

LABOR UNITY

Published twice a month at 376 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill. Subscription price \$4.00 per year. The Labor Unity Publishing Association, Publishers.
Entered as second-class matter February 15, 1927, at the Postoffice at Chicago, Ill., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Vol. 1, No. 8

CHICAGO, APRIL 15, 1927

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PRICE 5 CENTS

MINERS STAND FIRM

200,000 ON STRIKE

THE attack of the mine barons, demanding the reduction of the miners wages to the level of the non-union fields, was met by a solid front of the miners. About 200,000 bituminous coal diggers have quit the pits. 50,000 unorganized miners in northern West Virginia have joined the ranks of the strikers, according to a statement of the international representative of the U. M. W. in that region.

The developments since April 1 have confirmed the expectation that the miners will face an enemy determined to lower their standard of living and to weaken their union. All attempts of the Union officials to meet the operators in conference have encountered the demand that the negotiations be conducted on the basis of a reduction of wages.

Mellon Fights Union

A very grave situation has developed in Western Pennsylvania. The Pittsburgh Terminal Coal corporation has announced that henceforth it will operate its seven mines, employing over 3,000 miners, on a non-union basis. They have not yet actually attempted to re-open these mines, but they are making preparations and have hired a large force of gunmen.

Here the governmental forces have already begun to show their hand. Governor Fisher, a Mellon man, has rushed the state troopers into this part of the state. And the sheriff of Allegheny county has issued instructions limiting the union pickets to no more than eight men and prohibiting miners mass meetings within an area of half a mile from any non-union mine.

It is well known that Secretary of the Treasury Mellon is the dominating political force in Pennsylvania, and the governmental agencies carry out his wishes. Mr. Mellon controls the Pittsburgh Coal Co., one of the largest mine operators in the world, which about eighteen months ago broke its agreement with the union and has since operated its mines on a non-union basis. The Pittsburgh Coal Co. owns many mines in western Pennsylvania, and the instructions of the Allegheny County sheriff have already had the effect of weakening the picket lines at the mines of this most dangerous enemy of the United Mine Workers.

Demand Fighting Policy

The miners are faced by a powerful and determined foe, and they must present a solid and aggressive front. They must demand a strike policy which will keep their lines intact and will bring reinforcement from the unorganized fields, until the attack of the mine owners on their standard of living and on their union is smashed.

Lewis' policy of separate agreements has so far failed to produce any practical consequences. But the attempts to reopen negotiations with the operators have been carried out by district officials. They

SAVE SACCO AND VANZETTI!



Auto Workers Ready for Union

BY A FORD WORKER

THE automobile industry in Detroit is slowly recovering from a four-month period of terrific unemployment.

Thousands of workers still throng the employment offices of all auto shops. Those that are fortunate enough to get a job find the insides of many shops considerably changed; new labor saving machinery installed and endless belt and chain systems put into operation. Unheard of speed-up systems are being introduced and intensified in every shop.

Wages Being Reduced

Practically all the factories have the piecework system in operation, with the bonus attachment. The "high" wages of the auto workers still exist in shops that have not yet reached the maximum speed of their competitors, but these "high" wages are being cut down as rapidly as higher speed is attained.

Every modern factory is introducing the line production system known as the Ford plan, where the raw material enters the plant at one end and the finished machine, ready to be shipped, comes off the endless platform at the other. In the body plants, gang work is being introduced as the new method of speeding up production and cutting down the rates.

are likely to result in district negotiations and threaten to divide and weaken the fighting forces of the miners. The miners must demand a more aggressive policy of their international officials. They must demand the abandonment of the policy of separate agreements and the launching of a vigorous organizing campaign in the non-union fields.

The keen competition in the auto industry with the constant cutting down of the prices of automobiles is felt by the workers in the form of slashes in wages and terrific speed up systems.

Workers Discontented

Widespread discontent is plainly seen among the workers. In spite of the still prevailing unemployment, an "add" in the papers bringing thousands of auto workers before the employment offices, scores of department strikes are taking place. Sentiment for organization is gaining ground very rapidly. But as yet the labor movement has made no effort to utilize the sentiment for the unionization of the industry.

The Detroit Federation of Labor is too engrossed in maneuvers to gain favor with the dominant factions in the Republican party. Neither interest nor effort is shown in the organization of the chief industry of the city.

The local Auto Workers' Union was until recently under the leadership of an incompetent and hopelessly pessimistic element, who were waiting for the great miracle when the workers would come flocking into the union. The Auto Workers' Union has great potential possibilities. Although small at present, it is well known among the workers and in the past has participated in many of the struggles of the auto workers. With a militant leadership and the support of the local labor movement, the Auto Workers' Union could make great headway in the work of unionization.

Shop Papers Popular among Workers

The only agitation among the auto workers for organization is (Continued on page 7)

PULLMAN PORTERS FIGHTING FOR REAL UNION

ASK LIVING WAGE

BY ARTHUR C. JOHNSON

THE United States Railway Mediation Board created by the Watson-Parker Law now has before it for decision the case of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The claim of the Porters' Brotherhood involves the recognition of their new union, the right to represent the porters and maids on the American railways in matters of wages, hours and working conditions, instead of the "Employee Representation Plan", or company union, of the Pullman Company.

The fight of the porters against the company's union and for organizing themselves into a bonafide trade union has extended over a period of several months and is being carried through all the formalities and the cumbersome machinery set up by the Watson-Parker Law for the handling of such matters.

National Organization Campaign

The porters' organization campaign began over a year ago under the leadership of A. Philip Randolph, General Organizer, with headquarters in New York. Local organizers and committees were selected in the larger railroad centers in different parts of the country and the drive for unionization was conducted on a national scale.

Every obstacle was placed in the way of the organization campaign by the Pullman Company. Slander, libel and subterfuge were resorted to by the company in order to sow dissension in the ranks of the new organization. Prominent organizers in the Pullman service were threatened and some of them actually dismissed by the company, and every pressure brought to bear to block the building of the Brotherhood. Despite this fact the new union has made remarkable progress, and long before its case was submitted to the mediation board it represented 75 per cent of the 12,000 porters and maids on the railroads.

Deplorable Working Conditions

An analysis of the wages and working rules shows the deplorable conditions under which this class of railroad workers is employed.

Low Wages

Wages paid by the Pullman Company range from a minimum of \$72.50 per month to a maximum of \$104.00, depending upon the class of work and the length of time in the service. The wages average \$78.00 a month.

From this meagre wage the porters are compelled to pay regular expenses such as meals in a Pullman diner, living expenses at terminals when away from home, buy polish and other equipment with which to clean the shoes of passengers, pay for their uniforms for the first ten years in the service, etc. These miscellaneous expenses (Continued on page 8)

Persecutions in Mellon's State

BY A. MARTIN

THE bosses' interests are well taken care of in the state of Pennsylvania. In addition to the state constabulary, known among the workers as the state bosses and which comes in very handy during strikes, the state is also blessed with a so-called anti-sedition law. Under this law active workers who make themselves obnoxious to the capitalist interests dominating the state can be singled out for persecution. A good illustration of how this law operates is the case against eight workers of Woodlawn, a steel town near Pittsburgh.

On last Armistice Day a worker, Tom Zima, gave a birthday party for his daughter. In the midst of the dinner, the party was visited by uninvited guests. Mr. Mauk, the chief of the private police force of the Jones and Laughlin steel company, appeared in company with a number of regular police officers and state troopers and presented a search warrant. The search was carried out in the good old American fashion. Everything was shoved about, torn, smashed. Books, papers, etc., confiscated. And of course, a number of men arrested, including Pete Muselin, secretary of the Barbers' Union, and Milan Resetar, both of whom fought in the "war to make the world safe for democracy."

Labor Defense Wins Case

Fortunately for these workers, the International Labor Defense immediately took charge of their cases. They were discharged a few days after the arrest. But Mauk was not satisfied and got out a new warrant, and on March 15 the Grand Jury brought out an indictment under the anti-sedition law. But again the International Labor Defense and the Civil Liberties Union succeeded in getting the cases quashed. That any judge in the steel trust's territory should quash an anti-sedition indictment is sufficient proof how raw these cases were.

There are several cases under this law still pending, involving over twenty workers. The case of George Papoun is typical. This young worker was tried on a

FIGHT ON COMPANY UNION WINS RAISE FOR TRACTION WORKERS

THE 15,000 employees of the Interborough Rapid Transit of New York City won a five per cent increase in pay.

The Interborough workers are forced to belong to the company union, the so-called Brotherhood, which in 1921 "voluntarily" agreed to a ten per cent reduction. The present raise, bringing the wages of the traction workers back to the 1921 scale, was ostensibly granted because the secretary of the brotherhood requested an increase. In reality, it is a result of the revolt against the company brotherhood, which last summer found expression in a spontaneous strike of a large number of the I. R. T. employees.

While the strike was not successful, it led to the organization of a real union which later affiliated with the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of the A. F. of L. Apparently even the injunction taken out by the Interborough against this union failed to stop the inroads it was making among the traction workers. The 5% raise is no doubt intended as a sop to the discontented workers and is an attempt to save the brotherhood from complete disintegration.

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charge of "sedition." What was his crime? He addressed a meeting of unorganized miners in Republic, Pa., and urged them to unite against their class enemy, the bosses, irrespective of race or color. For this "crime" he was convicted under the anti-sedition law. It is not difficult in Pennsylvania for the steel or coal bosses to pick a jury that will convict a militant worker. Papoun's appeal is now pending before a higher court.

In the last few weeks a number of new arrests occurred in western Pennsylvania, apparently in preparation for the miners strike. And no doubt this law will be used, as it was used in the 1922 strike, to arrest strikers, even though they may never be brought to trial.

Demand Repeal

The workers of Pennsylvania should remember the sweeping character of the Flynn Act, which defines sedition to mean:

"To incite or encourage any person or persons to commit any overt act with a view to bringing the government of this state or of the United States into hatred or contempt."

Under this, any worker protesting against government by injunction or against American intervention in Nicaragua or China, can be sent to prison.

The agitation for the repeal of this law has so far failed. The law is too useful for the bosses. The workers must therefore continue and intensify their efforts to wipe out this most vicious piece of legislation ever enacted in Pennsylvania.

California Building Trades Endorse Progressive Measures

LOS ANGELES, April 9.—The state convention of the building trades, which closed last week in Santa Barbara, had before it many important measures. The chief center of attention, of course, was the report on the long-drawn-out and bitterly fought strike of the San Francisco carpenters against the powerful Industrial Association, which ended in a partial defeat for the carpenters.

Among the important resolutions adopted by the convention were several which tended in the direction of amalgamation, such were the resolutions in favor of terminating all building trades agreements at the same time and for united action against the open shop "American plan." A resolution was adopted favoring a referendum for the repeal of the Criminal Syndicalism Law, this on the heels of the news that a bill which would have taken the teeth out of this law was killed in the "progressive" state Senate. Another progressive resolution approved by the Convention was the one declaring for a United Labor Ticket.

One of the rare recognitions of the youth issue in the unions was given in the opening speech of President Frank McDonald, when he declared: "In this connection your President earnestly calls your attention also to the fact that in the most successful and progressive trade unions of this state every possible means calculated to develop, advance, and protect apprentices have been adopted. Our duty to the American youth . . . makes it incumbent upon us to extend it them the fullest opportunity and advantage."

—W. S.

Chicago Cloakmakers

Back Militant Leaders

THE Chicago Joint Board of the Ladies' Garment Workers has been under direction of militant leadership for about a year. From actual experience during this period, the cloakmakers of this city have learned that a militant leadership can and does win better conditions for the workers than the now discredited right wing ever did.

This was conclusively proven by the new agreement won by the present Joint Board from the manufacturers. After three weeks of long and bitter conferences, the stubborn militancy of the union negotiators, headed by J. Levine, Manager of the Joint Board, won a clear victory. In addition to considerable wage increases, the union won an immediate reduction of the working hours from 44 hours to 42½ hours a week, and an ultimate five-day, forty-hour week, commencing with June, 1928.

Employers' Demands Defeated

The wage increases are general. The wages of operators, pressers and cutters were raised \$2.50 a week, finishers \$2.00, and button sewers and tailors \$3.00.

Moreover, the employers insistently demanded the abolition of the unemployment fund and the right to reorganize the shops, that is, to discharge part of the workers, every six months. But the union successfully resisted these demands.

The workers affected by the new agreement were naturally elated with the victory, especially since they knew that in cities, such as Boston, Philadelphia and Cleveland, where the reactionaries still control the leading positions, the union made no gains. As a result, the militant leadership is firmly established in the confidence of the rank and file.

Other Achievements

The militant leadership of the Joint Board has also proven its ability in other directions, especially in organization work. The "or-

ganization drives" of the former, right-wing leadership brought no results. But the present Joint Board inaugurated a campaign five months ago, and during this period the union gained 750 new members and signed up 27 new shops.

The Chicago cloakmakers have the New York strike in every way, sending from their comparatively small organization \$34,000 to aid the fight. The right wing spread the slander that Chicago was doing work for New York struck shops, but the investigation conducted by the General Executive Board, dominated by Sigman, gave the lie to this rumor. In fact, the Chicago Joint Board and the rank and file have fully recognized that the courageous and militant fight of the New York cloakmakers was an important factor in making the Chicago employers yield to the cloakmakers here.

Reactionaries Defeated

In the past, when the right wing was still in control of the Joint Board, they attempted to entrench themselves by expelling the militants. Since the rank and file cleaned them out of the Joint Board, they have conducted a campaign of intrigues and slander against the new leadership. And recently open threats have been made that Sigman will be called in to reorganize the Chicago Joint Board, but apparently he has had his hands full in New York, trying to impose his arbitrary rule on the membership there.

Should the Sigmanites attempt to overrule the will of the Chicago membership, they will find the rank and file solidly lined up behind the leadership elected by them. Additional proof of this was furnished recently when the cutters, in Local 81, voted to replace the most active right winger in Chicago, Sam Leddeman, with a left wing worker—Max Skolnick, as their representative to the Joint Board.

Why Not Unionize the Youth?

BY N. YUSEM

IN line with the general backwardness of the American labor movement we find practically a complete neglect of one of the most important sections of the working class—the young workers. There is no attempt made to learn the proper methods for approaching this element or to study its problems.

Of late the American Federationist carried a number of articles dealing with apprentices. These articles are presumably an answer to the crying need for a definite policy in dealing with the problem. But in reality the most vital issues are evaded and generally it is evident that here, too, the class collaboration policy is followed.

Limited to Apprentices

The young workers dealt with are only a small part of the American working youth. Only those are considered who are endeavoring to enter the highly skilled crafts such as carpenters, bricklayers, typographical, electrical, and other such unions.

The A. F. of L., composed mostly of highly skilled, clings to the old craft form of organization and the old conception of the youth problem—that it is merely an apprentice problem. Therefore, in line with its policy of ignoring the unskilled, it also ignores the great majority of the working youth employed in the machinery, steel, confectionery, general manufacturing, textile, and other industries. For the most part, these go through no apprenticeship, needing only a few weeks to be instructed to per-

form certain detailed functions as machine tenders.

The Apprentice Problem

But even when we consider the apprentice problem the issue is evaded. It is not with the view of advancing the interests of these young workers, or finding means of unionizing them, but on the contrary they are considered as an evil to be coped with.

For instance, there is no attempt made to explain the fact that although the International Typographical Union is endeavoring to limit the number entering the trade by a four year apprenticeship period, high initiations and even closed books, thousands of young workers are being trained in non-union plants as the Guncos company, W. F. Hall, Rand McNally, Curtis Publishing company, etc. These young workers, although never going through a four-year apprenticeship, are nevertheless a constant menace to the union un- less organized.

Closed Corporation

The same applies to the Electricians' union. One would need, in addition to complying with apprenticeship rules, from \$500 to \$1,000 initiation fees, or to be the son of a union electrician, in order to get into Local 134 of Chicago, in spite of the fact that there are thousands of young electricians who have been trained on non-union jobs or in such unorganized centers as Philadelphia, which is hardly touched by the union.

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PULLMAN PORTERS

(Continued from page 1)

amount to approximately \$34.00 monthly, leaving an actual wage of \$44.00 per month. The average net monthly income of porters on good runs, including the generous tips from the travelling public, is about \$100.00.

Long Hours

In order to earn this miserable wage Pullman porters are compelled to work excessively long hours, 343 hours is the average time put in each month. This amounts to a 11 1/2-hour day and a seven-day week. About 50 hours a month is spent in preparation time at the beginning and end of runs, for which absolutely no pay is allowed by the company. They must cover 11,000 miles, or an equivalent of 366.6 service hours per month, before they earn overtime.

Union Fighting Such Conditions

The goal of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is to abolish such conditions. Among its demands, in addition to complete recognition of the new organization, are higher wages, shorter hours, better working conditions, pay for overtime, pay for "preparation" time, abolition of "doubling out", abolition of tipping system, conductor's pay for conductor's work when in charge, and manhood rights.

The Brotherhood is asking for a living wage of \$150.00 per month and a 240-hour basic month, including preparatory terminal time.

Company Makes Huge Profits

The records of the Pullman Company disclose the tremendous growth of the company from an original capitalization of \$36,000,000 to its present capitalization of \$125,000,000. The 1926 net profits amounted to \$16,000,000. These huge profits were made possible by the long hours and starvation wages paid to its 12,000 employees. They also indicate that the company can well afford to grant the demands of the Porters' Brotherhood.

Railroad Labor Must Support Them

The success attained in organizing the Pullman porters is one of the brightest spots in railroad unionism today. The porters are making a heroic effort to eliminate one of the company unions on the railroads and to build their own organization. This campaign demonstrates what can be accomplished when a determined effort is made to organize and calls for the full support of the sixteen standard railway unions.

CHICAGO WOOD TURNERS CAN RAISE THEIR WAGES

THERE are about 200 skilled wood turners by hand in Chicago, whose situation would be bettered a great deal if they were bettered together. They could then dictate terms to their employers as they did before the lamp trade declined.

This decline is temporary, but too many of the workers have forgotten that it is precisely when trade declines that the union is most useful to them. So while 75 per cent are working on turning, they are getting less than common labor.

Taking advantage of the loss of interest in the union, the bosses beat down wages of those who show their lack of solidarity by throwing aside their best weapon—the union—and haggling as individuals at the factory gate, often knocking at the same door many times a week, ready to take any wage offered.

Wood turners know the matter over! Attend your union meetings which take place at the Budapest Hall, 2021 West Division, every first and third Tuesday of the month, at 8 o'clock sharp.

If you have grievances, thresh them out there, but hold tight to your only defense—your union.

Treachery in the Anthracite

BY AN ANTHRACITE MINER

AS a result of the abortive general strike of the miners called by the General-Grievance Committee of the Lehigh Valley Coal Company locals, the conditions have been gradually worsened and now in some regions of the anthracite the companies, encouraged by the support received from the miners' bureaucracy, are making an effort to lengthen the working hours.

The situation in the anthracite just now is bordering on a crisis for the miners, and this the miners well realize. Since the end of the anthracite strike the companies have been making a very determined effort to reduce the wages and lengthen the hours of the men. Oftentimes, as an excuse for their actions, the operators cite the situation now prevalent in the bituminous area and wall that they "cannot compete" with this non-union product.

The Sacred Contract

When the miners took hold of the situation and stated to the operators in no uncertain terms (the local union committees) that these continuous violations of the contract would not be permitted, still the operators continued their practices.

Late in December, perhaps due to the strain of "competing with the non-union soft coal regions" the anthracite operators, in particular the Glen Alden Coal company, posted notices stating that until further notice their collieries would operate on a nine-hour day basis. This was done despite the fact that these companies are a party to the "sanctified" contract between the miners and operators.

Cappellini Aids Operators

The General Grievance Committees of the miners (independent politically of the Lewis Machine) issued orders for a general strike if the companies went thru with their orders. Immediately Cappellini issued a dozen statements bristling with condemnation for the miners who dared threaten a general strike, which was, as Cappellini claimed

"a violation of our honorable contract" (but saying nothing of the violations by the companies).

Forced, however, by the pressure from the rank and file of the miners, Cappellini issued another of his "statements" which mildly criticized the operators for their action and pleaded that they live up to the contract. He further stated he would not issue this statement, only if he did not then his silence would "be used by my political opponents."

Cutting Wages

Greatly encouraged by this spineless action, the companies continued their activities, and however, accentuated their wage slashing when the news of Lewis' victory at Indianapolis reached the region. The convention was ended but a few days when the Lehigh Valley Coal Company in all of its 13 collieries adopted the idea of cutting the miners' wages on rock contracting from \$2.35 to \$2.39 per yard.

This grade of work is done in low veins, where after the coal is mined out it is still too low in height to mine the tunnel much further, as the roof is too low to permit the cars, motors, etc., to enter. The miners then are compelled to take up from two to four feet of the rock foundation, which is in itself a man-killing job.

Strike Resistance

The local committees immediately demanded a hearing before the company officials. The company refused to meet with the miners committees, stating that the reduced rate of \$2.39 per yard would stand. The General Grievance Committee of the Lehigh miners immediately held a meeting and ordered a general strike.

Premature action was taken by the General Committee, however, as all the locals affiliated had no time to attend the meeting and carry out the orders, resulting in four of the thirteen collieries working until their meeting date approached when they would consider the strike situation.

Sigmanism Means Defeat

LOCAL 52 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' union is 4,000 miles from the seat of Sigman, the aspiring Mussolini of the Garment Workers, yet the poisonous influence of his regime has penetrated even here in Los Angeles. This was shown in what happened here before the present old agreement was signed.

The agreement of Local 52 with the employers of Los Angeles expired in November, 1926. Not till the latter part of January were negotiations begun for a new agreement such as had been won by the eastern cities. The most important work being neglected by reason of the management's preoccupation with wagging Sigman's tail, bringing up attacks on the left wing at each meeting.

Force Negotiations

However, even the sympathizers of Sigman became fed up with Sigman's hash. Clamor for action looking to a new agreement was heard from all quarters, and a committee, together with Manager Plotkin, was elected to start negotiations.

After that, three conferences were held which resulted in the refusal of the employers to concede even one point of a new agreement. The attitude and strength of the workers' representatives can best be judged by the respect shown them by the Manufacturers' Association.

To Plotkin's childish question: "What shall I bring my workers?" the bosses gave the insolent reply: "Lollypops, if you wish" Only

flunkies can be treated with such disrespect.

A Strike Vote

At a meeting in February, there was a unanimous strike vote, and in conjunction with that resolution, a tax of one day's pay was voted. There was high spirit at this eventful meeting and both factions united on these vital issues.

All present expected that a definite decision would be reached no later than the latter part of that week. Now if ever was the time to strike and win.

Oddly enough (or was it so odd?), nothing of that sort happened. There was complete silence from the officialdom as to ensuing events, and the only sign of life was the insistent if not stern requests sent out to the membership to pay up the tax.

Betrayal

This silence continued until the next regular meeting two weeks later. All seasonal workers know that two weeks make a considerable difference in calling a strike, so when Plotkin, in his usual semi-monthly oration, told the workers that a strike would now be out of the question, none could dispute the self-evident fact.

Nevertheless, every worker felt that he had been betrayed. The time to strike was when the strike was voted, when spirits were high and the season at its busiest. Cries of—"We want no agreement, at all!" "Better no agreement, than this!" were heard from all parts of the hall.

Too Big a Bite

Sentiment for the miners was high and the companies at once recognized that their policy of gradual wage cutting, condoned by the district officers, was more successful than this big bite. The bosses refused to meet with the miners "until operations are resumed." Cappellini was already on hand with a mob of his "statements" which threatened the miners with expulsion, drastic steps, etc., etc. His statements were full of venom against the miners who dared violate the "honorable contract", again mentioning nothing about the companies' violations in this or any other instance.

Well, Who Pays Most?

And so it goes. The conditions become worse and the union officials more friendly to the operators than to the men who pay them.

Throughout the region, severe unemployment prevails. The Hudson Coal Company with 20,000 men affected just resumed part time operations after a shutdown of several weeks. All crop coal and outside strippers, numbering about 5,000, have been unemployed for several weeks. The Lehigh Valley company, 13,000 men, are operating on a part time basis, as are the Glen Alden, Penna Coal, etc.

A very determined campaign against progressive miners is now under way by the bureaucracy and operators combined. Militants are being openly discharged, victimized on a large scale.

Miners Aroused

There is an awakening taking place among the anthracite miners, particularly in District No. 1. In some sections of this region in the past, anti-administration leaders and followers found a hard nut to crack, as these various regions were dominated by ultra conservative elements. Today, wherever the progressives go they are received by large crowds in these conservative strongholds. The District election and District convention will be held in the next two months, and this election and convention will be of vital importance to every anthracite miner. A strong progressive slate will be in the field against Cappellini and his cohorts.

Sigman Betrays By Wire

The lurking question: "Why wasn't a strike called at the proper time?" was yet to be answered. It did not long remain a riddle. At the meeting of March 8, the call was let out of the bag in the form of a telegram addressed to Plotkin and signed "Sigman."

The outstanding feature of this telegram was the order: "Do not dare to strike!" And so we didn't. Now this "good boy" Plotkin is going to New York, called in no doubt by his chief to finish his work on eastern soil.

However, the workers are drawing their own conclusions. The dulcet cannot fail to compare the difference in right and left leadership and their results. There where a progressive element controls, decent agreements can be looked for; but where Sigman pulls the strings, there the workers are handed over to the mercy of the bosses without more ado.

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376 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

The Voice of Militant Labor

LABOR UNITYPublished twice a month by the
Labor Unity Publishing Association
376 West Monroe St., Chicago, Ill.

Subscription price \$1.00 per year

EARL R. BROWDER, Editor

Member of Federated Press

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Vol. 1, No. 8.

April 15, 1927.

SAVE SACCO AND VANZETTI

FOLLOWING the denial of the appeal for a new trial by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, Judge Thayer, who did all in his power to inflame the biased jury against Sacco and Vanzetti during their trial, sentenced them to electrocution. This would be nothing less than murder.

The conviction of these two workers for a crime they did not commit, and whose only real crime was their loyalty to their class, has long ago been discredited in the eyes of every unbiased person. Even capitalist newspapers, including the conservative Boston papers, and conservative lawyers expressed themselves in favor of a new trial.

But all proof of the crude unfairness of the trial judge, all the evidence discrediting the chief witnesses for the prosecution, and even the confession of Madeiros that he and others of his gang were responsible for the crime charged against Sacco and Vanzetti, were of no avail. The judicial funkiness of capitalism had to uphold the "honor" of the capitalist court—even at the price of murder.

An appeal may be taken to the U. S. Supreme Court, but at best this will bring only a delay. Final disposition of the fate of the two victims of capitalist justice will no doubt rest with the Governor of Massachusetts. The utmost possible pressure must be brought to bear by the workers of America to force a full pardon for Sacco and Vanzetti.

The fate of Mooney and Billings should serve as a warning. The American workers must be aroused to action before it is too late.

LABOR OFFICIALDOM IN THE CHICAGO ELECTION

THE Chicago Federation of Labor, not so long ago a rallying point for the movement for independent political action of the workers, took no official stand on the rival candidates in the recent city election. This, however, was not determined by the fact that the workers had no ticket of their own. It was due to the balance of forces between two contending groups in the ranks of labor officialdom, led by Fitzpatrick and Nuckles on one side and Oscar Nelson and M. J. Kelly on the other, who lined up behind the candidates of the capitalist parties.

This spectacle of labor leaders, former progressives, fighting as to whom of the capitalist candidates should be given the privilege to kick labor for the next four years, will not enhance the prestige of the Federation or of its leaders. Least of all will it help the movement for a Labor party, to which some of these leaders on occasions give lip service.

It may not, however, pass without some benefit to the workers—if the sincere progressives in the Chicago Federation of Labor will draw the obvious lesson that it is high time to stop following the men who formerly led the progressives and soft-stepping every issue of importance in the labor movement. Only a determined stand

on these issues will help crystallize a progressive leadership, and once more place the Chicago Federation in the forefront of the movement to make the trade unions a weapon of struggle for the workers on both the industrial and political fields.

ANOTHER "DANBURY HATTERS" DECISION

A DECISION by Judge Morton, of the Suffolk Superior Court, Massachusetts, in the case involving a local of the Milk Drivers' Union, holds the members of a union individually responsible for damages incurred in the course of a strike. This is a revival of the famous "Danbury hatters" decision, and is a threat against the trade unions.

The decision will be appealed to the higher courts. We remember, however, that in the Danbury hatters case the ruling of the lower courts was upheld by the U. S. Supreme Court. At this day no one can doubt where the courts stand in the struggle between the workers and the capitalists.

The way to bring a glimmering of the workers' point of view into the courts is not through lawyers' arguments on points of law, but through the political power of the working class organized in a mass Labor Party, and through militant class struggle generally.

THE CRUSADE AGAINST THE MILITANTS IN THE NEEDLE TRADES

WHEREVER the exponents of militant policies in the trade unions gain influence among the rank and file the class-collaborationists resort to suppression and terrorism. But nowhere have they tried to save themselves with such despicable methods as in the struggle against the needle workers.

Here the expulsion of whole locals with thousands of members is the mildest of steps taken by the reactionaries. Here they openly line up with the bosses, using the threat of unemployment and starvation to force the workers to surrender their right to elect their leaders and to submit to the arbitrary rule of the discredited International officials. Here they go to the capitalist courts for injunctions prohibiting the calling of strikes and employ sluggers and police to beat up and arrest pickets.

They are trying to justify this on the ground that the needle workers are led by communists who "are not interested in the betterment of wage earners." This assertion is false on the face of it: If it were true, the reactionaries could easily win over the rank and file without falling back on the bosses, police and courts.

The desperation of the Green-Woll-Sigman-Schachtman outfit shows that precisely the opposite is true. In the needle trades the militants were given the opportunity, for the first time in the American labor movement, to submit the militant policies to the test of practical application, and the results have proved their effectiveness in winning better conditions for the workers. In this lies the guaranty that the reactionaries and their terrorism will be defeated.

FORTY-ONE Southern bishops and ministers have issued an appeal, describing the oppressive conditions under which the workers in the South work and live, and calling on the employers to apply "Christian principles" in their relations with the workers. The reverend gentlemen mention the "absence of employee representation in factory government," but refuse to commit themselves in favor of real trade unions.

The appeal will bring no improvement to the condition of the workers: "Christian principles" count for naught—when they come into conflict with profits.

PILING UP WEALTH—FOR THE BOSSES

THE report of the Treasury Department on the incomes for 1925 reveals astounding figures, which deserve the attention of every worker.

A total of 207 individuals reported an income of over a million dollars. A more detailed analysis shows 104 individuals reporting incomes between one and one and a half million, 43—between one and a half and two million, 29—between two and three million, 15—between three and four million, nine—between four and five million, and seven—over five million dollars with an average of close to ten million. It is not uninteresting to note that 478 individuals reported an income of between half a million and one million dollars.

The headlines in the column of the *New York Times* carrying this report are significant. "Fraction of one per cent pay 95 per cent of the taxes" and "82 per cent of people are untaxed." Translated into terms of wealth, this means that eighty-two per cent of the people live from hand to mouth, while the fraction of one per cent controls the bulk of the country's wealth.

The high-salaried leaders of the American labor movement insist that the trade unions must become partners with the bosses in all kinds of efficiency schemes to extort greater productivity from the workers. But the official figures of the Treasury Department prove that the American workers are very efficient producers of wealth, which they turn over to the bosses. If the workers want a larger share of this wealth for themselves, they will have to use the trade unions, not for co-operation with the bosses, but for fighting them.

UNFILED MISSISSIPPI

"THE idea of a Farmer-Labor Party strikes me very favorably," is the remark of the President of the Mississippi Federation of Labor, Holt E. J. Ross, according to a recent interview in the *Federation Press*.

Mississippi has been one of those states quite backward in trade unionism, having only some 5,000 members; a state that would do well to give more attention to organizing the Negro wage workers than it evidently has been doing, strengthening itself thereby, and by raising the Negro workers' standard of living check the menace to unionism always residing in a large body of poorly paid unorganized workers.

But in the matter of a Labor Party, Mississippi appears to have been so far from the center of corruption that provincialism has lent it a certain purity. With the labor "leaders" of the northern metropolis, it has become second nature to act as the bootlickers of every capitalist politician, supposedly "non-partisan" bootlickers, but bootlickers nevertheless.

Perhaps the solid democratic south leaves little room for fishing for favors in between two capitalist parties. But we welcome the opinion of Brother Ross at face value and urge him to set about organizing a Labor Party in his home state.

As for the "non-partisan" policy, it is clearly a policy of capitalism. It is too common knowledge that both Democratic and Republican parties represent the interests of the employing class. Both have been strikebreakers. Both say they represent all classes of society and both lie when they say it. Political parties always represent some class economic interests. Since they represent capitalist interests, anyone who clings to them is not non-partisan but partisan to capital and opposed to labor. Build a Labor Party!

LABOR UNITY is an open forum for all left wing and progressive trade union groupings in the American labor movement.

UNIONIZE YOUTH

(Continued from page 3)

The case of the Plumbers and Steamfitters is typical. One can hardly join that organization. In fact the Plumbers' Helpers in New York City were compelled to organize themselves in a special union.

A Wrong Viewpoint.

One could go on almost endlessly illustrating the same with the carpenters, bricklayers, moulders, pressmen, upholsterers, etc. In all cases the union is faced with thousands of young workers being trained in the unorganized industry, yet persist in a policy of closed books, high initiations and long apprenticeships.

The A. F. of L. still sticks to the idea that a union is a closed corporation, whose bargaining power depends on the shortage of labor power. It is this idea that is largely responsible for the lack of militancy in the trade union movement. The logical conclusion is that a union's strength does not depend on its ability to fight the employers, but upon its ability to prevent workers from entering the trade. This is further supported by the idea that the union agrees to supply employers with only full-fledged mechanics and therefore cannot take responsibility for such as have not gone through a long apprenticeship.

Conflict With Conservatives

Coupled with this, there is the fact that young workers are more militant and rebellious. They have not yet been taught to think that a union is a means of protecting a trade. Not being bound definitely to certain line of work, they naturally come into the union with the idea that they are entering an army. The reactionary leadership which caters to the bosses in an endeavor to make the unions "respectable" and harmless, come in conflict with the youth and make every effort to keep young workers out.

In the light of such facts, the left wing in the trade unions considers it its duty to carry on a systematic campaign to show the workers that the correct path is along lines that will bring the young workers into the trade unions.

Correct Methods

Although there has been little study made on the subject, and this by no means excludes the left wing, the following conclusions hold true generally and should be applied as far as possible:

1. Equal pay for equal work.
2. Graduated scale of apprentice wages.
3. Wages of youth to be determined by union.
4. Obligatory, free and complete training of all youth up to the age of 18.
5. Abolition of individual apprenticeship agreements.
6. Strict control of apprenticeship by the union.
7. Abolition of all limitations to the entry of young workers into the union, such as high initiations, long apprenticeships, or closed books and age limits.
8. The creation of special institutions or committees for reaching the unorganized young workers through special methods, such as educational, sports, social, etc.

The correct application of the above methods can go a long way to enlisting the great mass of working class youth in the ranks of American trade unions, increasing their strength and militancy.

"Labor is entitled to the full value of its product" and a subscription costs only one dollar a year to show you how to get it.

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Not Through Class Collaboration

BY WM. Z. FOSTER

A RECENT addition to the rapidly growing literature on company unionism is "Political and Industrial Democracy," by W. Jett Lauek. This is a book which should be read and analyzed carefully by every student and militant in the labor movement.

Mr. Lauek is very sanguine that the class struggle will be liquidated in the alleged tendencies to draw the workers into the management and ownership of the industries. He sees strikes and other class strife gradually giving way to an all-embracing class collaboration.

Lots of Democracy—In the Book.

There are two general phases to Mr. Lauek's analysis and program. The first relates to the democratization of industrial management and the second to the democratization of industrial ownership. The achievements of these ends will be the realization of industrial democracy.

Mr. Lauek hopes for the democratization of management by an

less the labor union is adopted as the fundamental base of procedure."

Mr. Lauek contends that the B. & O. plan represents such a junction of the shop committee and the trade union. But his ideal case of such an amalgamation is in the "Golden Rule" Nash plant. There a real company union existed among non-union workers and it was united to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers when that union organized the plant. Substantial economies in production result.

Quotes Green as Willing.

Lauek proposes that the company unions all over the country be similarly amalgamated with and based upon the trade unions. He cites Pres. Green of the A. F. of L. voluminously to prove that Organized Labor is ready for the step. He believes that many industrial managers are also ready.

As to the second phase of the problem, the democratization of industrial ownership, Mr. Lauek expects it to take place by the work-

cent of their wages annually and invested it collectively in common stock, they could within a decade acquire a controlling interest in our basic industries such as hard and soft coal mines, steam railroads, iron and steel mills and furnaces, and other branches of mining and manufacturing.

What a delightfully simple solution of the workers' problems. Nothing further to do, once the employers become "reasonable", than to join up the trade unions to the company unions, co-operate with the employers to increase production, and then with the proceeds buy the industries. Thus there would be no strife, no struggle, no hardships, no revolution, only co-operation, harmony, prosperity, Beautiful!

What He Forgets

But the trouble with this utopia is that it overlooks completely the basic contradictions of the capitalist system. It assumes, for one thing, that the present period of industrial "prosperity" will continue. This is the basis of the whole scheme. But it is a fallacy.

For the moment the American industrial system is very favorably situated in the race for the world markets. But soon the growing competition of England, Germany, and other countries will infringe upon its foreign trade. Inevitably this country will again face deepening and more persistent industrial crises than ever before in its history. The question is not if these crises will develop but merely when and how.

Dreams Will Vanish

The inevitable industrial crisis will immediately fan into flame the smoldering embers of class struggle. The employers, confronted with diminishing markets and reduced profits, will try to recover their losses by taking them out of the hides of the workers through lowering the latter's standard of living. The workers, confronted with mass unemployment, wage cuts, speed-up systems, etc., will inevitably fight back. Great strikes and vast, ever more radical political movements will develop. The cobweb fabric of class collaboration, upon which Lauek pins his hopes, will be shattered by the shock of class conflict.

Mr. Lauek himself unwittingly gives an indication of the fate of the new, intensified class collaboration movement. He says that this movement developed principally during the war and immediately afterward. Then was when most of the company unions were formed; then was when the trade unions, the churches, the employers, and the Government issued statement after statement and held scores of conferences to the effect that a new day was dawning in industry, based upon the collaboration of classes for the benefit of all. Reformists like Mr. Lauek believed we were on the road to a beneficent social peace.

Just a "Mistake"

But the industrial dislocation after the war, with its high prices, industrial depression, mass unemployment, wholesale wage cuts, etc., burst the bubble. "The American working class found itself in the most bitterly fought struggle in its history. Mr. Lauek deprecates this period of terrific struggles as a sad mistake. He fails to understand the fundamental clash of class interests that caused it and that, another such period must inevitably follow the present era of "prosperity."

Mr. Lauek is an able cultivator of reformist illusions, fatal to the interests of the workers. Objectively he is in harmony with the policy of the capitalists, even though he hides them from time to time. The employers, confronted with a favorable economic situation, have used to speed up production. Strikes injure them greatly and must be avoided. They must

(Continued on page 6)

IMPERIALISTS THREATEN WAR ON CHINA AND SOVIET RUSSIA

The developments since the bombardment of Nanking show ever more clearly that the imperialist powers, under the leadership of the British government, are determined to crush the Chinese nationalist-revolutionary movement, and are definitely preparing for war against China and Soviet Russia.

Under the pretext of protection for their nationals, they are concentrating ever larger armed forces in China. Battleships and troops are stationed not only in Shanghai and other sea ports, but in the interior ports as well. In Hankow alone, at present the capital of the Nationalist government, there are twenty-one foreign warships with their guns trained on the city.

Having apparently, for the moment, come to terms among themselves, as shown by their joint note on the Nanking affair, the imperialists are trying to weaken the nationalist forces by fomenting friction and division in their ranks. They have instigated the raids on the Soviet embassy and consulate in Peking and Tientsin and have instituted a siege of the consulate at Shanghai. They are trying to provoke the Soviet Union to take military action against the imperialist tool, General Chiang Tso-lin, in order to use this as a pretext to declare war on revolutionary China and Soviet Russia.

Only the action of the working class in the imperialist countries can prevent this war. The British workers are already mobilizing for action against their imperialist government. The Minority Movement, the organized left wing of the British trade unions which at its last conference rallied over a million workers, has called a series of regional conferences throughout England to take place this month and will no doubt develop a formidable movement to halt the imperialists.

The American workers must follow their example. The militants must arouse the masses of the American workers to a consciousness of the grave danger and of the necessity for resolute action to prevent a new world war.

amalgamation of the trade union and company union movements. The employers must grant the workers the right to organize independently; the workers must collaborate freely with the employers to carry on production efficiently. He opposes "pure" company unionism as being insufficient. The present company unionism as being insufficient. The present company unions are steps in the right direction, but they cannot obtain their objective until they are based on the trade unions.

Company Unionizing Trade Unions

In the Workers Monthly for October, 1925, I pointed out that the real significance of the B. & O. plan was its tending to amalgamate the trade unions and the company unions. Mr. Lauek recognizes this tendency and militantly propagates it. He says:

"Shop committees and more extensive systems of employe representation are of fundamental importance, but they should be co-ordinated with regular unions. . . . Co-operative relations between employers and employes can never be realized by shop committees or systems of employe representation un-

ers buying their way into control of the industries out of their share of the returns from the increased production brought about by the new collaboration. Stock-buying by individual workers he condemns as futile, firstly because the workers, if left to their own devices, do not buy heavily enough and, secondly, they do not hang on to their stocks but sell them at the first favorable opportunity. Hence, says Mr. Lauek, the workers must buy collectively the stocks of the industries in which they work.

A Bright Idea

He cites as classically successful collective stock-buying by the workers the experience of the "Million Plan" in the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Co. and of the A. Nash Co. of Cincinnati, in the first of which companies the workers have bought more than a third of the common stock ("a practical control") and in the second of which they have actually secured a majority of the common stock. Mr. Lauek believes that it is only necessary to extend this movement further and the trick will be turned. He says:

"Under such a procedure, if wage-earners received a share in productive gains of only ten per

FIRST ANTI-IMPERIALIST WORLD CONGRESS

BY MANUEL GOMEZ

Sec'y All-American Anti-Imperialist League (U. S. Section.)

I HAVE just returned from Brussels, Belgium, where I attended one of the most far-reaching international conventions that has ever been held.

Representatives of labor organizations from all parts of the globe, with a combined membership of 7,982,000 trade unionists, participated in the gathering. These organizations included the General Confederation of Labor (Unitarian) of France, the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, the British Minority Movement, the South African Trade Union Congress, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the Mexican Confederation of Labor (CROM), etc., etc. Among those present were such outstanding labor men as Edo. Fimmen, head of the International Federation of Transport Workers; J. W. Brown, secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam), and George Lansbury, vice-chairman of the British Labor Party.

Oppressed Peoples Represented

But the power expressed in the Brussels gathering far exceeded that of the millions of trade unionists represented there. It was a congress of the representatives of the oppressed of the world. The many-millioned masses of Asia, Africa and Latin America, some organized in one way, some in another, joined hands with the delegates from the more industrial nations in what will be known as the first world congress against imperialism.

What is the significance of the Brussels congress to the labor movement? What does it mean when Fimmen of the Transport Workers clasps hands with J. Lal Nehru of the Indian National Congress, or when Herriot of the French labor confederation comes together with El Bakri of the fighting Syrian nationalists, or when Lansbury of England aligns himself with Liau of China, or when delegates from the United States make common cause with those from Latin America?

It means that a new force has

come into being to resist the mighty powers of the world.

Imperialism Menaces Workers at Home

All the big industrial nations are today empires—including the American empire. Big Business strives more and more to set up monopolized areas (or colonial spheres) for investment in so-called backward countries, where cheap labor can be exploited under colonial conditions to compete with trade union labor at home, thus serving as a constant menace against decent standards of living.

It is already some time since the British textile workers were obliged to send trade union organizers from Lancashire to India, to help organize the Indian textile workers.

International Big Business, constantly expanding upon an imperialist basis, derives strength from imperialism to fight the demands of the workers at home.

But the strength of imperialism is also its weakness. The oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies struggle for their national independence, refuse to remain under the yoke of imperialism, and thus become potential allies of European and American labor.

Common Struggle of All Oppressed

The "awakening of the East," which stands out after the Cantonese capture of Shanghai as an epochal fact, indicates what powerful support against imperialist Big Business is developing by the side of the international labor movement. Who can doubt that the thunder of the nationalist guns in China strengthens the British workers in their dealings with their bosses, now challenged on two fronts. Certainly the British workers do not doubt it. President Hicks of the General Council of the British Trade Union Congress became head of the Com-

mittee for Friendly Relations with China, organized as soon as the British government began its policy of sending military forces to Shanghai. The London Trades Council initiated a wave of hand-off-China demonstrations which were taken up by the workers throughout England and which were largely responsible for the hesitancy of the British government in going ahead with intervention in China.

Similarly in the western hemisphere, the interests of the American workers are against colonial schemes in Nicaragua, Mexico, etc., carried thru under the slogan of the Monroe Doctrine. Not only has the American working class nothing to gain through American imperialism in Latin America, the Philippine Islands or anywhere else, but it must support the struggles of the natives for independence from imperialist domination. It must make common cause with them.

The international trade union movement must become part of the movement for the emancipation of all the oppressed—whether oppression be along class, race or national lines.

United Action against Imperialism

Brussels proved that workers and oppressed peoples are coming together not merely in isolated instances (as in the case of the Chinese situation) but as part of a conscious and united movement. Properly enough, China occupied the center of the stage at the first world congress against imperialism. However more than thirty different nationalities were represented. In addition to those already cited, delegates were present from Mexico, Cuba, Central and South America, the Riff area of Morocco, Senegal, Egypt, the Dutch East Indies, Korea, French Indo-China, etc., etc.

Thus the combination means power and that it is capable of effective measures against imperialist Big Business is reflected in all the decisions adopted at the Brussels congress. Here, for instance, are some of the points in the trade union resolution:

1. The right to strike and to organize in trade unions must be (Continued on page 7.)

THE WORKERS' SLOAN



INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

(Continued from page 5)

keep the workers on the job and make them produce more and more.

A Stupid Illusion

Hence the employers are willing to and do make modest concessions to reactions of their workers in the shops of higher wages, shorter hours, company unions, welfare systems, profit-sharing, etc. To suppose that such concessions will cumulatively free the workers is stupid. But along comes Mr. Lauck and magnifies these concessions and the system of making them as real progress and the open road to emancipation for the workers.

The upper bureaucracy of the unions are captured by the class collaboration schemes, of which Mr. Lauck is such an able champion. Many of the workers are also deceived by them. For these a rude awakening is in store. They will be made to learn by bitter experience that power is the deciding factor in the class struggle. The employers will give the workers nothing. If they appear to give them anything, as in the various class collaboration schemes, it is only so they can rob them more effectively.

The workers' sole reliance is in strong organization, political and industrial. All-else is vain illusion. To put hope in class collaboration illusions instead of building strong fighting organizations is to sacrifice the interests of the working class.

PIOUS IMPERIALISM

THE "Manufacturers Record" has been getting more and more worried about militant labor. Now, on top of everything, comes China, with— it is alleged— Bolshevism leading the poor, misguided Chinese astray and blinding them to the glories of life beneath the imperialist yoke. In a lengthy article portentously entitled: "A World Menace of Fearful Import is Bolshevism in China and Elsewhere", the "Manufacturers Record" howls for intervention against the forces sweeping China along the road of liberation and out of the grasp of imperialism.

The diabolical ingenuity of the Bolsheviks, says the "Record", has made the discovery that "where there is discontent, where poverty is greatest, there is the best ground to sow the seeds of revolt"; and "therefore, in China and India, where wages are low and the standard of living correspondingly bad, the Bolsheviks are at work." The fervor of its denunciation mounts to a revivalist pitch:

"Not if the devil himself, assuming human form, had undertaken to bring misery on man and lead him into Hell, could he have devised anything more devilish than Bolshevism."

"Protect Property Rights"

Looking with greedy eyes at awakening China, the "Record" sees a vast field for investment and exploitation within the reach of American imperialism:

"China will need vast capital, vast supplies of machinery, vast technical resources, a vast outpouring of all the power of the Occident. . . . If duly "educated and modernized" . . . she can take up all our surplus products"; and if taught to eat wheat instead of rice, "she will end the agricultural crisis in our own wheat belt." And if exploitation is to proceed unhampered, China must be governed in proper capitalist fashion, with "sound laws, soundly administered," and "a stable government . . . that shall guarantee property rights."

"Suppress Anti-Imperialism"

But there is an obstacle to the realization of this pleasant prospect—the anti-imperialist leadership in China—and it must be destroyed. Its destruction, says the "Manufacturers Record" with true imperialist piety, "is the affair of all nations that serve God". The editor calls for a holy crusade, not alone in China, but wherever the workers show signs of resistance to imperialist exploitation. This country must take the lead, since our immense foreign investments give us "a superior interest throughout the world in the sanctity of property rights", and "Bolshevism, wherever it lifts its accursed head, directly menaces our prosperity."

The crusade is in a sacred cause: "Our vast wealth, has, we believe, been given us by the Almighty to hold in trust for the world's benefit. . . . That wealth must be wisely used for the uplifting of humanity."

This is typical imperialist talk, the sort of pious cant that the imperialists of Great Britain are so fond of getting off whenever they shoot a few hundred Indian strikers, or stage a massacre of Egyptian nationalists. The presence of this kind of thing in the American press is one more point to add to the heap of testimony piling up that the United States has fully entered upon her role of leading imperialist nation.

INTERNATIONAL FRONT

THE CHINESE RAILMEN'S UNION

(A Letter from China)

By EARL R. BROWDER

CANTON, China, Feb. 28.—Yesterday Tom Mann, Jacques Doriot and myself were the guests of the joint committee of the Seamen's Union and the Railwaymen's Union at a large meeting held in the Railway Administration building just outside Canton at the terminal of the Kwong Tung Yueh-Han Railway. It was an excellent trade union-mass-meeting, full of interest and deserving a story of itself, but I started out to write about the facts I learned there of the Railwaymen's Union, which is a subject of more permanent importance.

It is only in the territory of the Kuomintang government that trade unions are allowed to function legally. Railwaymen in the North tried many times to organize openly, but the militarists, notably Wu Pei-fu, executed their leaders. Outside the area of the Canton forces the unions are therefore secret. Up until a few months ago, when the Canton expedition started North against the militarists, the province of Kwantung was the only one in which the Railwaymen's Union could function openly. It is here, therefore, that the union is most firmly and permanently organized.

Union Defeats Reaction

The Railwaymen's Union has played a foremost part in the struggle for national freedom. When the reactionary tool of the British, General Chen Chiung-Ming, attempted to overthrow the Kuomintang government in Kwantung toward the end of 1925, the railwaymen called a general strike against Chen Chiung-Ming, placed all forces at the disposal of the Kuomintang, and thus played a decisive part in the wiping out of the reaction in November, 1925.

There are six railways in Kwantung province. The union has a department for each railway, of which the following is a list, with the numbers of union members in each (the numbers are approximate, in accordance with the basis of representation at the Congress held on February 7, 1927): Canton-Hankow (Southern)—2000, Canton-Samsui Railway—800, Canton-Kowloon (Chinese section)—1000, Samsui-Shiuhing—1000, Soumang—1200, Kowloon-Canton (British section)—secret organization.

AUTO WORKERS

(Continued from page 1)

being conducted by six shop papers issued by the Workers' Party shop-units. These shop papers, issued in six of the largest plants, have a total circulation of 35,000 copies each month. The central theme of the shop papers is the urgent need of a union.

These shop papers have sprung up during the last twelve months, starting with one paper with a circulation of 2,000, until the present figure has been reached. The Ford Worker, the shop paper for the Ford plant, has a circulation of 20,000 each month, with a constant growth depending on the ability of the newsboys to handle the papers fast enough.

The Plans of the A. F. of L. to organize the auto industry are watched for with close interest. If the A. F. of L. finally puts its drive into effect, and conducts it along the line of the steel campaign, with the various craft unions involved forgetting their jurisdictional squabbles, it will get the support of all the elements among the Detroit auto workers.

How Union Is Organized

All railway manual workers are organized into a single, solid union, which includes practically every worker in the province. The form of organization is built up from the bottom on the following lines:

Lowest unit—group of ten workers.

Railway Section—general meeting of all workers, which elects a section executive.

District (or Division), the highest organ of which is the joint meeting of the Sections composing it.

Union Branch—for each separate railway, headed by an Executive Committee of 45 members elected by general vote of all workers on that railway.

Kwantung Provincial Union, uniting six branches, under an Executive of 19 members elected by the Provincial congress. This is itself a Branch of the All-China Railwaymen's Union, with General headquarters in Hankow.

The Provincial Union held its last congress in February, with over 400 delegates attending, only a few weeks ago; while the All-China Union holds its first congress next week in Hankow.

Among the members and leaders

of this union, as of most Chinese unions, one finds the same types as in America or England, only the Chinese are more uniformly revolutionary and class-conscious. The Kwantung Union has an exceptionally able and loyal group of leaders.

Armed Defense Force

The union maintains a uniformed and drilled body of 600 armed pickets, which serve to some extent as guards against bandits and counter-revolutionists, and as a reserve for the revolutionary government.

At the particular place where we visited, the Union Club is the former residence of the Chief Engineer of the railway. It is a commodious house with large gardens, in which has been erected a meeting hall for the workers which accommodates some thousand workers at one time. The offices of the Union of this Branch are housed in this Club.

This is but one small sample of the tremendous network of organization of the masses of workers and peasants, which is the secret of the overwhelming power with which the Kuomintang armies have swept the militarists out of their way in the march to the North. Everywhere they come, they are welcomed as the liberators of the masses, making possible trade union and peasant organization wherever the power of the Kuomintang is established.

exposed to continual danger of internecine warfare within its own ranks.

Some Encouraging Signs

Encouraging signs are to be seen on the other hand, in the decisions to organize joint shop committees, to co-ordinate the unemployment movement on a National scale, to oppose all forms of military training, and to demand State unemployment insurance.

The objects of the new center were defined as being: (1) Organization of workers on the industrial field, (2) educational work to bring need for working class political action, and (3) to further such legislation as shall be of immediate benefit to the workers, and which tends to increase their social and political welfare.

It was decided to name the new center, "The All-Canadian Congress of Labor."

A. A. Mosher, president of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees was elected President. W. T. Burford of the Electrical Communication Workers Union was elected Executive Secretary, while the Mine-workers Union, the Bricklayers and Masons Federation, the O. B. U. and the Canadian Federation of Labor are all represented on the executive of seven members.

The incoming executive was instructed to take up with the British Trades Union Congress the question of exchange of fraternal delegates and to demand recognition from the Canadian government. The executive secretary will open permanent headquarters at Ottawa, from which an official periodical will be published as soon as possible.

An interesting feature of the convention was a communication from the Japanese workers union of British Columbia regarding the terms of affiliation. The dominant note of the discussions was quite apparently that stressing the need for unity of the Canadian workers in one central body, while perhaps one of the most encouraging decisions was that instructing the executive to proceed with actual organization work under direct supervision of the Congress.

During an interview given to a Yellow sheet published in Halifax, Nova Scotia, shortly after the convention, Tom Moore, President of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, denounced the new center bitterly, declaring that rather than "The All-Canadian Congress" it should be called "The All-Red Congress." This is merely a continuance of Moore's ostrich like policy of dismissing every new development in the Canadian movement as Communist scheming. He is ridiculous of course, but unfortunately for the whole Labor movement has to suffer for it.

National Trade Union Center in Canada

BY TIM BUCK

FOLLOWING the conference of "National" and independent unions that was held last November and from which a call was sent out for the organization of a permanent central body representing this growing group within the Canadian trade union movement, there was held in the city of Montreal during March, a constituent convention at which the new center was definitely established.

There were present at the convention, 107 delegates, representing twelve National organizations, reporting an aggregate membership of one hundred and ten thousand. The principal organizations represented, included the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees, The Mine workers Union of Canada, The Amalgamated Carpenters Union of Canada, The One Big Union, The Canadian Federation of Labor, and the Canadian Electrical Communication Workers Union.

Questions of Principle Evaded

As was natural, the principal work of the convention was the formulation of a constitutional and programmatic basis upon which unity of the various tendencies among the National and Independent unions could be secured. This led in one or two instances to the shelving of questions of principle; and a tendency to emphasize the need for unity of "National" unions as such, rather than the need for unity of the Canadian workers as a whole.

This was particularly noticeable in the decision to withdraw a resolution on industrial unionism, and to expunge it from the records. The majority of the delegates clearly favored endorsement of industrial unionism, although it would have been impossible to merge the various participating organizations. The resolution in fact did not propose any immediate organizational measures because of recognition of this. The Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees which was perhaps the most influential union in the convention, and which has played a leading part in the organization of this new center, is industrial

in scope and has endorsed the principle of industrial unionism through amalgamation, at its National conventions. The same is true of the Mine-workers Union of Canada, the Amalgamated Carpenters and several of the smaller organizations represented at the convention, and the balance of forces was undoubtedly strongly on the side of industrial organization. In fact, when the motion was made to refer the resolution back to committee, the general opinion was that it was for some unimportant amendments, and it was considered as adopted in principle.

The decisive reason no doubt for the withdrawal of this resolution, was a desire to avoid the clash that it would have inevitably brought between the industrial unionists, and the One Big Union theory of "Class Unionism." It is difficult to see however in what way anything was gained by evasion of the issue, particularly inasmuch as it was purely a question of principle, and not of immediate organizational measures. Sooner or later it will have to be faced, and until it is the new center will be

ANTI-IMPERIALIST CONGRESS

(Continued from page 5)

maintained for colonial and semi-colonial peoples, as well as for all others.

2) International strike action must be insisted upon in the imperialist nations—partial and general strikes—in the event of imperialist war moves.

3) There must be no more segregation of black from white workers in the industrial countries.

4) All must strive for the establishment of a single international federation of labor, embracing all trade union organizations, irrespective of race, nationality or color.

5) Trade unionists in all the imperialist countries must support the movements for national independence in the colonies and semi-

The Brussels congress is now a thing of the past, but it leaves an organization behind it: the International League against Imperialism and Colonial Rule, with temporary headquarters at Berlin. American trade unionists should work for the affiliation of American labor organizations to the League. The American delegation was the weakest of all those participating in the Brussels congress. It is worth asking why? It might not be amiss for trade unionists to make their leaders state definitely whether they intend to stand with the oppressed peoples of the world or against them.

Whatever a few leaders may decide to do, the international organization of workers and oppressed peoples is already a historical fact, which the future cannot erase but can only build upon.

Book Review

THE CONQUEST OF THE PHILIPPINES BY THE UNITED STATES, by Moorfield Storey and Marcial P. Lichano, 274 pages. Putnam, New York.

Moorfield Storey, a former president of the American Bar Association, and his collaborator, a Filipino Harvard graduate, have written a book the essence of which should be known to every militant worker in the U. S.

Some time in the future the Philippine nation will again challenge American imperialism, and with the flaming example of China right at its door to give it encouragement and support, will demand independence. This struggle will impose on the American labor movement the obligation to aid the Filipinos in their fight for freedom.

Workers must first get straight on what the row is all about. Firstly, we must get rid of the notion, absorbed from capitalist propaganda, that the Filipinos are a few thousand "tribesmen" implying a state of savagery) who would ruin wild the moment General Wood's "strong hand" would be removed. The Philippines are and have been a nation of over eleven million people, in a territory larger than New England and Pennsylvania combined and far richer in natural resources.

When the armed forces of the United States invaded the territory of the Philippine nation by order of President McKinley, whose share in this affair amounted to a criminal conspiracy planned months in advance and carried out with a hypocritical brutality seldom equaled in history, the Filipinos had raised an army effective enough to defeat and expel the Spanish from the entire archipelago, and a central government maintained peace and received the support of the entire population. The only reason Filipino troops did not hold Manila and Cavilo was that American troops, by agreement, were allowed to occupy these towns.

It was a fatal mistake on the part of Aguinaldo. Deceived (then, as now), by the fair words of America, he admitted the U. S. troops into positions which they later utilized to attack the Filipinos, after years of warfare destroying their independence.

How this war against the Philippine nation was begun and carried on, should be known to every worker. McKinley, whose war on Spain gave the excuse to seize the Philippines, had formally declared that the seizure was only temporary and for military reasons, that to annex such territory forcibly would be "criminal aggression" and that the "priceless principles" of the U. S. "undergo no damage under a tropical sun."

But all that was bunk for the public. The American government let loose an army large enough to garrison every town, comb every hill and valley and to crush the Philippine nation. American troops killed and tortured and massacred wounded and non-combatant men, women and children. The book under review written, not by a radical, but by an eminent lawyer, tells the details and cites documentary proof.

And since then all the hypocritical "postponing" of the promised independence for the Philippines is shown to be merely a stalling off of formal and absolute annexation, which exists now in fact.

How can the Filipinos attain freedom? You'll not find the answer in this book. Despite its valuable data, it can recommend only the useful but wholly inadequate means of an enlightened public

DAWN

By S. Major

*Out of the misty darkness of the night
That wrapped its clammy folds about the world,
And held the soul of man in bondage vile,
Shone forth the glow of Russia's morning star,
The avant-courier of the coming Day;
Therefore the toilers of the world took heart
After the brooding silence of the years.*

*Now China's millions take the task in hand
To break the galling bonds of slavery
And voice their freedom to a waiting world.
So in the East another star appears,
Another herald of the flaming Sun
Of Revolution, that shall cleanse the earth
Of all the useless gross that covers it.
And from the ashes, like the Phoenix old,
Shall spring a new-envenomed race of Man,
Wherein the Worker takes his proper place,
Controller of the world's ascending path.*

*Fight on! O brothers of the shining East.
In years to come, they who are babes to-day
Shall know the meaning of your gallant stand,
And write your names on Freedom's Honor Roll.*

Sport Sidelights

By ABE HARRIS

IN baseball, the salaries of prominent players have reached tremendous proportions. Fifty thousand dollars for Ty Cobb and Eddie Collins, this after they had been temporarily ruled out for gambling. Two hundred thousand dollars for Babe Ruth, on a three-year contract. Seventy thousand for Roger Hornsby, exclusive of his holdings in St. Louis and Yankee American stock.

There is a reason why they receive these high salaries. To them there is no question of baseball ethics. They capitalize their popularity for all the cash it can bring, but not without leaving high profits to the club owners who "sell" them to the fans.

IN this paying of high salaries to popular stars, baseball can well be compared to any business. We can compare Babe Ruth as slugger on the diamond with the Babe Ruth in the movies; Dempsey in the movies, with Dempsey as slugger in the ring. There is little difference between these or other athletes and Heery as Kelly in "Casey at the Bat", a sport picture where the hero is a ball player.

WHEN is a professional not a professional? This question is suggested by the status of certain professional amateurs.

When any man or boy in school begins to show good form he is immediately absorbed into a huge amateur athletic organization. And after being observed by scouts for the various athletic organization, such as the Illinois Athletic Club, the New York or the Los Angeles Club, he is contracted for a number of years to be THEIR amateur athlete, all expenses paid and provided with a job on a substantial salary to keep him in the vicinity of the particular club.

There is much talk regarding the status of such amateur athletes as Nurmi, Hoff, Norman-Ross, etc, whose expense accounts are so high that they almost equal professional salaries.

OF the seventy-five thousand dollars which the riders in the six-day bike race collected as prize money, and which was put up by the spectators during the week, Reggie MacNamara and Franco Georgetti collected twelve thousand dollars each, getting the first and second prizes.

I NOTICE that Dempsey is attempting a come-back. Dempsey is a good illustration of what bourgeois "fast living" will do to any athlete, if kept up for any length of time.

A professional fighter must have a certain outlook of brutality on life. He can never consider an opponent other than as an opponent. And going in for "society" gayeties, where the principal sports are card games and flirtation, is hardly the proper training for coming into the ring and fighting fifteen or twenty rounds.

WITH the Big Ten cage season over, I think we ought to throw our all-star team into the ring.

- First Team:**
Osterbaum, F., Michigan.
Daugherty, F., Illinois.
Cunmins, C., Purdue.
Hunt, G., Ohio.
McConnell, G., Iowa.
- Second Team:**
Gleichman, F., Northwestern.
Harrigan, F., Michigan.
Van Duesen, C., Iowa.
Barnum, G., Wisconsin.
Hoerger, C., Chicago.

International Labor Delegation in China

CANTON, Feb. 25.—The International Workers' Delegation, which arrived in Canton on the 18th of February, was composed of Tom Mann, of the Minority Movement of England; Jack Doriot, member of French parliament, and Earl Browder, of the United States. The aim of the delegation was to bring to the Chinese workers and peasants encouragement and assurance of support from the workers of the world.

On the 19th of February the delegation visited the Huandun Provincial Government and the Kuomintang Committee. On the same day the Delegation was present at a meeting of members of the leading labor organizations: the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, Honkong Strike Committee and Canton Council of Delegates.

The Delegation was enthusiastically welcomed. In the name of over a million organized members of the trade unions of China, the President of the All-China Federation greeted the delegates. At the banquet given in honor of the Delegation, where 500 representatives of the revolutionary movement, national revolutionary army, trade unions, peasant, women and student organizations, were present, Tom Mann delivered a fighting speech against British imperialism. "Every blow dealt British imperialism in China," said Tom Mann, "is a victory for the workers of London, Glasgow and Manchester, as well as for the oppressed peoples of India, Egypt and South Africa."

opinion in America. And the authors admit that even this is next to impossible, with all the avenues of information controlled at their source.

The Filipinos have too long looked to such "moral suasion". Their disappointment and the example of China right at their door may teach them to look for other means.

The day will come when the Filipinos will strike a blow for freedom. In that hour—and even before then in preparation for it—he workers of the U. S. must be keenly alive to the fact that their interests lie in a fighting alliance with the Filipino people against the imperialists who oppress and exploit labor both at home and in the Philippines. This book will help arm the militant trade unionists with facts to lay the ground for such an alliance.

—PETER FLYNN

The American delegate warned against the mask of lying friendship taken on by American imperialism, which is a dangerous enemy of China. "However," said Browder—the intervention of American imperialists in South and Central America has unmasked the true nature of the enemy."

Doriot spoke of the policy pursued by French imperialism in Morocco, Syria, Indo-China and China. Touching on the strong anti-imperialist movement among the workers in France, Doriot said: "French imperialism is afraid of revolution in France itself, is afraid of the powerful avalanche of the victorious Chinese national revolutionary movement."

On February 21 the Delegation visited the Wamp Military Academy, where a meeting was held with all the students and general staff participating. On the 23rd a demonstration was held at Canton of over 10,000 workers, peasants, students, women, and soldiers delegated by their respective organizations to greet and hear the message of the International Workers Delegation. The sentiments of the Canton organizations which participated in this mass meeting, and of the Canton masses, are best expressed in the slogan written on the banner presented to the Delegation by the meeting. The inscription reads:

The alliance of the world proletariat with the oppressed peoples will free the world from the yoke of imperialism and reaction, and will create a new and free world on the ruins of the old.

This inscription was the keynote of the great mass meeting and of all the addresses delivered by the Chinese and international speakers. Great enthusiasm was aroused by Tom Mann's speech.

"I am a British worker," Tom Mann said, "coming from the country whose government has robbed you, has bled you, that has perpetrated so many crimes against your great people. I came here to encourage you to destroy the British imperialism and to drive the imperialists out of China. Fighting together with you, the class-conscious workers of England and of the world will wipe British and world imperialism off the face of the earth. I came here to assure you that there are millions of workers in Great Britain who think and feel as I do. We will triumph over our common enemy."