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THE "DATUM LINE" and the "CONCORDAT"

By H. D. Wendell.

Two notable industrial upheavals have settled down. Two more compromises have been effected. The Italian "seizures" have been relinquished upon acceptance of Premier Giolitti's "Concordat". The British miners have returned to work upon the basis of Lloyd George's "Datum Line".

The radicals of both countries looked upon these fresh outbreaks as teeming with revolutionary possibilities. Thanks to the "sabotage" of British labor leaders on the one hand and the failure of syndicalist tactics on the other, both amounted to little more than added experience in the class war. The efforts of the rank and file in these countries, however, were not for nothing: they may be considered as—out-line skirmishes of great battles to come.

In recent turbulences of this kind, new developments are noted. Governments are beginning to lose their obscurity as capitalist class instruments in industrial fights. With the increasing intensity of the class struggle, the capitalist state is obliged to assume more and more the responsibilities that rest upon it in upholding the present order. Thus we see that in England, Lloyd George represented the coal operators, and in Italy, Giolitti spoke for the metal magnates. It was only by extraordinary diplomacy and self imposed restraint, that the Government of Italy was able to avert open warfare between it and the workers. In presenting the "Datum Line", Lloyd George posed as an uninterested arbiter, but when this offering is viewed in the proper light it is seen to be another capitalist sop.

The sinister "Datum Line"

The "Datum Line" is an arrangement by means of which wages are determined by the total national output of coal. The assumption is

that the miners are principally responsible for the rise and fall of output. The many other factors that may affect production are not considered. Over a year ago the miners requested that the government make inquiry into the decline in output that existed at that time. The request was ignored.

Since the wages of the miners are to be determined by the TOTAL national output, there is great danger of a division in their own ranks if one coal district produces more than another. But this is just what Mr. George wants.

To many of the miners it was clear that this proposal was a flagrant violation of the principle of the living wage: that wages should be estimated by the human needs of labor and not by the selling price or the output of coal.

For these reasons the measure was met with popular disapproval by the rank and file. The slowness of the federation executives to exploit favorable situations, their incessantly compromising sessions in Downing Street, the failure of the railwaymen to enforce a sympathetic strike because of the sabotaging tricks of Thomas and other bourgeois tools and, finally, the Government's consent to grant a two shilling increase until the "Datum Line" could be put into action—these were the causes of the apathy and disgust that led the miners back to their "holes in the ground".

When the vote was taken to return to work, it showed an eight thousand majority against returning, but the rules of the organization provide for two thirds majority and the executives issued a call for return. This, in itself, shows that the miners are very much dissatisfied. There has been a date set for the "Datum Line" system to start, whether or not the miners will accept it is for the future to show.

The compromise at Rome

A conference of representatives of the metal workers and employers took place in Rome on Sept. 19th. An agreement was reached for an increase of wages varying from 48 to 80c per day according to age and sex. Then came the "Concordat", which was made a Government decree over the signature of Premier Giolitti. It has to do with worker's control in industry and provides: "That an equal commission be formed of six representatives of the Employer's Association and six representatives of the General Confederation of Labor including the technicians or clerks on each side to devise proposals that may help the Government in the introduction of a bill designed to organize the industry on the basis of the workers participation in the technical and financial control of the management."

The Industrial War in West Virginia.

By Edward Jamieson

Another industrial war has been mutually declared in the state of West Virginia. The United Mine Workers of America are on the offensive once more, in a vigorous campaign to unionize the coal regions of that state. The coal operators are apparently as persistent as ever in their determination not to permit the miners to unionize under the banner of the official mine workers' organization.

The reports that filter through from West Virginia, and particularly those counties where the struggle is felt most intensely, tell of a civil war in industry, hitherto unparalleled. Miners are killed, denied whatever rights of assembly and free speech is supposed to be guaranteed them, and a campaign of lawlessness and terror, instigated by the paid agents of the mine owners, is being carried on.

The organization of West Virginia has always been a problem for the United Mine Workers. Every annual convention of the organization has resolved again and again to go down to West Virginia and make that state safe for unionism." And every time the organizers sent there have been met by the combined forces the coal operators and the State could muster, and have been definitely repulsed.

A Life And Death Struggle.

Especially difficult has it been for the United Mine Workers to gain a foothold in Logan and Mingo Counties and the Pocahontas, Tug

It is doubtful if the government is honest in its intentions. Even though the "Concordat" is made to function, at best it can only make the workers interested helpers and supporters of capitalist control; at worst, as "Avanti" suggests, "resolve itself either into a mystification or a grafting institution". In either case it is a bane on the Proletarian movement.

The working class of the world can look for nothing in such compromises, even though they imply a measure of control and offer, momentarily, a few cents more for bread. Such breathing spells are clutched at readily and avariciously by dying capitalism. The workers are learning that "Datum Lines" and "Concordats" mean no more than continued enslavement, that COMPLETE control of industry is the only logical alternative.

River and Thatcher coal fields. And from these fields comes the regular and expected news of a life and death struggle.

Why won't the operators give in to the almost unobstructed and sweeping tide of unionism? Why do they refuse to have anything to do with the spokesmen of the hundreds of thousands of unionized miners of the country? The answer to these questions rests on the one phrase "self-preservation". Self preservation not merely for the coal operators, but for the combined capitalist class of this country, whose factories depend on the supplies of bituminous coal for their fuel.

To the organized coal miners the problem of organizing West Virginia is also one of self-preservation. With out the complete state of West Virginia organized, any general strike declared by the United Mine Workers of America in the central competitive fields of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, is invariably doomed to defeat. Furthermore, the general strike as an effective offensive weapon in the coal industry will in the future prove ineffective and of little value. The existence of the United Mine Workers as a belligerent body of union workers will be seriously threatened unless they are to a larger degree than heretofore successful in organizing West Virginia.

West Virginia ranks second among the coal producing states of the country. It is surpassed

only by Pennsylvania. Its coal is of the highest grade bituminous with very little sulphur and practically no ash present. It is the most desirable industrial fuel produced in the country. It is also the cheapest. Apart from labor, very little expense is encountered in mining it. No shafts need to be drilled as in Illinois and other coal producing states. Statistics show that there is more potential bituminous coal tonnage in the state of West Virginia than anywhere in the country.

Controlled By Big Corporations.

The control of this most productive coal field rests in the hands of the following corporations, the United States Steel Corporation, the Pennsylvania Railroad Co., through various smaller railroads and subsidiary operators, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Co., and the West Va. and Maryland Railroad Co.

The United States Steel Corporation's antipathy to unionism is well known and needs no further comment. It owns or controls, through its

subsidiary companies, some 300,000 acres of the finest surface coal in West Virginia and the adjoining states into which the Pocahontas coal fields extend. Unionism there is equivalent to discharge, and an organizer preaching the gospel of "get together" takes his life in his hands when he enters the region, and gives up all hope of coming out alive.

Besides the above controlling interest there are numerous small operators. But if these independent operators were to give in to the demands of the unionized miners, they would be crushed by the larger powerful monopolies. The railroads would not move their coal. They would be plunged into financial ruin by the pirates controlling the larger corporations.

West Virginia is the powerful reserve of the Capitalism that depends on bituminous coal for its fuel. During the winter of 1919—1920 when the United Mine Workers declared a general strike and made the strike effective in the regions where they held control, the coal mined in West Virginia was sent into the regions formerly supplied by the union miners and was effective in breaking the strike. Nor was this the first instance where the coal of West Virginia was used to break a strike of coal miners.

An Old Battle Ground.

The operators first awoke to the boundless possibilities of coal mined there during the famous "suspensions" of work called by the United Mine Workers in 1894. These suspensions were originally called for two weeks, so that the stored coal on hand could be used in industry and the resultant demand for it cause a rise in wages for the workers. The "suspension" of two weeks, because of the influx of West Virginia coal into the industrial regions supplied by the central competitive coal field, turned into an eight weeks general strike which was eventually lost.

The miners then turned their efforts to West Virginia with indifferent success. The operators fought back with their armed guards so effectively that unionism was compelled to acknowledge defeat. Repeated attempts have been made since but without encouraging results. The famous Cabin and Paint Creek Strike in 1923 was the last attempt. Logan County, the Pocahontas and Tug River Coal fields remain to this day non-union fields.



The blinded giant.



The blinded giant.

The problem is: How to organize West Virginia so that it will not act as a "strike-breaker" in case of a coal strike. One method apart from organizing, that may be suggested here, would be to work through the railroad workers educating them to the spirit of class consciousness. They could then refuse to carry scab coal from the mines. If this were done the result would be effective for the union and disastrous for the operators. The railroads forking into that district cannot supply cars fast enough to take the coal away from the mines. Mines are shut down usually, on an average of one working day a week because of lack of cars. If the railroad workers were class conscious enough, when a general strike is declared in the mining industry, their refusal to carry coal would be effective enough to win the strike for miners in other regions.

Mining By Machinery.

The operators in the non-union fields are fully cognizant of the power they hold because of their policy toward the United Mine Workers. They are taking advantage of that policy in the fields of production. In Logan County, tremendous power plants are being built to facilitate the mining of coal by machinery. To-day there is comparatively more coal mined by machinery in West Virginia than anywhere else in the country. Where the average of machine-mined coal throughout the country is 55% of the total production, in West Virginia this average is 65% and steadily growing. The machine production percentage of Logan County is greater than the state percentage but at this writing the exact figure is indeterminate.

The continuous policy of the coal operators has been identical with the policy carried out by the United States Steel Corporation in its plants over the country. No recognition of the Union, the stimulation of racial prejudices, the denial of civil liberties through the controlling of the state machinery by the operators, are all strikingly similar to the methods used to combat unionism in the steel industry.

In the states of West Virginia, Maryland, Tennessee and Alabama, there are 150,000 miners unorganized and, in the words of one investigator of those regions, "utterly helpless in meeting the encroachments of organized wealth under a regime of individual bargaining."

Peonage For The Miners.

The operators' defense is of course the desire to keep the "open shop". They maintain more money is paid miners per ton and that their wage scale is higher than in the districts organized by the United Mine Workers. That may be true in smaller and highly competitive districts but is certainly not true of the counties where the fight is now centered. The miners are robbed in wages through the lack of having their own weighmasters. Cars holding more than the standard amount of coal are sent to the mines and miners are paid only for the standard weight. Armed guards are employed by the operators and secret service operators shadow every miner suspected of belonging to the forbidden union. The houses where the miners live belong to the companies and the "privilege" of living in them extends only over the period that the miner is employed at the mines. The stores from which the miners buy food are controlled by the companies and as one worker quoted by Mr. Gleason in the Nation remarked, "We work in his plant. We live in his house. Our children go to his school. On Sunday we go to hear his preacher. And when we die we are buried in his cemetery."

It is against this brutal system of peonage that the United Mine Workers are struggling. Those who are feeling the restraints of liberty and freedom of action are the first to revolt. That revolt is beginning to express itself in an appalling list of dead and wounded, appalling for the period of what is generally termed our "civilization".

The war now going on is certainly to be a decisive struggle. The operators know this fact and have summoned all the forces of state and industry at their command to their aid. The union miners are fully cognizant of its decisiveness and also have summoned all their ablest organizers to go into West Virginia.

The next few months will reveal what results the campaign brings to the state. In the meantime Unionism will continue to be the dominant and burning question of the day in West Virginia.

The first Russian vessel of reinforced concrete was recently launched at Samara. Concrete vessels will gradually replace the wooden barges of the Volga fleet.

Another Letter on Trades Unionism.

By H. I. M.

NEED FOR REVOLUTIONARY CONTROL.

The insurgent element in The American Trades Union movement is growing. The "Left" expression is gaining in popularity and is being subscribed to daily by ever increasing numbers of formerly deluded Craft Unionists.

Such rebel movements in any organization are eventually forced to face the necessity of finding means to achieve unity of action. In time to come, no doubt, there will be a national organization of the insurgents in The A. F. of L. for just this purpose. So far, however, this movement is restricted largely to guerrilla activity or mere assent to the correctness of its position.

But already there is considerable thought being given to tactics and methods of control. Chief among these is the question regarding the efficacy of capturing executive office.

Some, arguing from the premise that the structural organization is antique and inefficient, claim that the first point of control should be the legislative organs of the trade unions for the purpose of correcting its organizational disadvantages. To be sure, the conventions are fortresses that must be stormed and captured before success is assured, but this does not prove that executive offices

should not be taken wherever possible.

The executive offices in the A. F. of L. are vested with almost autocratic power. In view of the enormous and widespread influence of Gompers and his crowd, it is apparent that what restrictions there are were made to give the offices a tint of democracy.

One of the principal means used by the present leadership for retention of control is, a la bourgeois, strict and watchful regulation of the channel of information and protest i. e. control of official publications and committees. What valuable work could be done in such places by a radical who would reverse the iniquitous methods, used by the bureaucracy!

Many instances have come to attention where, though the left movement is not sufficiently developed to control the labor councils, there is a possibility of electing one of their number to an executive place. There should be no hesitation in taking advantage of such opportunities. If the elected can do nothing else he can at least use his influence to expose the underhanded methods of the so called leaders and to make popular the ideas for which the insurrectionists are fighting, to wit: the transformation of the A. F. of L. from a loose federation of docile and conservative Craft unions into a revolutionary movement for the overthrow of Capitalism.

MOSCOW—An electric train invented by the Russian engineer Maklonin has beaten the world's record for distance. It covered the 150 versts from Petrograd to Moscow in about twelve hours without recharging.

The superior court at Seattle has granted a restraining order against the local police department enjoining them from interfering with the publication and circulation of the Industrial Worker, organ of the I. W. W.

Suit was brought by H. S. Kane, former editor when the police placed a padlock on the plant where the paper was printed.

COMMUNISM and CHRISTIANISM

Analyzed and Contrasted from the Viewpoint of Darwinism

By Bishop William Montgomery Brown, D. D.

The author, an Episcopalian ecclesiastic, has squarely renounced all theology and unreservedly accepted the Marxian philosophy of economic determinism. In this book, just out, he approaches the subject from a new angle and has produced a propaganda work that will be of intense interest to all students of socialism, especially to those who are still in close touch with church people. Paper, 184 pages, 25 cents, postpaid.

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Letters From Russia.

Knowing that you are anxious to hear authentic news from Russia, and are willing to publish same in your weekly, I wish to state that in my possession are a few letters from Moscow of recent date (July, 1920).

One of them is written by the wife of a former manufacturer, now employed in his plant as a worker. She says in part:

"We have suffered a great deal, and are still lacking many comforts, but we are nevertheless happy. We glory in the thought that we are living in a period in which such great things are transpiring. The present may have many negative features, but we are sure of positive gains in the future. Yes, it seems all so strange, like a tale from the Thousand-And-One-Nights. Yet it is true. All are now equal in our country."

Considering that the writer of the above words was, before the proletarian revolution bitterly opposed to the workers' cause, we must conclude that at least a portion of the bourgeoisie became imbued with the ideology of the Communists, and now share their enthusiastic hopes for a great future of the Communist State.

In another letter, a woman of the intellectual class tells of her search for a position as a librarian. She says:

"I came to Moscow a couple of days ago. I registered in the Labor Bureau, and was offered a few positions. I have not made my selection yet, but I am deliberating on the merits of the offers. When I shall have chosen my place of work, I intend to bring my belongings and settle in Moscow for good."

This description of the process of obtaining employment in Russia impresses one very favorably. The labor bureaus are evidently national employment offices keeping accurate records of the supply and demand of labor.

The reports of the "militarization" and "enslavement" of labor so often appearing in the capitalist press may be safely classed with the rest of the anti-Bolshevist propaganda of the bought—and—paid—for newspaper agents. It is also quite certain that our native as well as foreign liberals shed useless tears and break their tender hearts, bemoaning the lack of democracy in the Workers Republic of Russia.

S. Salkover.

Industrial Unionism in England.

By Colonna.

Industrial unionism in England may be described as a raw organization with a future. Examples of the weakness of purpose, and individuality of action have been adequately provided by the recent strikes.

England is in the unfortunate position of having sometimes as many as a dozen different unions represented in one large factory—and, contrary to promises, these unions do not support each other.

The attempted strike of the miners supports this statement. The British public, hypnotized by their Labour M. P.'s, and chloroformed by the press, are siding with the Lloyd George faction—in a word, they are begging permission to pay an extra \$3 per week for their coal.

Huge combines are now in process of formation—some are already a fact, although they may not be so obvious as those of the United States.

Spasmodic strikes are the order of the day. This in itself is a good sign, but the mere fact that most of these strikes are only brought about by one individual union at a time proves that unionism is far from its goal.—Today it is the police, tomorrow the tram drivers, the next day the miners but never all together, never any really large section.

On the other hand, the organizations of the middle classes are more or less united. "Freedom" leagues and "peoples" leagues, to put down Bolshevism are springing up all over the country.

Unfortunately, the Communist organizations (rather numerous in England, but not noted for their size or work) have not quite grasped the fact that industrial organization is necessary. Until they do, no progress can be made, unless it is done outside these parties.

Industry is imprisoned in the shell of bourgeois rule. Until the moment, which will undoubtedly come in which realization of the inadequacy of purely political agitation thoroughly forces its way into the understanding of the workers arrives nothing but failure can attend the efforts of the class-conscious section of the workers, but, when that is come, then a new world will be opened up to the proletarian, a world in which all are free, and where parasites are not.

The Spread Of Unemployment.

By Mary Senior

There are one million persons out of work throughout the country today.

Prices are being ripped, wages slashed, men thrown out of factories in thousands. And to pinion and make fast the plight of the workers the most drastic country-wide "open shop" campaign in history is being conducted.

What this means for the workers is not merely a winter of unemployment with its attendant poverty, homelessness and breadlines, but the loss of standards toilsomely won during the war.

What it means for the capitalists is this: Having wrung the utmost from their prolonged season of profiteering and wild speculation, having raised prices to the point where the purchaser has gone on strike, they have now reversed the crank of their machine and are preparing for their next harvest by artificially cutting off the supply. With half the workers turned out of the factories, the remainder are terrorized into accepting reduced wages. That there is at this time a crying need all over the world and especially in Central Europe for goods of every sort does not enter into their calculations.

Data piling up all over the country point the moral of the tale.

In the east there are almost half a million textile workers out of a job. In New York alone 80,000 clothing workers are out, while in the silk center of Paterson, N. J., only 10 per cent of the weavers are at their looms, and that 10 per cent is receiving a slashed wage. Wage cuts have been accepted by cotton and woolen workers throughout New England.

Take Cleveland:

Almost 100,000 men, or one-third of Cleveland's laboring forces, laid off by big factories.

About 60,000 of them without work today, when Cleveland's usual floating out-of-work population is normally 10,000.

All but twenty-five of Cleveland's largest industries shut down either part time or full time. The twenty-five in full operation are fulfilling government contracts largely.

Thousands of men pouring in from Akron, the rubber tire city, where more than half of the employees of a year ago were let out.

Take Detroit:

Here is a city where 75,000 men have suddenly been thrown out of employment.

Four fifths of the men normally employed in the lumber industry of the northwest find themselves out of employment now.

Machinists of the comparatively unskilled type are being laid off everywhere; perhaps they are offered their jobs again in a week at a wage 25 per cent less.

The unemployment condition is not the individual situation of isolated localities. The spasm has spread from coast to coast. For men thrown out of work in one town to move to another in the next state is for the time being, utterly useless.

The executive Committee of the Swedish Communist Party has adopted, by a vote of 13 to 2, a resolution favoring the acceptance of the condition for affiliation with the Third International laid down in Moscow last Sommer, with certain reservations regarding the international press control, says a dispatch from Stockholm.

NICOLAI LENIN His Life and Work

By G. Zinovieff.

"Every institution is the lengthened shadow of a man", wrote Emerson. We don't exactly agree with him. But we do know that the character of Lenin has helped to shape the course of the Revolution in Russia and the World: that his personality has colored, at every turn the greatest event in history — the establishment of the first Communist Republic.

You ought to know the sort of man he is.

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"Plenty, Security and Peace."

"In plenty, security and peace our virtuous and self reliant people face the future", says the President in his Thanksgiving Proclamation. Perhaps the world is rosy, that part which the President sees from his wheel chair. But to the worker who has a sense of reality there is lacking all of these three essentials of happiness in the workaday world.

To the worker who sells his labor power there is never plenty of the necessities of a full life. Neither is there any security. The boss owns his job, it is his to take away as he sees fit. For him there is no peace. When he is not drafted into the sanguinary wars of his master, he must pursue the unending class war against him in the shop, mill and mine.

Plenty, security and peace are not the workers' portion. For the President to prate of them

at such time of universal unemployment as the present, is to rub salt into wounds already galled beyond endurance.

When the workers have displaced the capitalist class in the control of industry and the State power, then and then only, can there be plenty, security and peace for the workingclass.

The Falling Cost Of Living.

The H. C. L. is falling, at least, so we are told by the statisticians. Already, it has dropped two per cent, they say. While this is no comfort to the two millions of workers now unemployed who have nothing to buy necessities with, there is still a lesson contained in the phenomena.

Governmental agencies, that is, capitalistic agencies have for many months carried on a fake campaign against the high cost of living. At the time the most aggressive measures were instigated against it, prices steadily climbed to higher levels. The fictitious efforts of the camouflaged warriors resulted in nothing but empty promises and unfulfilled pledges.

As long as European markets could pay the price, the American worker had a stiff competitor for his product. He was competing with a starving people in his every food purchase. The high prices resulting were also the higher because of the monopoly of markets by our patriotic home grown capitalists. Nevertheless, as long as industry continued to operate, he could somehow manage to get enough for his labor power to about meet the expense of existence.

But industry has now ceased to operate. It is closed down or working half time. The number of unemployed is running into the millions. European markets have become walled up by the low exchange rates and their own increased production. Capitalistic production has run another cycle. The inevitable collapse has followed the expansion. The crisis has followed close on the heels of "prosperity" Want follows plenty—the productive machinery and labor lie idle awaiting an opportunity to produce in abundance,

The high cost of living has dropped off an ounce, but the leaden weight of want still oppresses the worker, in fact, is increased by unemployment. Thru how many more cycles must capitalist con-

trolled production run before the workers' eyes are opened to the only solution — workers control?

The slogan for labor in this crisis must be:
**DOWN WITH CAPITALIST CONTROL. ALL
POWER TO THE WORKERS!**

The Community Chest-Why?

The annual Parasitical gathering of alms in all large cities is now on full blast. Every capitalistic publicity agency is tooting of the virtues of giving. All charity organizations have combined their forces for a huge drive for funds for the "needy", that is, the workers, who, exploited of the greater part of the product of their labor are forced to rely upon the pitiful crumbs of charity for an existence.

The best that can be said of these capitalistic charity organizations is that they feed some innocent children. The worst is that they camouflage the robbery of the workers by the wages system, degrade both workers and parasites and cast over the hideous, criminal features of capitalism a mantle of so-called good deeds.

As capitalism has developed it has made more bitterly necessary the establishment of these charity agencies. They may be likened to hospitals upon the battle front, where the victims of war may be cared for and made able to again enter the carnage. So with the workers, exploited, denied, the right to earn their livelihood, they seek refuge at the door of these organizations where they are prevented from wying in the streets until the industrial system can again employ them.

Needless to say, the causes which produce starvation and need in the midst of enormous productive ability are left undisturbed. That is one purpose of charity organizations — to prevent dire necessity from driving the workers to revolt, to pacify them with crumbs when the loaf is snatched away.

Whether the workers realize it or not, the present profit system does not and cannot keep the workers well fed, clothed and housed. The capitalists themselves realize this fact well enough, therefore the establishment of charity organization, Community Chests. They willingly, even anxiously foster them. They know that unless some means are provided to care for the wrecks which capitalist production is turning out

continually, they will eventually become object lessons to all workers. Charity prevents this. It at the same time gives many "good" people an opportunity to work off their sentimental emotions and pacifies a disturbed sense that somewhere there is injustice.

It would be too much to expect that the capitalists are furnishing all the millions required to fill these Community Chests. Capitalists are not those kind of geese. They compel those who remain employed to furnish the funds. This is accomplished by a system of pressure which is brought to bear upon every employee. If the Chest still remains unfilled at the end of the drive "generous" capitalists and exploiters make their donations with a blare of trumpets. These too however, represent the product of exploited labor. Labor pays it all.

It is a great game. The starved, the crippled, the mangled, the decrepit, old and diseased are kept out of public gaze. Capitalistic production for profits, the cause of it all, gets the credit for benevolence. The workers pay the cost.

"The bourgeoisie will do everything for the workers except get off their backs".

Who would be a lawyer?

St. John Chrysostom said of the law profession: "to take a fee for making the worse appear better, seemed to me to be bribed to a lie; to take Satan's wages, to sin against one's own soul".

He could not see that the moral prostitution involved in selling one's mental ability to a client for money to commit an immoral act was in the slightest degree less evil than to sell one's body for the purpose of lust.

Bob Minor says that the laws of the workers' government of Russia are so new and so strange that the lawyers cannot understand them, so they have become clerks in the government commissaries.

Sam Sadlor, of Seattle, has been released at Mc Neil Island by order of President Wilson, after serving 17 months. He was arrested under the old Dick military act for distributing anti-conscription pamphlets before the draft bill was passed.

As an asylum for political refugees, the United States has ceased to exist—except for reactionaries and counter revolutionists.

Organizing The Left Wing In The Trade Unions.

To help speed up the intellectual and structural development of the trade union movement, to assist in hastening its natural evolution from a craft to an industrial basis, — this is the task set for itself by an organization just lunched in Chicago, called the Trade Union Educational League. Its national secretary is Wm. Z. Foster, formerly secretary-treasurer of the National Committee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers, the committee which conducted the recent great organizing campaign and strike in the steel industry.

When requested for a detailed statement of the purposes of the new organization, Mr. Foster said:

“Unquestionably the supreme need of labor at this time is a greater solidarity among its fighting forces. Faced by massed and aggressive organizations of employers, the only way the workers can avoid crushing defeat is by bringing about a similar consolidation and militancy in their own ranks. The scattered companies and regiments of the trade union movement

must be united into powerful divisions and armies. The days of usefulness for pure and simple craft unionism are gone forever; the era of unionism upon an industrial basis is now at hand.

“I say advisedly that the period of pure and simple craft unionism is gone forever. And I say it not because of the needs of the situation, or because of the theorizing of intellectuals that the time is overripe for a broader type of unionism; but because of the thousand-times-more-important fact that virtually the whole trade union movement, yielding to the irresistible force of circumstances, has now definitely abandoned the historic craft union policy of each organization for itself. This is evident, not so much in theory as in practice. The trade unions as a whole, those that are affiliated with the A. F. of L. and those that are not, are gradually resolving themselves into a number of industrial units, one for each of the basic industries in which organization of the workers exists.

The Evolution Of The Trade Unions.

“The unions, responding to economic pressure, are coming to better understand their common relationship and their need of a common fighting front. Gradually they are developing single organizations as wide as their respective industries. This they are accomplishing by a whole series of get-together devices, such as amalgamations, federations, departments, local and national councils, joint-agreements, joint organizing campaigns and strikes, extensions of jurisdictions to take into the unions the unskilled, women and negroes. Purely individual action of a single craft in these industries is practically a thing of the past.

“The significance of this evolution is at once manifest when it is noted that in the industrial divisions referred to there are about 100 large international unions, containing fully 90% of the entire membership of the trade unions, affiliated and unaffiliated. It means that practically the whole labor movement is gradually and unceasingly changing from a craft to an industrial basis. More speed upon our part is vitally essential, however.



The long road of craft unionism.



The long road of craft unionism.

"Right here is where the Trade Union Educational League hopes to be of service. I ascribes our slowness of progress to the lack of organization and plan on the part of those elements in the movement which most realize the necessity for progress. Among them there has been entirely too much pessimism, too much of the "it-can't-be-done" spirit, to much chasing of rainbows in trying to reorganize the whole labor movement according to the dream of De Leon; and entirely too little of determined and systematic effort in bringing the groups of workers together. The new body, which is purely educational in character, will seek to correct this. Working in harmony with the natural evolution of the trade unions, it will strive to make this evolution broader, deeper, swifter and more clear-sighted. It will provide militant union men with the organization necessary to formulate and apply the practical programs so sadly needed to create a real solidarity among the toilers in the industries. It will make closer affiliation a live issue in every union in the country.

Special Program For Each Union.

"Just as quickly as practicable the educational work will be specialized according to industry. That is to say, when sufficient numbers of live wire unionists are enrolled from the unions in any of the above-mentioned industrial divisions they will draw up a special organization among themselves and map out the progressive program for their industry.

"For example, with such an educational organization existing in the railroad-section, we would find the militants in the score of unions (instead of demoralized and planless as now) all thinking the same thoughts and working on the same practical measures, ever leading onward from the present network of federations to the final and inevitable general union for the whole industry. That substantial headway can be made through such methods, cannot be doubted by those familiar with their use in various countries.

"In the near future we will issue our official journal. It will follow closely the structural and other developments of trade unions all over the world, and will carry the message to American unionists. Just now the Trade Union Edu-

cational League is seeking to get in touch with live union men and women so that local branches by be set up in the various localities and industries. The headquarters are at 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

The Vicious Circle.

By Colonna.

Everything seems to move in a circle, from the universe to the wages system. We have no objection to the former continuing its circular routine, but we dislike the latter's objectionable imitation. Up till now, the working class has been unable to find better recompense for low wages other than striking for higher wages. Then, up go the prices of life's necessities — down goes the value of the increased wage.

This does NOT mean that nothing is achieved by a strike but it proves that a strike is not in itself enough for the workers.

A great factor of the class war is foreign competition. If one country is forced to increase wages to meet a greater demand on the part of the workers, and the workers of other countries fail to enforce their demands, it means that the capitalists of the former country suffer a loss of business in favor of their foreign rivals. The condition of the working class is best, under a capitalist system, in those countries where there is

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the greatest business prosperity. And so we see that the workers in that former country lose in the end anyway.

Obviously, then, the masses are chasing a phantom when they search for increased wages. But such is the class struggle—the workers fighting to increase and the owners fighting to decrease wages. What is to be done?

The cause of the terrible plight in which the world's producers find themselves is the iniquitous system that compels us to toil for others. To attempt to uproot this iniquity by mere industrial reforms is "squaring the Circle". Look to the cause — remove it!

The capitalist enjoys such circles for reasons which to him are precious. Apart from the particular one which affects us primarily, there are several other "circles" which await removal. "The inner circle", for example, of the bourgeoisie, whose duty it is to spy upon and intimidate the working class. Many such organizations function for just these purposes. Tools of the masters. thugs, agents, bullies and professional strike

breakers. Many of this ilk parade under the protection of the department of Justice. All work for one end — the continued enslavement of the workers.

And then when one attempts to right such wrongs, one runs the risk of seeing yet another circle: that one around which "criminals" and radicals are permitted an hours exercise..... the cage in jail.

These circles—all vicious, all apparently eternal, may be abolished for ever if the toiler arises from his dreams and faces reality. No Gods or Caesar's Ghosts are here to aid us, to ourselves alone must we look for salvation. If we fear to take that which is ours by right, then we deserve not what we have. When we come in to our own by taking that which belongs to us, we shall have shown the world that we are worthy of all it has to give.

Then out of the ashes of this capitalist inferno will arise a world characterized, not by vicious and ever moving "Circles" but by the straight paths of Human Progress.

MR. GOMPERS' DILEMMA.

By Paul Hanna

The present conservative leadership of the American Federation of Labor is caught between the closing pincers of reactionary employers on the one hand and so-called radical labor agitators on the other.

As a prophet President Gompers' reputation should at this moment touch the zenith. He told the First Industrial Conference in passionate tones fourteen months ago that the employing capitalists must either concede and help establish the rights granted labor during the war, or else witness the triumph of what he termed "Bolshevism" within the American labor movement.

In the language of Mr. Gompers a "Bolshevik" is anyone who demands or tends toward the nationalization of basic industries and their democratic control by the wage-earning and salaried personnel. To thwart that tendency Mr. Gompers pleaded with the employers to pay a "fair day's wage" and agree to collective bargaining with representatives chosen by the workers.

That plea was rejected by the employers, headed by Judge Gary, of the Steel Trust. And the Gary principle of so-called open shop and low

wages now animates the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and big employers generally in the prevailing drive back to bread-lines and normalcy.

President Gompers must have believed that his appeal would be heeded. It is certain that the present development finds him and his cabinet without any plan to repel either of the mighty forces which are converging upon them. The essential nature of Gompers' guidance of labor requires the co-operation of the big employers. Those employers have refused to co-operate. The workers turn instinctively toward a program which does not require the co-operation of employers — which must be away from Gompers.

Appropriate irony is provided by big newspapers in Washington and elsewhere which now raise the alarm that the 'Reds' are fastening their hold upon the A. F. of L. These newspapers are precisely the ones which fought Gompers in the Industrial Conference and praised the stand of Judge Gary. That is, they paved the way for a reorganization of the labor movement on class-conscious lines. But the fruit of their labors they

attribute to a conspiracy of the Third International at Moscow!

When a corporation disrupts a craft union and turns half its members into the street it is merely asserting its Americanism, the press argues. When dispossessed workers turn for relief to the solidarity of industrial unionism they prove they are being paid or duped by the Russian conspirators.

While the farce-tragedy proceeds President Gompers and his associates remain silent and inactive, trying to decide how to meet a situation which has been seen approaching with relentless certainty for several years.

Unemployment conquers a fresh city every day. Judge Gary has consolidated his hold upon the instrument of government. Between the fangs of want and the bayonets of necessity labor stands and waits.

Labor Unity.

By H. E. Keas.

From the dim and almost forgotten ages of the past until the very present era of modern industrial life, one glaring and only too evident fact has appeared in all the struggles and bitter strivings of the working class for better conditions—a lack of unity. There have been divisions upon many things but never entire unity—that prime requisite without which the workers' struggle for betterment is shown of most of its power and can never be productive of the greatest good for the sons of toil.

Divide et impera, the Manchiavellian motto of Louis XI of France, has ever been the method by which a ruling class Delilah sheared the Labor Samson of his locks. "Divide and govern" was a well recognized maxim of the possessing classes when the Ptolemies were young—aye, even from the very beginnings of history, ever since man learned to exploit the labor of another, this was recognized by them as the sure and only effective way to perpetuate their exploitation and continue their existence at the expense of the sweating masses.

"Divide and govern," and we see the galley slave of the ancients; "divide and govern," and in the stinking slave-pens of Greece and Rome burdened humanity endures and suffers the fortunes of the damned; "divide and govern," and the simple and child-like serf of Russia is ground beneath the iron heel of a Czar; "divide and govern," and Homestead and Pullman are the harvest; "divide and govern," and in our own times Lawrence and Ludlow, Butte and Bisbee blazon forth in all their rotten detail of the injustice and oppression of a master class and the still successful division of the workers to their own sor-

row and destruction. For can we doubt that nothing else but the lack of unity on the economic field is responsible for Labor's condition? Would such a travesty upon justice and decency have been possible in Tom Mooney's case had the workers been really united? California justice a joke, tho not for the workers, and the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce taking illdisguised satisfaction at the discomfiture of the defense. Labor has surely come to a sorry pass when its protagonists are made victims of such class injustice and passionate prejudice—because they fought for the working class. "Oh, but we have protested." What are protests unless you back them up? An uncompromising stand by united labor would accomplish more in one single week than all the years of puny, puttering protest. And who is responsible for Labor's condition? There can be but one answer to this question, and one only. Labor itself. Without respect for itself it will never be able to demand and gain the respect of its oppressors.

"Divide and govern"—then even as now, here and there, again and again, the damnable fact comes down the ages in all its terrible truth—only too well accepted by kings and kaisers, princes and plutocrats, and for their own aggrandizement. To keep the working masses divided has ever been their task. That this has always with them been a conscious purpose I do not aver. But as to its result for the workers it is always the same—disorganization and disaster. Thru school and college, press and pulpit, court and council, a master-class psychology has ever meant division of the masses.

Are not our interests as workers indetical as

opposed to those of our exploiters? Because we have minor differences must I therefore reject the whole man? Does he not as a worker wish for my well-being and should I not desire his uplift for the same reason? Altho we see and interpret many things from different angles, have we not a vital point of agreement, absolutely necessary for our well-being as workers? Let him search his mind and soul to their very depths and earnestly en-

During the war the Detroit News organized a band "for patriotic purposes". Now this scab band has been encroaching upon the activities of Union musicians. The News refuses to unionize its herd of scabs tho requested to do so by the local union. At the Armistice celebration the Union men refused to toot or beat their instruments until the scabs' band was taken out of the line of march. There is only one patriotism which employers understand, that is the kind that is spelled P—A—Y.

"Government officials", reads a paragraph from scare literature put out by the American Defense Society, "state that their information is that the revolution has been planned to follow the Presidential Election." The society has sent circular letters to manufacturers asking for contributions of \$50.00 to help stave off this revolution (?).

And in another circular letter to business men, the same concern paragraphs thusly: "— In reality we are sitting on a powder keg. We ask you to subscribe \$5.00 and to aid us by your personal advice." Well, here's our advice—get off the keg—for it's shore bound to blow up.

Let us, working men and women, fall humbly to our knees and thank Providence for displacing an autocratic administration with one that will return to us our long lost liberty, that will make restitution of our inalienable rights taken from us by despots. And, let us bend our heads in solemn prayer rejoicing that an autocrat has fallen from his throne, that the iniquitous house of Morgan will soon tumble to earth to give way to the very promising house of Rockefeller, a noble house, destined to guide our ship of state through waters made smooth by Standard Oil. Amen.

deavor to truthfully answer these queries—and he will find the right answers to them.

Then and then only will the worker find the basis of agreement. Then and then only will his effort be conducive of the greatest good for him and his class. Out of the present world cataclysm must these lessons be drawn and in the dawning days of reconstruction to follow must the worker apply them—AND HE WILL HAVE ACHIEVED UNITY!

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My Own Shop.

EXPLOITATION OF THE BINDERY GIRL IN THE PRINTING INDUSTRY.

By Marian Nagrom

One of the industries that helps to support the present capitalist system is the printing industry. This by turning printing from its real mission of education and enlightenment to capitalistic purposes and the general spreading of illusions and lies.

Among the many trades that comprise the printing industry one of the most important is bookbinding. The Bindery is the department in which the finishing touches are put to Books, Magazines, Catalogues etc, and where the greatest amount of skill is really necessary.

The work in the bindery falls into two classes. First, the work done by men. Here we find the paper cutters, folding and ruling machine operators and binders, the binding requiring much skill in administering the last touches for which high wages are commanded. Then there is the womans department in glaring contradiction to the old adage that "womans place is in the home". Here we find women and girls from the ages of eighteen to forty-five. Some of them are married and have children, but work because they find their husbands earning inadequate for the household.

The new machine.

The women's part of the bindery work consists of hand folding, inserting and gathering. Wire stitching is an important feature of the work, but with the installation of machines that automatically stitch and insert as well, the girls who do this work, skillful, only after years of experience, find themselves gradually displaced. This new machine requires one girl for each section of a pamphlet and one for the cover. Because of the speed with which the finished booklets come out of the machine, two girls are needed to take them out of the packer, count stack them on a truck for the shipping room. With the help of no more than six or eight girls, this machine does the same amount of work in ten days that the girls alone would do in five or six weeks.

"Hurry, Hurry:"

Then there are the folding machines with the automatic feeder. This does away with hand folding, which is the pride of every experienced bind-

ery girl, and feeding which requires much skill and steady nerves. In the modern bindery "more production" is the watchword and "Hurry, Hurry" the slogan.

The wage of the bindery girl, as of all other workers is her greatest grievance. Most of them feel the humiliatin of walking up to the pay window to receive half the pay of the men for the expenditure of the same amount of energy and effort.

Equal Rights.

The girls are fairly well organized in the International brotherhood of Bookbinders. At the recent convention held in Baltimore the following resolution was presented:

"Where as, under this new era of reconstruction the status of Women has been placed on a scale equal with that of men, politically, professionally, and in many cases industrially and old prejudices of sex have been swept away one by one, thus giving to women in various fields, equal opportunity and equal compensation with men of like qualifications, therefore be it resolved, that the women Bindery Workers shall be placed upon the same equality with men bookbinders and receive equal pay for equal work. That equal work shall be interpreted to mean not only the same identical processes performed by men bookbinders, but shall include all the activities, either manual or mechanical, performed by women which are requisite for the proper construction of a book, or other printed or blank work done in bindery or printing office by women. These activities require as much training and skill and carry as much responsibility as duties performed by men binders".

"KICK THEM OUT"

Needless to say, our very careful and diplomatic president of the pure A. F. of L. type, took precautions to sidetrack any efforts on the part of our committee, and our aspirations were in vain. Very shortly the whole labor movement will no longer be encumbered by such weaklings, which time will be readily exploited by we women workers for the realization of our industrial rights. You see, we are just as much hampered by misleaders as the men. High time to get rid of them!