

severely censured for their cowardice, and that they be declared not fit to represent neither the spirit, the will, nor the aspirations of the miners of Nova Scotia.

The Truro convention resulted in the election of a complete new District Executive Board. Marking as it did the repudiation by the miners of the policy of class collaboration, of delivering themselves to the mercy of capitalist "conciliators," it was the turning point in the struggle. From the defensive stand hitherto adopted, the miners immediately swung into vigorous attack, culminating in the strike of August, 1922.

The struggle now took on a political aspect, and clearly demonstrated the close connection between the Government and Besco. At the request of the Department of Justice, the Minister of Militia and Defense poured troops into Nova Scotia as though to oppose an invading army; machine guns, barbed wire entanglements, and other paraphernalia of war, were literally strewn about the coal fields, and troops were brought from points as far away as London, Ontario.

With all the provocation there was no disorder and no arrests. The miners withdrew the pumpmen. Strikers were enrolled as special police, enforced prohibition, and 2,000 native sons who had fought for their masters in the World War, organized into platoons, companies, and battalions, hurled defiance at the hirelings of Besco and the capitalist Government. In their determination to keep scabs and rum out of Nova Scotia, the miners searched automobiles and trains, stopping a military train by the simple expedient of barricading the track with the bodies of themselves, wives, and children.

Battling Against Treachery

Faced by 12,000 miners prepared to fight, and whose leadership displayed such forethought and audacity as to make the outcome problematical, the Besco hesitated and changed its tactics. These wily capitalists, seeing that it was the combination of solidarity with militant leadership which gave the miners their strength, laid their plans to destroy these two things which are the heart and soul of every labor organization that is worth while.

The bosses quickly found a tool ready to hand, in the person of Van Bitner, henchman of John L. Lewis and infamous for his part in disrupting District 14, in Kansas. He is of that slimy brood that goes hither and thither, playing the bosses' game, splitting and disrupting organizations to which thousands of honest men have given their lives. Under the cloak of constitutionalism, this creature came into Nova Scotia to cement a shameful alliance between his chief, Lewis, and the British Empire Steel Company, to whip the militant miners into submission.

Alexander Howat, who had been especially invited to address several meetings in Nova Scotia, was on the same train that bore Van Bitner into Canada. The true meaning of these two men to the labor movement is written in letters of fire in the different reception given them by the Government. When the train crossed the border at McAdam Junction, N. B., Howat was arrested and turned back by the Department of Justice, headed by Lomer Gouin, who is director in nine of the most powerful corporations in Canada. Van Bitner was received with honors, stamped as the representative of plutocracy and endorsed by Besco, the Government, and all the powers that be.

But Van Bitner, with all the powers of the Lewis machine behind him, with the support of the capitalist press and the poor tools of reaction within the ranks of the miners, like Silby Barrett, found the ranks of District 26 closed solidly against him. The District Executive, to remove the slightest excuse for disruptive action from the lieutenants of Lewis, withdrew the application for affiliation to the R. I. L. U., which had been made an issue. The miners then stood pat behind their militant leaders, and all the efforts of Van Bitner have had the one paltry accomplishment of influencing one little local to quit paying its per capita. Once more the militants demonstrated their ability and determination to protect the interests of the membership of District 26.

Smashing the Frame-Up

Outgeneraled at every turn, unable to smash the solidarity of the miners even with the willing aid of Lewis, Van Bitner, and Barrett, the British Empire Steel Company tried another card. They resorted to the frame-up to get the other end of the miners' winning combination, the leaders.

Their problem was where to begin; to start with members of the District Board, known and honored by all the workers of the district, would be dangerous. Therefore when Malcolm Bruce, editor of *The Worker*, was announced to speak on May Day, the word went out: "Get Bruce; he is an outsider and will be easy." It was hoped to thereby establish the precedent on which to hang a campaign of terrorism.

Again they failed. Detained by floods, Bruce arrived too late for the May Day celebrations. When he later addressed strring meetings throughout the district, the frame-up was sprung but it had gone wrong in the meantime. He was arrested, charged with seditious utterances as reported in the *Sydney Record*, a local kept sheet. Midnight raids were conducted on the homes and office of the district officials, to create

the proper "atmosphere." But at the trial all their elaborate preparations fell to pieces. In some way the keystone had fallen from the arch of the Besco plot, and the whole thing collapsed when the reporter for the *Sydney Record*, star witness for the prosecution, denied having telephoned in the story which had been printed and stated that Bruce had not uttered the words attributed to him.

As this is being written District 26 is meeting in convention. John L. Lewis again joined in the attack upon these militants, by sending that gathering a telegram demanding new elections and the ruling out as candidates of all who believe in the Red International of Labor Unions. The convention replied by a wire which reads, in part, as follows:

This convention declares that it shall firmly stand by the principle that in District 26 we shall defend freedom of thought, whether expressed by tongue or pen, and cannot consent to enact special rules to debar any member running in election in this District because of

Lewis and Farrington Unite

By Earl R. Browder

THE most striking illustration yet given of the growing power of the Progressive International Committee of the U. M. W. A., was the sudden coming together of John L. Lewis and Frank Farrington, president of the U. M. W. A. and president of District 12 respectively. For years these two officials have been at each others throats, denouncing one another as first-class crooks and betrayers of the organization. But in the face of the expanding organization of the militants, they, realizing that both were equally threatened, laid aside their struggle for the great prize of the presidency of the U. M. W. A. and joined forces against the "red menace." For a time Frank Farrington, following his usual course of employing any club to beat Lewis, thought that he could make use of the Progressive movement. This is shown by the following letter, sent to an Illinois union man, whose name, for obvious reasons, must be suppressed:

Springfield, Ill., May 5, 1923.

Dear Sir and Bro:

I am returning herewith the circular letter which accompanied your letter of May 3rd. I do not think the men who are behind the so-called progressive movement have any intentions whatever of establishing a dual organization of Mine Workers, instead their activities, I think, are due entirely to their determination to clean up some of the corruption that is going on in our International Union.

I think they are making a mistake by terming themselves the progressive members of the United Mine

Workers of America, but I am quite certain they have no intentions of trying to establish a Dual Organization. Instead of trying to establish a dual organization I think they are trying to mobilize those who are opposed to corruption in the U. M. W. of A., so that an effective protest may be made

Alex Howat has repeatedly declared that he will have nothing to do with the establishment of a dual organization of mine workers and I am satisfied that he meant just what he said. I do think, however, that Howat has much reason for complaint and he will no doubt identify himself with this element in our union because he believes that is the only way he can secure justice for himself and the Kansas Mine Workers.

Yours truly,
F. Farrington, President.

But Farrington soon saw his mistake. It quickly became evident to him that the Progressive movement was one of principle, and that it could not be used as a catspaw by him. He came to realize that it was directed as much against his own incompetency, autocracy, and corruption as that of Lewis. Then, without wasting time upon formalities, he put on the shelf his supposed fight to the death with Lewis, and wrote the latter the following interesting and instructive letter:

Springfield, Ill., May 21, 1923.

Mr. John L. Lewis, President
United Mine Workers of America,
Indianapolis, Ind.

Dear Sir and Brother:

I have been observing with considerable concern the activities of the various elements that are working to destroy the long standing, sane, constructive and effect-

ive principles of the United Mine Workers of America. These elements are becoming greater in number and stronger in influence and the result of their work is becoming more obvious every day and cannot but fill with concern progressive and conservative men who have the interest of the United Mine Workers of America at heart, and my belief is that if the men who believe in the principles and policies of the United Mine Workers of America do not soon get together and fight shoulder to shoulder in combating these destructive elements, it is only a matter of time until they will gain control of our Union and the red flag will be our standard, or else demoralization and division in the ranks of the Mine Workers will prevail and the effectiveness of our Union will be destroyed.

I have no political ambition to gratify, neither have I any selfish ends to serve and I have no fear of any personal consequences. As for myself I am confident that I would be able to get along nicely and with more peace of mind regardless of what might happen to our Union, but I do have a deep concern over what may happen to the United Mine Workers of America, and I feel that those who believe in constructive thought and action should get together if the Mine Workers of the Country are to get the best results and those who are actuated by a desire to destroy are to be defeated.

I feel that the interests of our Union are far superior to any personal interests I could possibly have and that any personal interest I may have should be submerged in the interest of the United Mine Workers of America. Therefore, I write to suggest, and I do so on my own initiative, that you and I have a conference to see if we can find some honorable, common ground upon which we may stand so that instead of fighting each other we may get together and fight those who are vigorously trying to destroy the United Mine Workers of America. This letter is not written in a spirit of submission nor in personal interest, but because of the belief, as already stated, that the time is not far distant when those who believe in sane and constructive progress must get together if those who advocate the impossible are to be defeated and our Union is to continue to protect and promote the interests of our membership.

If you feel the same way as I have expressed myself, herein, I shall be glad to hear from you as to whether or not my suggestion, as to the conference, is acceptable to you.

Yours truly,
F. Farrington, President.

Panicky himself over the rising tide of rank and file protest, Lewis quickly forgot his animosity toward Farrington, and wrote him the following letter:

Raleigh Hotel,
Washington, D. C.,
May 25th, 1923.

Mr. Frank Farrington, President
District 12, U. M. W. of A.,
Springfield, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Your letter of May 21st was forwarded to me here. I have no objections to your suggestion for a personal conference. When I return to Indianapolis or Springfield, which I expect will be in the course of a week or ten days, I will communicate with you so that we can arrange the time and place of meeting.

Yours truly,
John L. Lewis, President.

The proposed conference was duly held. The two arch-reactionaries of the miners' union, Lewis and Farrington, buried the hatchet and united their forces for a general war against the progressive elements. Here is the way Farrington describes the meeting:

Springfield, Ill., June 10, 1923.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Enclosed herewith is copy of letter written by me under date of May 21, 1923, and addressed to President John L. Lewis. Enclosed also is a copy of his reply to my letter.

As a result of this correspondence, President Lewis called at my office on June 6th and we had a conference lasting several hours. As a result of this conference I feel that from now on there will be co-operation instead of antagonism between the International and District Unions and that a more harmonious relationship will exist.

No doubt stories will be circulated, many of which will be false, as to why the old antagonism no longer exists between President Lewis and myself; therefore, my reason for sending you the enclosed subject matter, which will enable you to know how and why the change was accomplished.

President Lewis seemed to be in accord with my opinion as to the dangers and difficulties that are confronting the United Mine Workers of America and readily agreed that if we were to get the best results for the mine workers of the country there must be closer co-operation between men who believe in constructive progress.

In this whole matter I have no personal interests to serve, no selfish ambition to satisfy and I do not fear the antagonism of any man. My only desire is to do that which my conscience tells me is necessary to promote the interests of the United Mine Workers of America.

Yours truly,
F. Farrington, President.

One of the first fruits of the unholy alliance between Lewis and Farrington is a renewed attempt to strangle Alexander Howat. Lewis hates Howat with a burning bitterness. He knows that Howat is honest and courageous and that if he succeeds in reinstating himself in the organization he will never rest content until the edifice of autocracy and corruption, built up by Lewis, has been destroyed. Therefore, it is now known that one of the first conditions of peace laid down by Lewis to Farrington was that the latter should stop supporting Howat in his battle for a square deal in the miners' union. Farrington, like all others of his kind, never looked upon the Howat case as anything more than a convenient weapon to use against Lewis, so he readily agreed to knife Howat. Disregarding completely the statements in his letter of May 5th, which is quoted above, he unhesitatingly condemned the Progressive movement and Howat, breaking completely with the latter. The following letter tells its own tale of hypocrisy:

Springfield, Ill., June 29th, 1923.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Replying to your letter of recent date I advise that

I assume that the case of Alexander Howat will be an issue in our next International Convention and that a decision will be rendered by that body. I have done everything in my power to get him reinstated to membership in our union as a matter of fact. I led his fight from the very beginning and I not only gave him my moral support but I recommended that he be given the financial support of District No. 12 and financial support was given him and the Kansas Miners without stint.

However, recently he has aligned himself with Wm. Z. Foster and other well known leaders in the I. W. W., all of whom are working to destroy the United Mine Workers of America. Under the circumstances I cannot longer identify myself with Howat and I have written him to that effect. When he identifies himself with men whom he knows are enemies of the United Mine Workers of America, then I am done and I refuse to identify myself with men of that calibre.

It was a great disappointment to me to learn that Alex had lined up with the enemies of our union. He surely could not do his own case any good by following that course while on the other hand he has done his case irreparable harm.

I shall continue to do everything I can for the Kansas Miners but now that Alex has joined forces with the enemies of our Union he will have to make this own fight in his own way. Under the circumstances I can do no more for him.

Yours truly,
F. Farrington, President.

With their forces thoroughly united, the reactionaries have declared open war upon the Progressives. The International Executive Board of the U. M. W. A., in a wild manifesto, which is appended to this article, have denounced the rank and file movement as a dual organization. One of the first acts in the campaign of repression was the villainous attack upon Joseph Manley, J. P. McCarthy, A. Wagenknecht, and Ida G. McCarthy, at the Scranton Tri-District Convention of the anthracite miners. This was one of the most outrageous affairs in the history of the American labor movement. Denouncing these four, who were visitors in the gallery, in the bitterest terms and giving them absolutely no chance to say a word in their own defense, Lewis then had his retainers and sluggers eject them from the hall. Never has a similar mobbing taken place in a trade union convention.

But the Progressive forces are undismayed by the attacks of the united Lewis-Farrington machine. They know that the great rank and file are seething with discontent at the constant mismanagement and betrayal that has marked the administration of the miners' union in recent years. They know that their program meets the needs of the great mass membership, and that once the latter come to be acquainted with it they will accept it with enthusiasm. The very desperation of the reactionaries' resistance encourages them to go on with their work. It is safe to say that the Progressive International Committee will bring about a revolution in the leadership, tactics,

and policies of the miners' union within the next couple of years.

The following document is the statement of the International Executive Board relative to the Progressive Miners' movement. We include it to show the desperate and unprincipled character of the present administration:

UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA
1102-14 Merchants' Bank Bldg.
Indianapolis

Action of the International Executive Board of the United Mine Workers of America on Dual Organizations

The International Executive Board views with great concern the activities of certain individuals who, in various sections and under divers circumstances, are obviously attempting to create discord and confusion within the United Mine Workers. These individuals, many of whom are without trade union standing and some of whom are of questionable character, seem to derive their energy from the same general source and are apparently actuated by similar motives and work for the same objective.

We have witnessed the formation and temporary existence of the "Working Class Union" in the southwestern coal fields and the trail of confusion and trouble which it left in its wake; we have witnessed the organization of the "One Big Union" in the northwestern provinces of Canada and its later annihilation by the diligent efforts of the loyal trade unionists in the mining industry of those fields; we have observed the almost continuous activities of the birds of passage, who for years past have sown broadcast the malignant germs of industrial hatred which have marked the history of the "Industrial Workers of the World"; we have in comparatively recent times been obliged to openly oppose and strike down the propaganda of the "Red Trade Union International of Moscow," which openly reared its serpent head in the maritime provinces of Canada.

All of these organizations, drawing to themselves the worst elements in industrial America, were dual organizations to the United Mine Workers, having for their purpose; first, the control, and later, the destruction of our trade union organization, committed as it is to the principles of collective bargaining and the perpetuity of governmental institutions.

With the lapse of time evidence has appeared to definitely indicate a visible bond of affinity between these several aggregations of malcontents. Various individuals active in one of these so-called organizations and driven by the extremity of circumstance to other fields have appeared as the proponents of others of the above named dual movements. A common inspiration and a common objective unite them, and it has at various times required great diligence to combat their intrigue and render futile their machinations. In every instance, however, the United Mine Workers has emerged from the conflict with their philosophy with an enhanced prestige and great loyalty among its members, which vividly depicts the triumph of truth over sophistry and the worth of true industrial service as against the false vaporings of industrial zealots.

The material accomplishments of the United Mine Workers, committed as it is to recognized trade union principles, commend it as an organization to the minds of thoughtful men, and its marvelous growth and expansion in influence is a tribute to its founders and its

(Continued on Page 32)

LEWIS AND FARRINGTON UNITE*(Continued from Page 13)*

members who have governed and regulated its affairs. In virtue of these facts, it is, therefore, entirely proper that the United Mine Workers should give attention to the latest of the adversaries which has issued a challenge to its integrity. This band of self-styled industrial crusaders have classified themselves under the high-sounding title of the "Progressive International Committee of the United Mine Workers of America." These men, without warrant for their acts, have undertaken from time to time to meet in secret conclave and there, amid the enthusiasm which always prevails in the adoption of resolutions, have highly resolved to assume control of the United Mine Workers and thenceforth direct its affairs along the lines conceived by their deranged mental faculties.

Crowding for position in the front ranks of these doughty warriors appear many faces known of yore as enemies of the American Federation of Labor and its allied international unions.

At a recent conference held in Pittsburgh, Pa., assembled under call from this aggregation, appeared William Z. Foster, the moving spirit and councillor of the "Trade Union Educational League" known and recognized as an adjunct of the Communist Party in America. From the prolific mind and facile pen of Foster came the various resolutions antagonistic to the United Mine Workers and the American labor movement which were adopted at the Pittsburgh meeting of these irreconcilables. Cheek by jowl with Foster appeared one Howat, an expelled member of the United Mine Workers, and responsible for a trail of misery and confusion following in the wake of his unhappy career. Associated with this group was also one Merrick, for some time an inmate of a penitentiary in the State of Pennsylvania. Listed among the faithful is the name of Caleb Harrison, for many years an organizer of the Industrial Workers of the World; J. A. Hamilton, a renegade school teacher without trade union affiliations; Jos. Manley, son-in-law of Foster, and many others of their ilk. These individuals, with ample funds coming through Communist channels from foreign shores, have undertaken a campaign of vilification and misrepresentation of reputable leaders of the organization and the established tribunals of the union for the purpose of undermining the confidence of its members and setting up their own dictatorship within its ranks.

In consideration of these facts, the International Executive Board feels warranted in warning the members of the United Mine Workers and other trade unions in the organized labor movement against giving aid or

comfort in any form to the promoters of this dual union. The Constitution of the United Mine Workers definitely classifies such organizations as the Progressive International Committee as being dual in purpose and membership in dual organizations is expressly prohibited.

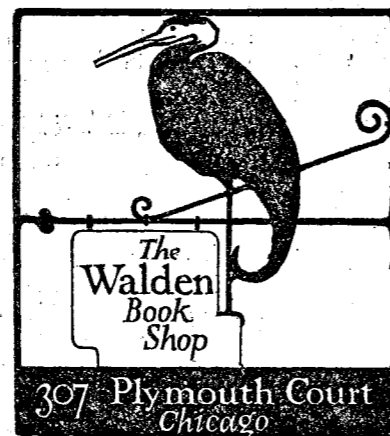
The International Executive Board through the adoption and issuance of this authoritative document definitely places the so-called Progressive International Committee as being within the scope of the Constitutional provisions of the United Mine Workers with respect to dual unions. Instruction is hereby given to the officers of all subordinate districts of the United Mine Workers and to the officers and members of all affiliated local unions to apply the provisions of the International Constitution to all members affiliated with this dual movement or giving aid and comfort thereto. Charges should be filed against such members and trials legally held in conformity with the provisions of the International Constitution governing such matters.

The United Mine Workers of America must purge itself of its secret enemies who draw substance from its bosom, as well as contest with its avowed enemies who openly prate of its future destruction. Our officers and our membership must awaken to a proper appreciation of this sordid industrial menace and loyalty to our laws and support to our ideals must be given by all.

Adopted by the International Executive Board at Indianapolis, Indiana, June 20, 1923.

(Signed) John L. Lewis, President,
Philip Murray, Vice-President,
Wm. Green, Secretary-Treasurer,
United Mine Workers of America.

(Seal)



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