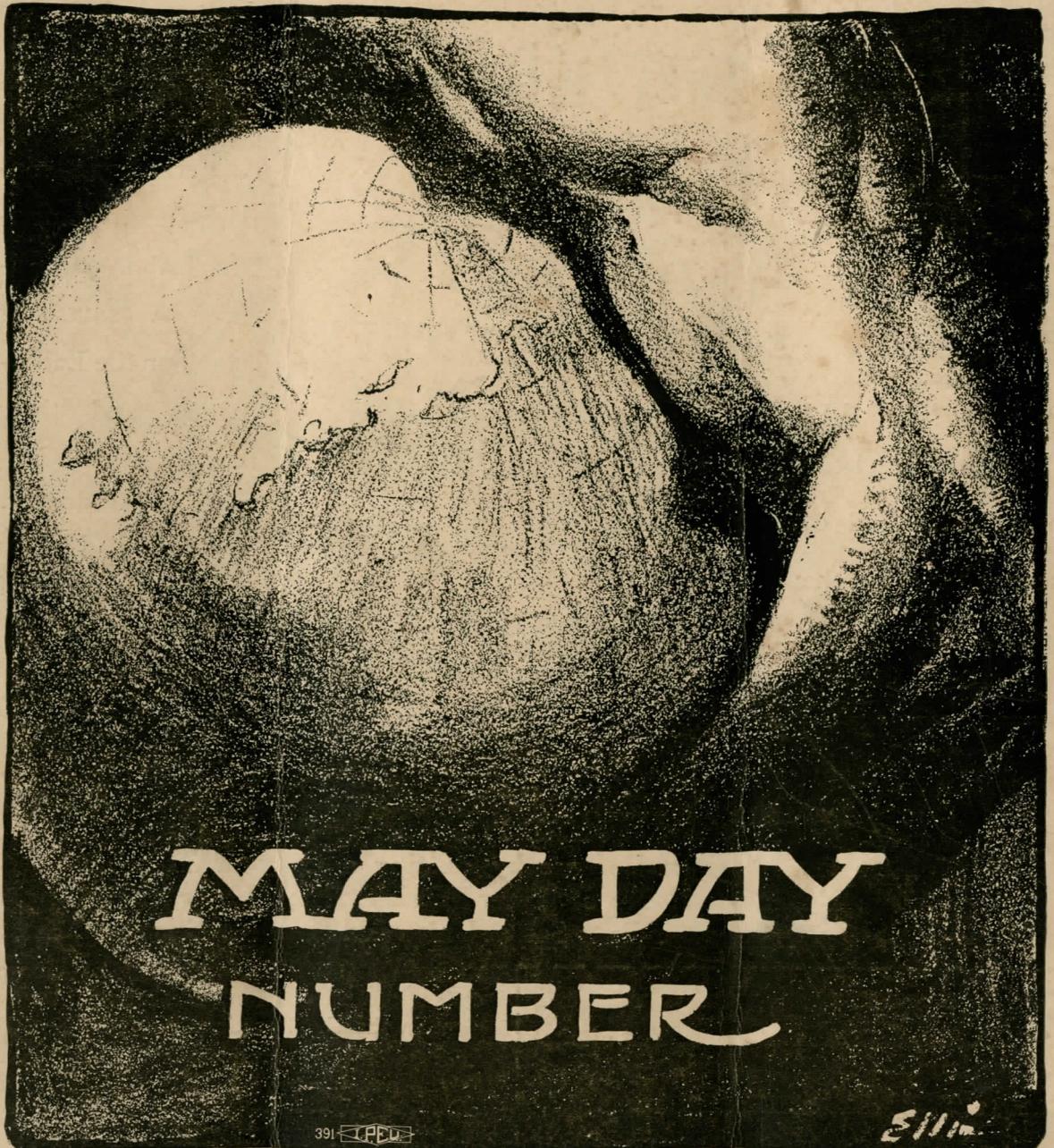


THE LABOR HERALD

Official Organ of The Trade Union Educational League



MAY DAY
NUMBER

391 

E.H.H.

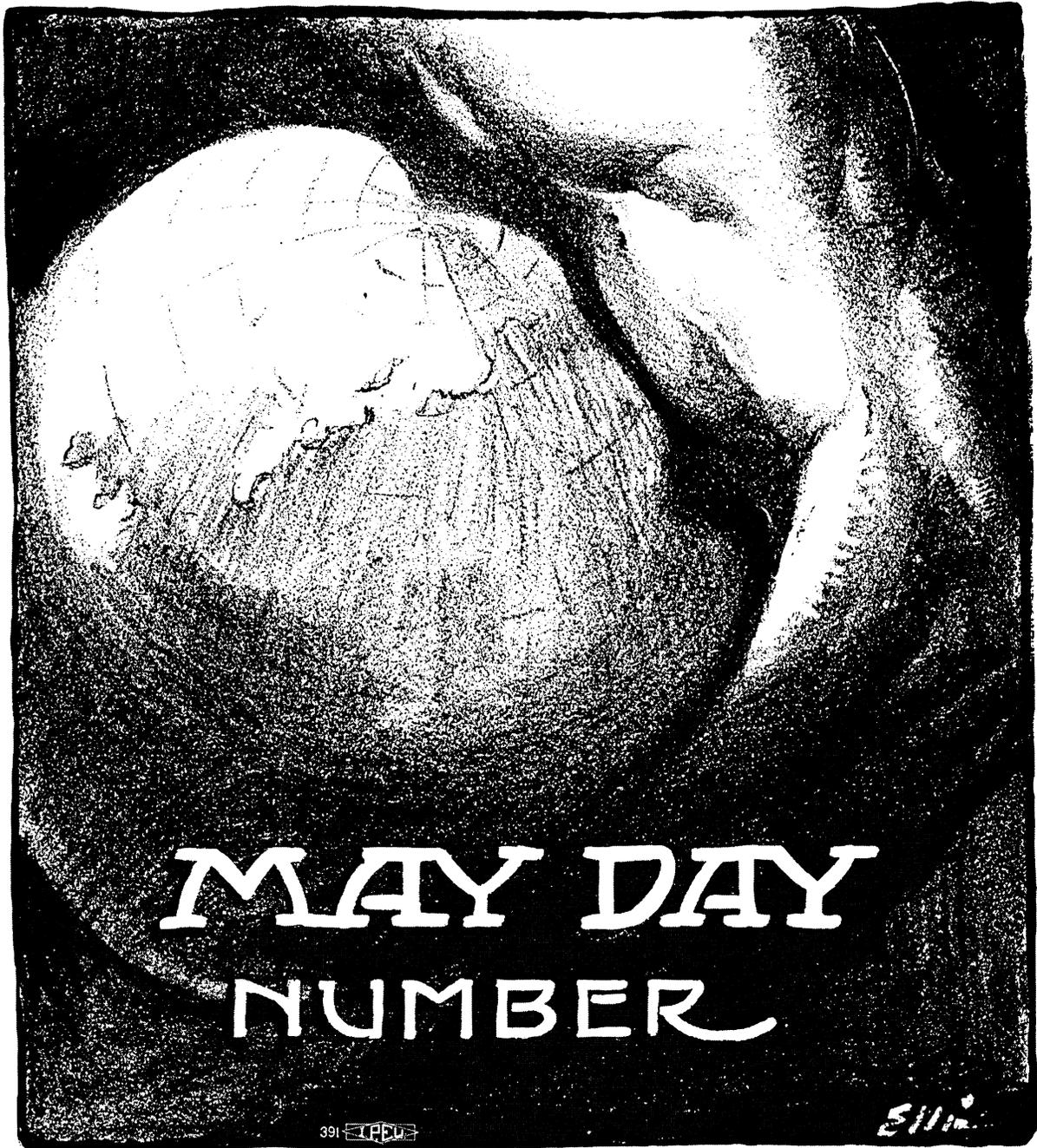
MAY 1923

 99

15 CENTS

THE LABOR HERALD

Official Organ of The Trade Union Educational League



MAY DAY
NUMBER

391 

E.H.

MAY 1923

 99

15 CENTS

JUST OFF THE PRESS

The Labor Defense Council Pamphlet

A masterful presentation of the background of the Michigan Criminal Syndicalism Case, the high points of the prosecution and the defense and a clear cut statement of the issues involved.

No one who wishes to keep informed about the development of the governmental attacks on labor can afford to miss this brilliant pamphlet.

For those who want to aid in the defense of the men and women now being prosecuted, it is an absolute necessity.

THE BURNS'S and DAUGHERTY'S

ATTACK
UPON

LABOR
AND
LIBERTY



DEFEND YOUR LIBERTY!

24 pages, 6x9 inch,
Cover design by
Fred Ellis, illustrated
with 22 pictures
of the principals of
the defense and the
prosecution and of
scenes taken at the
Foster trial.

A permanent contribution to American Labor Literature. A smashing attack on the Labor-baiters and their masters, the "Captains" of Industry. A spirited defense of the rights of labor.

Published By
LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL
166 W. Washington St.
CHICAGO, ILL.
Price 10 cents

BUY IT! READ IT! SELL IT!
Help the Michigan Defense by Putting a Copy of This Pamphlet in the Hands of Every Worker, Every Lover of Liberty. Order a Bundle to Sell at Union and Mass Meetings

Enclosed please find \$.....
for copies of the
Labor Defense Council pamphlet.
Name
Address
City

10 cents a copy, 3 for 25 cents, 14 for a dollar, \$6.50 per hundred. Postpaid any place in the U. S. or Canada.

Address all communications and make checks payable to

LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL
Room 307, 166 W. Washington St.
Chicago, Illinois

Line Up the Youth!

READ

The Young Worker

O. Carlson,
Editor



H. Gannes,
Business
Manager

**"A Magazine for the Militant Young
Workers of America"**

Issued Monthly

Single copies subscription price
ten cents \$1.00 per year

Send for Sample Copy

THE YOUNG WORKER

**2517 Fullerton Ave.
Chicago, Ill.**

**A Militant Weekly
THE WORKER
It Fights Your Battles**

*Editor: J. LOUIS ENGAHL Labor Editor: H. M. WICKS
Cartoons by ROBERT MINOR and ART YOUNG*

EVERY week "The Worker" carries a keen and complete review of all political and industrial developments here and abroad.

ITS spirited editorials are reprinted in the leading labor papers of this country.

FULL service of the Federated Press and the International Press Correspondence.

Attach a dollar bill to this Ad with your name and address and "The Worker" will come to you regularly every week for six months.

THE WORKER,
799 Broadway, New York City
I enclose \$1.00 for six months subscription.

Name

Address

Second Edition Now Ready

**The Bankruptcy of the American
Labor Movement**

By Wm. Z. Foster

The paradox of the most highly advanced capitalist system with the most backward labor movement of any industrial country, is one of the chief puzzles to students of American social life. In this new pamphlet Foster goes into the heart of the problem. Mercilessly flaying the intellectual blindness, political infancy, the backward structure and scope, and the reactionary leadership of our trade unions, he proceeds to analyze the causes for such a bankrupt condition.

This is a historic pamphlet and every militant worker will find it an essential hand-book of the labor movement. Each organized group of militants should immediately procure a quantity for distribution.

64 pages, stiff paper cover, Cartoon by Ellis

Rates, Single copies, 25 cts. per copy

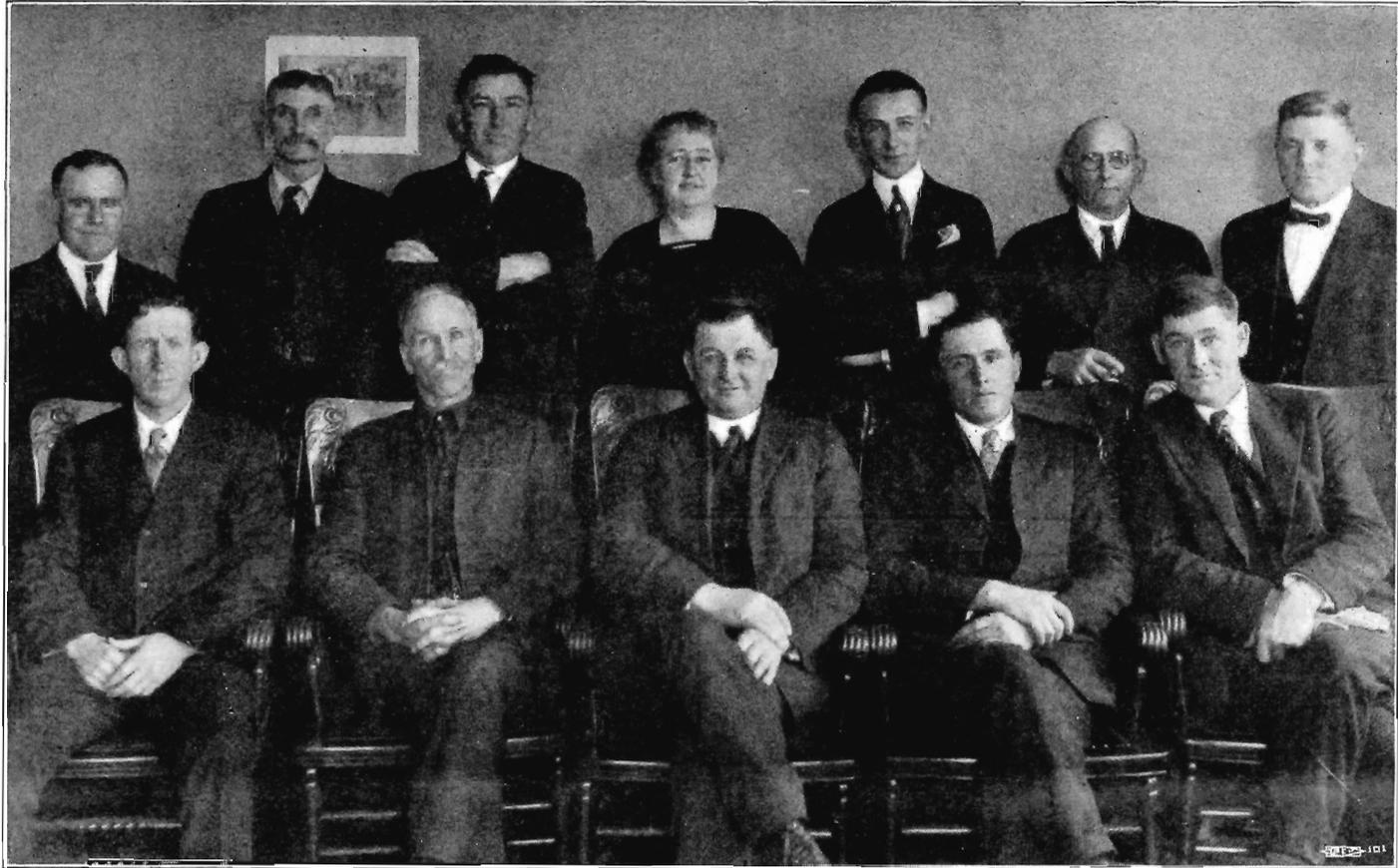
10 to 100 copies, 15 cts. per copy

Larger quantities, special prices on application

The Trade Union Educational League

Wm. Z. Foster, Sec'y-Treas.

106 N. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.



F. P. Burke Photo

JURY IN THE FOSTER TRIAL

Standing (left to right): Dwight Babcock, Clement H. Ritzler, Theodore Katzbach, Mrs. Minerva Olson, Russel Durm, A. M. Birdsay, Theodore Drier. Seated (left to right): Patsy T. Healy, A. J. Jackson, Calvin Bachman, foreman, Vivian G. Ingalls, Arthur Barker. Mrs. Olson, Durm, Birdsay, Katzbach, Ritzler and Healy voted to acquit Foster. The other six voted to convict.

THE LABOR HERALD

Published monthly at 106 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. II.

MAY, 1923



No. 3

On Trial In Michigan

By Wm. Z. Foster

ST. JOSEPH, Michigan, scene of the "red" trials, is a town of some 8,000 people situated on the shore of Lake Michigan about 60 miles by boat from Chicago or 100 miles around by railroad. It has few industries, depending for its sustenance upon the extensive fruit growing country surrounding, and also upon the heavy influx of tourists during the summer. It is the seat of Berrien County, in which is located, about 12 miles to the South, Bridgman, the village where the Communist convention was held last August.

The raid upon the secret convention and the arrest of so many radicals came as a shock to this quiet community, far removed from the bitterness of the industrial struggle. Patriotic indignation ran rife. This hostile public sentiment the "red" baiters, led by the agents of the Department of Justice, spared no pains to cultivate. Copies of the seized documents, especially those of a lurid hue, were given to the great press syndicates, which broadcasted them throughout the country. The local papers carried the news to the people of Berrien County. Allen O. Meyers, acting head of the Burns Detective Agency, came to St. Joseph and denounced the defendants

before business men's associations. The County convention of the Republican Party adopted a resolution of condemnation against us. Likewise the local section of the American Legion repudiated the Communists in vigorous terms. The tide of prejudice against the radicals ran high.

It was under such unfavorable circumstances that the trial of myself opened on March 12th. Fortunately we were equipped for a real battle. The Labor Defense Council had provided an excellent battery of lawyers. At their head stood Frank P. Walsh, a fighter, a brilliant attorney and a national figure who lent tremendous weight to the defense. Then there was Humphrey S. Gray of Benton Harbor, Mich., but a couple of miles from St. Joseph. Mr. Gray is one of the richest men in the entire community, a banker, a capitalist, a prominent churchman, and an able lawyer. His affiliation to the defense, in the face of a hostile public opinion, was a courageous act and did much to break down the opposition and to raise the case to its proper status as a fight to maintain basic civil liberties. Finally, there was I. E. Ferguson, well known in radical circles as an attorney and expert on anti-syndicalism laws. His function it was to work out



THE PROSECUTION:

F. P. Burke Photo

Left to right: Max F. Burger, Dep't of Justice; C. W. Gore, Berrien County Prosecutor; M. Wolfe, Dept. of Justice; G. H. Bookwalter, Berrien County Ass't Prosecutor; O. W. Smith, Ass't Attorney General of Michigan.



THE PROSECUTION:

F. P. Burke Photo

Left to right: Max F. Burger, Dep't of Justice; C. W. Gore, Berrien County Prosecutor; M. Wolfe, Dept. of Justice; G. H. Bookwalter, Berrien County Ass't Prosecutor; O. W. Smith, Ass't Attorney General of Michigan.

the law-points in the case, and he did this ably.

The Michigan anti-syndicalism law, under which the defendants are being prosecuted, defines syndicalism "as the doctrine which advocates crime, sabotage, violence or other unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reforms." For a violation of its prohibitions, it provides a penalty of not more than ten years in state's prison,

or a fine of 5,000, or both. Originally all the defendants were charged with violating the law on four counts, including advocacy of syndicalism in various forms and assembling with an organization formed to advocate that doctrine. On motion of the defense to quash the indictment, Judge C. E. White, who conducted my trial, struck out three of the counts, leaving only the charge of "assembling with" an organization formed to advocate syndicalism; which carried with it, however, the full penalty of the law. Reduced thus merely to "assembling with," the case becomes unique, not only in the United States but throughout the world. At no other time and in no other place has a serious effort been made to jail men and women simply for assembling with an organization accused of teaching illegal doctrines.

Educating the Community

A prime necessity for the defense was to dissipate the existing mountains of prejudice, to show Berrien County that the Communists were not, as they had been pictured, a gang of outlaws seeking to destroy civilization. One step in this direction, taken the day before my trial began, was the surrendering of ten men and women named in the indictment but who had not been apprehended. This exploded the carefully cultivated belief that the wanted delegates were desperate fugitives from justice. Those who gave themselves up were released upon moderate bonds, instead of the extravagant amounts demanded from those arrested previously. This brought the total number of arrested defendants up to 32, all of whom are entitled to separate trials.

Attorneys Walsh and Gray did yeoman educational work in the selection of the jury. Their



LEGAL CHAMPIONS OF DEFENSE

F. P. Burke Photo

Humphrey S. Gray, Associate Counsel, Frank P. Walsh, Chief Counsel.

questions to the prospective jurors constituted a liberal course in civil rights, political history, economics, governmental structure, and a host of other vital matters. By a careful probing the jurors were instructed in the nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat, clearly explained as the rule of the workers and farmers, and made to understand its workings. The Soviet form of government came in for detailed exposition, care being used to bring out the fact that under it only producers, hand and brain, are allowed to vote. To dissipate prejudice against the Communist program for abolishing private property in public necessities, the questioning brought forth the fact that even under capitalism the right of private ownership is restricted, the Government having the power to tax property even to the point of actual confiscation. The steady drift to public ownership of various industries was duly indicated. Likewise, the inevitability of the workers building up international political and industrial organizations, because of the international character of capitalism. Our attorneys laid especial stress upon the right of revolution always inherent in every people, calling to their aid the Declaration of Independence to make the proposition clear. When the prosecution objected that there could be no comparison between the American Revolution and that advocated by a minority of Communists, the defense pointed out that the American revolutionists constituted but a small minority of the people making up the British Empire and that, when the laws of the latter no longer suited them, they overthrew the existing government by force of arms and set up one to their own liking.



LEGAL CHAMPIONS OF DEFENSE

F. P. Burke Photo

This line of questioning tended to educate not only the jury but the whole community on the big issues involved in the case. Every day the court-room was packed with people, mostly poor farmers and workers, who drank in the facts being developed. Many of them seemed not a bit horrified by the principles of Communism when explained in understandable language and applied to American conditions, but, on the contrary, they grasped the fact that the trial was really a battle for free speech and that they had a stake in it. These carried their favorable views from the court room and soon a body of friendly sentiment began to develop throughout the county. As finally selected, the jury consisted of nine farmers, one grocery clerk, one crossing watchman, and the wife of a factory superintendent. Both the prosecution and the defense exhausted all challenges in weeding out undesired prospects.

The State Presents Its Case

The prosecution was composed of three elements, local, state, and national. The local branch was represented by Prosecutor C. W. Gore of Berrien County, the state branch by O. L. Smith, assistant Attorney-General of Michigan, and the national branch by Max F. Burger, representing the Department of Justice. All through the trial it was evident that the latter organization was the real force behind the prosecution, its influence and representatives being offensively present from first to last. The whole affair was manifestly a "red" hunt organized by Wm. J. Burns.

Practically the entire case of the prosecution rested upon evidence of Department of Justice detectives. Sheriff Bridgman, Ethel Mielke, a waitress during the convention, L. Gittersonkey, a local deputy, and J. Hass, a local chauffeur, gave testimony of a minor character relating to details of the raid on the convention, the identification of myself, and the finding of the buried barrels of convention documents. But the real burden of the testimony was given by the Government "dicks," Spolansky, Shanahan, Wolfe, and Morrow. It was their fight above all.

Spolansky is a detective of a nondescript past, specializing in snooping around radicals. He posed as an expert on revolutionary movements. He informed the jury and an ignorant world that the Communist International is a branch of the Russian Government, and he denied that it is an autonomous body made up of delegates from all over the world. He declared that the delegates from the United States to the Communist congresses represented no one but themselves, thus calmly wiping out of existence the body that sent them, the Communist Party of America. He said he came close to the convention grounds and saw me standing among a crowd of delegates. What a happy stroke of luck!

Shanahan, another "D. J." operative, supported Spolansky's testimony. He was with Spolansky when the latter "saw" me at the convention. These two actually did visit the grounds, but the fact that I was absent when their visit took place did not prevent them from seeing me there. Like Spolansky and all the other Secret Service men who testified, Shanahan did not know that Allen O. Meyers was chief of the Burns Detective Agency. There seemed to be a determined effort to protect the latter institution and to keep it apart from the trial. The prosecution knew that its evil repute would not help them convict me.

Wolfe, still another employe of the Department of Justice, was the identifier of documents. He testified that he checked up on the great mass of papers, pamphlets, reports, minutes, etc., that were found on the convention grounds, marking each for future identification. He was an im-



JUDGE CHARLES E. WHITE

F. P. Burke Photo



JUDGE CHARLES E. WHITE

F. P. Burke Photo

portant link in the prosecution's case. But the real star was Francis Morrow, alias K-97, alias Day, alias Ashworth, a Secret Service operative who attended the convention as a delegate from Camden, N. J.

An Agent Provocateur

Morrow is a typical specimen of the spies that are infesting every branch of the labor movement. He is a little ferret-eyed sneak of a man some 39 years old. He began his detective career by spying upon his fellow workers in the Delaware River shipyards during the war, for which service he received the munificent pay of \$1.00 per day. In 1919 he became a real "dick," joining the Socialist Party at \$60.00 per month to spy upon them. In 1920 he joined the Communist Party, still being paid \$60.00. After the raid on the convention he was promoted to regular service and is now paid the standard rate of \$5.00 per day. Thus diligent sneakery is recognized and rewarded.

Morrow's testimony was a mass of brazen lies. If he told the truth at any time it was either unintentional or because he could not think of a lie that would serve his purpose better. Through him the prosecution introduced many vital documents, and his identification of them was an elaborate structure of falsehood. One paper very necessary for the state's case was a written list of the convention delegates, bearing their party names and the numbers allotted them. So Morrow said he saw this paper fall from the pocket of Alfred Wagenknecht and he picked it up. How fortunate! Then he identified another document dealing with the convention stewards' duties by stating that he sat behind Edgar Owens when the latter typed it off—the fact being that Owens had nothing to do with it. The important convention "Rules of Order" he heard read, although no one else did. Fortunately, he was also present and saw the detectives Spolansky and Shanahan see me. He "just walked by at the time". Then, by another particularly happy coincidence, he saw me write out a questionnaire produced in evidence against me. This was one of the most important documents in my trial. It was similar to that filled out by the convention delegates except that it was printed in lead pencil. It contained a lot of information about me that has been printed time and again in newspapers and which any detective would have no trouble in assembling, and in addition certain false statements about my relations with the Communist Party, which were vital for the State's case. So the indefatigable Morrow was there to help out. He saw me distinctly, 20 feet away in a crowd of 76 people, fill out my questionnaire, and then, accidentally enough, he saw

the questionnaire lying among a lot of others and was thus able to identify it. Earl Browder and I both spoke extemporaneously at the convention, but Morrow identified garbled type-written reports of our speeches, which he claimed were notes that we had read from. But of all his achievements at the convention perhaps the most wonderful was that he saw there A. Losovsky, head of the Red International of Labor Unions, notwithstanding that the latter was in Russia at the time.

Throughout his testimony Morrow fought desperately against the bringing out of his true role of provocateur. To this end he multiplied lie upon lie. Despite the fact that the great issue at the convention, the thing that was in everybody's mouth, was the question of the Communist Party abandoning its underground existence and coming out into the open, he knew nothing about it and did not hear it discussed. He did not know that the group that he belonged to, the majority faction, advocated continuing the underground movement, and that he voted steadily with them throughout. The prosecution fought energetically with a flood of objections to prevent Mr. Walsh, on cross-examination, from showing that this representative of the Government had voted and worked for the continuation of underground activities which he and his chiefs condemned as criminal, but the fact came out, nevertheless. Morrow also denied any real part in building up the Communist movement, although he was an organizer. But here he came a disastrous cropper. He declared that he had been a delegate to the Defense Council of Philadelphia, but had held no official position. Then Mr. Walsh flashed a bunch of checks upon him that he had signed as treasurer. Consternation! Next day, on re-direct, he said that in the absence of the regular treasurer he had been asked casually to sign the checks. But he wrecked everything by saying that his signature had never been filed at the bank. He tried to make the jury believe that the Colonial Trust Company of Philadelphia paid checks upon his unregistered signature. Thus was a liar brought squarely to bay. The capitalist papers said nothing of this incident, but it did much to destroy Morrow's effect as a witness. Between this and the cock-and-bull stories he told of what he had seen and heard at the convention, his whole testimony was given such an air of unlikeliness that its value to the state was very doubtful.

Ruthenberg for the Defense

The first witness for the defense was C. E. Ruthenberg, Secretary of the Workers' Party of America. He admitted that the convention in

(Continued to Page 25)

May Day, 1886-1923

THREE decades ago the First of May became the holiday of Labor. It was born at the launching of the great campaign for the 8-hour day, in 1886, which began in America with the first general strike in the history of Labor. Under the influence of the growing and expanding capitalist system, which in Europe was in its prime and in America was preparing for the great strides forward which placed American capitalism in the lead of the capitalist world during the great war, the labor movement all over the world finally put off its swaddling clothes at that time and entered the field of struggle as a definitely independent social factor on a world-wide scale. What had before been but the aspiration of idealists, or the prediction of social scientists, became the actual fact. May Day ushered in the consciously international movement of Labor towards taking possession of the world.

The great 8-hour movement was Labor's first large-scale offensive against capitalism. It began in America with the heroic struggle carried on by the Knights of Labor and the American Federation, under the leadership of the early militants. The bitterness with which this fight was waged is shown in the Haymarket tragedy, which was made the pretext for the hanging of five labor leaders in Chicago. From America the fight for the 8-hour day quickly spread to Europe. There the First of May was adopted, and made the occasion of great demonstrations. May Day became the holiday for Labor all over the world.

The world has witnessed tremendous changes since those early days. The American labor movement has dropped from its place in the very forefront of the international movement, symbolized by the American origin of May Day as Labor's holiday, and is now the most backward. The degradation of its leadership, the Gompers' bureaucracy, is glaringly shown by Gompers taking on the role of capitalist protector, issuing warnings of the "red menace"

on May Day, instead of calling the labor movement to battle with capitalism. And the foremost place in the labor movement is now taken by a working class which, 36 years ago, was looked upon as the most backward of any capitalist country, the working class of Russia.

When May Day first became the day of Labor, the capitalist system was lustily confident of itself, and was reaching out to gobble up the world. Today capitalism is dying. Throughout the capitalist world production is declining, national conflicts are raging with more intense bitterness, and the workers of Europe are already starving to death. Capitalism cannot feed the workers. It is bankrupt. And Labor is faced with the necessity of destroying the wrecked remains of the old system, and setting up the new World of Labor.

The day of Labor is dawning; the day of Capitalism is done. But the shattered forces of the old system of greed and exploitation are still ravishing the world, feeding upon the wreckage of their own system and the life blood of the workers.

Labor must assert its power, must take charge of the machinery of production, must establish a Labor Government, must remake the world. Labor must deal, once and for all, with the remains of the wrecked capitalist system. To fulfil this task, Labor must call upon all the strength, all the courage, all the heroism which has been developed in the long years of struggle.

On this May Day let us, therefore, review the great struggles of the past, let us honor the great fighters for Labor, let us review the forces of our movement, and call forth new programs, new heroes, and a new militant spirit in Labor. Let us greet the leaders of the world's working class, the First Workers' Republic, the Soviet Government of Russia. Let this be a day of preparation for a forward movement of all of Labor, toward the not-distant time when Labor, strong with the vision of the new society, shall take power.

The Best Bosses in Russia

By Anise

CAN you imagine a nation-wide competition in which workers discuss who is the "best factory boss" in the country, and give their views on their own boss, unvarnished, in the pages of a great daily paper?

Can you imagine workers' comments taken so seriously that the worst bosses were investigated and fired, while the best ones were given a grand celebration and recommended to the highest governmental body for the "Red Banner of Toil," an honor to be compared only with military honors like the Victoria Cross?

That is what has just been happening in Russia—a contest running for many months, with discussions for and against various factory managers, ending the other day in a final banquet to the winners. The standard set and the comments made show, more than anything else, the difference in atmosphere between Russia and every other country in the world.

The workers of Russia get lodgings practically free, and provisions through their cooperatives, and many other privileges which reduce the cost of living. In general, they are living better than other European workers from Germany east; but not as well as English workers, and certainly far below Americans. No English and Americans who have jobs and expect to keep them (a qualification one needs to make in those countries of great unemployment) are advised to come to Russia to improve their material condition.

But there is something besides immediate material condition; there is hope for the future. The workers of Russia own the country; they know it. They haven't much of an industry to start with, but what they make, they can keep, and they are getting busy making it.

There is a little song the young workers sing about "We are the blacksmiths of our own freedom," telling how with every blow they are cutting out of solid metal the "keys to happiness," and how with their hammers they are beating a country into shape. That's the way they feel about their work in Russia; it's a fine thing to have work that you can feel that way about.

Imagine for instance, union meetings, where the first question considered is how to increase production and make more goods for everyone. Imagine Judge Gary, on a salary of \$25 a month, making his annual report on the Steel Trust to the steel workers union, as well as to his board of directors, and discussing with them the improvement of steel production and how it can be

made to improve the standard of living of all the workers during the coming year? Imagine a land where every boss considers that he has at last made good, when he can joyously announce a raise in wages.

And imagine the workers judging the bosses as good or bad, and setting the standards by which judgment is passed. That was what I started to tell about. In details of organization, Russian unions are not so different from unions in many countries. They are organized on an industrial basis; most of the workers are members; and they have far more power over conditions of working than in any other country.

But these are differences of degree. Russian factories are still run to make profit, though the profit is intended in the end to be for the good of everyone. So there is still a certain class-struggle in Russia, for not all interests are continuously the same. There is still collective bargaining, and contests between the production side of industry and the immediate wages of workers, and all the other things familiar to labor everywhere, though in Russia the workers have far more control.

But the real difference, the difference not in degree, but in kind, came out in that contest over "the best boss." If I can make you feel the atmosphere of that contest, you will know how Russia is different from the rest of the world.

These are some of the things the bosses said at the banquet:

"The prize is not to me, but to the intelligent vanguard of workers who helped organize the factory."

"It is easy to manage a factory when the workers are with you and for you."

"This prize is going to be a lot of embarrassment to us." (laughter) "Now that we are known as the 'best of the best,' how are we ever going to dare refuse a worker anything?"

"The daily routine makes a man hard, even severe. But the revolution has its beauty in these moments when routine is interrupted by enthusiasm, and we see all together what we are doing."

Do you get the atmosphere of that? Is it different from the atmosphere you know?

And here were some of the tests of good management by which the workers judged their bosses:

"Our factory worked only part time; once it stopped for eleven months; after that it only produced half prewar. Then Archangelsk, he came!

The workers say of him: He runs forth like a wind, doing away with disorganization.

"With just words he enthused and united us. He introduced order. He rapidly brought production to 120% of prewar.

"Comrade A. does not spare his physical or mental energy for his factory workers. For ten months we see that every day our life becomes better. He repaired housing and the bedrooms of the workers. He repaired the bath-house. He repaired and painted the roofs of the factory and the workers houses. He improved the co-operative stock-farm.

"Comrade A is a real communist without any pretense. He carries himself with the rest of us; he always digs through to the truth. For cultural education he gives more than the 5% of the factory income which the law provides. He has arranged courses of general education for the factory youth and himself lectures on technical and professional questions."

Here is another: "When Comrade Uhanof says it, the workers at the Dynamo know it will happen. He creates an atmosphere, not of slave-like drive, but a critical business-like attitude of brotherly responsibility.

"When the New Economic Policy started, he said: 'Not a single spider will get into Simonovka.' He organized with us a cooperative tea-room and bakery and grocery. None of these private profiteers can flourish out our way!

"His own interest he puts below the general interest.—Not the slightest disorder escapes his eye.—Don't take our word for it, come to our factory and see for yourselves."

Here are others: "The workers of the mill are always well provided with food since he is here."

"He received the mines in bad condition, condemned to destruction. He brought electricity four miles through frozen earth, and operated the machines by it; he replaced the horses by an electric railway. Thanks to him we averted destruction and even increased output, and thus started the gas and coke ovens and chemical mills.

"He can make even the bourgeois specialists work;"

"His personal life is open to everyone; it is the life of a worker."

Then there were the worst directors, the ones who were fired as a result of investigation following workers complaints. "For ten months of his management, 2500 more tons of oil were used than needed; healthy locomotives decreased 25 percent; accidents increased three fold.

Workers began to fear him, saying: 'The union seems unable to protect from this man.'

"Nothing was done under him to increase production; nothing was repaired. He gave his attention to the whims of the specialists; he even talked of giving them the children's home and the day nursery for increasing the size of their apartments; . . . He took no interest in education. For two years and a half he did nothing to improve the life of the workers,"

Those are the judgments the workers of Russia passed on their bosses. Can you imagine those judgments anywhere else in the world? Passed, and enforced, and resulting in removing managers, because "the workers began to fear him," because "for two years and a half he did nothing to improve the life of the workers."

These are fundamental, human tests of a sane world. But most of the world is not sane. It heaves with strikes and lockouts and crises of unemployment; Europe slips spasmodically downhill, struggling ineffectually to preserve an unstable balance. The men who flash into prominence are those who snatch a few handfuls of private gain, or execute a few clever tricks of diplomatic juggling or do something spectacularly wicked enough to appear in the papers.

In Russia the problem of control is settled; they are working on the problem of building. The workers own the country, and operate as much of it as they can. The rest they lease to private hands. The faster they can build, the more they will be able to operate, and the more of the good things of life there will be for everyone.

Building is a hopeful kind of job; it's a sane kind of job. It creates its own interests and its own tests of worth. Where else but in Russia would one of the two greatest dailies in the country give columns of space, day after day for months, not to sensational sins and extraordinary crimes, but to men of whom it is said: "They are bringing order out of chaos. They are making life better for the workers round them. They are capable in organizing their fellows for the conquest of the world."

NOTICE!

The office of the Trade Union Educational League and THE LABOR HERALD

has been removed

from 118 No. La Salle St.

to 106 No. La Salle St.

Chicago, Ill.

Address all mail to the new address on and after
April 30th.

Organizing New York Food Workers

By Joseph Manley

THE organization drive now being conducted by the Amalgamated Food Workers in the big hotels and restaurants of New York City is of great interest to all militant trade unionists. The Amalgamated Food Workers is an independent organization, not affiliated to the A. F. of L. It is a modern labor union in structure made up of branches based on the job as the unit of organization, and is therefore an industrial rather than a craft union.

The present drive for new members is being conducted by the Hotel and Restaurant Branch, the Secretary of which is M. Obermeier, a fine type of labor official. The drive is of interest because of the modern and up-to-date tactics being employed.

The work is meeting with success, the secret of which is, in large part, the untiring work of the Organization Committee. This body is rank and file in its make-up, and has rallied to its assistance the entire membership of the organization. It has mapped out a systematic plan of campaign, embracing the exclusive restaurants of Park and Fifth Avenues; the great hotels like the Commodore, Waldorf-Astoria, Ritz-Carlton, Biltmore, Belmont, Plaza, etc. Surely these are names to conjure with. The many down-town and Greek restaurants are also included in this well-planned drive. It has taken hold in most of the large restaurants and hotels in New York, not alone amongst the cooks and waiters, but also among the entire working forces, butchers, bakers, maids, etc.

The life of the whole drive is the organization nucleus. This operates in a modern organized fashion. The personal contacts and acquaintances of the members are organized, and the entire membership of the union takes part in the organization drive. The second important

feature in connection with the drive is, that the workers are being organized industrially. Thus the very name of the organization creates a psychology that causes the worker to think in terms of industry rather than of craft.

The food industry has passed through many stages of development. In years gone by the original industrial unionist was the housewife, who cooked, baked, prepared and served the food in all its stages. She had a complete monopoly of the processes of food and drink used by her family.

Then came primitive capitalism, with the corner bake-shop, restaurant, and other small beginnings of the modern food industry. That early stage required a small amount of skill, but the ever-increasing use of machinery, and the tremendous concentration of the industry, almost eliminating skill as a factor, has rendered the many craft unions in the industry impotent. Still, some of them are trying to organize the food workers on the basis of a skill that is to all intents and purposes gone out of existence, that is today, outside of the few remaining corner bakeries and butcher shops, relics of a by-gone time.

The Amalgamated Food Workers recognized this development in the industry, and is trying to meet it. While not affiliated to the A. F. of L., it is striving to attain solidarity with all workers in the industry, and it is in favor of the program of the General Committee for Amalgamation of all Unions in the Food Industry. This organization has the workers of the great cabarets of Broadway enrolled in its ranks. Its present drive to further enlarge its membership will go a long way to spread the gospel of industrial unionism in the monster hotels and food factories of New York City.

Progressive Miners' International Conference

By Thomas Myerscough

Sec'y-Treas., International Committee

PITTSBURGH, the heart of the Steel Trust of America; Pittsburgh, the stronghold of reaction of the United Mine Workers of America; Pittsburgh, the synonym in America for brutal exploitation and heartless industrial cruelty, is to receive the surprise of its life June 2nd and 3rd, when the Progressive Miners from all over the United States and Canada assemble

in Conference to enunciate a definite program to defeat the autocratic Lewis machine and to make of the United Mine Workers of America the great industrial organization that it was intended to be by its founders.

The Progressive International Committee of the United Mine Workers of America was organized on a provisional basis in Pittsburgh on

February 10th at a Conference composed of delegates from many districts. Since then the Committee has issued a program setting forth the principles of the Progressive Miners. This has caused a great stir. Using their strong-arm squads, slander, abuse, and physical thuggery, the bureaucracy have tried to prevent the publication and circulation of this program. But in vain. It has spread far and wide throughout the coal mining industry.

Since it was formed, the International Committee has been literally swamped with complaints and grievances from all parts of the country. Everywhere there is serious discontent at the handling of the ordinary routine matters of our organization. Almost unbelievable statements reach us concerning the corruption and autocracy of the administration as it now exists. It has been physically impossible for the Committee to deal with these matters, other than to express its sympathy and to advise the discontented workers under no circumstances to quit the union. The outrageous treatment of miners in various districts of Canada, in the anthracite region, the betrayal of the Fayette County miners, and the Howatt case, are only a few of the matters crying to receive attention. The persecution of John Brophy of District Two, because of his honesty in setting forth a nationalization program, is fast becoming a scandal. To halt the campaign of abuse and slander which the machine, led by Vice-President Murray, has indulged in, he has had to issue public statements of denial and protest. These, and many other outrages, have created great discontent. To organize this in a constructive manner and to prevent secessionism and dual unionism, are part of the great task of the Progressives in making the U. M. W. of A. what it should be.

Howat a Progressive

One of the most militant figures in the Progressive Miners' movement is that staunch defender of unionism, Alexander Howat. One of the big features of the Conference will be an address by this loyal and valiant leader. Although he was ruthlessly expelled from the union and mercilessly persecuted by the Lewis machine, Howat is flint-like in his stand against secession movements. In this respect his word carries great weight. Considering the discontent prevailing, undoubtedly thousands of miners would have left the organization had it not been for his advice. Howat is now touring the eastern part of the United States making the rank and file acquainted with his case. To secure justice for him and the rest of the Kansas miners, is one of

the major planks of the Progressive Committee's platform.

The Conference will be a two-day affair, every hour of which will be crowded with important matters. The Progressive Miners hold the power not only to bring about a renaissance in the United Mine Workers, but also in the whole labor movement. Every District will be given a chance to tell of the grievances and atrocities perpetrated upon it by the administration. Nationalization of the coal mines, the formation of a Labor Party, the Howatt case, the betrayal of the Fayette County miners, the grievances of the various districts—these are only a few of the important matters that will come before this historic rank and file Conference.

To push the Progressive movement, committees should be formed in every District. These committees should widely circulate the Progressive Miners' program, destined to be a famous document. They should fight down all secession movements and seek to settle grievances according to the principles of the Progressive Miners. Every local union within the jurisdiction of the U. M. W. of A. should send at least one delegate to the Pittsburgh Conference. There should be at least 3,000 delegates on that occasion. Through the control of the Miners' Journal and various other means of publicity, the Lewis machine has been able to misrepresent the facts concerning the fight in District Five and the general Progressive movement, whose headquarters is located there. But the delegates attending the Conference will learn the truth, and they will take home with them a message of progress which will rejuvenate the United Mine Workers of America from top to bottom.

All together for the great Conference of the Progressive Miners! Let every real fighting miner be in Pittsburgh, Pa., June 2nd and 3rd.

For further information about the Conference, apply to

Thomas Myerscough, Sec'y-Treas.,
Labor Lyceum, 35 Miller St.,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE LABOR HERALD is preparing to excel its own record in providing important and interesting material for its readers. A few of the features next month will be, the story of the League Conferences, by Wm. Z. Foster; the Trial of Ruthenberg; the final report on The Labor Party Referendum; the Trade Unions of Norway, by Christian Hilt; the Conference of the Dutch Labor Secretariat, by S. H. Delhaas, etc.

The Capitalists Amalgamate

By C. S. Ware

THE era of the billion-dollar corporation—the super-trust—is here. One after another, the various capitalist groups controlling the basic industries of the United States are amalgamating. The recent Copper Merger brought together “the greatest copper mining, smelting, refining and fabricating enterprise in the world with the largest deposit of copper ore,” according to the *Wall Street Journal* of Dec. 6th, 1922.

The Textile Merger combined the American Woolen Company, controlling more than 40% of the woolen business of this country, with the Consolidated Textile Corporation, owning and operating mills with more than 700,000 spindles. The Bethlehem, Lackawana, and Midvale Steel Merger consolidated all stages of the production of iron and steel, with coal, iron and limestone mines, railroads and steamship lines, the smelters, mills and factories. Concentration of capital—of actual ownership and centralization of control—that is the slogan of militant capitalism in preparation for the coming attack upon the organized workers—the “open shop” drive.

Industrial Unions of Capital

Thus are giant industrial unions of capital being formed. The amalgamation of the forces of capitalism is going ahead at a furious speed. None are so blind as not to see what is going on before our eyes. The *New York Globe* stated, on Jan. 17th, 1923:

Future historians will undoubtedly refer to the administration of President Harding as the golden age of business consolidation in the United States. Nothing approximating recent developments has ever been seen. First the railroads were told they might combine; and then one after another amalgamations in steel, packing, and now in copper, have been announced. This is a phenomenon which Americans of older generation would regard with alarm, and it is a challenge to laws still on the statute book A significant aspect of this merger is the fact that the public will provide the funds to make it possible. Chairman Ryan remarked in his announcement that through the proposed bond issue the Anaconda Company would acquire control of the Chile corporation without cost to its stockholders The financing follows the procedure in the case of the Armour-Morris merger.

The present great amalgamations of capital have a direct relation to the concurrent epidemic of “stock dividends.” Not only does this method of financing materially aid in putting through mergers, but the resulting stock distribution has a value all its own to the wily capitalists. As a means of controlling so-called public opinion, and securing support for anti-labor poli-

cies, nothing is better than a share of company stock in the hands of the small business and professional man.

The increase in the number of stockholders does not lessen the control of the capitalists. On the contrary, it strengthens their control. Through grouping blocks of stock, or through owning a working majority, it is possible for the directors of a corporation to put any policy they wish over on the many small, scattered stockholders. The latter will be bound to support the policies that will increase their dividends. Through ownership of stock by employees it is even possible to manipulate sentiment of sections of the workers against their brother workers who are on strike.

Merging the Packing Interests

Behind an apparent distribution of stock ownership is going on the super-trustification of capital and the centralization of control. All statutes which could apparently prevent this process become dead letters before the magic power of capital. There is the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, the Packers' Control Act, and the Interstate Commerce Commission, all apparent obstacles to capitalist amalgamation. What happened to them?

Mr. J. Ogden Armour simply took a jaunt down to Washington and put the matter up to Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, whose duty it is to enforce the Packers' Control Act. Then Attorney General Daugherty was called in. So that there could be no misunderstanding of any kind Mr. Armour, on November 18th, spent half an hour with President Harding. The result of these friendly conversations was, that about the middle of March the Chicago papers carried headlines reading: “Armour-Morris consolidation completed—550 Million Merger Its Result.”

In the meanwhile it is true that the Secretary of Agriculture had forbidden the merger as illegal. But this was “only a gesture.” F. Edson White, the new president of Armour and Company, gave the snap away in a newspaper interview. He said that when the Armour crowd talked to Wallace and President Harding, it was agreed that the Secretary should bring a test case. In the *Wall Street Journal* the spokesman for Armour and Company states that “the purpose of the Clayton Act was to prevent secret acquisition of stock in competing companies. There is no possibility of concealment in the pur-

chase of physical assets of a corporation." Naturally there is neither possibility nor need for concealment, when Mr. Armour makes his moves with the knowledge and consent of Messers. Harding, Wallace, and Daugherty in the first place.

Handling the "Law in the Case"

Senator LaFollette made a dramatic, though futile, statement in the Senate on Dec. 6, apropos of the Packers' Merger. "It has not yet reached the point in this country," he said, "where any law has been passed which authorizes the President to sell indulgences to law-breakers." Of course, Senator LaFollette is a bit behind the times. No such law is necessary. The capitalists, owning the Government, may either break, administer, or ignore the laws at will. They can, and they do.

"One of the most dangerous and wicked practices which has grown up in our day," says LaFollette, "is that by which great corporations go either to the President or to the heads of Departments and make bargains in advance for immunity for the crimes they are about to commit." This is one way of stating the case. Another one, probably more correct, is that these visits are to issue instructions to the Government officers as to just how far they can go in throwing a bluff by pretending to enforce the law for the sake of appearances.

Senator Fernald, of Maine, gave a new angle when, in denouncing the Packer Control Act, he demanded that the item of \$410,000, appropriated for its administration, be stricken from the budget. He said: "Every dollar expended under this act is wasted, and its enforcement has not helped the farmers one iota." Considering the fact that the Act was shown to have been originally written by the Packers' attorney, why should it aid the farmers? And now that the Act stands in the way of the Merger, it is quite logical for the gentlemen who wrote it to push it aside. They can depend upon the estimable Supreme Court to declare it "unconstitutional" should the case ever get that far.

Approximately \$500,000,000 of capital are being merged in this new packing corporation, which will employ over 65,000 workers. What does this mean to the labor unions, Can such amalgamations of capital be met by anything less than a complete industrial union of the workers?

Textiles Dodge the Sherman Act

The Textile Merger is but another of the many examples of capitalist amalgamation, and the way in which the corporations control the Government and ignore the laws. "The American Woolen Company is an extended trust or combination of woolen mills. The Consolidated Textile Com-

pany is an extended combination of cotton mills," remarked the *World*, before the completion of the merger. "There still remains in the Federal statute books the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, and what will the administration do about it?"

Let it rest in peace. A merger which combines a business totalling such huge proportions can afford to be as confident as was the chairman of the Board of Directors of the new combine. When asked if the merger would bring the combine into conflict with the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, Mr. Rupperecht answered calmly, "Not in the least." His confidence has been justified by the event.

Many other amalgamations of capital are taking place or are completed—banks, oil, railroads, knitting mills, and match manufacturers. Its power is increasing a hundred-fold, and with each further step in the process of trustification Capital prepares to further smash the labor unions, increase working hours, lower wages—to increase and intensify the exploitation of the working class.

What answer can the workers give to the amalgamations of Capital? The only possible reply, if the workers would escape a veritable slavery, is amalgamation of the craft unions into powerful industrial unions on the industrial field, and a Labor Party to take over the Government for the working class, on the political field.

COMING MILITANT CONFERENCES

In the next two months several conferences of great importance to the militant movement in the trade unions will take place. Those listed at present are as follows:

Eastern District, T. U. E. L., New York City, May 5-6.

Eastern District Railroaders, New York City, May 5-6.

Needle Trades Section, T. U. E. L., New York City, May 5-6.

Textile Trades, New York City, May 5-6.
Shoe and Leather Trades, Boston, May 13.

Progressive Miners, Pittsburgh, Pa., June 2-3.

The Eastern District Conferences will be made up of representatives from Leagues from all through the Eastern States. The other four conferences are national in scope, being organized by the respective National Committees. All League members should do everything possible to make these vital conferences successful.

Miners' Struggle in South Africa

By Tom Mann

IN South Africa as elsewhere, Capitalism is out for the biggest possible profit, and ever seeks not only to lower the cost of production by the application of new methods, but also by ruthlessly uprooting established conditions, aiming at dispensing with the labor of workers, in order to retain for themselves the wages formerly paid to the men; being entirely regardless of the effects of their methods upon the workmen dispensed with, or upon the community as a whole.

The gold mines on the Witwatersrand (referred to, for short, as the Rand), in the Transvaal, have been the wonder of the world, for the astonishing yield of gold. In the Union of South Africa there are eight million of persons. Six millions of these are natives, one and a half million are whites, and six hundred thousand colored people; the latter term being applied to those who have some white blood in their veins. Of the million and a half whites, half are Dutch and half British. The Dutch are essentially farmers and the British primarily engaged in industry.

Up until a dozen years ago very few Dutch were working at the mines, but since then more and more Dutch and fewer British are working at the mines on the Rand.

The Rand is approximately sixty miles in length and the town of Johannesburg is practically in the center, with a population of 280,000, half white and half native.

When trouble began, in December, 1921, which resulted in the serious struggle of March, 1922, there were actually employed in the mines, 24,000 whites, and 180,000 natives. The decision of the Chamber of Mines, representing the organized owners of the mines, to reduce the number of white miners by adding to the number of natives each white man should be responsible for, was the direct cause of the trouble that followed.

The owners said it was necessary to reduce the cost of production, and that they intended doing this by departing from the status quo, and fixing the ratio of natives to whites at 10.5 natives to each white. The white miners act as supervisors, directing the fixing of the machine drills, the drilling of the holes in the rock for firing, and the actual shot-firing or blasting. Their wages were in the neighborhood of \$200. per month. The natives received about \$20. per month. No natives took the place of white miners in their capacity as supervisors, but by deciding to put more natives under the supervision of each white man, the whites were dis-

pensed with and no natives taken in their places. In some other instances where whites had been doing work of a general character incidental to mining they were discharged and natives were substituted.

Because this meant a serious reduction in the earning capacity of the whites, and because there was not and is not any other work for those thrown out, it was determined to resist these changes to the utmost.

It must here be mentioned that for twenty years a determined effort has been made by the owners, both of the coal mines and the gold mines, to replace the relatively high-paid white labor, with the slave wages paid to natives. The natives are recruited from the interior, many from Portuguese territory. They are told by the chief they must go, and this order is acted upon. The chief is paid a given sum per head by the recruiting agent of the mines, and the "boys" (called boys irrespective of age) are taken to the mines, usually for two year spells. When they return they must each take the chief a present equal to an ox. So the chief is ready to do business with the recruiter, and the system is established as the mining magnates wish.

It is necessary to refer to the outlook of the young Dutchmen who have, in recent years, become connected with the mines. These men have turned to mining chiefly because they can get no farms. The Boers have traveled to the limits of the territory, practically all the available land has been taken, and as the farmers die, the property descends to each of the sons, and as there are often half a dozen sons, a big farm so split up soon takes on a different shape. Thus many are gradually squeezed out, and economic necessity compels them to seek a livelihood at the mines. At the present time fully 75% of the white miners on the Rand are Dutch in origin.

When the ultimatum of the owners was issued, the Miners' Union, with the sympathetic approval of the other unions, determined to fight it by refusing to work. They at once organized their forces in thoroughgoing fashion. British and Dutch had military experience, and disciplinary marching and picketing was carried out. Further, practically all the Dutch farming community are Nationalists, and are bitterly opposed to the present Government, with the Dutch General Smuts as Prime Minister. They, the Boers, are anxious to overthrow the present Government in South Africa, and many of them wish to establish a South African Republic. Naturally the young

Dutchmen now at the mines share this nationalist aspiration, and it may be that the substantial supplies of food that reached the strikers on the Rand from the back-veldt farmers had some relation to the desire for a change in Government.

Amongst the British trade unionists on the Rand there are some men of much experience, clear-minded and thorough. Only a very small percentage are avowed Communists, but increasingly the unions find themselves driven by the force of events to share the Communist objectives, and methods. Still it cannot be said with truth that there was at any time any serious attempt at a social revolution in the events on the Rand in March, 1922. The gradual addition to the organized forces of the Government, military, police, and Civil Guard, plus unlimited supplies of all weapons of war, including aeroplanes and tanks, gave the Chamber of Mines confidence. It was decided to provoke an outbreak and to ostensibly make it necessary to interfere. This happened, and martial law was declared. For five days warfare prevailed. The overwhelming Government forces were armed as for military warfare; aviators bombed, blowing down buildings and behaving as though they were in an enemy country. The ultimate result was the defeat of the strikers, and the arrest of ten thousand men, half of whom were released after the authorities had combed out those who had in any active way been identified with any kind of workers' movement making for betterment.

The casualties during the fighting were:

	Government forces	Civilians Europeans	Non-Europeans
Killed, or died of wounds or injuries	74	182	56
Wounded or otherwise injured	285	87	128

The number of those detained after arrest were: 4,692 males, 62 females, and 4 children! Of these 1,409 were prosecuted.

The Government manoeuvred in such fashion as to give color to the plea of necessity for martial law, at exactly the moment desired by the Chamber of Mines: another instance and complete illustration of the fact that the Government is the Executive Committee of the capitalist class.

Many of the experiences on the Rand were tragic and extraordinary. They would serve for a much longer account than I am giving here. Let it suffice now that we draw a lesson or two: the first is the unpreparedness of the organized workers, who were organized sectionally only. Nothing in the nature of real solidarity was shown among the whites, and certainly none between the whites and natives. When I responded

to the invitation of the trade unionists and communists to visit South Africa and render such help as might be possible, it was clear that whatever else was necessary, it was vital that the basis of the trade union movement should be broadened, that a welding together of the forces in each of the four provinces, The Cape, Orange Free State, Natal, and Transvaal, should take place. I covered all the important centers of South Africa, was well received everywhere, urged the necessity for welding all sectional unions together on a basis of having due regard for the interests of all sections. But I always put the communist objective as the ultimate aim, and advised the necessity for linking up with the Red International of Labor Unions.

As a preliminary essential I urged the advisability of a National Conference of all unions. Nowhere was this opposed, and in Cape Town and Johannesburg the principle was heartily endorsed, and resolutions were carried favorable to action being taken.

Since my arrival back in England, I have received intimation that all details are now in hand for the holding of such National Conference, at which there will undoubtedly be evolved a scientific plan of militant organization, capable of carrying on the work for white, black, and colored workers. For it can be truthfully said that while the school of experience through which the workers of South Africa have passed, has been a very severe one, there is no doubt whatever that many valuable lessons have been learned and the movement is marching on. The best way in which we can help is by setting a fine example how to settle the industrial problem by ourselves solving ours. May we prepare effectively for this without delay.

MICHIGAN TRIAL PLEASERS NEARING

New York, April 12, 1923.

Editor of the Labor Herald.

Dear Comrade:—

Now that the trial of Wm. Z. Foster is over—at least temporarily—it is worth while to note two or three things:

(1) The Government is prosecuting Foster because he is a labor radical.

(2) The net result of the prosecution thus far has been to give Foster a chance to make his remarks to a vaster public than he could have reached by ordinary means in many years.

(3) Foster took this opportunity very handsomely. Literally he covered himself with glory.

We are all delighted with the splendid way in which the defense behaved itself. A few such trials and the American radical movement will be finding itself.

Scott Nearing.

Progressives Prevent Anthracite Split

By Joseph Manley

A DISASTROUS split among the Anthracite miners of District No. 9, in Eastern Pennsylvania, has just been prevented through the influence of the Progressive International Committee of the United Mine Workers of America. The trouble grew out of an internal struggle, fought with intense bitterness between the rank and file and the District officials, over the question of "town" locals versus "colliery" locals. False leadership almost led the battle into the morass of secession and dual unionism.

District No. 9, is one of the oldest in the Miners' Union. It is there that a forty-year struggle has raged between the men and the hard-coal companies, it was there that John Mitchell won his spurs, and it is there that the most primitive form of organization still persists. There are in that District 162 locals. The membership of 74 of these is based upon the principle of residence. In the other locals, as well as throughout the rest of the U. M. W. A., the mine is the basis of organization. That is, according to the constitution all the workers in a given mine must belong to the same local union. One local may cover several mines, but the workers in one mine cannot be scattered through several locals. This concentration is to facilitate the handling of union affairs.

A Bitter Fight

The persistence of the older form of town local in District No. 9 is explained by the peculiar conditions prevailing. In that mountainous section there are the large towns of Pottsville, Shenandoah, Ashland, Minersville, and Mahanoy City. The hard coal mines and their big washeries are scattered far and wide through the hills and valleys. The miners live in the many towns about. Transportation to and from the mines is very poor, except during working hours, when the miners ride the colliery trains. This lack of transportation, by making it very difficult, if not impossible for the miners to go, after hours, from their homes to the places where the mines are located, explains in great part the reason for opposition to the colliery type of local. A further factor was that with the influx of foreign born workers into the District, many of the town locals became language locals, which served as progressive centers.

When the District officials, who believed that they could control the progressive foreign workers better by forcing them into the colliery locals, began their reorganization they were met with

discontent and hostility. The "leadership" of this rank and file movement was a small number of English-speaking miners who, for various reasons, were temporarily "peeved" at the District officials. In carrying on the fight for several months conventions of the town locals, made up of English, Lithuanian, Polish, Italian, and Hungarian workers, had been held every two weeks in the surrounding towns. The Ashland Convention, spurred on by the English speaking "leadership," started a move to get an injunction against the District officials.

In an effort to forestall this suicidal policy, I attended a small conference of militants held in Minersville on March 25th. The next day, I was present at Mahanoy City Convention, made up of delegates from 36 large town locals. The committee in charge reported that their lawyers had quit and advised against the injunction as a weapon and recommended the regular course in accordance with constitutional provisions, appeal to the convention, etc. Our militants were largely responsible for this action. Then one of the committee inconsistently moved, after rapping lawyers in general, to hire some more and proposed that for this purpose the locals be assessed \$25.00 apiece "to start with."

Militants Take the Lead

Despite this gentleman I succeeded in getting the floor and in making a 40-minute speech. I recited the many fights going on in the various Districts, outlining the necessity for joining them all together into one national movement. When I mentioned the name of Alex Howat a burst of applause broke out from the rank and file delegates. I read the program of the Progressive International Committee, and pointed out the terrible injury done to the miners' cause when the International officials split the hard and soft coal men by signing the Bituminous Agreement. This point was particularly applauded, showing that the workers appreciate and understand the fundamentals of solidarity, and will put these into effect as soon as they develop a clear-headed, militant leadership, capable of understanding and expressing in simple terms the many problems being pushed into their lives by modern industry.

The introduction into this confused, misdirected movement, of the splendid program of the Progressive International Committee, had the effect of discrediting the leadership of it, and of showing up their poor tactics. It made clear the danger of the split in the organization.

Following this convention a couple of militants, who spoke the languages of the various groups and understood the necessities of the situation, visited many of the language locals with me. Against the opposition that hung over from the fever-heat of the excitement created by the misdirected movement, we succeeded in getting these language locals to agree to transfer their members to the colliery locals. In these meetings we read telegrams from Alex Howat and Wm. Z. Foster, urging the workers at all costs to stay in their organization. These telegrams had the effect of still further shattering the remaining opposition.

A Change for the Better

Although temporarily the foreign-born workers, who make up such a large proportion of the town locals, will be at somewhat of a disadvantage by transferring into the mine or colliery locals, they will in the long run reap advantage from this modern form of organization. The old town locals have no jurisdiction over any mine. They have no representation on the grievance committee, and they are but a small minority on the general mine committee. About 27% of the miners are in the town locals. These are isolated from the main body of the miners' organization, one local, the progressive Lithuanian union, being cut off from the other 1200 Lithuanian miners in the various mine locals.

Had the "two-year campaign of education," as authorized, been carried on intelligently by the District officials: had the latter made any effort to solve the problem of transportation to the meetings of the mine locals from scattered towns; had they sought to explain how a real attendance could be had at meetings of the mine locals even though dues were collected at the mine; had they at all attempted to meet in a sympathetic manner the language difficulties of the foreign-born workers, instead of adopting high-handed methods and autocratically issuing an order to disband the town locals after April 1, 1923, all this turmoil would not have arisen. As it was, in spite of the officials' foolish tactics, a few militants, armed with the program of the Progressive International Committee, with great effort and persuasion headed off what threatened to be a ruinous split in the organization.

In this District the basis has been laid for the campaign of the Progressive International Committee. The miners here have many grievances against their bureaucracy. But instead of manifesting them through wild, leaderless, secession movements, they will link their fight up with all others in the miners' union. They will take their place along with the militant fighters in Kansas, Fayette County, Illinois, and Nova Scotia, and with them push through to victory the program of the Progressive International Committee of the United Mine Workers of America. They will be well represented at the latter's Conference at Pittsburgh, June 2nd and 3rd.

The R. I. L. U. and the U. M. W. A.

By John Dorsey

NOT long ago the militant miners of District 26, comprising the maritime Provinces of Canada, voted overwhelmingly for affiliation to the Red International of Labor Unions. The Executive Board of the United Mine Workers then issued a ukase to District 26, ordering them to quit their affiliation to the R. I. L. U., and supporting their decision with a document of nonsense and misrepresentation. The Nova Scotia miners, under the wise old battler, Jim McLachlan, immediately decided to keep within the U. M. W. A. at all costs, without departing for one moment from their principles. They notified their International officers that they had withdrawn their application, and were appealing the issue to the next convention of the U. M. W. A.

Now comes a communication from the Red International to District 26. After stating that

they have received a copy of the official statement of policy of the United Mine Workers, the letter continues:

The official statement reveals that the members of the International Executive Board Committee either have made no study whatever of the principles and objects of the R. I. L. U., or have wilfully misrepresented them. They state, for instance, that the purpose of the Red International is "first—control, and afterward the destruction of the bona-fide trade union movement." Nothing in the history of the writings of the R. I. L. U. offers any reason for this wild statement. It has always been the object of the R. I. L. U., not merely to preserve the existing trade union movement, but to strengthen it and expand it. We need only refer our critics to our campaign against expulsions and splits in the labor movement, in order to prove this.

The committee also remarks that "the Red International is an outgrowth of the One Big Union, which went through its processes of major development in the Northwestern provinces of Canada in the year 1918." Further on, the report reads "the Red International is an organization similar in character and make-up to

the One Big Union." After having the accusation hurled against us from all quarters that we are a conspiratorial organization founded in, and maintained in, Moscow, it is, indeed, a refreshing change for us to hear that the R. I. L. U. was founded in Northwestern Canada. The committee has at least selected a spot where the climate is not unsimilar to that of Moscow, and where, therefore, Comrade Losovsky would suffer no undue results from weather differences, in the execution of his official duties. As a matter of fact, however, the R. I. L. U. is totally different from the One Big Union in its structure, scope, and principles. Whereas the One Big Union is a dual union which has consistently endeavored to win over to itself sections of the regular labor movement, in order to form new unions alongside the old ones, the Red International of Labor Unions has consistently opposed the tactics of the dual unionists and has not merely advised, but definitely instructed, its adherents to stay within their unions, and to try and influence them to affiliate with the R. I. L. U.

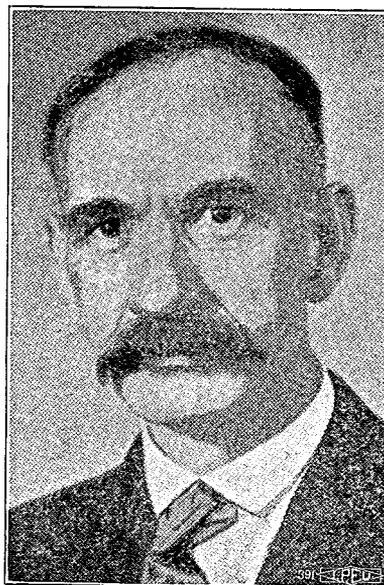
The Red International of Labor Unions is an international organization to which are affiliated entire unions in various countries. For instance, practically all the trade unions in Bulgaria are affiliated to the R. I. L. U., and half the unions in France and Czechoslovakia. Besides the unions in many countries which are affiliated to the R. I. L. U., there are also minorities of certain unions which signify their adherence to us, although their national bodies have not yet joined us. There is the example of the English labor movement, for instance. In the London district alone, thousands of trade unionists support the R. I. L. U. through the adherence of various district Trades and Labor Councils, locals, etc. These bodies are not officially affiliated in the sense that national and international unions are, but formally signify their support of our principles, and constitute within the various unions an organized minority, whose purpose it is, through legitimate educational activity, to acquaint all their fellow members with our principles, in order to secure the affiliation of the whole labor movement to the Red International.

The legal grounds for the decision of the committee of the International Executive Board—when we brush away the cloud of windy vaporings with which they describe an R. I. L. U. which has never existed except in their own fevered imaginations—lies in the fact that Section 2, Article 14, of the U. M. W. A. constitution states that "any member accepting membership in the Industrial Workers of the World, the Working Class Union, the One Big Union, or any other dual organization not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor . . . shall not be permitted to have membership in our union unless they forfeit their membership in the dual organization."

They then proceed to say that "it has come to our knowledge that the Red International is, in the estimation of the American Federation of Labor, a dual organization." This is the whole of their case, from the point of view of their actual constitutional right to exclude District 26. The latter has, however, an excellent weapon of defense in the fact that the Red International, which seeks affiliation to it of national labor movements, can in no way whatever parallel, or be dual to, those national labor movements. For instance, nothing would please the Red International better than to secure the affiliation of the A. F. of L.; although it is true, considering the present leadership of the A. F. of L., such an affiliation does not appear to be an immediate probability . . .

The R. I. L. U., we repeat, as an International organization, does not act in rivalry with national unions, or federations of unions. Therefore the statement that the R. I. L. U. is a dual organization to the American Federation of Labor, is absolutely false, and we challenge the makers of this statement to adduce one word of proof from our Constitution and program, or from any of our official publications. What they will find, however, is that we are an International organization of labor unions based irrevocably upon the class struggle, pledged to support the workers everywhere, and at all times, in their struggles for their immediate demands, and for the final overthrow of capitalism and the inauguration of a new society based upon the rule of the workers.

We do not counsel District 26 to unite formally, as a trade union district, with the R. I. L. U., if such action would cause their expulsion from the U. M. W. A. We do not demand that units of labor organizations, which are not nationally affiliated to us, should affiliate as labor bodies. It is sufficient for minority bodies, within non-affiliated unions, merely to declare their sympathetic adherence to our principles—and for such an expression of opinion expulsion can hardly be applied.

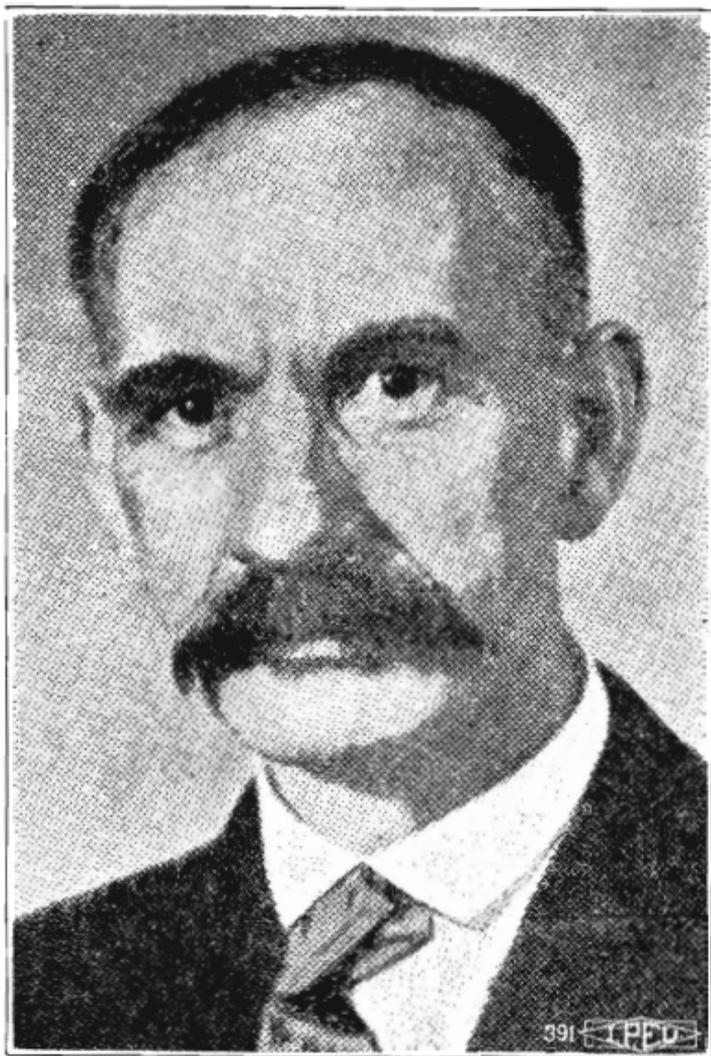


JIM MCLACHLAN,

President, District No. 26, U. M. W. A.

The task of District 26 is to remain steadfastly loyal to the principles of the R. I. L. U., and also to the organization of the United Mine Workers of America . . .

The Red International of Labor Unions fraternally salutes the courageous membership of the United Mine Workers of America, who have fought so often and so well for their class. It extends its heartiest greetings to such valiant warriors in the miners' cause as Alexander Howat, who has become beloved by every member of the union through his magnificent fight against the labor-hating Industrial Court. It salutes the class conscious miners of Illinois, who have ever remained true to the cause of labor, and congratulates



JIM McLACHLAN,
President, District No. 26, U. M. W. A.

them on the successful outcome of the Herrin trial. It has watched every phase of the long and bitter struggle in West Virginia with close fraternal interest; and it sends a message of solidarity from hundreds of thousands of miners, in many countries, affiliated to the R. I. L. U., to their battling brothers in those far hills. To the coke miners of Fayette County, Pennsylvania, who are struggling not only against the mine-owners but against the betrayal and treachery of their own international leaders, we send assurance of our close interest in their fight, and of the practical support of all our adherents in the United States.

Comrades of District 26: we know that you will not halt nor falter in your great task of rallying the working class of Canada to the banner of the Red Inter-

national of Labor Unions, but will forge on, keeping ever in mind the essential necessity of unity in the labor movement, and the historic revolutionary mission of our class.

The letter is signed by G. Slucky, Secretary, International Propaganda Committee of Revolutionary Miners, and by A. Kalnin, Acting Secretary, Red International of Labor Unions. The communication, comprehensive and clear in raising the great international issue before the membership of the United Mine Workers, will take its place as one of the most important documents of the International labor movement.

Steel Workers for Amalgamation and Labor Party

By Wallace T. Metcalfe

THE organized workers in the great Mahoning Valley, which with its enormous steel mills, forms one of the most important industrial sections, not only of Ohio but of the whole country, are beginning to stir and to demand progressive action upon the part of their leaders. In this movement the Trumbull County Central Labor Congress, consisting mostly of delegates from local lodges of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, is forging to the front. At a recent meeting it went on record unanimously in favor of Amalgamation and a Labor Party, as proposed by the program of the T. U. E. L. These resolutions were then submitted to the convention of the Amalgamated Association, which is still in session as I write, and in which the militants are playing a more active part than ever before.

In the Mahoning County Central Labor Congress, with Youngstown as the center, the delegation, consisting mostly of buildings tradesmen, defeated both the amalgamation and labor party resolutions, but not until after the militants had waged a bitter fight. Through the capitalist press, Secretary Hamm of the Congress, entered into a vitriolic attack upon "Foster and his gang." Hamm is editor of the "Fish and Game" column of the *Labor Record*. He tells the 12-hour day steel workers WHAT to fish and WHERE to fish, which is very vital for them, of course.

The action taken by the Trumbull County Congress show that the steel workers are wide awake to the great possibilities of the T. U. E. L. program. Groaning under the stinging lash of the steel barons and worked at full speed to the hysterical cry for "more production," the steel workers are raising their heads in revolt and demanding real organization. Through its reactionary officialdom, the A. F. of L. tries to stifle this demand by attacking the T. U. E. L. But the de-

mand for organization and progress is from the ground up. The most humble workers in the mills are longing for the day when the steel workers, united with the coal miners and railroad workers, will present a united front against the enemies of Labor. Upon this basis, of amalgamation and a labor party, will the steel workers fight their next fight and smash the great "open shop" fortress of the Fascisti-loving King Gary.

The Independent Unions

Dear Comrade Editor:—

In my article in the Labor Herald for March, dealing with the R. I. L. U. Congress, there occurred the following sentence:

"The American independent unions which adhere to the Red International were told to make an organized campaign for re-entry into the A. F. of L. as organized groups."

It has come to my attention that this statement has caused some misunderstanding, therefore I feel it should be amplified and explained somewhat.

What I had in mind, though the statement is too brief to carry the whole idea, was exactly the program of the R. I. L. U. and the one outlined in the April number of the Labor Herald. This is that the revolutionary elements must work ceaselessly for a united front on the industrial field, seeking to unite their organizations with the conservative unions. This shall be done by the small detached fragments of militants securing re-affiliation with mass organizations on the best terms possible, whereas the larger organizations must come together on the basis of amalgamation.

This is the program of the R. I. L. U. which has been successful wherever tried and it will succeed in the United States also.

The R. I. L. U. Congress was decidedly opposed to the revolutionary elements staying apart from the mass organization and it instructed them categorically to use every possible effort to consolidate with these bodies. It realized that only by permeating the larger organizations and gradually winning them over to our program can the revolutionary cause be advanced.

Trusting that this statement will clarify the situation and remove all misunderstanding, I am

Fraternally yours,

Arne Swaback.

The Needle Workers International

By Rose Wortis

MUCH has been written about the International Federations in the different industries, such as that of the Metal Workers, Building, Transport, Miners, etc. About the International of Clothing Workers, or as it is better known, the Copenhagen International, little has been heard. So far as its influence in the life of the affiliated unions is concerned it might never have existed. But the reason for this is not, as some may contend, that the needle workers are not sufficiently developed. A brief review of the conditions in the clothing industry of some of the important countries will prove that these workers can be brought into the vanguard of the revolutionary trade union movement of the world.

The German Clothing Workers

In Germany the clothing workers are organized to the number of 180,000, in one centralized clothing workers' union. This organization has three departments, corresponding to the three main branches of production covered by the union, men's clothing, women's clothing, and white goods. There is also a Cap and Hat Makers Union, numbering 20,000, which is a part of the Hirsch-Dunker Union, a religious organization.

The general disappointment in the ranks of the German workers, as a result of the failure of the revolution and the continuous betrayals of the Social Democrats, has not failed to have its effect upon the clothing workers. Though there is little unemployment, the wages of the workers have been reduced to about 28% of pre-war wages. Home-work, which had almost disappeared during the war, has again made its appearance. This brings many married women, who are unable to go to the factories because of family duties, into the industry. From 15% to 20% of the workers in the industry are thus employed. This has a demoralizing effect on the whole industry.

The left wing in the German clothing union has been very strong. At the convention of 1920, 49% of the delegates were in the opposition to the reactionary Social Democrats, under the leadership of the Communists. This high point has not been retained. During the period of the capitalist offensive, many new political orientations have taken place. Many workers who were carried along by the popular wave of revolution in 1918-1920 and supported the Communists, have gone over to the side of the officials or

withdrawn from activity. Many active rebels who threatened the control of the old leaders were expelled from the union on one pretext or another, according to the well-established practice of bureaucrats everywhere.

In spite of all the set-backs, the German clothing trades hold forth good promise for revolutionary union activity in the future. The workers engaged in the industry, particularly the women, are new and raw elements. They have not been poisoned by the Social Democratic ideas of class peace. This is a great advantage, since in Germany the most difficult task of the Communists and rebels, is to overcome the Social Democratic traditions of the workers. An active movement in the clothing trades is being established in Berlin, Leipzig, Chemnitz, and other cities. As in America, this left wing stands for amalgamation of all clothing trades unions.

In the Capital of Style

In France, "the Capital of Style" for the clothing industry, there is grave lack of organization among the workers. Of near to one million employees, only between 12 and 15 thousand are in the unions, of which there are three. In the reformist C. G. T. there are about 4,000 members, in the revolutionary C. G. T. U. (Unity Confederation of Labor) about 8 to 10,000 members, and in the latter organization a small union of hat and cap makers.

The conditions of the clothing workers of France, as a result of the capitalist offensive, have been greatly lowered. The chaotic condition in the industry in the small and unimportant countries Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Lithuania, and the great unemployment in those countries, offers a cheap labor market to the French clothing capitalists, who are establishing special agencies to attract workers to Paris. This foreign element, because of its unfamiliarity with the language, does not easily lend itself to organization and serves to underbid the French workers and destroy whatever little influence they have in the industry.

To cope with this difficult situation, it is necessary to concentrate all forces in organization work. The reformist leaders of France, however, consider their control of the unions of greater importance than the interests of the workers whom they are supposed to serve. Instead of working to bring the unorganized workers into the ranks of the union, they have brought about a split amongst the organized, compelling

the majority of the members to organize a new union. This newly organized union has seriously taken up the most difficult task. The first step is to unite the cap makers with the other clothing workers. They have addressed an appeal to the workers of other countries not to heed the promises of the capitalists of France. They are also attempting to establish connections with the unions in those countries so that the immigrants may continue their union membership in the French union when employed in that country.

Clothing Workers in Revolution

The first attempt at organization of the Russian clothing workers occurred in Petrograd on January 9, 1905, where 90 workers came together to form a trade union. This meeting elected a committee which was to prepare a constitution and arrange another meeting where the union was to be launched officially. The meeting arranged by the committee a few weeks later was raided by the police and the most active workers thrown into prison. Though the organization had been deprived of some of its most energetic forces, nevertheless, the seeds of organization had been planted. On the fifth of October of the same year after the revolutionary uprising, the clothing workers again met, and this time it was to elect a delegate to the Soviet of Deputies which existed for a short time after the revolution of 1905. These short-lived soviets were of great historical importance to the revolutionary movement of Russia. In these hastily-formed soviets Lenin recognized the definite form of the proletarian state.

In December, 1905, the union of clothing workers already counted a membership of 2,000 and issued a trade paper called the "Tailor and Furrier." The reaction of the December days forced the clothing workers union, together with the rest of organized labor in Russia, into an illegal existence. However, the union had already made inroads upon the minds of the workers, who joined it in spite of the great dangers that union membership involved in this country of darkest reaction. In March, 1912, another trade paper, called "The Council of Clothing Workers," was issued. After a short period, the editors were arrested and the paper driven out of existence.

After the revolution of 1917 the first conference of clothing workers for the purpose of finally uniting the separate locals that existed throughout the country into one National Union of Clothing workers, was held. From the very beginning it was organized on an industrial basis including all workers engaged in the production

of all branches of clothing. Until this very day the Russian union is the only union in the clothing industry of the world that has put into actual practice the slogan of one Union for each industry, to the great advantage of the workers.

Hard times were ahead of this newly-born union. The disorganization that followed the February revolution seriously affected the clothing industry, which during the period of the war had to a very great extent been turned into a war industry, resulting in great unemployment. Then came the October revolution, followed by a civil war, foreign invasion, famine, etc. During all these times of stress the workers of the clothing industry always stood in the front ranks on the battle front.

For a Real International

The crying need of the moment in all industries is consolidation in the ranks of labor. Everywhere, whether Germany or France, England or America, the main issue on the order of the day is amalgamation of all crafts or trades in an industry into one centrally organized industrial union. One Union for every industry. Greater participation of the masses in the life of the union, through the establishment of the shop delegates system, is the slogan of the revolutionary workers of all countries.

A real International of clothing workers, including the now barred 60,000 Russian clothing workers, with their tremendous revolutionary experience, would prove to be a great source of strength to the workers in the industry, who are facing a well organized capitalist class in their daily struggle for existence.

To bring about an amalgamation of all branches in the clothing industry in every country, and amalgamation of the different Internationals that now exist into one powerful revolutionary International of clothing workers, an International conference of 15 revolutionary workers representing minorities in the reformist unions as well as organizations, was held in Moscow on December 6, 1922

The conference elected an International Propaganda committee whose purpose it shall be to establish closer connection amongst the clothing workers of all countries, so as to jointly work to convert the Copenhagen paper International into a revolutionary International of Clothing Workers that will be the guiding spirit to the workers in their struggles, and aid them to work ceaselessly with other International Unions for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a workers' government.

A Pair of Jacks

By Earl R. Browder

SINCE Mr. Gompers has found his power failing him, he has picked up a couple of apprentices to help carry on his appointed task of fighting everything progressive in the labor movement. These understudies of the ancient reactionary are Matthew Woll and Chester M. Wright, both of whom have been performing within the past month, while their master has been off the job. Their zeal is doubtless as great as that of Mr. Gompers, but their performance is amateurish. Try as hard as they will, they cannot bark with the same lusty vigor as does the old watch-dog of reaction. In their own feeble way, however, particularly as the annointed of Mr. Gompers, they demand a certain amount of attention.

The Thunders of Silence

Matthew Woll is the "front" of the Gompers family. He it is who makes the speeches. He gives the interviews to the capitalist papers. A particular task of his during the past year has been to make speeches and give interviews denouncing the Trade Union Educational League and the amalgamation program. In the course of the year, under the beneficent rain of his maledictions, the League has grown mightily in scope and power, and the amalgamation movement has swept the country.

Some good friend of Mr. Woll must have tipped him off that he was helping rather than hindering the League. We will not accuse him of figuring it out for himself. The idea, at any rate, pierced his cranium, and on April 6th Matthew Woll issued a momentous statement to a waiting world. It was carried by the Associated Press to all corners of the land, and millions of American citizens learned, while they drank their morning coffee, that hereafter Wm. Z. Foster, the Trade Union Educational League, Amalgamation, the Labor Party, Russia, Lenin, and Trotzky, and other things Mr. Woll does not approve of, will no longer be mentioned by respect-

table people. The thunders of silence are invoked against all "red" persons, organizations, and policies.

We were sorely frightened when we first saw this pronouncement in the *New York Times*. Was our great asset to be taken from us? Would the air no more be filled with curses and denunciations against the League, sounds which we have learned to love? Would, instead, dead silence reign?

But a ray of hope warmed us when we looked at the free advertising space which this call for silence gave us. We sat down to figure out

how many inches, and how many millions of circulation, it would come to when all the members of the Associated Press carried the story of Mr. Woll's curse. Using slide-rule and an insurance computer, we calculated that Mr. Woll's boost for the League used 189 tons of paper, which, placed word upon word, would reach to the moon and back again. Here is a silence that is worth while. It can be heard from coast to coast. It reverberates throughout America.

We turned to the next page of the *Times*. Staring us in the face was a story from Cleveland,

MENCKEN ON GOMPERS

TRY to think of an American labor leader writing good English, or even ordinary intelligible bad English. The effort takes one into mysticism. Is William Z. Foster an exception? Then don't forget that Dr. Foster has been solemnly repudiated by the Sacred College of American Labor, and that in most American states the circulation of his compositions is forbidden by law, always with the consent of the local Federation. Old Gompers is a far better specimen of the normal American labor leader. He can neither think nor write. His ideas, in the main, are simply dull parodies of those of Judge Gary, and his style is no more than an enfeebled copy of that of the Hon. W. G. Harding.—The Smart Set, April 1923.

telling about a great meeting of needle trades workers of all crafts where the program of the Trade Union Educational League for one union in the clothing industry was unanimously adopted. Heading another column is a dispatch from Nova Scotia, relating how the militant steel workers and coal miners employed by the British Empire Steel Company, are engaged in a campaign of organization, and have invited Alex Howat and Wm. Z. Foster to attend their demonstration on May Day. News is news, we ponder, and while the League continues to make it perhaps it will be printed anyway, in spite of Mr. Woll. Perhaps, who knows, Mr. Woll himself may continue to issue statements. The world is bright again.

Landslide Vote for A Labor Party

By J. Louis Engdahl

IT'S a landslide. Sentiment among the nation's workers for a Class Labor Party is overwhelming. The demand for a political united front against the two old parties is practically 100 per cent.

This is the showing from the early returns on the Labor Party Referendum now being conducted by the Trade Union Educational League among the 35,000 local unions of the organized American labor movement.

More than 200 reports have been received from 36 different crafts in 34 states. Only four locals rejected the proposition. There was a divided vote in favor of the Labor Party in 25 unions. All the rest reported unanimous sentiment for working-class political action.

"We feel that this proportion will hold good for the rest of the referendum, that will not be completed for another month," declares Earl R. Browder, managing editor of THE LABOR HERALD, who is supervising the balloting.

One of the first returns came from a lodge of railroad conductors. It had written across the face of the ballot, "No Foster for Us!" But the same mail brought back the unanimous vote of another lodge of railroad conductors of 300 members, also the unanimous "yes" of a lodge of locomotive engineers.

Browder claims that some of the four rejections already listed resulted from the fact that the local secretaries sent the ballots back without even bringing them before their memberships. He says this is true in at least one case where the ballot came back the next day, with no time for a union meeting intervening.

Local 39, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Chicago, with 12,000 members, is the biggest local to favor the referendum. This local has always been one of the most militant in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union. The Herrin, Ill., Miners' Union, under the oppression of the combined open shoppers of Illinois, cast a unanimous ballot.

One of the big victories is the favorable vote at the convention of the California State Building Trades Council. The Labor Party referendum was brought up here by a group of delegates and carried to victory in spite of officials who continually trail with the old parties.

Among the crafts that have already reported are the sheet metal workers, electricians, team-

sters, tailors, machinists, steam operating engineers, metal polishers, yeast makers, molders, miners, painters, carpenters, laborers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, railway carmen, street railwaymen, leather workers, pressmen, brewery workers, millwrights, blacksmiths, cigarmakers, paving cutters, plumbers, laundry workers, pipe fitters, bricklayers, locomotive engineers, boiler-makers, ship carpenters, expressmen, ladies' tailors, marine engineers, bookbinders pile drivers and maintenance of waymen.

The 34 states so far represented in the balloting are New Jersey, Ohio, Missouri, California, Oregon, Kansas, New York, Illinois, Utah, Louisiana, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Massachusetts, Virginia, Oklahoma, Indiana, Kentucky, Iowa, Tennessee, Washington, Alabama, Georgia, Michigan, Montana, Wyoming, South Carolina, North Dakota, Maine, Texas, Nevada, Connecticut, West Virginia and New Hampshire.

In addition to the local unions, the referendum has been upheld enthusiastically by dozens of central labor unions, the district councils of various crafts, and the system federations on the railroads.

"The object of this referendum is purely educational," said Browder. "The League is not advocating support of any existing political organization. We are offering no leaders to the workers. It is being carried because we feel it has great educational value."

In connection with the referendum, the League is issuing a leaflet entitled, "A Political Party for Labor," of which several hundred thousand have already gone out. A dozen orders for these leaflets arrive every day. One California union telegraphed in its order to be able to get the leaflets on time. Copies of the referendum ballot, as well as bundles of the "Labor Party" leaflet may be secured from the offices of the League.

Just as this issue of THE LABOR HERALD went to press, a telegram arrived from Wallace Metcalfe reporting that the International Convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, meeting in Warren, Ohio, has endorsed the formation of a Labor Party by an overwhelming majority vote. See his story elsewhere in this issue about the pre-convention fight in the Mahoning Valley district.

If Woll is Gompers' right hand, then Chester M. Wright is the left. According to the Biblical injunction, the left hand should be ignorant of the goings-on of the right. Mebbe so, mebbe so. Anyway, Wright goes "into the silence" to the extent of two-and-a-half pages of the *American Federationist* for April.

Chesty Wright Cooperates in "the Silence"

It is difficult to characterize with gravity the strange and curious farrago of Wright's editorial. We must appeal to the higher court of persiflage. Who but Wright could seriously draw an historic parallel such as this: "Nor, could these imaginary *Napoleons* lead their strange and flighty army to disastrous victory, would there be any lack of *Robespierres and Marats*." For confusion of chronology this is unsurpassed. We have searched the largest library of Chicago for three days looking for a literary comparison, but the only one that we can find is the famous case of Mark Twain's watch.

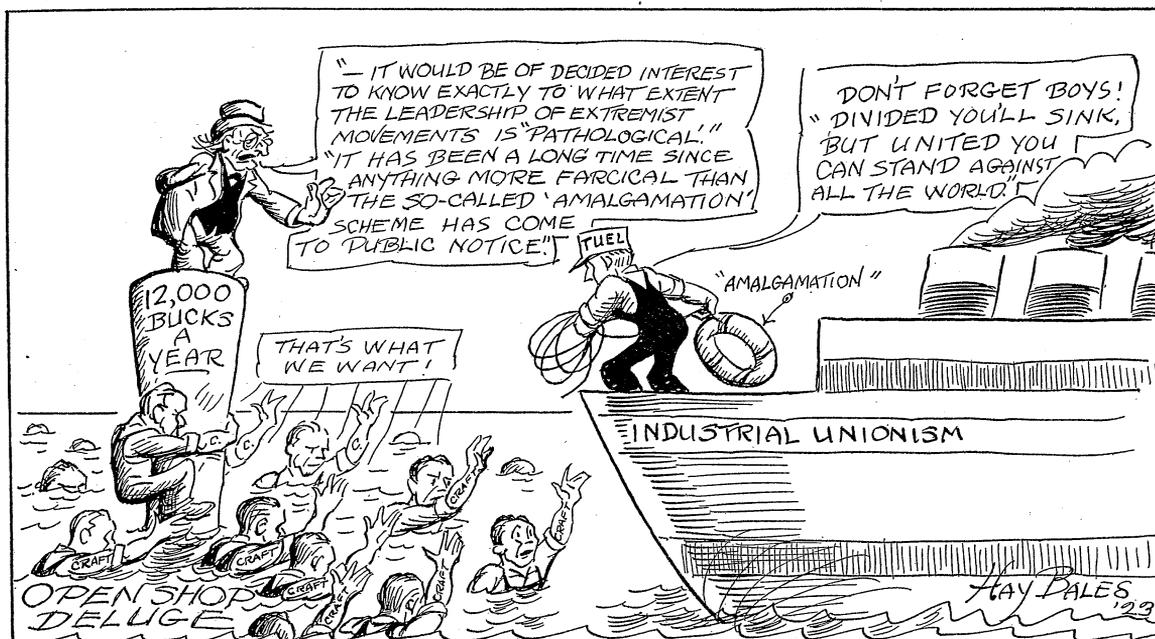
When we come to Wright's attempts at psycho-analysis, the time has come to draw the curtain. It would hardly be fair to drag out his naively disclosed complexes other than in a medical journal. Because he is not sure which are the functions of the patient and which of the practitioner, he furnishes an excellent subject for a study in the *Journal of Psycho-Pathology*, or some other publication not for the family circle. Such things are not for THE LABOR HERALD.

Of the two, Wright and Woll, the former is

by far the most contemptible figure. Woll has at least a labor background, he is a union man even though he has never pretended to be other than what he is, an opportunistic-reactionary. Wright is a nobody, a nondescript, who arrived at the position of Man Friday for Gompers by becoming a renegade Socialist. At the moment when his comrades were facing their first serious test, he betrayed them and every principle for which he ever stood. His own words in the *Federationist*—"the mind incapable of logical thinking is also incapable of sustained convictions"—describes Wright himself quite well. We know from his record that he is incapable of sustained conviction, and he demonstrates every month in the *Federationist* that logical thinking is impossible for him.

It is a sad commentary upon the state of the American labor movement that these two specimens should occupy the stage as the official spokesmen for the American Federation of Labor. Who could take their nonsense seriously, except that they pompously strut before the world as the representatives of Labor?

If we were asked to drop a word of advice to these aspiring brethren, we would say: "If you want to continue to keep the rank and file of Labor hoodwinked, take your hunch of 'silence' seriously. Do not say another word about the League and Amalgamation. Every time you speak you open the eyes of another group of your dupes, and hasten the day of your own repudiation.



IT MIGHT BE "PATHOLOGICAL" BUT IT ISN'T SO FOOLISH, AT THAT.

ON TRIAL IN MICHIGAN

(Continued from Page 6)

Bridgman had been held by the Communist Party of America, and he stated that neither Morrow nor any other detective had had any voice in its arrangements or determining influence in its deliberations. He said he was a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party at the time of the convention, but that since then the party had entirely merged into the Workers' Party and no longer existed as a separate entity.

Ruthenberg qualified as an expert on Communism. When he went on the stand he resumed the education of the jury, and the great crowds packing the court room, that our attorneys had begun during its selection. He explained Marxian economics at length, tracing the evolution of society through the several stages of chattel slavery, serfdom, and wage slavery, and he showed that the forces at work must result in the establishment of Communism. He expounded the theory of surplus value, and pointed out how the capitalists, glutted with the tremendous masses of products they have stolen from the workers, are inevitably led into imperialism and warfare through the struggle for world markets. He then traced the history of the First, Second and Third Internationals, and outlined the parts each had played in the development of the labor movement. Next he recited the origin of the Communist movement in the United States, the driving underground of the Party through the "red" raids, and the recent struggle between the "goose" and the "liquidator" factions, over the question of the Party coming into the open again. He stated that prior to the Bridgman convention the C. E. C. had adopted a resolution providing for turning the C. P. of A. into an open organization. But because the convention was interrupted by the raid, this resolution did not come before the body. He maintained, however, that under the circumstances it is the law of the organization and that, therefore, the Workers' Party is now the only Communist Party in the United States.

The Prosecution Falls Down

Ruthenberg's testimony produced a most favorable effect upon the jury and public sentiment. The pro-

secution was plainly appalled by it. After he had been on the stand for a day they made a desperate though futile attempt to get rid of him and to strike out his testimony. They invoked a law which provides that co-defendants demanding separate trials have no right to testify in each other's behalf. This brought strenuous objections from the defense attorneys. Judge White ruled that the prosecution, by allowing Ruthenberg to testify at all, had waived the right to disqualify him. Now, simply because they did not like what he was saying, they could not take him from the witness stand. It was a humiliating defeat for the prosecution.

Ruthenberg went ahead. He explained the relations existing between the Trade Union Educational League and the Communist Party. He said that the League was not an integral part of the party but an autonomous organization that had been endorsed by it. That I was not a paid official of the Party, as had been stated by the state's evidence, but drew my salary directly and entirely from the League. Nor was I Industrial Director, that position being held by Arne Swabeck, with Earl Browder as alternate. That the term "X" applied to all industrial work done by the Party, whether in the League or elsewhere. He stated that there was an elaborate system of Party nuclei in the unions, entirely independent of the League groups. He said that I was invited to the convention by a special vote of the C. E. C.

The cross-examination of Ruthenberg was long and searching, lasting three days. The prosecution quizzed him closely on every phase of the Communist movement and doctrine. But he routed them at every point. Questioned thereon, he declared that the advocacy of violence now in the United States would be nonsense. That the Communist movement limits itself to pointing out that all far-reaching revolutions are inevitable accompanied by violence, the ruling class always refusing to give up its privileges without a fight. The work of the Party here now, he said, is to lay the first foundations of Communism by bringing about independent working class political action through the formation of a Labor Party, the amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial organizations, the advocacy of the Soviet form of Government and the dictatorship of the proletariat as the workers' only way out of the



WM. Z. FOSTER

FRANK P. WALSH

C. E. RUTHENBERG

P. & A. Photo



WM. Z. FOSTER

FRANK P. WALSH

P. & A. Photo
C. E. RUTHENBERG

capitalistic morass. He explained the Soviet system thoroughly, and also the dictatorship of the proletariat, being careful to indicate to the farmer jury that the tillers of the soil are always included when Communists use the term "workers." Asked the foolish question whether he would bring about the revolution if he could, he showed that revolutions do not come through conspiracies but only when social conditions and the great masses are ripe for them. That they are the product of the working out of fundamental political and industrial forces. Altogether he wrecked the conception of the movement that the prosecution wanted to lodge in the jury's mind, namely that the Communist Party was a little band of plotters seeking through terrorism to destroy all that was good in society. The more they questioned him the clearer he made it that Communism is a great world-wide movement of the masses, not only with a historic past but with a golden future as bearing with it the only practical solution of the social question. Finally, after vainly attacking him for days, the prosecution gave him up in despair.

In My Own Behalf

After Ruthenberg's four days of testimony; I had two days of it myself. I traveled over much the same ground he did about the Trade Union Educational League. I said that for many years I had advocated the plan of the radicals working within the trade unions instead of building rival unions; that the T. U. E. L. was organized in November, 1920, before I went to Russia, and not afterward, as the prosecution alleged. I stated that I was impressed favorably with the principles of Communism as I saw them being applied and that upon my return to the United States I had a meeting with the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party, who agreed to support the work of the Trade Union Educational League. I reiterated that the League is not an organic section of the Party but is simply endorsed by it. I estimated that of the large number of participants in the work of the League probably not more than 10% are Communists, the rest being made up of workers of every political persuasion. The actual membership of the League could not be determined, its strength had to be measured by the degree of support given its various planks by the organized workers. I calculated that fully 1,500,000 trade unionists had endorsed the League's amalgamation campaign. As for myself, although not actually a member of the Communist Party, I fully sympathized with its aims. I was not a paid official in it, and I did not fill out the famous questionnaire. I was not a delegate to the Convention but was invited to attend, by the Central Executive Committee. I came on Friday night, made a speech on the trade union situation on Saturday, urging all Communists to become active in the League, and I left Sunday morning, two days before the raid.

Having grilled Ruthenberg so long and ineffectually on Communist theory, Prosecutor Smith let me off easy on that score, possibly for fear of wearying the jury. A couple of broad questions as to whether I agreed with Communism as outlined by Ruthenberg, which I answered in the affirmative, and he was done with that subject. But, taking up my book, "The Russian Revolution," he quizzed me at length thereon. Did I write and did I still believe that the Russian and American labor movements are "blood brothers," and that the only difference between them is in degree of develop-

ment? To which I replied, "Yes." I stated also that in my judgment, although temporary adjustments are possible, no permanent harmony can prevail between Capital and Labor until Labor owns all the capital and the capitalists are put to useful work. The dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet form of government I endorsed for the United States, stating that I was convinced that forces were at work in this country which would inevitably result in placing full political and industrial power in the hands of the city and country workers. Mr. Smith was particularly anxious to show that the Communists were demanding rights of free speech in the United States which they denied the opposition in Russia, and he cited my book to prove it. But I pointed out that the men denied free speech in Russia were active counter-revolutionaries taking a militant part in the prevailing civil war. The situation in the two countries could not be compared, there being no civil war in this country. I laughed at the accusation that I had had anything to do with stalling the trains in the desert at Needles, California, during the shopmen's strike, this incident having occurred a month after I returned to Chicago from my western trip, and upon a railroad that I never even saw on my whole speaking tour.

Then Mr. Smith brought out his *piece de resistance*, the pamphlet *Syndicalism*, written by me a dozen years ago and notorious as "the little red book." This is a blazing statement of the history and principles of the Syndicalist movement. No doubt the prosecution thought that it alone would go a long way towards convicting me. So Mr. Smith spent a full hour dramatically reading its detailed explanation of the general strike, sabotage, morality, etc. But, alas for the prosecution, Mr. Walsh made a strong assault, and wrecked the whole business in a few questions. He brought out that I had, with a changing viewpoint, publicly repudiated the book years ago, and he had me explain the fundamental differences between Communism and Syndicalism. We showed that I had recently written several books, none of which the prosecution offered in evidence. They had to hark back twelve years to get what they wanted. Result, the "little red book," upon which so much hope had been built, fell flat. It was, in fact, a boomerang against the state's case.

The Jury Gets the Case

In arguing the case before the jury, a full day was consumed. Prosecutor Gore started off with a slashing 40-minute speech, denouncing me and the other defendants as traitors. He wanted the jury to decide whether they were going to follow Washington and Marshall or Lenin and Trotzki, Lincoln or Marx, Christ or Pilate. After him Mr. Gray, our attorney, had an hour of it, during which he scored many points, asserting that the case was a frame-up engineered by the Department of Justice and backed by the Steel Trust, to get me for my labor activities. Then came Mr. Walsh, for two hours. His was a masterful address and it held the courtroom spell-bound, bringing tears to many eyes. He raised the case to its proper status as an historic battle to preserve the rights of free speech and assembly. Mr. Smith closed with a two and one-half hours' talk, for the state. He made a strong effort, but was embarrassed with riches. He did not know which documents to use next. Never have defendants in a "red" case had so much evidence against them as we in Michigan. Mr. Smith closed by dramatically reading "In Flanders Field" and calling upon the jury to "take up the torch" where the dead war heroes had dropped it.

Then the judge delivered his charge, and the case went to the jury. Throughout the trial Judge White showed keen intelligence and a broad-minded fairness. He grasped the principles of Communism with surprising facility, and his rulings showed him a lawyer of ability. His charge to the jury, which has attracted nation-wide attention, expressed a conception of free speech very unusual in these times in our courts. Among other things, he said:

The Communist Party and the respondent Foster had the constitutional right to teach and advocate in Michigan theories or doctrines of the class struggle, mass action, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet system of government, the abolition of the capitalistic system, industrial unionism, internationalism, affiliation of the American trade union movement with the Red International of Labor Unions, support of the Soviet Government of Russia, independent working class action, the Communist social revolution, and other industrial, economic, and political changes mentioned in the documents of the Communist Party, in evidence in this case. Foster and others had a right to meet in this state, for the purpose of discussing these matters and formulating plans for bringing about these changes desired, providing there is not coupled with the teaching and advocacy of such doctrines the proposition that the way to achieve the consummation desired is by crime, sabotage, violence or other unlawful methods of terrorism.

With a final admonition from Judge White to the jurors that they dismiss all prejudice from their minds and consider the case upon its merits, the jury retired to deliberate. Then came the long wait of 31 hours. As the hours dragged on, and the jury remained deadlocked, the wildest rumors spread regarding what was going on in the jury room. During this period a curious illustration was given of the real power behind the prosecution. When the case went to the jury the representatives of the State and County went home and stayed there, but not so the Department of Justice men. They, the whole crew of them, stuck in the court room day and night, awaiting the verdict. They were the real prosecution.

At last the Judge called the jury in and learned from them that an agreement was impossible. Then he discharged them. This was on April 4th, four weeks, lacking one day, after the trial began. Then it developed that the jury were divided six to six, from the very beginning. They took 36 ballots, but the vote remained the same throughout. Those voting to acquit were Mrs. Minerva Olson, Theodore Katzbach, Russel Durm, A. M. Birdsall, Patsey T. Healy and C. H. Ritzler. Mrs. Olson is a housewife, Mr. Durm is a grocer's clerk, and the rest are farmers. All were firmly for acquittal when they went into the jury room and all fought loyally for their opinion.

What They Think of It.

In view of the tremendous mass of documentary evidence submitted against me and the fact that in spite of it so many jurors, typical American citizens, voted for acquittal, it is important, as well as interesting, to learn what these jurors have to say about it. In the St. Joseph Herald-Press, the day following the trial, Mrs. Olson, an intelligent woman who was militantly for acquittal, said:

Too much evidence, and yet not enough evidence, I would say, was the reason for the jury disagreeing in the Foster trial. We were just swamped with words, words, words. We were lectured and

read to for hours on Communism. We learned from the prosecution's side what Communism has been from 1847 down to the present day. But we seemed to get little evidence having a direct bearing on the case. That, coupled with the fact that the stage setting of the prosecution seemed over-played with such display of detectives and under-cover men that it appeared more like a case of trying to "railroad" Foster than prosecute him. I could look away from the court room as the trial went on and see conflicting forces fighting for mastery of human rights. This trial was far bigger to me than merely determining whether Mr. Foster were guilty or not guilty of taking part in the Bridgman Communist convention.

Mrs. Olson's liberal attitude is the more noteworthy as she comes from old American revolutionary stock, her great-grandfather being an officer in Washington's army. She also has two sons members of the American Legion. Russel Durm, the only other juror to give public expression to his views, cogently remarked in the same paper:

We six were convinced from the start that the state had failed to make a case against Foster. We didn't feel that Foster had committed any crime in attending the convention, and we so voted.

That the outcome of the trial is a substantial victory for free speech and civil rights generally, cannot be denied. Were proof necessary, the howls of the reactionary capitalist papers would be sufficient. The *Chicago Tribune* fairly shrieked in rage about the matter. It declared that the "Red Peril," now given a new lease of life, "must be faced as a mad dog in a kennel of dogs." The ultra-reactionary *Chicago Journal of Commerce* goes even further and almost openly attacks Judge White. It says that if the courts fail in handling Communism "it is time some other means were devised for defending the country in a genuine crisis." Then it rages on:

Reds and terrorists of all grades and stripes are jubilant over the rulings of Judge White. They are to be printed in millions of copies and scattered broadcast to prove that the law courts of capitalistic America put the stamp of approval on Red propaganda of every sort so long as crime is not openly advocated in the propaganda itself. Since Red activities became an acknowledged menace to the country no single incident has been of greater encouragement to the revolutionists and no incident has gone further in crippling society in its conflict with destructionists. Have the courts of this country no message for revolutionists other than condonement and apology? It would seem that somewhere in the body politic there must be some agency that can discourage the foreigner who openly advocates crime and treason in the United States of America.

As THE LABOR HERALD goes to press, the trial of C. E. Ruthenberg is just about to begin. If the defense is given the continuous support which progressive labor has so far given, his conviction is unlikely. By the dissipation of the red hysteria, and the elevation of the struggle to a free speech basis in my case, the prosecution suffered a heavy blow, from which they are not likely to recover. It is very doubtful, in the event that a conviction is not obtained against Ruthenberg, if any Communists will be convicted in Berrien County. The Convention raid, which Burns staged as a smashing blow against radical Labor, will probably end in one of the greatest victories for civil liberties in recent years.

THE LABOR HERALD

A Militant, Constructive Monthly
Trade Union Magazine

Official Organ of the
Trade Union Educational League
WM. Z. FOSTER, EDITOR

Subscription price, \$1.50 per year

Published at
106 No. La Salle Street
CHICAGO, ILL.

Member of The Federated Press

Make checks payable to
The Trade Union Educational League

BLACKENING A BLACK RECORD

SIX more pages were added to the disgraceful record of the American Federation of Labor's attitude toward Russia with the publication of the *American Federationist* for April. This, the official organ of Samuel Gompers, has long vied with the *New York Times* and *The Chicago Tribune* for first place in the ranks of the defamers of the Russian working class. No lie has been too brazen, no dishonesty too miserable, for Gompers and his satellites to pick up from capitalist sources and repeat as gospel. From the days of the "nationalization of women" tale, they have missed not a one. It is therefore no surprise to see this leading article by William English Walling, renegade radical, retailing the latest propaganda from the "League of Nations."

In the struggle against the First Workers' Republic, the capitalists of the world undoubtedly rely heavily upon their assistants in the ranks of the workers. They must be pleased to see how quickly the journal of Gompers is opened to their League of Nations lead. How gleeful they must be to see ex-Socialists lending themselves to Gompers for this campaign. Their joy will be boundless when they see their vomit in the pages of the *New York Call*. And when they get Emma Goldman back to swell the chorus, their cup will be running over. It is one of the miracles of sound working-class instinct, that in spite of this "united front" of Russia's enemies, the American workers cannot be made hostile to the Soviet Government of Russia. From Gary to Gompers, and from Gompers to Goldman, their curses are uniform. But the Soviet Government stands, and the workers of the world know in their hearts that it stands for them as well as for the Russian workers.

Why are these people so afraid of the workingmen's Government of Russia? Is it because, as they claim, they are solicitous of the welfare of the Russian workers? But if so, what about the starving and down-trodden workers of Germany? They have the kind of capitalist Government that Walling and Gompers recommend to the Russians, but the condition of the German workers is worse than that of the Russian. And the condition of the Russian workers is steadily improving, while that of the Germans is becoming hopeless. No, it is not compassion for the Russians that makes these sycophants of capitalism froth against the Soviet Government. It is because they distrust the working class. They either believe in the right of the capitalists to rule forever, or they have sold themselves to the capitalist system. In either case they are the

slaves of their master. And when the master speaks, through the League of Nations or otherwise, they humbly parrot his phrases.

GIFTS FROM GARY

THE recent increase of wages for the workers in the steel and meat packing industries is another demonstration of the bankruptcy of craft policies. The two groups of workers affected are perhaps the most exploited in the country. For the past year they have been working under conditions of rising prices and comparative prosperity for the industry. They should have received rapid and continuous raises of wages. But the craft unions were helpless. They could do nothing for these workers even under the most favorable economic conditions. And finally the higher wages, which should have been achieved for them by the trade union struggle some time ago, is as a consequence of the shortage of labor, tardily presented to the workers as a gift from the employers.

The full fruit and flower of Gompersism are contained in this situation. Using all its power to continue the present craft divisions which render the workers helpless; co-operating with the forces of capitalism; mis-educating the workers with a press which has not a touch of working-class spirit; bitterly fighting against everything progressive—the Gompers bureaucracy is making of the trade union movement a helpless, futile thing, open to the derision of every worker in the great basic industries. Why, they may ask, should we join with Gompers when the capitalists themselves give us what Gompers and his kind cannot win for us?

There is but one answer to that question. That is to repudiate the craft-division policies of Gompers, and to adopt instead a policy of amalgamation of the craft unions into a series of powerful industrial unions, infused with a militant spirit, that will go out and win real advances for the working class. If the trade union movement will but give such a clear, fighting lead to the unorganized masses, particularly in the basic industries, and give them the opportunity to organize effectively, the whole working class of America will fall in line and make the labor movement a power to mold American life to the working-class desire. Instead of gifts from Gary, let us have a powerful trade union movement.

HERRIN AND ST. JOSEPH

THE verdict of acquittal rendered in the second trial of the Herrin miners, prosecuted by the money of the Chamber of Commerce, is another great victory for the labor movement. Again has been demonstrated the power of working-class solidarity; for who can doubt if the Illinois miners had not been a unit behind the accused men, that the Chamber of Commerce would have put a rope about their necks.

In the same way it was the splendid solidarity of the rank and file, demonstrated by their financial contributions to the defense fund and by large and enthusiastic meetings, which made it possible for the Michigan Case to be fought through to a partial victory in the first trial. If the workers continue to support the Labor Defense Council in the same splendid fashion, there is strong hope of completely defeating the Burns-Daugherty plot.

There is, however, another side of the picture. We must never forget the class-war prisoners who

were not saved by a powerful working-class protest. There is Tom Mooney, still in prison after all the years of continuous exposure of the rotten frame-up that sent him there. There is Sacco, nearing death from prison torture, and his co-defendant Vanzetti, both proven innocent but both still behind bars. There are the I. W. W. boys still in Leavenworth, and the new persecutions in California which every week add to the shame of America. And there is the new frame-up on John E. Merrick in Massachusetts, as a consequence of the labor battles there. This other side of the picture challenges us to greater exertions, to more continuous and wider-organized efforts.

Let the victory in Herrin and St. Joseph lead to complete blocking of the Burns prosecution in Michigan, and then to the forward march of militant Labor to release all class-war prisoners.

"PROTECTING PROPERTY" IN COLORADO

WHEN Pat Hamrock, "without consulting any law," seized Wm. Z. Foster and privately deported him from Colorado, he took from Foster a bag containing books, papers, and manuscripts. These were not only of great value to Foster, representing the work of many years, but were of no possible use to any one else. They were Foster's private property in the most personal sense. What did Pat Hamrock do with these stolen papers?

The Civil Liberties Union, in an effort to find out how such property is protected in Colorado, wrote to the Governor asking about the papers. In reply the following letter was received:

Office of the Adjutant General,

Denver, March 1, 1923.

Secretary to the Governor, Denver, Colo.

Dear Sir:-

Regarding the enclosed communication which you handed me a few days ago, will say there are no papers to be found in the Ranger Office that could have been taken from William Z. Foster, nor are there any records in the office to show that any papers were taken from him by the Rangers.

I have no personal knowledge of the case and if there were any papers taken from him at any time by the Rangers, I have no knowledge of it.

Respectfully,

(Signed) Paul P. Newlon, Adjutant General.

All of which should serve to enlighten those who do not yet understand the meaning of the attempt to establish the constabulary in Illinois and other states. The State constabulary, we are told, is to protect life and property. Pat Hamrock has furnished the classic example of how such organizations violate all civil and property rights to serve corporation interests.

DEATH OF OLAF A. TVEITMOE

IN point of years of service and official position in the American labor movement, Olaf A. Tveitmoe belonged to the "old guard." But in glaring contrast to the bureaucracy as a whole, Tveitmoe stood for progress in the trade unions. For twenty years he battled for the cause of labor, and coun-

seled militant and progressive policies. As Secretary-Treasurer of the California State Building Trades Council, he had countless opportunities to fight for Labor against the forces of capitalism without and the forces of corruption within the unions. Under his inspiration the labor paper of San Francisco was long a real center of trade union education.

Tveitmoe it was who introduced the resolution adopted at the Seattle Convention, 1913, of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L., which proposed to consolidate the 21 building trades unions into five closely-united groups, along the lines of industrial unionism. It was not his fault that this measure of progress, after being unanimously adopted, was later sabotaged and rendered inoperative.

On March 19, 1923, this old veteran of Labor died, with the ideas for which he fought still unrealized. But his influence for solidarity and militant unionism is still alive and his name will be long remembered in the Building Trades and the labor movement as a whole.

FARMER-LABOR CONVENTION

POLITICALLY hamstrung by Gompers' so-called non-partisan policy, the workers of the United States have long stood in bitter need of a party of their own. Many hoped that the movement centering around the Conference for Progressive Political Action would result in the labor movement as a whole declaring for independent working-class political action. But led by trimmers of the Johnston kind, that movement exploded into nothingness. It was one more illustration of the incompetency of our union bureaucracy.

Now the rank and file are going to take a hand in the matter. What their officials failed to do, they are going to accomplish. The Farmer-Labor Party has called a general Convention, to be held in Chicago beginning July 3rd. Invitations are being sent out to all working-class political organizations and International Unions. But far more important is the invitation that will go to some 35,000 local unions of the labor movement. This will give opportunity for all the rank and file elements, those who believe in a Labor Party, to set afoot a tremendous movement that will sweep the working class into a great Party of its own. All serious supporters of independent working-class political action will be present at this historic convention.

THE MICHIGAN DEFENSE PAMPHLET

ON another page appears an advertisement for the new pamphlet on the Michigan Cases. This is profusely illustrated with pictures of all the principals in the case, including the prosecutors and instigators of the case, from Burns down to his lowest stool-pigeon. Accompanying this graphic portrayal is a story of the case, the text of the criminal syndicalism law of Michigan, and the report thereon made by the Michigan Federation of Labor. The whole is neatly bound, and the cover has a design by Fred Ellis, the well-known cartoonist. In all it is one of the most complete and well-done pamphlets that the labor movement has seen. Every supporters of the Michigan defendants should order a bundle of these excellent pamphlets at once and distribute them in his union.

THE INTERNATIONAL

ITALY ON February 26th the Italian Fascist Party and the Nationalist Party were amalgamated into one. The new party will be called the Partito Nazionale Fascista, and the Nationalist Deputies in Parliament will become part of the Fascist bloc. The nationalist trade unions will also merge with those affiliated to the Fascisti, and the Grand Council of the party will be made up of equal representation from the Fascisti and Nationalists. The leaders of the Nationalists declared that the vote of the Fascist Grand Council repudiating the Free Masons had removed the last barrier to the consolidation of the two organizations. The fusion is looked upon as one of the major events of recent years in Italy and it imports such a strengthening of reactionary ranks as to bode no good to the labor movement.

As part of the general campaign of terrorism against the railroad workers, whom Mussolini is particularly anxious to subdue, the Government has arrested their leader, Azzario. The International Propaganda Committee of the Transport Workers, R. I. L. U., protested energetically against this outrage, and in a ringing manifesto call upon the transport workers of the world to register their opposition.

GERMANY IN Frankfort, beginning March 18th, a three days' international conference was held under the auspices of the Rhineland-Westphalian Shop Councils to protest against the Ruhr situation and to adopt means to prevent its bringing about a general European war. Some 243 delegates were present, of whom 50 were from foreign countries and represented the Communist International, the Red Trade Union International, the C. G. T. U. of France and various other militant working class organizations. Although the delegation was made up of workers of various revolutionary groups the Communists predominated heavily. To protect the conference from attacks by the local German Fascisti, 200 workers stood guard all the while it was in session.

Comrade Losovsky, Zetkin, Kolarov and many other tried and true revolutionists reviewed the desperate situation. They pointed out how the 2nd International has failed in this crisis even as it did in 1914, and that undoubtedly if matters were left to it, it would stand aside helplessly and allow another disastrous war to develop. They demanded a united front of all labor to meet the crisis. To this end the conference voted for the calling of a general world congress of labor and sent delegations to London, Berlin, Amsterdam, Vienna, and Brussels to invite the various Internationals to participate. It also selected a committee of action composed of 23 members.

The Shop Councils, such as those calling the Frankfort conference, are taking on more and more importance in the German labor movement. Likewise, they are drifting steadily to the left. In the factory elections in Chemnitz, as reported by *L'Humanite*, 246 Communists were elected and 182 Social Democrats. Hitherto the Social democrats had been in majority. The election covered 50 large concerns. In Berlin the representatives of the local

Shop Councils voted unanimously to support the Frankfort conference, and also in favor of the formation of armed proletarian guards.

RUSSIA THE report on state industry for December, 1922, published by the *Economicheskaja Zhizn*, shows a substantial general increase in output in comparison with the previous month. The number of workers employed, 705,500, increased 5%. The coal mines produced 59,000 thousand poods of coal, as against 48,000. Petroleum production mounted from 25,799 thousand poods to 26,471. Reports were given from 156 textile factories, which showed that 104 worked without stoppages, 15 with stoppages, and 34 did not work at all, as against corresponding figures of 86, 32, and 38 for November. Increases in production were as follows in thousands of arshins, yarn 35, half-finished materials 8,100 and finished materials 7,000. Chemicals increased 10% in output. Rubber increased 67% and matches 35%. The general productivity of labor now has reached 60% of pre-war times. Real wages of the workers doubled during the year.

BELGIUM IN Belgium the total membership of the Communist Party is 517. Yet the Government has seen fit to arrest 40 of them as leaders, and charged them with plotting to overthrow the Government. The occasion of the arrests was the first attempt, and a successful one too, to apply the united front tactics in the prevailing strike situation. Belgium is not to be outdone by the United States, France, Japan, Italy, Jugo-Slavia, Poland, Spain, and many other countries that are viciously persecuting Communists.

ENGLAND IMPORTANT events, political and industrial, are taking place in Great Britain. One great fact is the growing conviction among all classes of society that soon the organized labor movement will be called on to furnish a government for the British Empire. A striking sign of the growing political consciousness of Labor is the unemployment agitation. For a century the workless army of Great Britain has suffered in silence. But now it is raising its voice. Its slogan is, "Work at trade union rates or full maintenance as a national charge." Great demonstrations have taken place everywhere, a spectacular feature of which was the Hunger March to London. The Communist Party is exceedingly active in the campaign. At first the authorities gave way to the agitation and distributed out-of-work benefits extensively, but with the exhaustion of the funds they stopped such payments. This still further increased the bitterness of the unemployed. The furnishing of work or maintenance pay to the 1,500,000 without employment is the greatest political issue now in England. The present Government will probably be wrecked upon it.

On the industrial field the situation is equally tense. As we go to press the building trades are just about at the breaking point. Over 500,000 building trades workers of all trades and in all parts of Great Britain are threatening to strike if the employers do not withdraw their demands for reductions in wages

and increases in hours. If called, this will be the biggest strike of building tradesmen in the history of the world. Another important struggle is that of the farm laborers throughout Norfolk. This strike is being conducted by the National Union of Agricultural Workers. It is to ward off wage reductions and lengthening of the working week. The Welsh miners are carrying on a bitterly fought struggle against non-unionism in their district. Over 15,000 of them had to strike to force into line the growing number of non-unionists. This tendency to fall away from the union developed as a result of the lost general strike of 1921. Great numbers of the workers, disillusioned as a result of that movement, betrayed by the leaders of the Triple Alliance, lost faith in trade unionism altogether. The South Wales Miners' Union forms nearly one-fifth of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

Together with the growing political activities of British workers goes a tightening up of their lines on the industrial field. The amalgamation movement grows apace. In the textile industry 17 unions of 400,000 workers (other than cotton) were brought together in a conference in Bradford by the General Council of the Trade Union Congress. The conference endorsed the proposition of amalgamation and made provisions for a committee of two members from each organization to work out terms for the amalgamation. This committee, when its work is completed, will report at a further conference to be held in Leeds. In Manchester similar action was taken by representatives of 29 of the 35 unions in the metal industry. This conference, also called by the General Council, represented 750,000 workers. It endorsed amalgamation and appointed a committee to work out tentative propositions. The Federation of Printing and Kindred Trades is also drawing up a plan of amalgamation which it will submit for consideration to its affiliated organizations in the near future. In the building trades the National Federation of Building Trade Operatives' amalgamation committee submitted majority and minority reports endorsing amalgamation in principle but holding it impractical all at once. Plans were proposed for closer confederation so as to lead to the gradual breaking down of the obstacles to amalgamation. As a result of the broad campaign now being carried on as part of the regular work of the General Council, undoubtedly great consolidations will take place in the labor movement in the very near future.

SPAIN THE latest workers to fall in the campaign of white terror in Spain are Salvador Segui and Francisco, both prominent members of the trade union movement. They were shot down in the main streets of Barcelona, just as they emerged from a billiard hall. Thus are added two more murders to the long list committed by the Spanish capitalists. From November 8th, 1921 until October 21st, 1922, 202 of such killings of workers took place. Most of them were perpetrated by the so-called "free union" organized by the Governor Martinez Anido and which set as its task the elimination of the National Federation of Labor. Anido left Barcelona some time ago and with his departure the murders ceased. But now, apparently, they are about to begin again.

CHINA FURTHER evidence is given by the great strikes in China of the real awakening of that country. In February the railroad workers on the Pekin-Hankow line, recently organized, struck against the barbarous tyranny of the company. They demanded the discharge of the railroad manager, an indemnity of \$6000 for the union arbitrarily dissolved by him, one day's rest, paid for, each week, and removal of the troops from the district. Invited to present their grievances, the leaders of the men were arrested. Over 100 strikers were shot down in cold blood and 1500 were arrested. Strike breakers were imported from Mukden, whereupon a general strike was declared in Canton and several other provinces. The Red Trade Union International and the Communist International have both wired money and moral support to the strikers. The situation, at last accounts, was still unsettled.

JAPAN THE employers in Japan, like those in China, are proceeding to extremes to choke out the budding labor movement. One of their latest measures of terrorism is a national "anti-syndicalism" law of the most drastic character. Kunitaro Ando, Japanese representative of the R. I. L. U., calls upon the world's workers to protest against the infamous measure designed to kill the young Japanese labor movement.

JUGO-SLAVIA THE elections in Jugo-Slavia mark a victory for the reactionaries. The so-called radical party, headed by the notorious Radistch, while not winning an actual majority, substantially increased its representation. The new government will be radical-democratic. The Socialists lost 7 out of their 10 seats. The Communists, bitterly persecuted, could take no part in the elections. In February of this year the latter, to escape the rigors of the anti-Communist law, organized a new party known as the Independent Labor Party, but it and its papers have been so harrassed by the police that it could play but small part in the elections.

VALUABLE PUBLICATION AVAILABLE

FOR more than a year there has been published the *International Press Correspondence*, issued in several languages from Berlin. It has carried the most comprehensive and valuable news and reviews of the world labor movement. During its first year it was sent only to editors of labor papers, and by them it has been found the most important publication in the international field. But necessarily much of its important material could not be reprinted in American papers for lack of space, and was thus lost to the movement generally in this country.

In order that every one who wishes to keep thoroughly posted on the international movement may be able to do so, the *International Press Correspondence* has opened its books for individual subscriptions. Any one may now receive this bi-weekly publication by sending in his personal subscription. We cordially recommend it, particularly to militants and officers of the labor movement, and of the T. U. E. L. The subscription rates are (including all special editions) for the United States, \$3. for six months; \$6. for one year. Make your check or money order payable to Bett Simon & Co., a/c Inprecorr, Berlin, and send same to International Press Correspondence, Berlin, S. W. 48, Friederichstrasse 225 III. Germany.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, OF THE LABOR HERALD, published monthly at Chicago, Ill. for April 1, 1923.

State of Illinois, County of Cook ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Earl R. Browder, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the managing editor of THE LABOR HERALD and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, The Trade Union Educational League, 118 No. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.

Editor, Wm. Z. Foster, 118 No. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill
Managing Editor, Earl R. Browder, 118 No. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.

Business Manager, J. W. Johnstone, 118 No. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.

2. That the owners are: The Trade Union Educational League, a voluntary association, Wm. Z. Foster, Secy-Treas.; J. W. Johnstone, S. T. Hammersmark, Earl R. Browder, National Committee.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is: (This information is required from daily publications only).

EARL R. BROWDER,

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 26th day of March, 1923.

IRA G. WOODEN, Notary Public

(SEAL) (My commission expires Feb. 27, 1925.)

A Suggestive Idea of

REAL UNIONISM

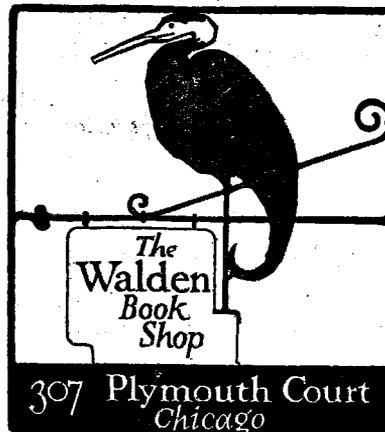
the sort which will eventually emancipate the workers of the world—is what you will find expounded in

"The Reconstruction of Society"

24 pages; concise; clear; unbiased. Refutation invited.

10 cents a copy. 500% to Agents.

Address D. Horn, P. O. Box 1290, Detroit, Mich.



ALL LABOR BOOKS, PAMPHLETS AND PERIODICALS ALWAYS IN STOCK

Subscriptions Taken for
English and American Labor Papers

**The Walden
Book Shop**

307 Plymouth Court Chicago, Ill.

**The Railroad
Amalgamation Advocate**

Otto H. Wangerin, Editor

Official Organ of the
International Committee for Amal-
gamation in the Railroad
Industry

Subscription, 60c. per year

411 Dakota Bldg.

St. Paul, Minn.

Chicago Picnic

The first one in the season, arranged by the

Trade Union Educational League
For the Benefit of "LABOR HERALD"

At CHERNAUSKAS GROVE

Take Lyons-Berwyn car at Cicero Ave. and 22nd St. to grove at Desplaines River.

Games, sports, speaking, dancing, etc. Further information in Voice of Labor and advertising leaflets.

Make note of the date.

Decoration Day, May 30th, 1923

At Last! The Book for Which You Have Been Waiting

While the great movement for amalgamation was sweeping over the country, during which 13 State Federations of Labor, 7 International Unions, scores of city central bodies, and thousands of local unions endorsed the program of industrial unionism through the amalgamation of the existing craft unions, we all felt the need of a handy booklet, containing all the information upon the subject.

Our business is to fill such needs. So we looked around for the man best qualified to write it. We decided that the man was Jay Fox. Fox gained fame in the labor movement years ago, as one of the best writers the trade unions of America have produced. His famous "Letters to Jack Lumber" years ago were directly the cause of his election as Vice-President of the International Union of Timberworkers. He consented to write the pamphlet

AMALGAMATION

By Jay Fox

which is now on the press. It covers the field in a thoroughgoing fashion. Facts, figures, and argument, arrayed in unanswerable combination, are at the same time handled with Fox's well-known humorous touch which makes his writing so easy and pleasant to read. A fundamental pamphlet, which every militant trade unionist must have. This work will become one of the widest-read in the labor movement. You should organize a wide distribution of it through the union ranks. Send in your order now for a bundle.

48 pages, paper cover.

Rates, single copies, 15c per copy

10 to 100 copies, 10c per copy

Larger quantities, special prices on application.

The Trade Union Educational League

W. Z. Foster, Sec'y-Treas.

106 No. La Salle St., Chicago

WHICH

WORLD WAR? CANNONS OR TRACTORS RECONSTRUCTION?

The Friend of Soviet Russia must send Twenty Tractors to the world's First Workers' Republic. For this purpose **\$40,000 are needed.**

VOTING CONTEST

For every Ten Thousand Dollars collected toward the purchase of the twenty tractors, one person will go as a **living message** from the workers of America to the workers of Russia. They will be received in Berlin by our delegate and vise will be provided for entrance to Russia.

RULES

- 5 VOTES to individuals for every dollar contributed. These votes may be cast in favor of oneself or anyone else.
- 10 VOTES to individuals for every dollar collected from others on a list.
- 50 VOTES to organizations for every dollar contributed. These votes may be cast in favor of the person making the collection or anyone the organization wishes to name. Organization lists must bear the signature of the Secretary.

ONE DOLLAR

from each of forty thousand workers will buy the tractors and help avoid another famine in Russia; another unemployment crisis in America; another war in the world.

A Round Trip to Russia Free

will be given to those receiving the highest number of votes in the contest.

JOIN THE ONE DOLLAR ARMY

Friends of Soviet Russia 201 W. 13th St., N. Y.

Enclosed please find \$.....to help buy twenty tractors for Russia.

Name

Address

City

Trade or Profession

Record my.....votes in favor of.....

Shall we send you collection blanks?.....

Contest ends June 20th. All blanks must be in by June 15th.

**FRIENDS OF
SOVIET RUSSIA**

**201 W. 13th Street
New York, N. Y.**