of the labor movement. He showed that if the Chicago Federation were to allow the garment workers' strike to be strangled by this legal weapon, then the rest of the labor movement could expect the same treatment. This is a fact recognized by the whole American Federation of Labor for many years. Johnstone quoted the declaration of the 1916 Convention of the A. F. of L. at Baltimore:

We, therefore, recommend that any injunction dealing with the relationship of employer and employee and absolutely treated as usurpation and disregarded, let the consequences be what they may . . . Kings could be and were disobeyed, and should be disobeyed, and sometimes deposed. In cases of this kind judges must be disobeyed, and should be impeached.

The Daily Worker in the Strike

As usual in strikes, the capitalist press has been carrying propaganda for the employers, discouraging the strikers and charging them with all sorts of crimes. Not a single capitalist daily has mentioned the police brutality or explained the reasons for the strike. The garment workers, however, have suddenly awakened to the fact that they are no longer dependent upon the Chicago Tribune, the Daily News, or the Hearst papers. In Chicago the Daily Worker has a daily paper that carries the workers' own story of the struggle—The Daily Worker. At every strike meeting and on the picket line, as well as in the homes of the garment workers generally, The Daily Worker has carried the message of the union and reported every day all the important events of the battle. Even the hostile union officials have been forced to admit the tremendous effectiveness of The Daily Worker in making this a real strike, and to call upon it for assistance which they cannot give. The Daily Worker in the Strike has been mobilizing itself to furnish groups of its members for the coming conventions, going to jail in solidarity with them, has raised a great demand that the C. F. of L. consider them a part of its organization. The attitude of the League is well proven its value to the Chicago labor movement.

The Exposure of the Chicago Local League militants

The Chicago Local League militants followed up the above statement with action. Regardless of what trade they follow they joined in the organization of support of the union pickets and in the picketing of other unions. This sharing in the daily battle by League members and their stand on the picket lines with the girl strikers, defying with them blizzards, police, and injunctions, going to jail with them, has raised a great demand that the C. F. of L. committee of 15 should organize mass picketing in the name of the entire Chicago labor movement.

The Trouble with the councils of the strikers is that they are not going on in Chicago, but are still in the hands of the employers and the T. U. E. L. W. U. have not for one moment forgotten the necessity for those large policies advocated by the Trade Union Educational League, which are more than ever necessary for the needle trades unions if they are to live and grow. Above all they have not forgotten the necessity of securing again the right to carry on educational activity which has been denied to them by the expiration of their contracts. The expelled members in Chicago have appealed their case to the Sixteenth Biennial Convention, which meets in Boston early in May. The elections of delegates for this Convention will be going on and every militant worker should exert all possible influence to see that only those are elected who are pledged to restore working class democracy within the union.

April, 1924
THE LABOR HERALD

What's Happening in Germany

By Wm. Z. Foster

The great task now before the German working masses is the breaking of the fetters placed upon them by the yellow Social-Democratic Party in its 50 years of leadership. Or, to use another figure, they are hacking down the pseudo-revolutionary organization of Kautsky, Crispin, Noske, and Ebert. Once this is cut through, and the cutting is now far advanced, a great flood of proletarian revolution will be loosed upon the German capitalist class and the final assault upon German capitalism will begin.

In the past 10 years the Social-Democratic Party and its closely related trade unions have given a whole series of demonstrations of their pro-capitalistic character and utter inability to protect the interests of the working class. They have completely betrayed the masses into the hands of the exploiters and have ruined themselves in the process. The capitalists, having used them to their heart's content, have now cast them aside like squeezed out lemons.

The Great War Betrayal

Before the war the Social-Democrats of Germany made a great parade of their anti-war spirit. Time after time tremendous demonstrations were made in the streets and in the parks of German cities to protest against war, in which hundreds of thousands of Party members and trade unionists upheld their hands or carried banners to show their opposition to the organized slaughter of workers on behalf of imperialistic capitalists.

In the various national and international conventions the Social-Democrats followed the same policy. In high voice they declared that they were willing to use "every method within their power" to prevent war, even though they skillfully avoided endorsing the proposition of the declaration of an international general strike by the workers simultaneously with the declaration of war by the capitalist government.

But when the great war crisis came in August, 1914, they turned tail upon all their fine revolutionary protestations. They lined up solidly behind the imperial government. They flatly repudiated the international general strike on an international scale by the workers and committed their fate along with that of the capitalists of Germany. They acted as recruiting sergeants for the imperial army, with every million German workers into the bloody slaughter. They broke the international solidarity of the working class and made all effective opposition to the war impossible. Nor were their political brethren of the other countries long in following suit. All through the terrible struggle the German Socialists lent themselves to every measure calculated to increase the strength of the German government, from the pseudo-revolutionary organization of Kautsky, Crispin, Noske, and Ebert. Before the war the Social-Democrats of Germany had no faith that the workers, then controlling the country through their Soviets, could organize society anew upon a revolutionary basis. They could not conceive of a social order independent of capitalist control. So they proceeded to sell out the revolution and to turn society back to its erstwhile masters.

This betrayal that working class history with all its record of false and treasonable leaders can show, was carried out deliberately and systematically. The first great move in the process was when the Social-Democrats, under the leadership of Karl Liebknecht, sat down with the industrial representatives, headed by Hugo Stinnes, right in the midst of the November revolution, and for a period of several weeks made every pact which practically established the terms upon which the revolution was to be killed. In return for permitting the capitalists to rob the German workers, the trade unions were granted the right to organize in all the industries, the establishment of the universal eight hour day, the organization of shop committees, and other industrial and political reforms. For this they put down the Socialists barred away the German revolution. With their Eberts, Scheidemanns, and Noskes they proceeded to turn back to the capitalist government, the army, the navy, the industries and everything else of value that the workers had gained in the November revolution. And when the Communists, led by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, said they were shot down in thousands. For this further treacherous betrayal of the German workers,
the Socialist leaders, political and industrial, were
of treason to working class interests so far made
was demanded of them. The next great
of the capitalists. Their, power was tremendous. At
about by a wholesale depreciation of the currency.
as the last remaining conquest of
for their faith and con-
the German working masses for their faith and con-
confident in the Social-Democrats. Conditions in
the price paid by
Bitter, indeed, the old has
the workers and their leaders in their efforts to
to the utmost to crush back the rising revolt of
have the workers been asked in their efforts to
to a state of
to smash up the working society, but they have been thrown into
the deepest abyss of poverty and despair. Ger-
the world, has been reduced to a state of
cracy could always be depended to use their power
to the rule of
was a faith in the revolution of
at the Leipzig trade union congress, the leader Lei-
ter and
government's ultimate war. But the Social-Democrats never dared to
and clothing the whole working class is degener-
inganous and disruptive policies of the left-Socialists, upon the devas-
the Communists set up their united front government
their support when the latter suppressed the Com-
their misery.
But the Social-Democrats, aided by the great indus-
sed by the infamous
Betrayal Upon Betrayal
By the Leipzig trade union congress, the leader Lei-
the German trade unions took on a tremen-
d in the world, has been reduced to a state of
their misery.
Unions Wrecked by Leaders
Along with the ruin of the workers' standards of
in the revolutionary period following the war, the German trade unions took on a tremen-
dous growth, running up to the grand total of
members. Never in the history of the labor movement has the working class of
any country developed such an enormous organ-
Albert Sorel, who stated that it was impossible to
Social-Democrats consented, although they covered
of the left-Socialist-Communist govern-
the resignation of the Cuno government. Only

 Betrayal Upon Betrayal
German capitalism, struggling against French
urbanism, demanded that the German workers
accept a lower standard of living, which it brought about by a wholesale depreciation of the currency. The
and industrial fields. So rapid and far-reaching
organization, has taken place on both the political
Social-Democrats are making
the Great Europe of Socialism. This is the old Independents who split away from the
the resignation of the Cuno government. Only

Building the Movement Anew
As the yellow reformist Social-Democracy has
accepted its defeat in the Ruhr and other places, and the Russian revolution, the Communists look askance at this left move-
by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg,
the working masses in a
the Social-Democrats, have manouvred
the core of their movement
from seizing control of the working masses in a
great revolutionary effort to overthrow capitalism
capitalism. The latter have nothing further that the capital-
They have suckled the working class
to be thrown into
are being shown the door. The prestige of the old Social-Democracy is irrevocably ruined. The leaders of the old political organizations have used the full strength of the great movement.
which culminated in the general strike that forced
the resignation of the Cuno government. Only

Communist Forces Growing
The political reorganization of the German working class is developing under two forms, the building of a new political and industrial union, the Communist, and the complete
of the old political organizations.

Disgusted and disheartened by the hopeless pol-
Social-Democrats, aided by the great industrial bourgeoisie, have increased. It controls the factory councils in at
least 2,000 cities and towns. It was powerful
to take the lead in the great movement
reorganization of the German workers is that part
of the movement crystallizing in the Communist
party. An important phase is the revolt developing inside of the old organizations. This is so exten-
sive as to threaten the disruption of the whole movement.
The left-Socialists are making tre-
enous inroads upon the forces formerly domi-
the resignation of the Cuno government. Only

April, 1924

Building the Movement Anew
As the yellow reformist Social-Democracy has
pursued its policy of treason to the real interests of
the working class, thereby gradually alienating from
themselves the best strata of the industrial proletariat.
the German workers, the Communist movement
gone ahead expanding its organ-
ization and steadily winning the leadership of the masses. This growth of the Communist move-
ship of the old Social-Democratic
organization, has taken place on both the political
urbanism. So rapid and far-reaching
is it that the old Social-Democracy, as the leader of the working class has been prac-
tically overwhelmed. What we are witnessing is the
transference of the movement from a reformist to
evolutionary form. This fundamental change is of inestimable importance to the world's labor movement. It portends the
crushing of the working class movement. From

Communist Forces Growing
The political reorganization of the German working class is developing under two forms, the building of a new political and industrial union, the Communist, and the complete
of the old political organizations.
bitter experience they have learned its unreliability. The left-socialists are led by such men as Crispien and Levy. These are typical "word-revolutionists." They indiglo in the most violent rhetoric of a policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, but, in practice, they have only the same thing to offer. Always in the crisis, when the choice is between compromising with the right or fighting side by side with the left, they always chose the former. They betrayed the workers in the famous March action in 1921, and they broke up the left-socialist-Communist united front government when pressure was put upon them from the right, thereby doing incalculable injury to the revolutionary movement. The seizure of the control over the masses in the Social-Democratic Party by the left-socialist leaders would mean the inauguration of a new period of betrayal. The Communists are warning the workers of this eventuality and are insisting that they affiliate with an organization that has the courage not only to face the real problem but to take the necessary drastic steps to solve it.

The Revolt in the Unions

Side by side with the uprising against the domination of the yellow-socialists over the workers' political organization, is proceeding a profound revolt against their control of the trade unions. This revolt against Social-Democracy on the industrial field is likewise under the leadership of the Communist Party. Already it is far progressed. Great numbers of local organizations have been won over from the old control. At the recent congresses of the Metal Workers and Textile Workers, the unions under the Communist leadership have demonstrated clearly that the mass of the rank and file stood in support of them and in opposition to the bureaucracy.

The factional struggle is the shifting of the basis of the German labor movement from a policy of reformism to one of revolutionary struggle, which is the process now going on, marked by an exceedingly bitter struggle between the factions. The reactionary right-wing bureaucrats have shown by many years of mismanagement and failure their total inability to lead the workers, are desperately resisting the efforts to deprive them of that leadership. Consequently the whole labor movement is torn with strife. Against the Communists, whether upon the political or industrial field, the Socialists stop at nothing. They did not hesitate to cooperate with Von Seeckt in driving the Communist Party underground and in confiscating its property, suppressing its newspapers, etc. The Socialists are especially anxious to cripple the Communists politically at this time as the Reichstag elections are coming along and they dread the power of the Communist Party in the electoral struggle. But the disgraceful cooperation with Von Seeckt has failed to accomplish the end they wanted. The Communist Party is more active than ever, even though reduced to the status of an illegal organization. An illustration of this is the fact that in Berlin the illegal Communist papers have a greater circulation than the Verantwort, official organ of the Social-Democratic Party.

On the industrial field, the resistance is no less active. The bureaucrats refuse to give up their positions even though the left-wing scores great successes against them. They are carrying on an exploitation policy, driving hundreds and thousands of militants out of the organizations. Their program is to split up the movement and to save what they can from the rising tide of revolution.

The National Committee of the German Federation of Trade Unions has outlawed all the organizations that participated in the Weimar conference. They intend to fight to the last ditch regardless of the fate of the movement as a whole. Faced by such desperate resistance, the right-wing militants are confronted with the problem of whether they shall continue the struggle inside of the organizations or rally the tremendous number of unemployed workers into a new movement. So far the determination is to continue the policy of working inside of the unions, the method by which the Communists secured their present position in the trade union movement. But a continuation and intensification of the struggle of the Social-Democrats to the expressed will of the majority, coupled with their exploitation policy, may easily provoke a great split in the trade union movement. Such a split in fact is almost certain.

Only slightly less ruthless are the Social-Democrats in their opposition against the left-socialists within their own ranks. They are expelling them in many quarters upon flimsy pretexts and are arbitrarily removing them from office and from editorialship of the unions' newspapers. They are driving hundreds and thousands of left-wing majority votes in the various congresses, much the same as they are doing in the trade unions. The consequence is much blood and a dense situation of collaboration. Forces are making everywhere to produce a split. This will probably develop at the coming Social-Democratic Party conference. It will work in favor of the proletarian cause to drive this organization than was the split in 1916, especially if the Social-Democrats are defeated in the approaching elections to the Reichstag.

At the outbreak of the world war, the German workers were developed with the thought that they would achieve their emancipation through reformist methods. It has taken a whole sequence of real experiences to drive this notion out of their heads, and to convince them that the only way to the new society is by a policy of revolutionary struggle. But these experiences have been had, and the lessons have been learned, at least by the most intelligent and progressive of the workers. What is going on now is the registering of this new understanding. It is being accomplished with travail and strife, which is threatening to break up much of the organization already achieved. But whatever the cost, the change will and must be made. The German workers are preparing for the class collaboration. They are now embarking upon the road of revolution.

The Miners Must Fight

By J. W. Johnstone

All over the country the miners are voting on the acceptance or rejection of the Jacksonville agreement, which extends the present agreement for three years. Official propaganda is busy predicting peace and plenty for the mine workers if they accept the three-year contract. Lewis is boasting of what a great achievement he has won without a fight; and at the same time the employers seem equally pleased. The truth of the matter is, as every intelligent miner knows, that when Lewis and the employers agreed that a settlement is good, it is sure to turn out very bad for the men in the mines. This settlement is no exception. It was agreed upon between the bosses and the miners to save the company, and the trip to Jacksonville was merely to put up a sham-battle, away from where the workers could see and hear the proceedings. The employers in the various companies, even before the Convention, and the trip to Jacksonville was merely to put up a sham-battle, away from where the men and women could see and hear the proceedings. The employers in the various companies, even before the Convention, and the trip to Jacksonville was merely to put up a sham-battle, away from where the workers could see and hear the proceedings. This settlement agreement, which extends the present agreement for three years, was not what the miners had in mind. The real reason was that postponement helped to put across the Jacksonville double-cross without discussion on a convention floor. The agreement is all in favor of the coal operators. Not a word has been said about the 6-hour day, although the shortening of the work-day is the most burning issue before the coal miners as a step to relieve unemployment. Division of work, a question that means bread and butter to the miners, played no part in the Jacksonville love-feast. Nationalization of the mines, increase in wages, the shorter day—all things that the miners have been demanding for years—were not even discussed by the officials of the union.

The miners in Illinois are already learning what the three-year agreement means. Union miners are to be shut down, production thrown to non-union