Federated Press

The press is the biggest force in the control of public opinion. In this life, it is owned by industrialists in every city, their interests. Press associations, such as the Associated Press, are the most powerful organization in the world. The production of labor newspapers. Its slogan is, "The news in spite of the newspapers." It already is over 100.

Two and a half years ago there was formed a news gathering agency known as the Federated Press, and it is the largest of the several countries. In addition to its governmental and disseminating fruitful and important news, the Federated Press has inaugurred a plan by which all industrial communities may establish free press associations. Under what is known as the chain paper plan, already eight of such associations have been established.

Therefore, be it

Resolved, that the Trade Union Educational League heartily endorses and utilizes the work of the Federated Press and that the local Leagues be urged to make a part of their program the establishment of work papers 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 should 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, and use it as a means of propaganda and for education for the membership.

4. 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 Tippett and Miss Maule McCreery both spoke at length on the work of the Federated Press.

Unemployment

The greatest immediate menace to the workers in the trade unions today in all the capitalist countries is unemployment. In the United States alone, there are millions of unemployed workers. Against it the ordinary means of struggle are unavailing. Insidiously it undermines the fighting strength of the workers and lessens their resources. The only solution of the "open shop" drive is the closed shop, the only solution of the capitalistic system is the determined struggle of the workers for the control of their own industries.

In America, the workers are described as the "hungry millions." The fact is, millions of unemployed workers are starving. The campaign for the enforcement of the "Open Shop" law is a campaign to maintain the present, anarchy. The workers must organize on a national scale, for the purpose of establishing their own economic control.

Adopted.

National Amalgamation Conference

Inasmuch as the sentiment for amalgamation of the trade unions into industrial unions has grown so strong that it is necessary to call a 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 AFL and the IWW for the purpose of bringing before the AFL Labor movement the necessity of amalgamation, and to lay plans for the action to be taken in those states where the development of such a movement may be hastened. Such conference shall be called only if it is the judgment of the National Committee it becomes necessary and offers an effective means of propaganda for drawing the trade unions together.

Adopted.

Shop Committees

Whereas, The prevailing system of local union organization is of 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, essentially 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 bringing 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 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.

Indusrtial 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 is no longer capable of fulfilling 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 laborers were starved 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 disappeared, and we have brought under gigantic industries and plants. Labor has been specialized to an unheard-of degree, and craft skill has been wiped away. Craft unionism is the only union to these factors, so unfavorable to craft unionism, has come another even worse, namely, the alienation of the worker from industry itself. Today competition in the basic industries is almost a thing of the past. Great, gigantic corporations are not only the result of this competition, but also of the fact that the entire field is controlled by one or two and not by many. As a result, the old traditions of the craft unions have been rebuilt everywhere. The American labor movement is now quite generally in the secondary, or juvenile phase of development. That is the meaning of the many building trades councils, printing trades councils, metal trades councils, and so on. The big thing now confronting us is to develop these federations of crafts into a federation of crafts. To this end the Trade Union Educational League urges its members and sympathizers to work ceaselessly. The rank and file of these federations 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 amalgamation. 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, and victory of the prime tasks in the labor movement. To it the Trade Union Educational League will lend all possible assistance. Adopted.

Amalgamation

As the method of bringing about industrial unionism, the Trade Union Educational League endorses the principle of amalgamating all the craft unions until they become industrial in character. In taking this course, it is evident that the trade union movement, up to the present stage, has been completely independent of the larger industrial organizations. In this manner alone can substantial headway be made toward the final goal of emancipation, industrial unionism, and the ultimate achievement of one organization for the whole working class, an indispensable necessity for the labor movement. Adopted.

Secession and Dual Unionism

The Trade Union Educational League daily opposes the general policy of dual unionism as a means of bringing about industrial unionism. It holds that dual unionism will delay the final success of the movement and will weaken the strength of the labor movement. To it the Trade Union Educational League will lend all possible assistance. It is 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 the labor movement have generally followed the policy of the old unions and trying to reorganize the workers into independent unions on the basis of craft organization. Demoralization, weakness and disorganization have resulted. On the one hand, the seceding militant elements have largely wasted their energies and the support of the mass of the working class. The Old unions have seldom developed into anything more than small sects. On the other hand, trade unionism in America has continued to develop, and the result has been a stagnation and reaction has been its 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 leaders. Dual unionism, in fact, has been one of the principal props of the Gompers regime.

The militant elements are the source of all that keen progress in the labor movement. Their place is in the mass unions where they can reach the rank and file of the workers. Under the conditions of the present conference of industrial unionism, they should allow themselves to be detached from their basic organizations and to work out their own destiny. 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 the employers and the mass workers fight them. The labor movement is effective, and the conservatives fight to split the workers into small, unorganized and isolated groups. This may sometimes be a result of the demands of the militant elements to do everything possible to bring the workers in line, and of course, to work out their own destiny. 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 new organization will be repudiated by the old. This is a principle of this conference. They have destroyed 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 carry this斗争ably 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 be made by the militants of such matters. Their appeals sent out to the whole rank and file of the organizations concerned. As a whole the workers are not aware of the principle of expelling men, no matter how radical, because of their political or other opinions, and if this sentiment is created, it is also their duty to express a strong situation of protest that the bureaucratic guilt of the expulsions are glad to take the ousted members back. This is a policy runs not seriously and fear expulsion. By virtue of their vigorous fight for progress in the unions they will speedily build themselves up into a force that can be used to represent 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 poisonous interest, representing the only real working class to beware of it. It has nothing to offer except defeat.

Red Trade Union International

To successfully struggle against the forces of world capitalism the labor movement must establish international solidarity. One of the principal weaknesses of the capitalist system is that it is a world economy, and it is impossible to live with the workers of one country against the workers of another. Until this weapon is taken from them, the capitalists will not be defeated. In time of war they use the workers of the different countries to slaughter each other. In peace period they use the products of Labor in one country to break the strikes of Labor in another. Only an international organization of labor can unite the struggle of all workers of all countries over a single front against capitalism, can fill the need of the world's working class.

Workers everywhere understand this intimate—Exploiting their natural desire for international solidarity, there was established the Amsterdam International, the International Federation of Trade Unions under the tutelage of the capitalistic League of Nations, and headed by such leaders as Leopold of Germany, who compromised the German revolution for France, and such as Joubiaux of France, who split the French labor movement from the others. That is the way to let it slip from his reactionary grasp; such as Thomas of England, infamous for his part in the Black Friday debate. This kind of international labor movement demoralized before the capitalist offensive, both internationally and nationally 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 poisonous interest, representing the only real working class to beware of it. It has nothing to offer except defeat.

The Gospel of Work

Previous revolutionary movements have depended upon theory, supporting the working class to a detrimental effect. The new organization, the Red Trade Union International, organized in 1920, and holding its first World Congress in Moscow in July, is the true representative of the working class. 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 useful in the tasks of their organizations. The great struggle is one of time in which at times of struggle they must claim the right to occupy. In short, they must the militants to become workers in the everyday struggle. If they do this they will soon win the confidence of the masses, and once this confidence is won with their program and their ideas, the ideas to the masses will be a comparatively simple matter. Sympathy between the teacher and the learner is one of the greatest tools of education, and this necessary sympathy can be set up between the militants and the masses by the forerunners' unfilching and unceasing service in the everyday fight of the class struggle. The Red Trade Union International is 'work, not talk.' Adapted.
The Railroad Strike

The Trade Union Educational League expresses its complete solidarity with the striking railroad workers. The railroad companies, typical capitalist exploiters, have no regard whatever for the sufferings of the workers. They are united only by their own greed. They want profits and more profits, regardless of the fact that their insatiable greed for wealth means the enslavement of the great mass of people. In self-protection the workers must appear as the champions of the parsi- monious elements. We note with satisfaction that the shopmen are developing a true understanding of the real situation and are defending themselves accordingly.

Let us try to 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 brethren, and we urge the railroad workers as a whole to stop the strike, to make the utmost efforts to find a solution of the present situation.

The Coal Strike

The first National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League has staged a real coal miners' strike. The coal miners, on the splendid spirit manifested by them in their recent great strikes. 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 shop" has been checked, and this is an accomplish- ment in these days of black reaction. But this truth, now common knowledge, is not enough. Soon the employers will be on the offensive again. And when the next great struggle develops the miners must be ready to fight as bravely as they have this time. By their gallant struggle the coal miners have been able to strike a blow against all other trade unions until the present program has been fulfilled. And to this end it proposes that the Secy-Treas., be authorized to raise a defense fund and to keep a separate account of same, and that the defense committee report that the offer be accepted and thanks extended for the same.

The Committee further recommends that the U. T. E. L. take an active part in securing the release of the leaders of the miners who may be arrested in this deliberate attempt of the authorities to destroy the work of Foster in Michigan, the report of the federation reports that the offer be accepted and thanks extended for the same.

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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 social crime as murder, theft, and social injustice, as history has never before recorded. With modern methods of production and scientific distri- bution of the goods produced, this 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.ignoring ignorance and degradation, unorganized and unorganized strike for justice, as history has never before recorded. With modern methods of production and scientific distribution of the goods produced, this 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.
extradition to Michigan on the pretense that they had participated in the alleged Communist conspiracy.

Even this violence did not disrupt the Conference. As soon as the police had dispersed the gathering, receivence was promised that a new conference would be held on the condition that the officers in charge of the plant agreed to be present, and a new conference was held at the end of the strike. The new conference decided to go ahead with the program. Not a delegate filtered, 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 was made that an assembly of the authorities in the work of the Conference, which has made it impossible for the resolutions to be entirely successful, shall be an Edw. E. 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. Del. Knudsen, Carter, Worf, Back, Foster, appointed to serve as Editorial Committee.

REPORTS OF INDUSTRIAL SECTIONS

Building Trades

Del. Johnstone submitted a report for organizing the Building Trades Unions upon an industrial plan. The plan was adopted and the Secy-Treas. instructed to use his best efforts to get its printed in leaflet form and circulated widely among building trades workers. The plan, 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 craft's 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 report 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 was made the subject of a series of resolutions. The opinion of the Conference that in the reconstruction of the metal trades unions careful consideration should be given to including the steel workers was again expressed. 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 conference, in the face of the labor incidents of terrorism that preceded it, instead of demoralizing the movement, has given it new strength.

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The League, convinced, that the conditions of life have actually forced the situation, that the trade union officers have found through practical experience in the everyday struggle that they absolutely cannot obtain victory acting individually, that the trade union workers have found that they cannot, as a collective body, force a strike in a large industry, and that the solution of the problem of unionism is to be found through the organization of the entire printing industry into one union.

If any union is to make the lead in this matter, it must be the Typographic Union, and the proposal is made to amalgamate all the organizations under its jurisdiction. The success we are having has not been the result altogether of the policy of the union, but the conditions of life have actually forced the situation. The trade union officers have found through practical experience in the everyday struggle that they absolutely cannot obtain victory acting individually, that the trade union workers have found that they cannot, as a collective body, force a strike in a large industry, and the solution of the problem of unionism is to be found through the organization of the entire printing industry into one union.

Printing Trades

Brother Wicks, a member of the Typographic Union, being present at the Conference in 1899. The conference, in the face of the labor incidents of terrorism that preceded it, instead of demoralizing the movement, has given it new strength.

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Transport Trades

There being no delegates from the Transport industry present at the Conference, the discussion of the problems in this branch of the Executive Council. In consequence, McFarland was in an exceedingly difficult situation. He was the President of a Council that would not support a single one of his measures. Every step he took was sabotaged by the old-time workers.

Again we put up a full ticket, and instead of getting only one, we got all but one, or the entire Executive Council.

If the radicals in the labor movement have handled such situations correctly; if they stuck and refused to allow the officials to tamper with the whole disruptive the deviation by dual unionism, it is possible to win against the old restraints.

At the present time we have practical control of the International Typographic Union, although we do not know whether we will be entirely successful at the coming convention. This is because of the antagonism of a section of representation present, the same having been abolished and six thousand members are entitled to only four delegates, while small localities with only eight or nine members are entitled to a delegate apiece. Sometimes there will be four men from small town districts representing 26 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 printing trades workers, Brother Wicks said:

We would have the amalgamated union departmentalize the printing trades, the industry is organized now, a department for the purpose, the pressmen, the compositors, the bookbinders, etc. But can we get the whole thing handled by a national executive council, which would act for the whole organization?

In connection with the strikingophilic situation, Del. Rogers pointed out the vital necessity of organizing the newswriters. These men are really at heart a part of the social life and great efforts should be expended towards bringing them within the pale of the labor movement. Up to this very little time the pressmen, the compositors, the bookbinders, etc. But can we get the whole thing handled by a national executive council, which would act for the whole organization?
the old trade unions. It was recognized that the transport workers were one of the most backward and reactionary groups in the American labor movement. They had not yet advanced to the point of understanding the necessity for any strike even the mildest form of a federation. The Conference, not having sufficient data on hand to take up the question of action in the transport industry, voted to have this matter to the incoming National Committee.

Coal Mining

Del. Gill reported on the situation in the coal industry. 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 two. This must not be merely a weak affiliation like the present one, but rather an amalgamation, the two bodies.

2. National Agreement: A strong national organization is necessary. The various fields. Their cry for industrial agreements is founded on the feeling of the workers. They know that if they can reestablish the system of one union, the best of the coal mining districts will be directly treated with the miners. The union officials who echo the demands of the bosses for district agreements, as many old officials have been.

3. Intensive Organization Campaign: It is vitally necessary that plans be made this year for the organization the great army of non-union miners. During the present strike, the workers, who amount to one-third of all miners, have prevented the cause with destruction. Most of this unionization has been kept in existence, courteously by the industries in the region. The leadership of the union at all cost, has found it very profitable to keep certain districts in a state of constant condition. Such district organizations, poverty stricken and hard pressed by the employers, need assistance of the general organization to do something to get it. At the national conventions the representatives of such districts, trying to curry favor and support, are as paty in the hands of the ruling officials. They vote as they are told, regardless of the issues involved, and when the years past have used them consciously as a weapon to keep itself in power. On the other hand, the districts that are organized, have the Workers of America with a independent spirit. They alone have the courage to stand for precious so that when it comes to the administration that all the miners in the industry could have been organized easily during the war time. It is indeed time that this state of unionism, so fatal to us during strikes and so disastrous to progress in the union, be brought to an end. The organization of the whole industry must be strengthened at all costs.

4. Direct Election of Officers: A most necessary reform in the organization is to bring about the election of officers by the rank and file in the respective districts. At present the union is staffed by field workers 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 to inculcate the idea that the administration is a necessary part of the state of affairs, which is extremely demoralizing to the workers, 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 delegations 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 developed into its unionism. Here and there is a remnant of the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, formerly the Western Federation of Mining Workers. This district is also a sentiment in the district for the ". W. W., although this body has little or no real organization. The Big Union is likewise has a small following. The speakers all agreed that the industry is now booming and that a splendid opportunity for organiz-
Program of the Building Trades Workers

Never in the history of the building industry has such a determined opposition been shown by the employees to organized labor. The situation is, indeed, critical. Something has to be done to stop the wholesale violation of union shop agreements, and the direct attack on the unions and the building trades by the employers.

In the past, the employees have shown their opposition to the violation of union shop agreements, and have shown their determination to see that the agreements are enforced. The employees have also shown their willingness to support the building trades unions, and to work together with the unions to achieve their objectives.

One of the most important objectives of the building trades is to achieve a fair wage for the workers. The employees have shown their willingness to accept lower wages in order to achieve this objective. The employees have also shown their willingness to work together with the unions to achieve this objective.

The building trades unions are an important force in the building industry, and they have played a vital role in the development of the industry. The employees have shown their willingness to support the building trades unions, and to work together with the unions to achieve their objectives.

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The Labor Herald
September, 1922

Program of the Railroad Workers

As the first National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League assembles the railroad workers gathered for a desperate situation because of the weakness of union craft. They are in the position of being sadly divided in the face of a higher and more powerful enemy. The seven shop craft unions, assailed with desperation, by the employers, are fighting valiantly for their rights, nine other unions, working the companies 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 were fully well that such a condition was bound to develop sooner or later, with what their craft policy of each organization or group of organization could do.

Such 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 workers cannot be played off against the other as is so flagrantly the case in the present critical situation. The workers must only way that the necessary solidarity and community of action can be secured is through the merging of the many railroad unions into one unitary body of all railroad workers. To reach this end the Trade Union Educational League, strongly 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 here with reproduced in full.

The Minnesota Plan

Railroad Unionism is in danger. The full force of the employer is now laid against us. The companies are determined to wipe out the unions on the railroad as a condition of servitude for their workers. And they stand and unsuccessful in their efforts. Even the most powerful one such as the Great Northern, the weaker ones, 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 the general elimination of union conditions, are the order of the day. sweatshop work, and the general elimination of union conditions, are the order of the day. sweatshop work, and the general elimination of union conditions, are the order of the day.

In this great struggle, the companies are winning because they have united their forces, while the workers are not. All the important railroads in the Eastern States, to mention only a dozen New York banks, which, in turn, are in the hands of a few financial pirates. Railroad Capital is one gigantic organization, and that is to develop our full and bring about an inevitable goal is a solid body all over the country. To do this require that the companies unite their forces and divide into one enormous organization of all classes of railroad workers. Such a gigantic organization would have only stop the "open shop" drive of the companies, but it would also enable the workers to fight ahead to new conquests, and it would be invincible. With the 120,000 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.

Solidarity. The employers have been able to combine the financial and technical sides of the industry, bureaus, etc., of the companies, 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 companies have 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 done at intelligently. To simply desert the old unions and to try to organize a new one is, a fatal mistake. That way lies dualism, disruption, and destruction. That is in accordance with the trade union evolution. We must stay in our old unions and work diligently to merge them together through the railway movement. For the first forty years these railroad organizations, in a hundred different ways, have been gradually uniting their forces and expanding, and in their ultimate, indivisible goal is a solid organization of all workers in the trade. That is the real meaning of the development of the system and division fed.

The Minneapolis Plan

Amalgamation, the organization of the Railway Labor "Departments" between the four Brotherhoods, and now the consolidation of the B. of L., E. with the B. of L. F. & E. We must all work together for a common, last, and indispensable conclusion, which is one union for all railroad workers. Our task is to develop a new case upon the amalgamation of the sixteen railroad unions into one, mighty, all inclusive, and that we must.

Some Benefits of Amalgamation

Many advantages would come to the workers through the creation of the sixteen railroad unions. Chief of these, of course, would be far greater industrial power. Amalgamated organizations are always inevitably greater. One big railroad with a great war furnished a striking illustration of this principle. The general strike in 1919 was by no means practised as a single unit, but there was too much confusion and too little power. Enemy pressure would have forced them to federate. But even this did not give the smooth working mechanism necessary to concerted action and maximum power. So, when the war was almost lost, they all had to amalgamate into one body under one general staff. This brought results. Surely, the strength of the combined armies was tremendo 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 strong enough. That might be the case.

We must look the situation squarely in the face and act accordingly. There is one way, and only one, in which we can defeat the offensive of the companies, and that is to develop our full power by amalgamating our own forces. We must bring about unity of action among the entire army of railroad workers, from the engineer to the janitor, and all solid body all over the country. To do this require that the companies unite their forces and divide into one enormous organization of all classes of railroad workers. Such a gigantic organization would have only stop the "open shop" drive of the companies, but it would also enable the workers to fight ahead to new conquests, and it would be invincible. With the 120,000 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.

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Amalgamation, the organization of the Railway Labor "Departments" between the four Brotherhoods, and now the consolidation of the B. of L., E. with the B. of L. F. & E. We must all work together for a common, last, and indispensable conclusion, which is one union for all railroad workers. Our task is to develop a new case upon the amalgamation of the sixteen railroad unions into one, mighty, all inclusive, and that we must.

Some Benefits of Amalgamation

Many advantages would come to the workers through the creation of the sixteen railroad unions. Chief of these, of course, would be far greater industrial power. Amalgamated organizations are always inevitably greater. One big railroad with a great war furnished a striking illustration of this principle. The general strike in 1919 was by no means practised as a single unit, but there was too much confusion and too little power. Enemy pressure would have forced them to federate. But even this did not give the smooth working mechanism necessary to concerted action and maximum power. So, when the war was almost lost, they all had to amalgamate into one body under one general staff. This brought results. Surely, the strength of the combined armies was tremendo 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 strong enough. That might be the case.

We must look the situation squarely in the face and act accordingly. There is one way, and only one, in which we can defeat the offensive of the companies, and that is to develop our full power by amalgamating our own forces. We must bring about unity of action among the entire army of railroad workers, from the engineer to the janitor, and all solid body all over the country. To do this require that the companies unite their forces and divide into one enormous organization of all classes of railroad workers. Such a gigantic organization would have only stop the "open shop" drive of the companies, but it would also enable the workers to fight ahead to new conquests, and it would be invincible. With the 120,000 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.

Solidarity. The employers have been able to combine the financial and technical sides of the industry, bureaus, etc., of the companies, 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 companies have 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 done at intelligently. To simply desert the old unions and to try to organize a new one is, a fatal mistake. That way lies dualism, disruption, and destruction. That is in accordance with the trade union evolution. We must stay in our old unions and work diligently to merge them together through the railway movement. For the first forty years these railroad organizations, in a hundred different ways, have been gradually uniting their forces and expanding, and in their ultimate, indivisible goal is a solid organization of all workers in the trade. That is the real meaning of the development of the system and division fed.
organization. Consider the saving in rent and other expenses that would result from combining the many headquarters into one. Likewise the economy of labor, the number of which has a separate editorial staff, into a single publication. The many executives, organizing staffs, system chairmen, etc., into one general management, would avoid the tremendous crisis-crowding of duplication and prestige making for great economy. It is safe to say that the business of the railroad workers could be handled much better and meet with a much smaller official family than is now the case. Consider these numbers and the present duplication each others' work, would be rendered available to organize the great numbers of unorganized in the industry and profit 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. L. F. & E. was $608,000; that of the B. R. C. of A. $380,000, and the B. of R. T. and others in proportion. The amalgamated union would make immense economies in this respect. Laying its representation upon the system federation, instead of the local union, it could, with much 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 possibly $500,000 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 object most urged against a general union of all railroad workers is that it would be such a cumbersome affair that it could not properly represent and defend the interests of the great number of trades employed in the complicated railroad industry. It is claimed, can only be taken care of by separate organizations, one for each trade. Then it is further argued that an amalgamated union would be too large to deal with and that there would be a difference of opinion among its members as to the management of the new union. It is claimed that there would be a conglomeration of strong and weak organizations which would make it difficult to direct a large organization. These are all objections which are mere questions of management and procedure and would not necessarily prevent the new union from functioning as an efficient organization.

The first step in the amalgamation process would be to form a council of nine members. Each trade union would choose one representative. The council would consist of the president, secretary, and treasurer of each trade union. The council would then select a committee of thirty members, one from each trade union, to represent the members of the union. The committee would be responsible for the management and administration of the union and would be responsible to the council.

The second step would be to form a convention of all the members of the union. The convention would elect a board of directors, one from each trade union, who would be responsible for the management of the union. The board of directors would be responsible to the convention and would be elected every two years.

The third step would be to form a general strike committee, consisting of one member from each trade union, to enforce the policies of the union. The committee would be responsible for the enforcement of the policies of the union and would be responsible to the board of directors.

The fourth step would be to form a committee of arbitration, consisting of one member from each trade union, to settle disputes between the union and the companies. The committee would be responsible for the settlement of disputes and would be responsible to the board of directors.

This process of amalgamation would be a slow and steady one, but it would be a necessary step in the development of the railroad workers. The workers would have control of their own destiny and would be able to fight for their rights and improve their working conditions. The amalgamation would be a step towards the realization of the railroad workers' dream of a better working environment and a higher standard of living.
the companies, and which would have control of their strike activities. The greater part of their dope they would pay into union, as it would be the most active in their behalf, but they would also continue to pay a portion of these into the old craft unions, to help in their battle to maintain good conditions for these trades in other industries. There would be a double affiliation, belonging to both the railroad industrial union and to their respective craft unions, to cooperate in the interests of railroad workers and of craftsmen who are likely at any time to harbor strike activities. This principle is in harmony with the best practices all over the world in working out this problem. Instead of injuring the companies, which only one part of the membership work on the railroads, the amalgamation proposed would actually strengthen them.

The three objections 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 policy.

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 educated as to the project and its means. When this is done, they will be for it wholeheartedly. A well-conducted educational campaign should be the calling of a general convention of the railroad unions, at which all of them should be represented. The diagrams attached herewith will help us to understand some of the objections and to see 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 front. Think of trying to map out a unified policy against the railroad companies through the medium of sixteen different executive boards, autonomous, independent, and each of them for its own ends almost using the same language. The Brotherhoods and the unsatisfactory alliance of the shopmen in the Railway Employed Department. This thing is impossible on the face of it. So long as such an unscientific condition exists, the railroad workers will never get together in 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 wall 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, to take up and bring about unity in the administration and enable the workers to stand together as one body. Merging the executive council would mean the final amalgamation. With that accomplished, the sixteen organizations would be put together, 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 work, viz., the extension of the amalgamation to the various ramifications of the organizations, could proceed in a swift and orderly manner. What would have a good effect might be appointed to conduct it. Gradually the elaborate organization of the old craft unions and the new railroad union would be changed and expanded in accordance with the new relationships. But most important of all, the barriers between these organizations would be gradually dissolved, nationally and locally, and the number of decreasing strikes would be offset by as many as one organization in order to fight effectively. It seems to me that such an amalgamation would begin going ahead. It spells victory instead of defeat.

Don't be misled by false arguments against amalgamation. The Knights of Labor, the American Railway Union, the Industrial Workers of the World, and others, have all made mistakes. An old argument against amalgamation was that the Knights of Labor, on the whole, worked against the best interests of the workers. This is a fallacy.

The actual amalgamation of the sixteen railroad unions would be consolidated railroad union, and an amalgamation of the railroads, the railroad company, and the railroad workers. The actual amalgamation of the sixteen railroad unions would be incorporated as a general railroad union, and the majority of the railroad workers are likely to harbor strike activities.

The amalgamation of all the railroad unions, the American Railway Union, the Industrial Workers of the World, the American Federation of Labor, the Knights of Labor, and the railroad unions, the American Railway Union, the International Typographical Union, and the railroad unions, the American Federation of Labor, and the railroad unions, and the railroad unions.

RESOLVED: That we favor the amalgamation of the sixteen standard railroad unions into a single railroad union, the railroad union, and that we call upon our general officers to take the necessary steps to bring about this joint convention of all these organizations (or as many of them as possible) to be assembled to put this amalgamation into effect.

For further information, write to O. H. WANGERIN, Secretary-Treasurer, 41 Dakota Building, St. Paul, Minn.

Copies of this Amalgamation Plan may be had at the rate of $1.00 a hundred. See to it that every member in your organization receives a copy.

LET US HEAR FROM YOU ON THIS PROP.

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 formed in each railroad union at once. The same to consist of representatives of the sixteen unions, and eight of the officers, the same to consist of representatives of the sixteen unions, and eight of the officers, and hundreds of local unions, have endorsed the plan. The same is in harmony with the best interests of the various railroad unions, and the same is in harmony with the best interests of the various railroad unions.

2. That vigorous efforts be made to sell the plan of amalgamation by means of a general railroad union, and the same is in harmony with the best interests of the various railroad unions, and the same is in harmony with the best interests of the various railroad unions.

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

That vigorous efforts be put forth looking to the taking of referendum votes in the respective railroad unions for the carrying of a general railroad union, and the same.

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 of the publication of the National Railway 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

Concentration of Ownership

In the last 30 years, a concentration of ownership has taken place in the ownership of the metal industry. A generation ago, the bulk of the plants were owned by individual employees and their families. Now, only a handful of corporations own most of the plants in the metal industry.

Growth of Labor Unions

The metal industry has undergone a significant change. The concentration of ownership has had a profound effect on the growth of labor unions. Unions have been able to negotiate better contracts for their members.

A Mighty Organization

All the metal trades must be combined together. Only in this way can we achieve the goals we have set for ourselves. The union movement must continue to grow and expand.

A Plan of Action

An amalgamation should be a binding question in the context of the needle trades. We must come to terms with the various schemes of union and amalgamation. We must strike a balance between the various branches of the metal industry and strike a deal with those who would oppose us.

A Departmental Union

A departmental union is a sort of unit that can be formed to better serve the needs of the workers. It is necessary to have a number of sub-unions in a departmental union to cover the various aspects of the metal industry.
The Labor Herald

September, 1922

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 American labor movement, a light shining in the darkness of the American movement, and all sides now realize that

The Labor Herald

is the One Indispensable Magazine

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

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