

# LABOR UNITY

An Illustrated Monthly Magazine



Fighters' Hands

June, 1928

Price 20c

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# WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

Born 1869, in Salt Lake City; Died May 18, 1928, in Moscow



**A REAL FIGHTER FOR THE WORKING CLASS**

(See Article By James P. Cannon In This Issue).

# The Miners Advance to the District Conventions

By JOHN J. WATT



JOHN J. WATT  
Chairman of Pittsburgh  
Conference

**M**ARCHING onward, the rank and file miners have sent out their calls and set the dates in almost every district within their union for their district conventions, conventions that will restore the United Mine Workers of America back into their own hands, remove the reactionary leadership and place that organization back into the fight a real, militant union that will, as in the days before its betrayal, lead the way for the working masses and to economic freedom.



PAT TOOHEY  
Secretary Save-the-Union  
Committee

The rank and file miners, undaunted and unafraid, although opposed by the greatest obstacles that ever faced such a movement have come out victorious in the first rounds. The evictions, clubbings, revocation of charters, the yellow dogs, state cossacks, deputy sheriffs, arrests and jailings have all been in vain. The mine workers go forward to victory: not only have they defeated in specific cases all these agencies of the Republican and Democratic parties, but also the gunmen, thugs and spies of the Lewis machine. The miners are more determined than ever that the things they have set out to accomplish shall be fulfilled in every degree.

The rank and file miners know that their

only hope lies in the capturing of the union, and they are determined to do that. Their efforts command the respect and admiration of the workers of the entire world. Illinois, Indiana Kansas, Ohio and Pennsylvania are blazing the way, with the other smaller districts falling rapidly into line determined to play their part in the restoration of the union. The reactionary Lewis machine adherents in these districts stand with their backs to the wall with certain annihilation facing them. They have used every force and power at their command to stem the tide of revolt but they have lost, their doom is certain.

In Illinois the convention took place May 19th. Illinois miners may be depended upon; when

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they fight they usually accomplish what they start. It is amusing to see the desperate struggle that District President Fishwick, the agent and collaborator of Frank (Peabody) Farrington is putting up. Fishwick challenged the Illinois rank and file to go ahead with their convention, that he wanted such a convention so that he could go into it and defeat the "Save-the-Union crowd", but now he has turned tail after his efforts to prevent the convention have been defeated.

The Illinois coal operators are charged with aiding and assisting Fishwick in his efforts to defeat the rank and file movement by releasing the bosses' association members, with no penalty attached for so doing, to enter into agreements with the Illinois union to start all the mines that they could in order to try to split the ranks of the Illinois miners, but the miners realize the real intent of the coal operators is to destroy the union and that Fishwick's cooperation with the coal operators on this kind of a splitting policy places him in exactly the position of a union wrecker.

Fishwick is termed by the miners "a poor Fish" and they have hit the nail right on the head for they remember his alliance with Farrington and his loyalty to that traitor of the miners, even when he fought Lewis but just as soon as Lewis removed Farrington, Fishwick was no longer openly a friend of Farrington's, but played up to Lewis and is as strongly supporting him as he once did Farrington. He is a very weak district president, no doubt the weakest one in the union, and is now panic stricken because of the power displayed by the rank and file in Illinois.

In Indiana the fight has been just as severe as in any other district, the Heslers and Court-rights have done every thing they could to prevent the calling of a District Convention, they,



**NEGRO MINERS STARTING FOR THE PICKET LINE**

Throughout the strike, the Negro miners, of whom there has been a growing number in the coal industry during the last several years, have shown splendid loyalty to the Save-the-Union Committee, and are fighting shoulder to shoulder with their white brothers.

like Lewis and others, have failed, the convention has been held, the Indiana rank and file miners are lined up to give their assistance to the program adopted at Pittsburgh on April 1st and to restore the administration of the union into the hands of the miners themselves.

In Ohio at this particular time the machine has expelled over 5000 members, our forces are showing wonderful strength, and the more persecution that is heaped upon the members in District No. 6, seems to have the effect of making them more progressive. The recent Daugherty movement is being carefully watched in Ohio but the rank and file will not be misled by this enemy. Daugherty stands discredited because of his efforts in lining up the capitalist enemies of the workers with him in a gesture to return the min-

# The New Bedford Textile Strike

By ALBERT WEISBORD.

Secretary, National Textile Mill Committees

**T**WENTY-SIX thousand workers are on strike in New Bedford in one of the biggest textile strikes in years. And it is very significant that this strike is not a strike of knitgood workers or silk workers or even woolen and worsted workers, but is a strike affecting the very basic section of the textile industry, a section embracing as a whole 445,000 workers, namely the cotton section. This is the first time since 1912 that such large numbers of cotton workers have put up such a resistance. While the cotton section of the textile industry has been usually the first to see wage cuts meted out, the workers have usually suffered in silence. We should recall that in 1926 in Passaic it was the woolen and worsted workers that gave battle. In 1924 in Paterson it was the silk workers. In 1922 it was the woolen and worsted workers of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Similarly in 1919.

The backwardness of the cotton workers is not strange when we consider that differently from other textile workers, cotton workers are found scattered all over New England and the South. The fact that the workers are so scattered, the fact that the cotton textile manufacturers are in one of the most powerful combinations in the industry, the fact that the most backward strata of the masses have been drawn into the cotton mills in particular, all help explain why the cotton workers were not in the lead in resisting the textile manufacturers.

This large New Bedford strike of 26,000 workers therefore means the wage cutting campaign of the textile mill owners has now reached a point where



ALBERT WEISBORD

Militant Leader of the Passaic strike; jail did not stop him. Now he is with the Textile Mill Committees leading the battle in New England.

the widest masses, even those most difficult to organize, are ready to rebel and is another indication of the increasing militancy of the working class.

In some respects New Bedford is a particularly good place for the workers to defend themselves. In the first place New Bedford with Fall River is the national center for fine cotton and cotton-silk mixed goods. The strike in New Bedford, therefore, grips the vitals of the fine cotton goods market in America. In the second place, New Bedford is near Fall River with 28,000 more cotton workers and in the heart of the main cotton region of New England embracing about 100,000 cotton workers. Should the strike spread to Fall River and to the cotton valleys of Rhode Island the greatest strike in the history of the textile industry in America will be in progress.

The strike in New Bedford began April 16th soon after a new wage cut of 10 per cent had been announced by the cotton mill operators in the whole region. This wage cut affected 100,000 in different localities and spared no one, skilled or unskilled. Wages in Massachusetts had been very low already, the census of Manufacturers of 1925 giving \$18.35 as the average wage for the year 1925 of all the textile workers in Massachusetts. (Note this is the average wage of all the workers including the most skilled and even the foremen of the factories who may be engaged in manual labor.) Since 1925 a new wave of wage cuts has taken place lowering this average to about \$17.00 a week. With the wage cut announced this brought the level of wages desperately low. Many experienced men were working for \$16 a week, women



FRED BEAL

One of the two first organizers sent by the Textile Mill Committees to New Bedford. A splendid fighter for the workers, he incurs the wrath of reactionary union official and employers alike.

for \$13 to \$14 a week, and young workers for \$8 to \$10 a week. To this must be added that the hours of labor were 48 to 60 a week and that within the last few years the exploitation of the workers had been greatly intensified.

In New Bedford many of the skilled workers were organized in a small independent union, the American Federation of Textile Operatives, the character of whose officials can well be judged by the fact that one of the leading officers of the union became head of the police force of Fall River. When the new wage cuts took place in New Bedford taking in as they did the skilled workers as well as the unskilled, the members of the A. F. T. O. demanded a strike vote. Under mass pressure the officials yielded hoping to defeat the necessary 2/3 vote as had been done in Fall River by these same officials when the vote was counted there and found 11 votes "shy" of the necessary two-thirds.

However, this plan of the corrupt and reactionary officialdom of the A. F. T. O. failed due to the fact that a new factor had now entered the situation. This was the National Textile Mill Committees, the left wing section of the textile workers. As soon as the situation became acute, Murdoch and Beal\* two left wing textile workers were sent into the field to organize the 25,000 unorganized workers and to build up the left wing movement. At once a leaflet was issued calling on the unorganized workers to strike against wage cuts, to attend the meeting of the A. F. T. O. and compel a strike vote.

This leaflet had the desired result. By an overwhelming vote the proposition of the officials of the A.F.T.O., Batty and Binns and others, to put off the strike vote, was defeated and the strike declared in effect April 16th. Immediately the news spread like wild fire and by Monday, April 16th the strike was 100% complete (with the exception of a small number of mills where wages had not been cut).

The Textile Mill Committees at once raised the demand that the A. F. T. O. form a united front of all the workers for the fight. This was rejected by Batty who denounced the Textile Mill Committees as a communistic organization, splitting the workers and dangerous to both the mill owners and the A. F. T. O. The T. M. C. then called a large mass meeting of the unorganized workers and began to organize for the

fight and organize into textile mill committees the large masses of workers left abandoned by the misleaders of the A. F. T. O. New demands were raised by the T. M. C. as follows:

Abolition of the 10% wage cut. 20% increase in wages. 40 hours, 5 day week. Abolition of the speed-up system.

The A. F. T. O. making no efforts to picket the mills or to carry on any kind of a struggle, the field was left open for the T. M. C. Mass picketing was organized and all sections of the workers thrown into the fight. The militant tactics of the left wing leading the T. M. C. have now enabled us to take the lead in the fight and to win the support of the widest sections of the strikers.

Our entrance into the fight has taken the mill owners by surprise. The A. F. T. O. leadership is now quite discredited. In order to fight us better the A. F. T. O. leadership got the members of that organization to join the American Federation of Labor union, the United Textile Workers, and daily carry on attacks, but of no avail. The great mass of workers follow us. The mills are completely closed down by our mass picketing and this is now the fifth week of the strike.

Already the workers are beginning to feel the pinch of hunger. The Workers International Relief has now entered and is launching a big campaign to help the strikers. The A. F. T. O. does nothing to help those who were not in the union before the strike and have turned all other relief activities to a "citizens" committee that attacks the T. M. C. and is telling the workers to go back to work. The entire burden of relief therefore must fall on the T. M. C. and W. I. R. Funds must be forthcoming and quickly.

**Send all money to Workers International Relief, 12 Rodney French Boulevard, New Bedford, Massachusetts, Room 4. This strike must not be lost for the lack of relief!**

Let no one imagine that the textile magnates of New Bedford, with their tremendous power, and headed by that arch reactionary, Wm. M. Butler, chief advisor to Coolidge and leader of the Republican Party, are going to give in easily. On the contrary all signs point to a bitter struggle which up to date has only been in its preliminary phases.

The strike of the cotton workers of New Bedford is truly the fight of the 1,100,000 textile workers in the country. A militant fight will check the new offensive of the employers. A victory will be a tremendous achievement. To all militants and workers we say: **Full face to New Bedford—Full support to the Strikers!**

\* NOTE.—It was erroneously stated in the article "New Bedford Stops A Wage Cut" in the May issue of Labor Unity, that Fred Beal was a reactionary and an associate of Batty. This mistake was due to confusing Beal's name, through similarity of sound with that of Binns, actually Batty's man. Fred Beal is a real rank and file leader, organizing the textile workers to win the strike, and has never been associated with the reactionary, Batty.—Editor

# Mahon Surrenders to Mitten

By WM. Z. FOSTER

National Secretary Trade Union Educational League

**F**OR the past several years, especially since the great defeats of 1919-22, the trade unions have been rapidly degenerating in the direction of company unionism. The decrepit, antiquated unions, manned by crooked, retreating labor leaders, have been unable to withstand the militant attacks of the capitalists. They are collapsing under the assaults of the employers. Whereupon the leaders, instead of rebuilding and strengthening the unions by amalgamating them, drawing in the unorganized, and embarking upon an aggressive policy, have thrown up the sponge altogether and plunged into a program of systematic surrender.

The leaders have given up all idea of fighting the bosses, proposing instead to "co-operate" with them by turning the unions into agencies for speeding up production. Their distinct tendency is toward the amalgamation, functionally and organizationally, of the trade unions with the company unions. In the "Workers Monthly" of January, 1926, I warned of this menacing amalgamation, as follows:

"On the employers' side it comes from the development of company unions, and on the bureaucrats' side from the degeneration of the trade unions through the B. & O. plan and other schemes of class collaboration. The tendency of these two converging lines of development is to culminate in some form of unionism between those of present day company unionism and trade unionism."

One of the latest and most significant manifestations of this tendency to degenerate and merge trade unionism into company unionism is the agreement recently reached between the leaders of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America and the heads of the Mitten traction interests of Philadelphia. In this agreement the union, according to the promotor of this understanding, W. Jett Lauck, "has accepted the Mitten Plan without reservation". In plain English this means that the union leadership has surrendered to the principles and practises of company unionism. Beginning in 1911, when T. E. Mitten was called in by the bosses to break the Philadelphia street carmen's strike, the so-called Mitten Plan of "co-operation" between workers and employers has been developing. It has finally resulted in the most elaborate system of company unionism in American industry. Besides a fake system of industrial democracy, or shop repre-

sentation, it has a veritable network of other class collaboration institutions, such as employee stock-buying plans, a "labor" bank, welfare work, etc. The whole system is saturated with skillfully propagated illusions about the "blessings" of worker-employer co-operation and the "futility" of all strikes by the workers against the bosses. Mitten, the founder, is one of the outstanding champions of "Capitalist Efficiency Socialism". In his statement boosting the Mitten-Mahon agreement he repeats the stupidity that if the workers would only save judiciously they "could within one generation control the entire financial structure of the country".

The essence of the Mitten Plan is to put into effect far-reaching programs of efficiency and speed-up, by means of economic terrorism (to beat back the more militant workers), petty concessions (to placate the more timid), and poisonous propaganda to demoralize the whole working force. For the workers this has developed in a system of open-shop slavery, with the disorganized workers practically helpless in the face of the powerful corporations. But for the companies the Mitten Plan has been a gold mine. Whereas in 1911 their Philadelphia properties, drowned in watered stock, loaded with parasitic debts, and encumbered with all sorts of uneconomic practises, were bankrupt, now they are rich and prosperous the envy of public utilities capitalists of the whole country.\*

## The Mitten-Mahon Agreement

It is this system of company unionism, so rich in profits for the employers, that the leaders of the Street Carmen's Union have accepted "without reservation."

In return, for the right to collect dues from the workers, which they hope will put their own fat salaries on a sound basis, they are going to work hand in hand to help Mitten exploit the workers more intensely. Inevitably, under such an arrangement the trade union, like any company union, becomes a part of the employer's production organization and its "leaders" degenerate into his agents for speeding up the workers and for killing all militancy among them.

But the wily Mitten, although signing on the

(Continued on Page 9)

\* In a later issue "Labor Unity" will publish a detailed study of the working and results of the Mitten Plan.





Wreckage of a street in Canton which was bombarded with artillery by the reactionary troops, fighting the forces of the first workers' Soviet government in China.

## Breakup of the Militarist System in China

By HUANG PIN



HE DIED FOR THE WORKING CLASS

Head of a worker, cut off and hung by one ear on a tree, in vain attempt to terrorize other workers and make good submissive slaves of them. Over 25,000 workers and peasants have been slaughtered this year by the White Terror in China.

A FEW weeks ago the British press of Hong-kong and Shanghai was jubilant over the "final extermination of the Reds" in South China. Marshall Li Chi-sen was banqueted in Hong-kong and "toasted" as the savour of the Chinese bourgeoisie (and incidentally of British imperialism). The Marshall came to Shanghai and informed the public that the revolution in the South was finally liquidated. Three army corps were sent to the Haifeng-Lufeng district, which sent back telegrams of "great victories". All seemed as merry as a wedding bell for the militarists and their backers, the imperialists.

Suddenly the atmosphere changed again. Heavy fighting was reported. Then on March 30 it was definitely learned that the government troops had been routed; one regiment commander was killed and another seriously wounded; the troops were retreating in wild disorder; the Communist forces had taken Puning, Wailoi, and several smaller towns, and were advancing upon Swatow, from which were fleeing thousands of bourgeoisie. Martial law again reigns in Canton, while reinforcements are being rushed to Swatow. Government troops have gone on strike, refusing to fight until their back wages are paid; while several companies have joined the Communists. All is pessimism again in the camp of the militarists and imperialists.



MAN POWER COTTON BALER

This human cotton packing machine toils for a miserable wage on the Hankow Bund.

What is the meaning of these sudden ups and downs, this utter instability, which characterizes not only the South, but all China? It is simply that the militarist system is breaking down, is going to pieces, from the combined operation of its own disintegrating forces and the pressure of an aroused and fighting peasantry and working class. The Kuomintang abandoned the revolution, but the revolution sweeps onward, its waves ever higher, and gradually submerging one district after another.

One of the best concrete examples, showing the process at work, is given us by the Chinese press in Shanghai, in the first days of April. A telegram is published, from General Huang Cheu-shu, in charge of the expedition against the Soviets in the East River District of Kwangtung. General Huang is a Kwangsi militarist, a black counter-revolutionary, one of the most merciless executioners of the workers and peasants, and long a leading figure in all struggles against the revolution in the South. Here is what the General telegraphs from the front, addressing himself to the Canton Government:

"In Shin-ying, Tze-chin, Wu-hua, and other districts here, there are plenty of people who are superstitious about the good of realizing Communism. The Communists are actually carrying out the following things: dividing land among the peasants; burning the land-deeds; burning the mortgages; destroying the old landmarks; abolishing payments of debts, land-rents, and taxes. This gives the people immediate benefits. I therefore request the Government to devise means of giving corresponding benefits to the people, and the Party organization to carry out propaganda which will be to the point. Otherwise, fundamentally there is no way out."



CHILD SLAVE IN CHINA

The rising power of the rural Soviets in East Kwantung is paralleled in many other places. The island of Hainan (area larger than most Balkan states) is entirely in the hands of Soviets, except the principal port. In the North River district of Kwantung, and the adjoining sections of Kwangsi and Hunan Provinces, revolutionary armies numbering 15,000 rifles protect the local Soviets which are carrying out the same program described above in General Huang's telegram. In central Hunan, the city of Chenchow (second largest in the Province) is held by a Communist army, against the combined forces of the Hankow group of militarists (allies



THE COTTON GOES TO MARKET

Human life is cheap in China because human labor is cheap. Workers are slaughtered wholesale by militarists and imperialists in the attempt to maintain starvation wages for such heavy work as this.

of Li Chi-sen, or the Kwangsi group), with an adjoining area holding a population of five millions. The city of Liling was taken early in March, and is still in the hands of the revolutionists. Other centers held by the revolutionaries in this district are Daipishih, Sinshighai, and Feitien.

In Fukien Province, news is printed of a mutiny of soldiers at Changchow. A company refused to obey the order to march against the Communist forces holding Peng Ho (in southern Fukien), and were fired upon many being killed and the rest dispersed; some of the mutineers escaped over the city walls, and are supposed to have gone to join the Communist forces.

#### Military Discipline Vanishes

Before the bourgeoisie betrayed the revolution, the Southern armies prided themselves on their discipline, and many foreign observers, not especially friendly, admitted that they compared favorably with any army in the world. But that has all vanished with the victory of militarism within the Kuomintang. The Southern armies are now more demoralized and undisciplined than those of the Northern militarists. In Kwangtung constant fights occur, between soldiers of different commands, or between soldiers and merchants, etc. In Hunan, each of the many armies is a law unto itself, looting at will, and slaughtering indiscriminately; while whole regiments have deserted from the "Government" (which in Hunan simply means the clique of generals in Changsha and Hankow) and gone over to the people's revolutionary forces. In Kiangsi, the military accept no orders from outside the Province, while inside they spend their time looting under pretense of "collecting taxes". In Hupeh, the whole district of Huang-kang, in the east, has been terrorized by soldiers looting, burning, kidnapping indiscriminately. In Chekiang, hitherto rather free from disorders, loot-



CARRYING COTTON ON SNOW COVERED SHORE, HANKOW

ing and killing of the population by unruly soldiers is reported. From Northern Kiangsu Province came reports of daily looting and burning of villages, which leads a correspondent of a Shanghai British paper to declare "Only strenuous efforts on the part of the government will prevent a general Communist movement in the Northern part

Kiangsu". The city Kiangyin, about 60 miles from Shanghai, was looted in March by a force largely made up of mutinous soldiers. From Hunan, from Hwaiking and Weihwei, come reports of lootings and killings by troops of the "Christian General" Feng, whose discipline was formerly a matter of remark. These random items, culled from the daily press over a period of one week, indicate the complete loss of discipline formerly characterizing the Nationalist armies.

The same process goes on in the North. Constant disorders among the troops occur in Shantung, Chihli, and Manchuria.

#### Results of the White Terror

In Shanghai, Hankow, Changsha, and Canton, the White Terror has proceeded without a stop. Especially in Hankow and Changsha, every day has witnessed execution of from six to twenty-five young men and women, usually by the most horrible tortures, and in public with thousands of spectators (including foreigners). The daily scenes on the Hankow execution grounds are simply beyond description. The British paper there, the Central China Post, reports them approvingly in a routine manner, and rejoices in the "restoration of order" which has "restored the confidence of the British residents".

The results of the White Terror have just been summed up by an American newspaper man, D. C. Bess of the United Press, in a series of articles which he says are based upon an official foreign investigation. He declares:

"During the few months since Russians were expelled from Central and Southern China, the Chinese Com-

unist Party has grown by leaps and bounds, the movement has extended to three provinces in such force that the Communists are today stronger than the militarists or any other government in that region, and other provinces are seriously threatened... These are the considered conclusions of an impartial investigator, who has studied an enormous collection of data in a strictly scientific spirit."

The "Shanghai Times", a British daily newspaper, in the course of a long editorial dealing with the above, declares:

"The article published in our columns today must come as something of a revelation to many readers who have been unable to keep in touch with conditions in the interior of China. That the facts as presented are true, there is no question."

The "Times" together with the rest of the British press in China, has enthusiastically supported the White Terror, and regularly joins

in reprimanding the militarists that it is not severe enough. But it is forced to admit that this same terror has separated the militarists entirely from the people, and helped to turn the masses to communism. It says:

"The only check to the spread of it (the revolutionary propaganda) has been the series of wholesale executions of those guilty of spreading it. So drastic has this been that it is even now felt in Hankow that sentiment is beginning to mould itself in favor of the mal-doers (i. e. the workers and peasants. H. P.), so great has been the revulsion of feeling aroused by these executions. The case seems to be that there are millions of persons in this country who are in a state of mind to believe almost anything that seems to offer them hope of improving their economic conditions... Mere executions alone are NOT ENOUGH to accomplish the desired end."

### *Mahon Surrenders to Mitten*

(Continued from page 5)

Street Carmen's officials as his efficiency agents and labor drivers, skillfully insists that they make good before they are given full access to the rich prize of a check-off of the workers' wages. The new "union management-co-operation" set up by the agreement does not go into effect in Philadelphia and other cities, which Mitten controls. They remain as before with purely company unions. The agreement will be applied "to properties that are to be acquired or operated by Mitten management in the future". Only if the "co-operation" is successful on these properties will the union be allowed to "organize" the street railway workers of Philadelphia and Buffalo. Failure to develop high efficiency will result in the cancellation of all agreements which, "shall run during delivery of co-operative effectiveness".

Thus the plan of Mitten and the big capitalists associated with him is to acquire water-logged, bankrupt street car lines in various cities and then to use the leaders of the Street Carmen's Union as tools to put them on a sound financial basis through speeding-up the workers and otherwise exploiting them. Among the companies in prospect for such treatment is the notorious Interboro Rapid Transit Company of New York. What a prospect of exploitation for the workers, of guaranteed fat salaries for the union leaders, and of rich profits for the capitalists!

For the past two years the A. F. of L. leadership has been crying from the housetops that the trade unions are better instruments for speeding up the workers than are company unions. But for the most part, aside from special cases where

the unions were already established, as on the railroad, the employers have turned a deaf ear to the trade union leaders' offers to scab the company unions out of existence. The new Mitten-Mahon agreement is the first important instance where the A. F. of L. program has been adopted in an unorganized, key industry. It will make all the other salary-hungry labor leaders, whose unions because of a non-fight policy are falling to pieces before the capitalist offensive, lick their chops in the hope that the employers will also agree to maintain their company-unionized trade unions as instruments wherewith to exploit the workers.

Such agreements as the Mitten-Mahon, no-strike, speed-up pact are aimed at the very heart of trade unionism. Like the direct, open shop union-breaking campaign, they are part of the program of American Capitalism, in its period of expanding imperialism, to undermine and break up the resistance of the workers to its policy of intensified exploitation at home and world dominion abroad. The Mitten-Mahon agreement is a conspiracy against the workers, effected by the capitalists and their agents, the conservative trade union leaders.

The Mitten-Mahon agreement emphasizes the imperative need to drive the present reactionaries from control of the unions, and to revolutionize the organizations by amalgamating them and by organizing the unorganized. The union bureaucrats take no steps to stop the employers union-breaking drive, they co-operate with the employers in company-unionizing the unions. Their misleadership is leading the present trade union movement to destruction.



M. Pass, in  
The Freiheit

SIGMAN'S CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE IN ACTION

## Late Developments in the Needle Trades

By PHIL ARONBERG

THE two needle trades conventions held in the month of May demonstrated clearly to the workers in the industry the treachery of the leadership of those unions and the semi-company union form and Fascist characteristics the unions assume under their present domination.

The Sigman convention in Boston, May 7, was eighteen months after his open betrayal at the time of the cloakmakers' strike when he signed agreements with the manufacturers over the heads of the regularly constituted organization, giving up all of the demands of the cloakmakers, suspending the Joint Board and local unions that were leading the strike, and attempting with the assistance of the manufacturers to force the workers to register in a union of his domination.

This betrayal by Sigman which resulted in an eighteen months' struggle, with the main base of his support resting on the manufacturers, who turned over the half million dollars of the workers' unemployment fund, and gained additional financial support from the "Forward" and Socialist Party, did not result in the establishment of his leadership or dominance over the workers in the industry or the union nationally.

During the entire struggle to maintain a semblance of union conditions in the shops for which the workers had struck for five months, the suspended joint board and local unions had the ideological leadership and confidence of the masses although many were compelled through hunger, which Sigman was able to wield as a weapon, as

a result of his collaboration with the manufacturers, to register with his union.

These workers compelled to register with the Sigman union by the manufacturers, never submitted to his regime, and as soon as the registered locals met, they organized what is now known as the "Tolerance Group" and began, at first weakly, and later as they grew, a stronger agitation for the unity of all elements in the union demanding of Sigman that he bring it about.

With the aid of the manufacturers Sigman also succeeded in suspending and reorganizing the Chicago Joint Board and compelling many workers to register with his union.

Local 41, one of the independent organizations, not affiliated with the New York Joint Board, was another of the intended victims of the Sigman gang. While negotiating with the manufacturers, for the renewal of their agreement, Sigman attempted to intervene and reorganize and sign over the heads of the left wing officials, but these workers had the experience of the other interventions of Sigman and had no illusions as to its meaning. The resulting strike against the manufacturers and Sigman left them in control of most of their shops.

#### Demand For Unity

In many locals nationally Sigman succeeded in establishing his agents in control through hundreds of expulsions, strong-arm methods, and support of the manufacturers. But the workers generally found means of expressing their demand for the establishment of a union that should function in their interest and it generally took the form of a demand on Sigman to readmit all elements in the organization and to reestablish the New York and Chicago Joint Boards and other suspended locals.

These demands on Sigman took many forms: in one form they were voiced by the Sigman Local 8, demanding of their joint board through a resolution to fight at the convention for the readmission of all elements, even the Communists; another was from the registered workers under the leadership of the "Tolerance Group" who sent a delegation to the convention with the same demand. The shop chairman and shop representatives of the New York shops met at the call of the committee of fifty under the leadership of Shelley, and elected a delegation to the convention to demand unity. The workers who were sentenced to prison for strike activity sent a delegation with the same demand. Candidates removed from the ballot by Sigman because of their struggle for unity of their organization, ap-

pealed to the convention. Of course, the suspended Chicago and New York Joint Board, and the other suspended locals asked to be seated at the convention. The overwhelming majority of the membership appealed to Sigman to readmit them to the union.

#### Call In Police

The delegation of the New York and Chicago Joint Boards who came to the convention, found the Payne Memorial Hall barricaded and surrounded by a cordon of police and their credentials which were submitted in advance, were consigned officially to the waste-paper basket. Later the same fate was meted out to all other delegations who came to plead for the unity of the organization.

After the rejection of their credentials, the New York and Chicago joint boards met and decided to address a communication to the convention pointing out the effect of the activity of Sigman on the conditions of the workers in the shops and the necessity of reestablishing the organization, and calling on all elements who really desire unity, to meet in conference immediately in Boston.

The response to this call resulted in a conference that was truly representative of the mass of workers in the industry. The struggle in the Sigman convention for a division of the spoils between Sigman and Schlessinger and the speeches delivered, especially by the editor of the "Forward", Cahan, who boasted how he dictated to his stenographer the expulsion order, clarified the situation for those who had any illusions about the possibilities of reestablishing the union under the leadership of Sigman or Schlessinger.

The main tasks confronting this conference were the re-establishment of the union, which has been destroyed by the treachery of Sigman; the organization of the mass of unorganized workers, and the restatement of the economic program of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union which has been discarded by Sigman.

While the conference was dealing with these tasks they received additions from the Sigman convention of more locals' delegations that were not seated and delegations which refused to go along further with the Sigman policies.

The conference decided to immediately proceed with the organization of the scattered forces of the union, launch a campaign for the organization of the mass of unorganized workers, and elected a "National Organization Committee" for the reestablishment of the I. L. G. W. U.,

representative of all centers in the industry.

This action opens a new page in the history of the struggles of the needle workers and is a good augury for the future.

### "Our Amalgamated"

With an average wage much lower than the rest of the needle workers, with terrorisation of the workers comparable only to the Fascist union in Italy, with hundreds of militant workers expelled from the union and deprived of a livelihood, with speed-up shortening the lives of the workers, with reorganizations to "maintain" the manufacturers in business" throwing thousands out of employment, with the union disrupted in New York, Rochester, Montreal, Toronto, etc., Hillman, surrounded on the platform by his ideologists and sycophants, opened the convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in Cincinnati May 14, to boast of his accomplishments for the industry.

The hand-picked delegation surrounded by "guests" who were their business agents and managers at home, did not at first respond enthusiastically to Hillman's exhortations about their "responsibility to the industry". It was necessary Tuesday morning, the second day of the convention, to give a breakfast-banquet to the Chicago delegation and "guests" and there inform them of their duties, and furnish them with gavels, hammers, whistles, and automobile horns with which to supply the proper enthusiasm. Under the cloak of the resulting din, which the Cincinnati local papers described as "bedlam broke loose" the major decisions affecting the lives of the clothing workers were smuggled through without discussion, and the outstanding characteristic of the convention was the artificial enthusiasm created by the rattles and other instruments furnished.

The report of G. E. B. to the convention can compare very favorably with the propaganda of the Allies or the Entente during the World War in forgetting the facts

The speeches of Leiserson, Squires, and the rest of the impartial chairmen who really guide the policies of the organization called for the organization of the unorganized markets, as that would enable them to peacefully adjust all of the differences between the manufacturers and the Union. Naive, if nothing else!

This competitive industry is divided into: on the one hand, large production which has its principal centers in Chicago and Rochester; and on the other, small manufacturing plants, spread

all over the country and 100% organization of the workers will not bridge the difference in the cost of production between them and help to peacefully adjust the difference. There is no peaceful adjustment possible and Hillman's attempts were based on war against the workers—first, to maintain the small manufacturers in business by reduction in wages, speed-up, and reorganization; and second, to lower the conditions of the workers in the large plants to those of the workers in the small plants. A very efficient agent for all the manufacturers! For the workers, Hillman's peace means degradation, and the problem for the clothing workers is therefore how to rid themselves of the agents of the bosses and establish a union that will defend their interests. As far as the bosses are concerned, let dog eat dog!

The convention was also blessed with a galaxy of talent from the Socialist party: Pankin who pointed out some problems confronting labor without offering any solution for them; Vladek, \$15,000 manager of the "Forward", who in a poetic speech lauded Hillman's accomplishments and policies by saying "the establishment of one labor bank is worth more than all the volumes of Marx and Lenin".

### Reason For The Noise

Under the noise of these demonstrations resolutions for the abolition of piece work, against speed-up, and appeals against expulsions were rejected. The demand for the establishment of the 40-hour week was referred to the G. E. B.

A demonstration against Fascism in Italy and its influence on the labor movement in the United States led by the Italian delegation, was the only sincere note in the convention; since this does not disturb Hillman's power to sell the workers, it is utilized by him to cover the Fascist character of his own acts.

The convention ended with the distribution of honors in the form of demonstration—some noisier than others—to all the sycophants and time-servers of Hillman. But what of the workers? They are now confronted with the same terror of Hillman as before the convention, which can only be broken down through efforts for solidarity among the workers in the industry.

What of the disrupted union in New York and the other centers? What of the unorganized workers? Shall they again come under Hillman's heel? The workers in the clothing industry are confronted with a situation which united and heroic action, compatible with the traditions of the workers in this industry, can easily overcome.

# W. D. Haywood

*A Pioneer of  
Revolutionary Unionism*

By JAMES P. CANNON

**A** NEW generation of labor militants is growing up and taking the center of the stage. Recent strikes such as Passaic, miners, needle trades, New Bedford—all show new young leaders coming to the front, proof of the vitality of the movement.

The left wing movement of the present day is the outstanding growth of the revolutionary labor movement of pre-war times, with a number of tactical questions clarified and with its outlook enriched by the experiences of the war and the Russian Revolution. Fundamentally, it has grown up out of the steadily developing class struggle in America. It has an honorable and a glorious past and a wealth of experience gained in industrial battles. This is part of the capital of the left wing labor movement of today.

One of the greatest necessities of the present-day movement is to clearly establish the continuity between it and the movement from which it sprung. The old movement was weakened and hampered by various errors, especially in tactical questions, which we must avoid, but those principles and practices which were sound should be appropriated and made a part of today's program.

The older movement, moreover, has left us a glorious tradition of struggle which will be a source of pride and encouragement to the young militants who are beginning their activities in the labor struggle today.

One of the greatest and most outstanding representatives both of the revolutionary principles of the period antecedent to the present and of its tradition of struggle was the lion-hearted fighter who died a few days ago in Moscow—William D. Haywood. He was a colossal figure in the labor and revolutionary movement of his heyday; and for my part I am convinced that his place in American labor history will be a big one.

It was the stormy struggles of the old western Federation of Miners, culminating in his trial for murder, which first established his fame and projected him into the general movement as a national figure.

The Western Federation of Miners, one of the principal forbears of the I. W. W., was a unique organization; in many ways a model labor union. Students of the labor movement and those who are called to play leading parts in today's battles

will profit much from a study of its history and methods. Haywood, as its secretary-treasurer and principal leader was the embodiment of all of its best features. These were incorporated into his broader work in the ten years that marked his activities on a national scale, and he did much to forge new weapons and principles for the labor fight, developing with his expanding experience.

All of Haywood's work in the labor movement from the days of the Western Federation onward revolved around the principle of the class struggle. This was the pivot of his activities. Those degenerated labor leaders' who represent the idea of the employers in the trade union movement strive unceasingly to rob the workers' movement of this vital principle and to put "class collaboration" in its place.

Some of the modern, up-to-the-minute high-brow fakers such as Matthew Woll and the late Warren S. Stone have written lofty treatises to prove that the workers' salvation lies in labor not in struggle. The answer given to all this sophistry by Haywood, the rough and ready battler, in twenty-five years of word and deed, is absolutely valid today.

The craft form of organization is obviously outlived and hopelessly ineffective for a serious fight against the consolidated and entrenched employers. The most progressive and advanced elements of the labor movement all over the world understand this and have made industrial unionism one of the main planks in their platform. Haywood, in America, was one of the earliest pioneers of this idea. It was put into practice in the Western Federation of Miners and his instinct to spread this form of organization and make it universal was one of the most powerful factors which drew him to the first convention of the I. W. W. He undoubtedly did more than any other person to popularize industrial unionism and to make it a principle of all militants in America.

His dream of the I. W. W. supplanting the existing unions on the basis of the industrial form of organization was not realized, and could not be, but the idea of industrial unionism of which he was the most forceful and effective advocate, gained the victory and is supported now by every labor militant. The reconstitution of the Ameri-



can labor movement on industrial lines is written on the agenda of the future. Its coming is a certainty. The name of Haywood will be remembered affectionately by the workers in that day when the victory of industrial unionism is realized in organized form.

National and racial prejudice and discrimination are disintegrating factors in the labor movement which have a particularly harmful effect in America where such a large percentage of the proletariat in the basic industries consists of foreign born workers and Negroes. The ruling class deliberately spreads these prejudices to break up labor solidarity. The reactionary labor leaders, taking their cue from the employers, strive to restrict the trade unions to a caste of skilled workers. Many unions prohibit the admission of Negroes and have made a shameful record of betrayal and desertion of the foreign born.

Haywood was a pioneer fighter against these practices. He inveighed against them in his inaugural speech at the historic first convention of the I. W. W. in 1905 and remained the ardent champion of the most exploited and persecuted workers—the Negroes and foreigners—till the very end of his days.

He did more than any other man of his day in the American labor movement to give solidarity its real meaning and significance. In his memoirs which are soon to be published he tells about a meeting in Louisiana in 1912 of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, an organization which had affiliated to the I. W. W. The workers were first assembled in two halls, one right above the other, the blacks in one and the whites in another. This had been the invariable custom in the South where a "mixed" meeting was unheard of. Haywood was asked to speak to them separately, but he would have none of it.

"Put them together!" he demanded, "we are all workers on the same footing. The bosses want to divide us but why should we divide ourselves?" and he would not begin his speech till they were all seated together before him.

The foreign born and Negro workers have special cause to mourn the death of this valiant advocate of their cause and to remember him with gratitude and love. The left wing will find the record of his life and speeches a mighty source of inspiration for the necessary task of clearing the labor movement of all race and national prejudice and uniting all sections of the working class in one fraternal bond. The Negroes and foreign born workers will play a great historic role in the

development and struggles of American labor, and the cementing of an indissoluble union between them and the native workers is one of the keys to victory over the exploiting class.

In the light of the experience of the past quarter of a century in the American and the international labor movement a number of serious errors in the tactics of Haywood and the movement he represented have been revealed. The attempt to build an entirely new labor movement under the banner of the I. W. W. outside of and against the existing unions was a false policy. The building of new unions of unorganized workers, devoting special attention to the unskilled workers, a distinguishing feature of Haywood's theory and activity, was a work of sound validity and revolutionary implications from which the left wing movement of today has much to learn. At the same time, however, the policy of ignoring the existing unions must be rejected. It is our task to extract what was good from the tactics and methods of the period of Haywood's leadership and winnow out the chaff. In a word, we must master the art of combining the revolutionary work in the existing unions with the organization of the unorganized into new unions where necessary, putting the emphasis on the latter.

Haywood in his later years also drew the right conclusions from his vast experience and modified his views accordingly.

His advancing years and declining health together with his enforced exile prevented him from exercising the same influence upon the I. W. W. It developed on a narrow line isolating itself from the living movements of the workers. Sectarian and even counter-revolutionary elements of the type of Gahan, editor of the official organ, exercise a growing influence on its policy. Degeneration is the only possible outcome of such a course.

The Federated Press reports the decision of the present officials of the I. W. W. to "ignore" the death of Haywood. The gods may laugh ironically at such a spectacle, but the passing of a man who symbolized a whole period of American labor struggle does not thereby lose any of its significance.

Bill Haywood died as he lived a proletarian revolutionist, a soldier in the world-wide army of fighters for the liberation of labor. As such we will think of him and keep his memory green. We will hold up the record of his heroic and self-sacrificing life as an example to the new generation of labor militants who form the vanguard of the workers' struggle today and tomorrow.

# The Strange Strike of the Cleaners and Dyers

By HERMAN J. FISHER, Member of Local 17797

ON May 11 a few of the progressives in the cleaners and dyers union, New York, were holding a meeting at 347 East 72 St. There suddenly appeared uninvited, Sam Weintraub, manager of the cleaners' and dyers' Local 17797 (a Federal local of the A. F. L.) with A. Hammer, president of the same local and Sam Goldberg, business manager of the drivers, and four or five hired gangsters armed with clubs, black-jacks, knives, etc. They beat up some of the progressives, and broke up the meeting.

This incident is part of a considerable history of the strange style of organization work of the A. F. L. leaders in this largely unorganized industry.

There are two groups of real wage workers, the "insiders" or those working inside the wholesale shops, doing the actual work, who have a Federal local of the A. F. L. with a membership of about a thousand now, and the drivers, organized as Local 813 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs, with a membership of about 400.

Now there is in this industry another organization, chartered by the A. F. of L., as a union, the Retail Cleaners and Dyers, small business men, shop owners, whose interests are opposed to those of the inside men

## Hugh Frayne Amalgamates!

Hugh Frayne, A. F. L. organizer in charge in New York, forced these three organizations to set up an "Allied Council" to control all important activities, two locals of workers, with 25 votes, and five locals of owners, with 25 votes. The retailers control the council.

The Allied Council has a five year agreement, excluding the agreement of the inside workers, with the Master Cleaners & Dyers Association that:

1. The association shops do work only with the "unionized" retailers.
2. The association shops do work only for retailers charging \$1.50 or more for cleaning.
3. The retailers "union" members do business only with association shops.
4. The retailers "union" members can give work to only one wholesale shop, and that one a member of the association.
5. All association shops shall use union labor.

6. All union shops must be members of the Master Cleaners and Dyers Association.

7. Local 17797 has no right to unionize a shop if its owner refuses to join the Master Cleaners & Dyers Association.

In many cases a shop could be organized by the "insiders" union, if the boss would join the bosses' association.

So we finally have the interesting anomaly of a strike of workers to force the bosses and retailers to organize themselves in an anti-labor organization.

The theory of the strike called Feb. 16 was to compel all retailers to join the retailers' union through shutting down all wholesale shops, so that retailers should have no place to do their work. As a result of the strike the Masters Cleaners & Dyers drew into their ranks all the wholesale shops but five. The retailers' "union" grew in membership from 5,000 to 11,000. The workers who did the striking got nothing, indeed, their officials put up no demands for them.

The progressives among the "insiders" were beaten up by their own union officials on May 11 for advocating a program like this:

1. An agreement to allow the organization of workers in any shop.
2. The 44-hour week.
3. Time and a half for over time.
4. Union job control.
5. Minimum scale of wages for each craft.
6. Help hired through the union.

Most of the union members are adopting these demands, and a strike of workers against bosses is likely at any time.

Meanwhile the A. F. L. officials continue their "organization" work with a plan to form a nation wide "International" union, with the retailers of course in control, by bringing in the Chicago locals.

The A. F. of L. bureaucracy is carrying on a nationwide campaign to organize the retailers into their unions in order to make numerically possible the formation of an international union. This sort of a union would work against the interests of the bona fide workers. The interest of the worker is to better his conditions of work in the shop and raise his wages; the interest of the retailer is to raise the prices in the market.

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# THE USE AND ABUSE OF RELIEF AS A STRIKE WEAPON

*An interview with*  
ALFRED WAGENKNECHT

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY

Picture to the left shows strikers' children hunting for broken bits of coal to use for fuel in their barracks, in the background. They have been evicted from their regular homes and live in these board shacks.

Picture to the right shows three coal and iron police, with caps, and two state troopers, with helmets. Coal and iron police are company gun men, paid by the companies, but with authority from the state.

Wagenknecht, who directed the great relief drive during the textile strike in Passaic in 1925-26, was called in to Pittsburgh by the executive committee of the rank and file miners' relief organization which since then has assumed nationwide proportions under the name of the National Miners Relief Committee with offices at 611 Penn Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

"Relief can lose a strike as well as win it" Wagenknecht explained. "Relief gives the basic strikers' policy results in the negation of all forms of strike mass action. The result is, no element of struggle in the strike, the strikers whiling away their time attending to personal matters and relief accepted as charity.

"For years the American Federation of Labor has based its strike policy upon round table discussions with employers or appeals to government agencies to bring about settlements. Mass actions in strikes of recent years have always been spontaneous rank and file outbursts. Not for decades has the A. F. of L. mobilized all trades in support of any trade on strike in an effective way with the object of bringing the necessary pressure to bear on the employers and on the government."

Wagenknecht instanced as an example of his contention the backwardness shown by the officials of the United Mine Workers and of the entire organized labor movement in the



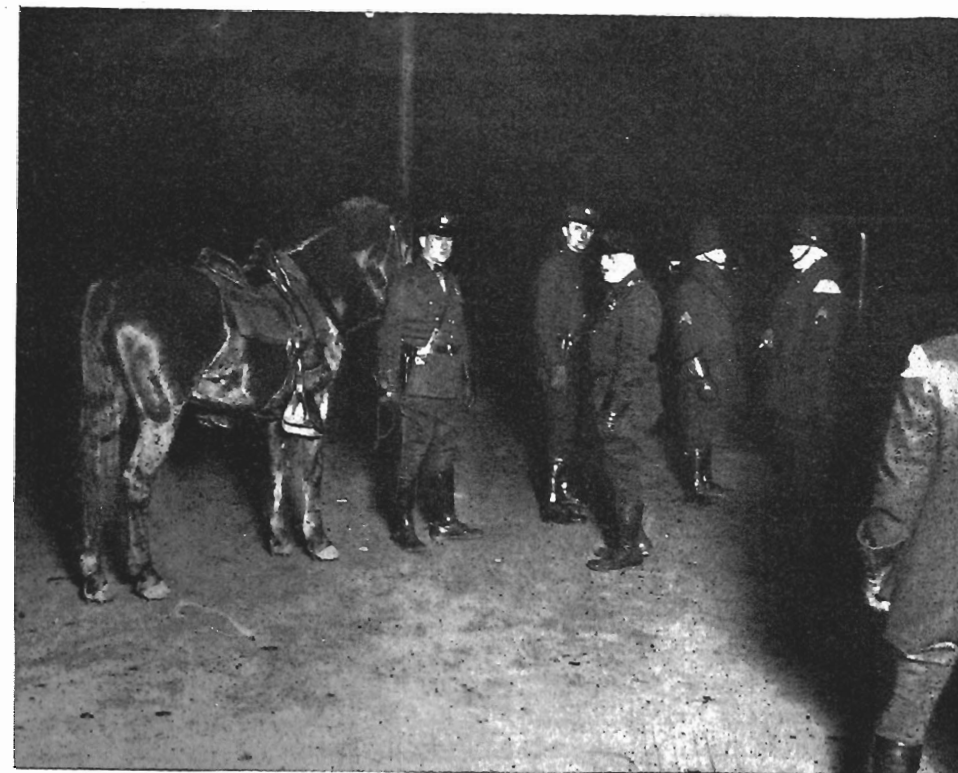
AS the great bituminous strike, centering in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois and including thousands in Northern West Virginia, Indiana and Kentucky, stretches out into its second year, relief for the battling coal diggers and their starving dependents becomes more than ever a first charge on the financial resources of the American workingclass.

Relief, not merely to feed the hungry. Relief not as a gesture to cover the greedy rottenness of the capitalist system which starves hundreds of thousands in the midst of plenty. But relief with the definite object of winning the strike, so that those now occupying the industrial trenches in the bituminous areas will be able to hold the standards of living they won thru former struggles, and be in a position to throw their mighty collective resources on the side of the next battalions of the army of labor, in other industries that are called upon to do battle with the employing classes.

This is the gist of the opening remarks of Alfred Wagenknecht, relief director of the National Miners Relief Committee, in an interview granted to a Pittsburgh reporter to the Labor press.



Picture of miners near Pittsburgh just after receiving a shipment of food from the Pennsylvania-Ohio Miners' Relief Committee (now the National Miners Relief Committee, 611 Penn Ave., Pittsburgh).



conduct of the present miners' strike.

"This strike, now more than a year old" he said "has still to record its first mass effort to win. The officials gambled their last cent, with the cards stacked against them, in the hope that they would win in the game they played with the big corporations.

"The striking miners were advised to stay at home and behave. Mass picketing was frowned upon. Injunctions were looked upon as decrees from heaven which should be obeyed under penalty of eternal damnation. The officials actually assisted in the eviction of strikers' families from their homes. They failed to interest the miners' wives and children in the strike. Local unions were instructed not to meet lest the rank and file might discuss the strike situation. Organizers loafed on the job from month to month, never calling a mass meeting of strikers, never reporting on the progress of the strike, never giving a single line of strategy nor planning out a single strike manouver."

This was the state of affairs when the Pennsylvania-Ohio Miners Relief Commit-

# THE USE AND ABUSE OF RELIEF

*An interview with*  
ALFRED WAGENKNECHT

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY



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# RELIEF AS A STRIKE WEAPON

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**WAGENKNECHT**  
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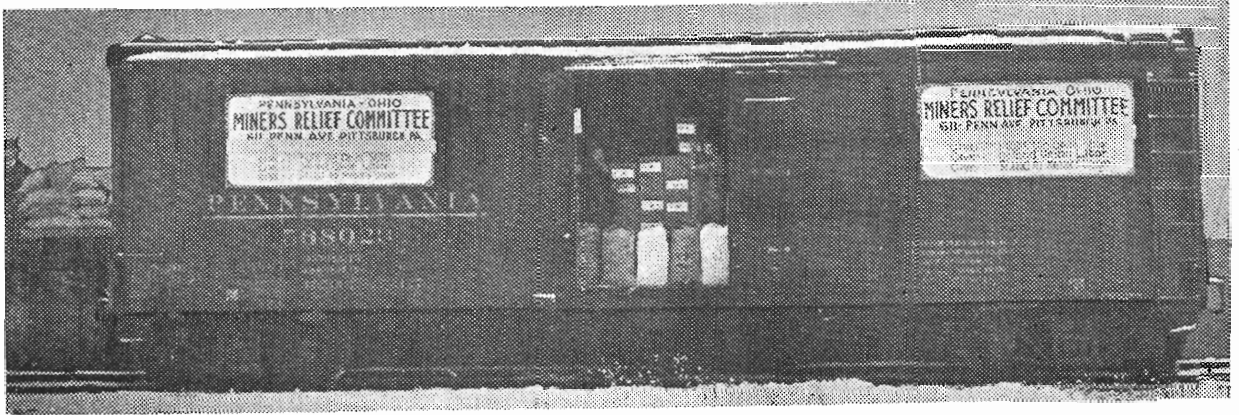
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from Pennsylvania-Ohio Miners' Relief Committee (now the National Miners Relief Com-



Carloads of food are sent by National Miners Relief Committee (formerly Pennsylvania-Ohio Miners Relief) 511 Penn Ave., Pittsburgh, to starving miners' and their families in central Pennsylvania and Ohio.

tee, now the National Miners Relief Committee, got down to brass tacks with the task of infusing fresh vitality into the famished bodies of the strikers and their dependents and fresh militancy into their demoralized ranks.

"We faced a 'dead' situation" Wagenknecht continued. "After distribution began lengthy conferences were held in our relief offices with local union relief committees. We severely criticized the stay-at-home and suck-your-thumb policy of the officials. We pointed out the danger in the increase of scabs in many mines. We carried on a vigorous propaganda against the sacredness of strike-breaking injunctions. We advised masses of striking miners from a number of local unions to march upon one scab mine at a time and chase the strikebreakers out of the mining areas.

"We advocated the organization of the unorganized miners, pointed out that a national strike with the stoppage of coal production would win, called to the attention of the strikers that a preposterously high wage paid to officials while strikers only receive a couple of dollars a week per family was impermissible, insisted that action be taken to pry other international unions loose from their swollen treasuries, so that this money could be utilized for strike relief and for the winning of the struggle.

"We began holding mass meetings, distributing literature, and to 'move' the miners into action. The result was that the officials of the union, in rare instances, were compelled to advocate mass picketing, a policy they had hitherto condemned. They called mass meetings in some centers, usually to denounce our committee for criticizing them."

Even today, Wagenknecht said, there is no attempt on the part of the officials of the United

Mine Workers of America to give directions to the strike or to induce the strikers to put forward a mass effort to win. Neither is relief to the miners on the basis of their daily appearance on the picket line.

#### Relief Activates Strike

"What strike activity there is" Wagenecht continued "is what our relief committee has brought about. Our slogans encourage militancy and go into every striker's home with every pound of flour or beans distributed. Every paper bag used in distribution states and restates our "win the strike" policies.

"Local union committees in contact with us are assuming leadership in their mine camps. Lazy, incompetent organizers of the international union are chased out of the camps when they appear. New local union officials are being elected in the place of the fossilized ones. The women are manning the picket line. The children are organizing for strike activity.

"With more at our disposal" Wagenknecht concluded "much could be accomplished to turn the labor movement into more militant channels. Funds sent to our committees will encourage the miners to fight until victory is theirs. Our national campaign for relief, drawing in as it does, the workers organized and unorganized, will focus the attention of the entire American workingclass on the attack being made by the open shop elements upon the trade union movement.

The entire labor movement must rally behind the striking miners to defeat the coal corporations and their allies in other great industries. The strike must be won. It can be won. And adequate relief will help greatly to secure victory".



REBECCA GRECHT

## Miners' Wives Organize to Win Strike and Save the Union

By REBECCA GRECHT

ONE of the most outstanding features of the miners' strike in the bituminous coal fields of Pennsylvania, Ohio and other states is the remarkable awakening of the wives and daughters of the miners, the rising wave of organization and activity which is sweeping over the women in the strike districts.

It is true that there have been instances of splendid action by miners' wives in past strikes. Women in the mining camps have always had a certain reputation for militancy and courage. But at no time before have they participated in strike action on such a scale as to-day, nor have they ever before taken so keen an interest in the strike and in the union, or been so purposeful and determined in their organization.

A new era is unfolding for the women in the coal fields: an era in which they begin to see that their tasks as wives and mothers do not remove them from the struggles of their men, but place greater responsibility upon them, calling them to participate actively in the fight.

Women who had never before taken direct part in strikes, waiting merely as onlookers, almost, until some settlement was reached, are today engaging in relief work and joining their men in mass picketing. Women who had seldom talked to more than two or three neighbors at a time, are going from camp to camp, organizing the women in them, speaking at meetings. Women who had never before concerned themselves with strike issues and problems and had bothered little about differences between right wing and left wing, progressives and reactionaries, are demanding information and explanation, taking their position with the progressives, fighting for their policies against the treacherous, corrupt bureaucracy in the union.

This is not an accident. For over a year, these women have been heroically enduring the most terrible hardships they have ever experienced.

The women's fight against starvation, evictions, terrorism by state troopers and coal and iron police, the sight of their children, ill-clad and undernourished, all this has stirred them profoundly, roused them to action to defend their men and their little ones, as well as themselves.

As month after month has gone by, the increasing hunger and terrorization and continuous betrayals by the reactionary leaders of the United Mine Workers of America has made the women in the mining camps realize that the disastrous policies of the Lewis machine are bringing starvation to their doors and destroying the chance for decent home conditions for themselves and their families.

The organization of the women in the mining camps began several months after the lockout on April 1, 1927. The reactionary officials of the union in District 5 of the U. M. W. A. (western Pennsylvania), making a grand flourish of mobilizing all forces for the strike, organized "Ladies Auxiliaries", especially in the Allegheny Valley, and established a district executive board to which these auxiliaries sent representatives. The auxiliaries concerned themselves at first with raising money for food and clothing, and helping in the distribution of relief.

But as the struggle developed, and the Save-the-Union movement was started among the miners, the women, also, became more militant, and raised progressive slogans in the auxiliaries.

The result was an immediate campaign against them. They were threatened with expulsion from the auxiliaries and the withdrawal of relief. In the various camps the wives of the reactionaries, cowardly and corrupt, banded together against the "Hunkies", as they call the foreign-born women militants, and wherever they held the offices in the auxiliaries, refused to grant any rights to the women who opposed them.

The progressive women of District 5 answered these threats by organizing a Mine Women's Progressive Committee and sending a delegation of miners' wives to the National Save-the-Miners Union Conference held on April 1 in Pittsburgh.

### New Progressive Auxiliaries

When this miners' progressive conference issued the slogan, "Organize the Miners' Wives and Daughters to Help Win the Strike and Save the Union" a great impetus was given to the work in every strike district. New auxiliaries under progressive lead

were rapidly established in western Pennsylvania. In Indiana, for the first time since the strike began, auxiliaries were formed in Clinton and Bicknell. The progressives in Illinois have organized four women's strike circles—in Staunton, Belleville, Wilsonville, and Springfield, and report that three others are planned. From District 2 in central Pennsylvania, comes the news that the women are all prepared for organization, impatiently waiting for an experienced worker to help them make a start. Plans are in progress to organize the women in Eastern Ohio, among the most courageous and active fighters in the mining region. The spirit of militant organization is spreading among the women in the strike area as the struggle becomes more intense and the miners solidify their ranks.

But it is not only organizationally that the awakening among these women manifests itself. Back of this eagerness to establish some body through which they may function in a systematic manner, lies a determined spirit of struggle, and readiness to battle together with their men.

The women in the mining camps have become energetic fighters. In the mass picketing which followed the April 1 conference, as part of its intensification of militant activity, women played



Women member of miner's family working on barracks after eviction. She knows women are concerned with the fight to save the union!

an important part. There has not been a single picket line organized by the progressives on which the miners' wives and daughters have not taken their place. And they have not been merely silent observers; on the contrary, they have proven themselves so effective in encounters with the scabs that they have become the targets for bitter assaults by the Coal-and-Iron Police, state troopers, and other political agents of the coal operators.

These forces of "law and order" have instituted a reign of terror in the strike region, making every attempt to intimidate the striking miners and their courageous women. Tear gas bombs, brutal beatings, arrests: these are the methods employed.

### Defy Poison Gas

In Meadowland, near Pittsburgh, women on the picket line have received daily doses of tear gas without flinching. One miner's wife Angelina Frank, a strong peasant woman from Jugoslavia, enraged at the brutality of the state troopers, beat one of them up, and then, happy in her accomplishment, declared a holiday for the progressives, postponing her washing and other housework. In Bentleyville, where a 62-year old miner's wife had her scalp opened by a tear gas



bomb; in Library, where the sheriff threatened to arrest every woman picket; in Avella, Treveshyn and other centers in western Pennsylvania, similar attacks have occurred and arrests are made.

### Babies In Jail

The Ohio coal fields have witnessed the same tactics. Women have been clubbed and arrested in Hocking Valley and in eastern Ohio just as in Pennsylvania. An outstanding example of the splendid courage and fighting spirit of the miners' wives was given in St. Clairsville, Ohio. Following a march upon the county jail in protest against the imprisonment of progressive miners, fifty-one women were arrested. Three days they spent in jail, jammed into a space that could comfortably accommodate only four people, and with only one cot for every three women. Five babies from three to seven months old, were brought into the jail to be nursed by their imprisoned mothers: a baptism in American justice and liberty. These actions, however, have completely failed to intimidate the women, for they are more determined than ever to carry on the struggle.

Not only in the organized fields, but in the unorganized sections of Pennsylvania, where the miners struck April 16 in response to the call of the Save-the-Union Committee, terrorism has been rampant. Millsboro, White Valley, Yukon, Export, have been the scene of vicious slugging of women. No questions were tolerated, no explanations given. The appearance of women on the picket line, or even on the public highway near the mine, is the signal for Coal-and-Iron Police, state troopers, and deputy sheriffs to put their clubs and tear gas bombs into action. They even enter the houses to do their job, as Mrs. Mary Martinelli of Slickville discovered, when five state troopers marched upon her porch and clubbed her severely when she protested against their slugging of pickets.

Many other instances of police brutality could be given but the women are not intimidated by it.

### Reactionary Tactics Fail

Police brutality has not been the only weapon used against the women, either. Reactionary union officials, attacking the progressives, cut off relief for miners' families and stop the supply of milk for their babies. Reactionary women, especially in western Pennsylvania, are employing any and every means to break up progressive auxiliaries. The district board is packed with reactionaries and every right of representation and expression is refused the progressives. In

New field, a progressive stronghold, several truck loads of reactionary women were brought from other centers to the meeting of the auxiliary. When these created a disturbance and broke up the meeting, ten of the women supporting the Save-the-Union Committee were arrested and wait a grand jury hearing. In Rural Ridge, also a progressive camp, similar action was tried, and this time the reactionaries brought state troopers with them. None of these attempts have swerved the militant women from the course they were following. A big majority of the members in the thirty or more auxiliaries and strike circles in Pennsylvania, as well as all of those organized in other states, support the progressive moment.

### They Take Initiative

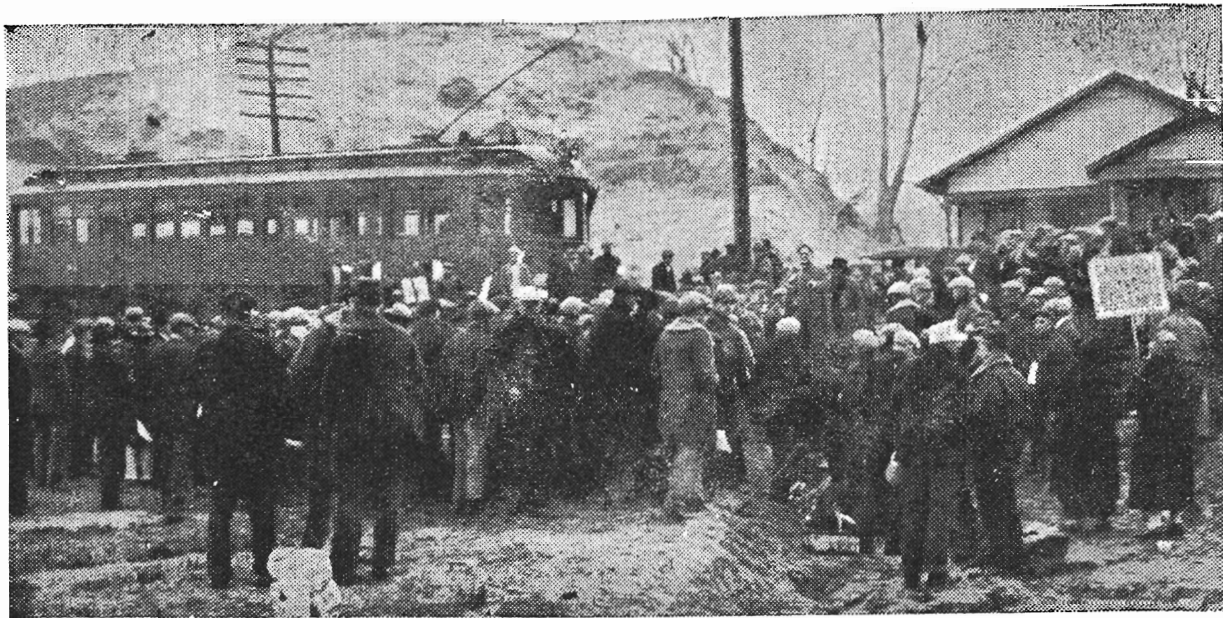
One of the most astonishing achievements in this moment is the development of initiative among the women. There is Mrs. Carboni, progressive leader in Bentlyville; she was a quiet, reserved woman six months ago, concerned only with the immediate problems of her home. Today she is one of the best speakers and organizers, visiting camps to establish progressive women's circles.

In Renton there are Mrs. Mondell and Mrs. Strekor, through whose work one of the most militant and active auxiliaries, with a membership of more than a hundred, has been built up. They are now acting practically as field organizers, mobilizing truckloads of women to travel from Renton to White Valley, or Export, or Vandergriff, in the unorganized regions, to set up new progressive women's organizations.

Many other names could be mentioned, for this long and bitter strike has developed leadership among the miner's wives. They are learning how to speak and organize, and are losing whatever sense of helplessness and inferiority they may have had. They are gradually gaining more and more understanding of the problems of the miners, so that progressive slogans are no longer mere phrases, but battle-cries that the militant women know are fundamental in their struggle.

### Lesson Taught By Miner's Wives

Thus the activity of the miners' wives and daughters in the bituminous coal strike fields has proven how powerful a factor the women in the mining camps can become when organized. The progressive miners now realize fully that their fight must have the co-operation of their womenfolk. And the women have demonstrated their readiness to be organized and drawn into the struggle to hasten victory.



**MASS PICKETING IN ILLINOIS.** — Miners supporting the Save-the-Union program at the St. Louis mine, O'Fallon, Ill. Mines attempting to re-open for strike breaking purposes, with the consent of the Fishwick administration in District 12, Ill., are crippled by the decision of the miners to picket them.

### *The Miners Go on to District Conventions*

(Continued from Page 2)

ers back to the mines under non-union wages and conditions, and by his union-splitting policy of trying to pit his sub-district against the rest.

The Kansas miners, long noted for their struggle against the Lewis machine, a district that Lewis almost entirely destroyed, have suddenly, over-night in fact, jumped into the harness when they became aware of the Save-the-Union movement. They will hold their district convention shortly and will follow the same course as the other districts. The miners will definitely overthrow their reactionary leadership.

The miners will "Save their union".

#### (Editors Note)

The District Conventions of the miners, referred to in Watt's article have begun as Labor Unity is being printed. In Belleville, Ill., 249 delegates from all subdistricts and 78 locals assembled at the call for a district convention, May 19. The Fishwick machine sent in gangsters. A dozen of them, led by Nesbit, the Lewis secretary of the district, ambushed Watt, Freeman Thompson, Voyzey and other delegates while they were eating in a restaurant. A pitched battle took place, and the gangsters came off second best. Nesbit had the temerity to attack Voyzey in person, and is now nursing a black eye. Thompson was badly cut by glass from a bottle thrown by one of Nesbit's gangsters. Naturally

the men arrested were the left wingers, but all were released the next morning.

The convention declared the offices of the district vacant, appointed temporary district officials, and adopted plans for carrying out the decisions and policy of the National Save-the-Miners-Union Conference held April 1 in Pittsburgh.

Geo. Voyzey of Local Union 413 is temporary District President, Luke Coffey, president of Local Union 705, O'Fallon, is District Vice-President, and Daniel Slinger of Belleville is District Secretary.

In Bellaire, Ohio, 200 delegates assembled on May 22, at a special sub-district convention called by 40 locals, to oust the reactionary Lewis-Hall regime. The meeting was called in accordance with the provisions of the constitution.

A hundred and forty-eight delegates from all parts of District 11, Indiana, met in Clinton, Ind., on the 21st, and formally removed the officials of the Lewis regime in Indiana. Speakers at the convention were Pat Toohey, secretary of the National Save-the-Union Committee, Powers Hapgood, Mother Bloor, Tom Parry and Davey Jones. Jones was elected chairman of the convention. The whole program of the Save-the-Union Committee was adopted, and action similar to that in Illinois taken to replace the officials with temporary officers, loyal to the miners, until elections can be held.

# Preparing for a Carpenters' Convention

By MIKE ROSS

**T**HE 22nd general convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America will be held in September, only four months away. Delegates will be elected in July, and all amendments to the general constitution must be submitted by local unions to the general office before July 15. This makes it imperative for progressives to begin organizing at once to decide on delegates and proposed amendments to the constitution.

The reactionaries are in this respect ahead of the progressives. Their slate of delegates is decided upon in most cases, and reactionary amendments for the constitution are already printed in the January issue of "The Carpenter", among them one which proposes to hold elections of local union officers every four years only instead of annually.

The last general convention (1924) was held in the midst of a building boom. Wages were steadily on the upgrade. Despite this generally favorable situation, which the officials naturally claimed they were responsible for, the machine of General President Wm. L. Hutcheson found strong opposition. It could win only through suppressing discussion and falsifying the vote. Hutcheson in this crisis arbitrarily declared the convention adjourned, and it ended amid an uproar.

## Hutcheson Starts Expulsions

After the general elections, Hutcheson began a reign of terror in order to save his skin. Locals and members were expelled wholesale; thousands were disfranchised. The leading fighters were either expelled or disfranchised. Among the expelled were Bud Reynolds, vice-president of the Detroit District Council of Carpenters, and president of Local 2140; W. J. Burgess of Philadelphia, business agent of Local Union No. 8, and campaign manager for the opposition slate headed by Willis K. Brown; James Walsh, president of Local 585 and former candidate for first general vice-president. Local Union No. 376 of Brooklyn, N. Y. was expelled. This was the local which circularized the "Progressive Carpenters Cam-

paign Program," on the basis of which Rosen, progressive president of the local, ran against Hutcheson for the office of general president.

This reign of terror, scattering the progressives, was followed by a period of pessimism amongst them and less activity. Are there grounds for such an attitude now? Let us see:

During the unprecedented building boom, struggle for the five day week, organization of the unorganized, job control, amalgamation, labor party, and other demands of the progressives did not seem to the average members to be burning issues. They were satisfied to let things alone and enjoy better conditions than they had ever had before.

But now we have a large slump in the building industry: a drop of about 15 per cent in construction. Now there are tens of thousands of unemployed. Now it is seen that "prosperity" was a temporary thing, not due to Hutcheson, and that progressive slogans are more than ever worth fighting for.

A mass discontent and restlessness is developing. It needs crystallizing, and organizing. The progressives will be listened to now.

## Divided Forces

At the last convention the opposition to Hutcheson was, generally speaking, divided into two groups. The larger, looser group was led by the Rhode Island delegation, of which Mulcahy was the leading spirit, and whose candidate for general president was Willis K. Brown. It had no definite program, and based its fight on general abstract principles of democracy and justice.

The smaller group was better organized, more definite, had a real progressive program based on the needs of the rank and file, and its candidate was Morris Rosen.

These groups were not able to unite against Hutcheson at the last general elections. The Mulcahy group had never heard of and did not see the use of a definite written program and underestimated the strength of the Rosen group,



**MORRIS ROSEN**

Candidate in the last election for general president of the Carpenters Union on the progressive platform put out by Local Union 376.

which it regarded as a handful of upstarts. It has since learned better. Rosen was credited with nearly 10,000 votes by Hutcheson's tabulating committee and the progressive program has left such an impression on the rank and file that the Mulcahy group has had to support Rosen group candidates in various local elections, with the result that in the Chicago district elections, where this was done, the progressives won, even though the local Jensen machine stole the election. In Pittsburgh the progressives nearly captured the district council. In the New York and Philadelphia district council elections the progressives showed surprising strength. Election campaigns with both groups united on a written program are now a matter of course. The last convention laid the basis for a united opposition movement based on a progressive program, against Hutcheson and Reaction. At the coming convention this opposition to Hutcheson will materialize on a national scale.

#### **Amendments to the General Constitution**

Proposed amendments must be clear and concise, specifying the section and paragraph to be amended, and must be drawn in such a way as not to give the controlling machine a chance to disqualify them on some technicality.

As a fight for amendments carries with it great propaganda opportunities, it is important to have them introduced in resolution form, specifying the reason why proposed. The more important amendments progressives want are listed below; they may be obtained in resolution form from "The Progressive Building Trades Workers", Room 311 96 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

1. **A referendum vote to elect officers of district councils.** In many cities, for instance, New York, district council officers are not elected by the membership and hold office for a long term of years. This makes for a bureaucracy. Local constitutional provisions make it impossible to amend by-laws except through action of the national convention.

2. **To permit discussion of workers' political action.** The constitution now contains a clause prohibiting "party politics" in the part dealing with labor legislation, and Hutcheson has used this section to expel members who advocate the formation of a labor party.

3. **General officers to be elected and general conventions held every two years instead of every four years.** Resolutions to this effect were proposed in the last convention by Local 632 of Providence, Rhode Island, and undoubtedly car-

ried by "viva voce". Hutcheson declared them lost, and refused a count by show of hands.

4. **The delegates to elect the convention committee on rules.** At present this, the most important committee in the convention, is appointed by the general president, and this gives him control.

5. **Take away the general president's right to arbitrarily suspend subdivisions of the unions, and provide for trial and appeal through the general executive board.**

6. **A 20 per cent wage cut for officials.** At the last general convention Hutcheson proposed raising the officers' wages 20 per cent. He was so completely defeated that he did not even dare to miscount the votes and call it passed, so the machine had a special referendum, where votes are counted by machine men in the locals, in secret, and raised the wages. An example of their methods is seen in Philadelphia, where Local 1073 voted 3 for the increase and 61 against. When the tabulated vote was given out by the general office, it showed 654 for the increase and 50 against.

#### **Resolutions**

Resolutions for the consideration of the convention can be submitted by local unions but customarily are introduced by delegates at the convention. It is best to have resolutions carried in local unions and delegates instructed to introduce them. Where delegates are unreliable the former, or both methods can be used.

Progressives want resolutions on the following issues carried, all others being second place: **organization of the unorganized; for the 5-day and 40-hour week; unemployment relief; agreements with employers to prohibit non-union trim; for job control; for amalgamation of building trades unions; and on the old age home.**

The manner in which Hutcheson got across his scheme for an old age home is a classical example of vile corruption, open violation of the general constitution and flagrant disregard of the membership. The land was purchased before the membership even voted on the proposition. Before the deal for the land was finished, Local 632 got out, with the necessary seconds, a motion for referendum. Hutcheson refused to put it out to vote. Local 632 appealed to the 21st convention, and when Mulcahy as delegate from that local, insisted on the appeal being heard, Hutcheson expelled him from the convention. In addition he was badly assaulted for daring to oppose Hutcheson.

The last convention ordered a referendum anyway, and the proposition for the old age home

was badly defeated, in spite of wholesale vote stealing and fake reports. The land purchased, at Lakeland, Florida, was therefore useless, and Local 336 of La Salle, Ill., initiated a referendum to sell it. After much vote juggling Hutcheson's tabulators declared the referendum lost, and on the basis of this decision, which had nothing to do with building the home, Hutcheson went ahead and ordered it built.

Prepared resolutions on any of the above matters can be had from the Progressive Building Trades Workers.

### Appeals To The Convention

There are four appeals to the general convention which deserve the united support of every carpenter delegate, and every delegate should be so instructed by his local union.

1. **Fred Bobzin** Fred Bobzin was elected president of the Chicago District Council of Carpenters in 1926 through the united support of all progressive forces. Harry Jensen, the present incumbent, stole the election by having the ballots of certain local unions disqualified and by profiting from the "disappearance" of all ballots from other local unions. The complete story of the machinations by which Jensen remained in power is told in a pamphlet issued by Bobzin, in the form of an appeal to the convention.

2. **William Reynolds.** William Reynolds was vice president of the Detroit District Council of Carpenters and president of Local 2140. He was the leading progressive of Detroit, and was instrumental in carrying that city for Rosen, when the latter ran for the general presidency.

One day, suddenly, Reynolds was declared expelled by the general office in a communication sent to his local. The excuse given was that he was a member of the Trade Union Educational League. Local 2140 refused to recognize such arbitrary and illegal action, and sent out a circular letter and resolutions to all locals, condemning it. Many locals endorsed the resolutions.

3. **Local Union 376.** Shortly after the general elections this local was put on trial. It was threatened with losing its charter if it continued to defy orders from Hutcheson. It continued its progressive activity, was put on trial again and was suspended. Hutcheson's group had not dared to suspend the local openly because of the Progressive Carpenter's Campaign Program, which it circulated in Rosen's campaign though Hutcheson declared it "unconstitutional", so an excuse was framed, a technicality.

Local Union N. 376 issued 30,000 copies of an

appeal, in booklet form (112 pages) which is really an important historical labor document, analyzing the developments of the industry, Hutcheson's corrupt leadership, and the need for adopting the progressive program. Many locals ordered quantities to distribute to their membership.

Every progressive carpenter should see that his delegates have copies of the appeal of Local 376. They can be obtained from the former recording secretary of the union, Nathan Rosen, 174 Grafton St., Brooklyn, N. Y. The book is sent free.

4. **Joseph Lapidus.** The appeal of Joseph Lapidus grows out of the case of Local 376. The decision as signed by Hutcheson reads; "This is to notify you that the charter of Local Union 376 is hereby revoked and it is no longer a local union of the United Brotherhood. Arrangements will be made to give the members an opportunity to transfer their membership to other local unions so that the individual standing, benefits, rights and privileges in our Brotherhood may be maintained".

The members of Local Union 376 were of a class conscious militant type due to the training they had received while their progressive officers were functioning for them. When they were transferred to other locals, they gained ideological influence over the membership. They would have filled the offices of three locals through the local union elections, had they not all been ruled off the ballot in accordance with a secret letter to these locals, sent by Hutcheson stating that members of former Local 376 could not hold union office.

The members made the case of Joseph Lapidus a test case. Lapidus had been nominated for presidency of Local 1164, and when he was ruled off the ballot, an appeal was taken to the convention. It affects 1,000 members of Local 376 among them leading progressives of the country.

The Lapidus appeal will determine whether such contemptible methods can be utilized against others, for in ruling Lapidus off the ballot, Hutcheson not only violated his own original decision, but committed an unheard of usurpation of power. He could not even frame up any slight technicality on which to base his order. All efforts of the progressives must direct themselves primarily to the support of the Lapidus appeal because of its outstanding features and possibilities.

# The Red International of Labor Unions

## *A Real International*

By MORRIS YUSEM

(Delegate From The Trade Union Educational League)

**T**HE Fourth World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions opened in Moscow, the capital of the Workers Republic on March 17. While in capitalist countries labor congresses are by no means recognised as important events or given great publicity by the press, or official receptions, in the Soviet Union we found the exact opposite. The workers there consider a R. I. L. U. congress something of the greatest importance and arrange for it as only a working class in power can.

Indeed, as the delegates streamed in from over fifty different countries, one was struck with the fact that it would be hardly possible to hold such a meeting in any capitalist country. There were delegates from China, Italy, Bulgaria, Java and other lands where the labor movement is outlawed, and some of these delegates, coming into any capitalist country, to meet there publicly, would have been sure to have been handed over to their respective hangmen.

The congress hall was one of the finest in Moscow. This structure, with its immense marble columns lining the interior, the numerous giant chandeliers, is typical, on a grander scale of many such structures in the Soviet Union, remaining to remind of the old regime and how it squandered the labor of workers and peasants.

The opening of the congress left an impression on the minds of all who were there such as will recall its significance for many years. As you would look down the masses of delegates, you were struck with the fact that here was an international gathering unequalled in the history of the trade union movement. Practically every country was represented. The colonies were there strong. China had about 25 in its delegation; Corea, Egypt, South Africa, the Near East, Australia, Indonesia, were present; in fact hardly a colony was absent. Of course among the victims of imperialism the American continent was not neglected. In addition to the twenty delegates from the U. S. A., there were a total of about forty from Canada, Mexico, Cuba, Central America, and nearly every country of South America. Add to this the three delegates from the Philippines, and we can prove that the R. I. L. U. is the only international that struggles against American imperialism.

There were quite a number of Negro delegates

coming from U. S. A., Cuba and from African colonies. European capitalist countries had heavy delegations, and of course the ten million organized workers of Soviet Russia had their leaders there.

The reformist Amsterdam International holds a congress now and then, but none of them to compare with this one. They are never any more able to show representation outside of Europe. Neither does every country of Europe have a section of the Amsterdam organization. Furthermore, delegates coming to an Amsterdam congress are usually of a "respectable" sort, such as have long been out of touch with the class struggle, very much like those coming to one of our A. F. L. conventions.

In contrast to these, we have the delegates of the Fourth R. I. L. U. Congress, actual leaders in the many bitter struggles that have taken place during the past two decades. Many delegates especially such as come from the White Terror ridden countries, have either long prison or death sentences hanging over them. Then there were many that have developed into leadership in situations such as that in the United Mine Workers of America today, in spite of reformist betrayals and scabbery. England has her general strike, and miners' strike, and Germany her Hamburg dockers' strike.

A mere summary of the composition of the congress is enough to prove the correctness of the opening words of Losovsky, secretary of the R. I. L. U. who pointed out that in the course of the three and a half years since its third Congress the R. I. L. U. has grown to over 16,000,000 members, while the Amsterdam international has sunk to 13,000,000; that the R. I. L. U. is a real international, while Amsterdam is, at best, only a semi-European international; that the R. I. L. U. develops out of the actual struggle while decaying Amsterdam is an organ of class peace and in reality is a means of disarming the workers, and that the R. I. L. U. is anti-imperialistic, while Amsterdam completely ignores the organization of the workers in colonial countries.

Losovsky's report on the events of these three and a half years gave a line to the proceedings of the congress. His report alone took almost a day. It was a long summing up of the experiences in the numerous struggles that have taken place,

going into details in the important cases in each country, and finally placing before the congress a program of action.

The discussion which went on for about a week was of course, the most interesting part of the congress. The labor movement of every country was represented, by one or more speakers. A collection of the speeches delivered during the discussion is the best survey of the world's trade union movement that we may want, as it is a product of the people best fitted to make such an analysis.

The discussion centered principally around strike strategy, work within the reformist unions, organization of the unorganized, international trade union unity, work in colonies, against Fascism, and on the conditions of the workers in each country.

One of the points put out very emphatically before the congress was the fact that while the condition of toilers in capitalist countries is getting continually worse, that of the workers in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is steadily improving, wages increasing, seven hour day being put into effect, etc. It did not require much speech making to prove this point, however. The chairman of the Moscow Soviet; Tomsky, head of the federation of trade unions in Soviet Russia, and representatives of the government merely invited the delegates to see for themselves. Our delegate credentials served as admission tickets to every factory, factory club, union meeting, public institution, museum, school, etc. that we could find time to attend to between sessions of the congress or after it was over. Many of the delegates made trips to other parts of the country: the Don coal fields, Leningrad, etc.

The work of the congress was not done merely by discussion in full session. At least two weeks was devoted to section and commission meetings in which practically all the delegates were enrolled. The commissions took up about every problem and phase of trade union policy. The R. I. L. U. demonstrated through this that it has a real international leadership for its affiliated organizations. The resolutions and statutes worked out will prove of great value to trade union leaders, organizers, functionaries, in the work among skilled and unskilled, women, youth, Negro and co-

lonial workers. The value of these documents lies particularly in the fact that they are based on the collected experiences of leaders from over 50 countries.

The congress closed after accomplishing a tremendous amount of work. A large executive council representing the labor movements of almost every country was elected, and the delegates scattered to their respective tasks.

To the American left wing the congress was of especial significance. Although a minority movement, everyone felt that we represented a mass of workers, as proven by the recent developments among coal miners, needle workers, textile workers, and others. There was much interest displayed in the problems of the American left wing, the prevailing opinion being that in America we had gone a long way toward the development of a strong opposition movement to the American Federation of Labor bureaucracy. In all meetings American questions occupied a prominent place on the agenda. A resolution specifically applying to America was adopted, outlining to the American labor left wing as a specific and most important task the building up of a powerful mass Trade Union Educational League. The experiences of the left wing in the miners' strike, the Passaic strike, the needle strikes, etc., was analyzed, and in some cases criticised severely. The emphasis in the future is to be placed on organization of the unorganized, initiating strikes and leading them, strengthening the T. U. E. L. organizationally, and work among Negroes.

The American delegates learned a great deal at the congress. Particularly have we learned what international affiliation and solidarity means, taking into consideration that the A. F. of L. follows a policy of isolating American workers from the rest of the world. The T. U. E. L. is the only trade union movement that connects the American workers to the workers of other countries.

The congress was a great inspiration to our delegation to go back home and work harder than ever to build the left wing and increase its mass support and thereby affiliate greater numbers of American workers to the great and most powerful international, the Red International of Labor Unions.

**NOTE**—The program adopted at the Congress is being printed in Labor Unity. The first installment appeared last month, the second will be next month.

# THE BRITISH TEXTILE STRUGGLE

Cotton Workers, under Minority Movement Leadership, Resist Attempts of Reformist Trade Union Leaders to Accept Wage Cuts

By ERNEST H. BROWN

**A**RISING out of the demands of British cotton capital, for reduced wages and lengthening of hours, 500,000 Lancashire cotton operatives are faced with a situation which may well develop into the greatest industrial upheaval ever known in the history of the industry.

The British cotton trade is in a parlous condition—a permanent depression, never before equalled even in critical trade slump periods, hangs over the whole industry. Since the great European war the competitive power of British cotton has been on a continuous decline and now, despite many suggested schemes of "rationalization" the outlook appears more gloomy than ever.

The decline can be definitely traced to the following reasons:—

1. Growth of foreign competition, especially in the Eastern part of the world.
2. Increased exploitation of the home industry by big finance.
3. Out of date management and bad technical organization of the industry.

It will be obvious from the facts here set out that the re-organization of the industry is impossible within the narrow limits of capitalist economy, and that the suggestion of reduction of wages and longer hours cannot even touch the fringe of the problem, but at the most will give temporary relief to the employers.

## The Decline in Production

The following official figures reveal the extent of the depression:

1913 Cloth exported 7,075 million yards.

1927 Cloth exported 4,117 million yards.

If the export decrease had been balanced to a considerable extent by increased home consumption the situation might have been relieved. During recent years, however, the workers of Britain have suffered exceptionally heavy wage reductions with a consequent decline in purchasing power. This has reflected itself in consumption of cotton cloths. From available figures we learn that in:

1912 the home consumption was 1,229 million yards

1924 the home consumption was 830 million yards or a decline of 399 million yards over the period. With a growing population the decline becomes more marked still.

## The Decline of the Eastern Markets

Let us now examine the world's market in groups. We export our cloth to the ends of the earth; to 53

Ernest H. Brown, a prominent British organizer and speaker, was born, and has lived most of his life in Bradford, one of the centres of the British textile industry. He has participated in many of the struggles of the textile workers, and is an authority on the industry. He is well known nationally as a leader in the activities of the organized left wing in the British unions.

NOTE.—Since this article was written, the operative dyers trade unions have served notice that they will strike on the second pay day of June if they do not get satisfaction in their long pending claim for more wages.

Two bosses' associations, the Central Committee of the Master Cotton Spinners Association, and the Cotton Spinners and Manufacturers Association are holding meetings and putting out a ballot to their members, to vote on declaring a lock-out of 80,000 workers.

countries and more are the products of Lancashire looms exported; 85 per cent. of the total products of Lancashire looms are shipped abroad. If we study the markets of the Far East, Near East, self-governing Dominions, South America, Africa, U.S.A. and Europe, and take the comparative figures of export to these markets in the years 1913 and 1927, we find that Europe has increased her takings of Lancashire cloths by 57 $\frac{3}{4}$  million yards more in 1927 than in 1913. In view of the fact that Europe is now taking more of our cloths than she did in 1913 we may quite reasonably conclude that the depression of the industry is not arising

out of economic conditions of the great war, this so far as America and Europe are concerned. Upon examination of the world groups of markets we find that our greatest loss has been in the Far Eastern and Near Eastern markets. Situated in the Far Eastern market are China and India, two nations that constitute the greatest potential consumers of cotton cloth in the world; yet we find that their takings of Lancashire cotton cloths have decreased by 2,018 million yards as between 1913 and 1927.

The reason is simple. In India, China and Japan, there is a rapidly developing cotton industry based upon slave conditions of labor. In these countries labor costs of production are very low indeed and British finance capital prefers to run these mills because of high profits, rather than the Lancashire mills where it is necessary because of trade unionism to grant a comparatively decent standard of living to the workers.

That this is true can be seen from an examination of textile machinery exports. In the ten years from 1904 to 1913 1,589,955 tons of textile machinery was exported, the major portions to British colonies. From 1914 down to the end of 1927, (the period of rapid decline in Lancashire) there was exported an additional 1,347,842 tons at a value of £145,900,000. It is understood, of course, that this huge total represents to a large degree British investments in colonial enterprise. Yet British capital at home would have the workers accept lower wages and longer hours for the supposed purpose of competing with British capital abroad.

## British Capital at Home

The second reason for the decline is the increased financial burden which British industry is forced to carry.

An informative contribution has been made to the question of unsound financing of the industry in 1920,



and the heavy burden of fixed interest charges thereby created, in a paper read before the Royal Statistical Society, London, 17th January 1928, by Professor Daniels and John Jewkes.

It informs us that 46 per cent of the spindles of the industry and 14 per cent of the looms were affected by financial reconstruction up to July 31st 1920. They state that 129 companies, with a paid-up share capital of £18,976,500 were purchased at a total cost of £28,257,000, of which £16,857,000 was left to be raised by loans, bank overdrafts, and debentures. By January 1921, the financial position of these companies was that they had £23,570,800 under the same heads, loans amounting to £17,056,700 and bank overdrafts £15,315,500. Remember these figures only refer to 129 companies; a much larger number than this were re-constructed or re-capitalized during the boom period of 1919-20, but they indicate to us the general trend and tendency of increasing fixed interest-bearing capital during and since the re-floatation period for more than half the spindleage of the country. If these 129 companies had increased their indebtedness of fixed interest-bearing capital to £23,570,800 by January, 1921, what is their position now? Of one thing we are certain, and that is that it must be infinitely worse now in this regard than it was then.

Another authoritative source (L. Hutcheson, Secretary, Weavers' Association) gives the following table:

Capital Charges in 1913			
Share Capital	£24,854,463	Profit	£2,640,803
Loan Capital	16,082,282	4%	643,281
Bank loan and overdrafts	-----		
Depreciation	40,936,745	5%	2,046,837

Capital Charges in 1927			
Share capital	£91,683,855	(loss)	£4,500,000
Loan capital	37,175,933	6%	2,230,555
Bank loan and overdrafts	-----		
Depreciation	128,859,788	5%	6,442,989

Lastly we come to the question of the bad organization of the industry in a technical sense. This is admitted on all sides but whilst every scheme so far produced has insisted upon lower standards for the workers nothing has been done to secure better co-ordination of technical processes because of sectional interests involved.

#### The Attack on the Workers

Six months ago the cotton masters demanded reductions in wages of 12½% and an increase of 4¼ hours in the working week. The cotton textile unions were in no condition to resist. Firstly, the officials, (and their numbers are legion) are amongst the most re-actionary in Britain. Secondly, the number of unions, each watching its own sectional interests, was a menace to solidarity; and, thirdly, the rank and file membership (50% are organized) were very depressed as a result of years of short time and unemployment.

It almost looked as if the officials would be allowed to negotiate a retreat without opposition from below. But after a month or two of strenuous work by the Minority Movement and the Communist Party, the rank and file began to wake up. It was easy to explain to them that the proposed lower standards for the workers would make no difference in the selling price of cloth but at the best would enable some of the

fixed charges of higher finance to be met. As soon as the workers realized that lower standards would not help to revitalize the industry, they were prepared for resistance.

#### The Officials' Treachery

The growth of militancy among the textile workers placed the reactionary trade union leaders in a bad fix. They wanted to accede to the wishes of the cotton lords, but realized that open acceptance of the demands cleared the way for the rise of a militant leadership who were assured of a widespread response to an organized call for unofficial rank-and-file action.

So they played for time. Facing the textile lords, they asked for modification of the demands in order to secure a case to present to the workers. Facing the workers, they asked for tolerance, goodwill, and faith in the Mond—Trade Union Congress Industrial Peace Conference. Against this the Minority Movement carried on a vigorous campaign of exposure, and put forward the following demands:—

No lower wages. No longer hours.

Prepare rank-and-file machinery for 100% resistance.

Form factory committees representative of all sections involved.

Local unity committees to co-ordinate resistance.

One central negotiating body.

Demand Trade Union Congress break with industrial Peace Conference and prepare support for textile workers.

This programme was popularized by hundreds of factory-gate meetings, at which the workers were asked to approve the policy; by distribution of 20,000 factory papers; by distribution of minority movement literature and handbills; and, most important of all, by rank and file conferences of the workers, who were asked to discuss the policy of the militants.

#### Stalybridge and Oldham

At two factories, an attempt was made by the bosses to apply the new conditions. Here, the union leaders contented themselves by the issue of a statement announcing that they had not consented to the new terms. In private they were praying that the workers would! The strike call was issued and energetic picketing arranged. During the Stalybridge fight the pickets were dispersed and the organizer (Minority Movement leader) arrested. The workers responded to these intimidation tactics by a concentration on the two factories which secured the withdrawal of the employers' demands. Thus the first round went to the workers!

Since the victory of Stalybridge and Oldham the employers have acceded to the demand of the Trade Union leaders for a modification of terms. They have withdrawn their original demands and replaced them by demands for 12½% reduction in wages and a 2 hour's longer working week. With these arrogant demands they now approach the half million textile workers; and, at the moment of writing, the leaders are considering a new agreement on these conditions. The workers will not accept such a settlement. The next few months may see a fight which, in determination and bitterness, will compare with the great historic fight of the British miners in 1926.

In this struggle The British Minority Movement will play an important part. The approach to the masses has been well and truly laid, and the workers know that our agitation and action are consistent.

# Taxicab Drivers Betrayed in Newark

By IRVING FREEMAN

**T**WO months ago the taxicab drivers employed by the Yellow Cab Co. Inc., and the Brown & White Co., in Newark, N. J. started a drive amongst themselves to unionize. They rebelled against the tyranny of their superintendent, Mr. Miller. The workers suffered under a speed-up system introduced by the company, a stock selling scheme imposed upon the workers, a method of compelling the men to pay for dead mileage and shortage brought about by petty officers and supervisors who turned on the clocks when they stopped in a lunch room or cafeteria to get a coffee and sandwich. On top of these schemes the workers were compelled to pay for any damages occurring to their machines under \$25 in accidents and for losses incurred during holdups. The men in case of a hold-up would make a collection amongst themselves and thus save the victim from standing all of the losses. The company issued an order prohibiting this practice. This act of the bosses added more fuel to the discontent of the men. The men were compelled to work eighteen hours one day a week so that it would be possible for them to get one day a week off. On a Saturday or a Sunday if a worker failed to show up for work, no matter whether the cause was due to illness or otherwise he was penalised with a three-day layoff. Another practice of "discipline" on the part of the company was the imposing of impossible fines upon the workers for appearing late to work.

The taxicab drivers received a 33 1/3% commission for their pay, and some tips. The workers rarely earn over \$30 per week under the penalty schemes imposed by the company. The driver also revolted against a 62-clause rule book that imposed a yellow dog contract on them. The employees were compelled to sign in their application when hired a statement that they would not join any union or urge others to join a labor union. For the past six weeks City Limit Taxicabs have appeared in the city. The arrival of these 50-cent cabs reduced their small earnings.

## Promise Charter

When the workers started to organize they enlisted the support of the engineers and Joseph Fay their agent and a local Democratic politician plus a certain Mr. Crowley, who had been a welfare worker, a clerk in the police headquarters, and had worked to secure more salary for police when they were voted their increase. Mr. Fay interested the Brotherhood of Teamsters International officers locally and nationally. Teamsters' officials were Brothers: Slater, Cachel, Carlin, Edward Levy, Jennings and Buckley from Jersey City. At the second organization meeting 27 of the workers were fired by the company. This was the overt act that caused the strike. The local taxicab workers had organized themselves and elected officers including an executive board. The executive board acted as the strike committee.

When the men started to organize they were promised a charter from the International Brotherhood of

Teamsters and Chauffeur in a short time. Then the strike started and they continued to get the same promise. In a few days the cabs of the Yellow & Brown & White Companies were practically all tied up.

Then began the importation of New York gangsters and no arrival of a charter. The Yellow Cab Co., who have powerful political and economic resources used their influence against the strikers. They practically bought up the local press with advertisements and by other means. They secured an injunction and reached the police so that these made extra efforts to watch the strikers.

A week passed and no charter arrived! The strikers conducted a militant fight against their bosses. They picketed, took strikebreakers off the cabs and tied up the cabs and the earnings of the company.

## Men Demand Guarantees

Meanwhile a committee consisting of Mr. Joe Fay, Mr. Breitkoff, their attorney, Brothers Tyman and Murphy were chosen to represent the men at a conference with Mr. John Bernhard, the secretary of the Yellow Cab Co. Inc., who own the Brown & White Co., also. They met him and the company agreed to rehire all the men on strike if they returned to work immediately and all the grievances would be arbitrated with the committee by the following Thursday which was 48 hours after the men voted to call off the strike, and go back to work.

At the meeting when Mr. Fay and Breitkoff reported on their conference with Mr. Bernhard, the strikers revolted and demanded what guarantees the workers would have against being fired in a few days for their activities during the strike. They riddled their committee with all kinds of questions. They harped on the matter of the charter.

Then began a long line of explanations that the workers had started their move to organize along improper lines and that no charter could be secured in time of strike but would come in the near future.

The workers wanted a union as their only means of protection! They confided in Mr. Fay and the Brotherhood of Teamsters' officials to get them a charter, but in vain. To-date the grievance committee have not arbitrated all their differences; the workers have no charter and they are discontented. From other sources they have information that they were double crossed and that the Yellow Cab Company had reached the International Brotherhood of Teamsters' officials and influenced them not to issue a charter while the strike was on.

The situation amongst the taxicab drivers in the city of Newark can still be saved! The drivers went back to work, not as a defeated army but as one which had won a partial victory. They went back to work with the idea in mind of securing a charter and unionising ever cab driver in Newark and Essex County. They learned in their twelve day strike who their friends and who their enemies were. They learned to rely no more on lawyers and labor politicians or weaklings to defend their cause.

# A BRIEF REVIEW of EVENTS

*Incidents Treated Elsewhere In This Issue Are Not Mentioned Here*

## Court Denies Nicaragua Marine Rule

Federal Judge Thos. D. Thatcher has upheld the post office department in barring from the mails stamps sold by the All America Anti-imperialist League (39 Union Square, New York City) carrying the words, "Protest Against Marine Rule in Nicaragua". The technical charge used to stop the use of the stamps on the outside of envelopes was that they violated the "obscenity statute", a flagrant impossibility under the circumstances, but a favorite trick of the post office censorship, by which working class publications are attacked.

The single argument the judge took into consideration was the brazen statement of Secretary of State Kellogg but "there is no marine rule in Nicaragua as the American armed forces are there at the request of the recognized government of that country", that is, at the request of the Wall Street puppet Diaz, placed on the presidential chair and maintained there by these same marines, against the will of the overwhelming majority of the population.

Manuel Gomez, secretary of the All America Anti-imperialist League, in a news release states that he has challenged by continued use of the stamps the government to arrest him, but the desire of the state department for nice quiet imperialism causes them to do no more than hold up the mail which has the stamp on it. The stamps are still for sale, and can be used as any other sticker, or on letters inside of envelopes. Postcards with the design on them are being printed.

## Campaign To Free Centralia Prisoners

After eight long years the attention of the workers is again riveted upon the Centralia I. W. W., prisoners confined in the State Prison at Walla Walla, Washington. As a result of the recent visit of James P. Cannon, National Secretary of International Labor Defense, to the Centralia prisoners and an agreement between the Centralia Publicity Committee and the I. L. D. there is a revival of activity in behalf of these long-neglected working class fighters.

These men were arrested on the 11th day of November, 1919, Armistice Day, after they had defended their hall headquarters from the murderous assault of American Legionnaires. After a mockery of a trial, during which every form of intimidation, prejudice and threat was invoked on witnesses, jurors, etc., by the lumber barons and their police agencies, these I. W. W. boys were convicted and have been continuously in custody since then. They were sentenced to "from 25 to 40 years".

The Centralia prisoners, through International Labor Defense, have addressel a letter "To All Labor and Friends of Labor Everywhere" calling upon the working masses to organize a mass protest movement to effect their release and their return to the ranks of the labor movement. Every labor organization is asked to go on record for the following resolution

passed unanimously at a recent meeting by the Seattle Central Labor Council:

"Be it resolved by the Central Labor Council of Seattle and vicinity assembled in regular meeting that we join in an application to the Honorable Roland H. Hartley, Governor of the State of Washington, for an unconditional pardon in behalf of Eugene Barnett, Bert Bland, O. C. Bland, James McInerny, John Lamb, Britt Smith, Loren Roberts and Ray Becker, and that the secretary is hereby instructed to sign such an application on behalf of the Council and to notify all affiliated unions of the adoption of this resolution with the request that they concur therein."

## Radium Victims Try To Sue

Five women, condemned to painful death by radium poisoning which they got by following instructions in the factory of the United States Radium Corporation and wetting their brushes on their lips, are more or less despairingly trying to sue the company in New Jersey courts. The company with its vast economic power and array of legal talent is pursuing the tactics of postponing the case, evidently hoping the women will die before the matter can come to trial, or trying to use the statute of limitations.

The victims are Mrs. Quinta McDonald, Mrs. Albina Larice, Mrs. Edna Hussman, Miss Grace Fryer, and Miss Katherine Schaub. Presumably radium poisoning will appear soon in many other watch dial workers, as the disease is most insidious, and years sometimes pass before the characteristic symptoms of bone decay are seen.

## Bayonne Oil Workers Strike

The Tidewater Oil plant in Bayonne, N. J., was practically tied up by a strike of 2,500 workers. The chief grievance was the worsening of the speed-up system. Offers by the company to grant part of the demands, installing another still man and returning jetmen to the so-called "Battery A" if the strikers would return to work while other measures to alleviate the overwork were discussed, were rejected by a meeting of strikers May 22, but later accepted through intrigue by agents of the company union.

## New York Dental Workers Strike

About 500 dental laboratories in New York were closed May 21 by the rapidly growing union in a strike called to win better conditions and wages for dental mechanics.

## New York Workers Give \$8,000 To Miners

Over \$8,000 was collected in a city wide "tag day" collection in New York City, May 12 and 13. The record collection was \$1,394.95 by members of the Workers Club, 101 West 27th St. Six collectors were arrested. Men, women, boys and girls with collection boxes made a tour of subways, meetings, and all places where workers might congregate.

# International Labor Notes

## Poison Gas in Hamburg

Preparations for war against Russia or Poland, on May 22 caused the death of a score or more of the inhabitants of Hamburg, Germany. Enormous quantities of poison gas stored near the city, as is the case in most countries, including the United States, burst in the Spring sun, and for hours a cloud of deadly phosgene war gas floated this way and that way through the great industrial city, killing people and animals, and blasting the vegetation in the parks. Only a fortunate rainstorm prevented the city from undergoing depopulation, the fate reserved for many a crowded metropolis in the next war.

## German Vote Swings Left

German general elections to the Reichstag May 20, resulted in a shifting of the balance of power much to the left. The Communist Party polled about 3,500,000 votes, and won 54 seats, a gain of 9 seats. The Socialists, the largest party, gained 21 seats, and the parties of the extreme right, like the Nationalists, lost heavily. The next cabinet will probably be a Socialist center coalition.

## The Eighth All India Labor Congress

The eighth annual session of the All India Trade Union Congress representing about half a million organized workers met at Cawnpore, Nov. 26, with 100 delegates.

The principal industries in which the unions operate are: railways, jute, cotton, seamen, printing, telegraph and mines. There are 59 unions. Conditions of work are extremely bad, similar to those of China. The unions have grown up within the last ten years, in the midst of terrific struggles, great strikes in railways and textiles being especially prominent.

The results of attempted collaboration with the British Labor Party and the British Trade Union Congress are summed up by the chairman of the Congress in the words: "The British Labor Party stands completely discredited with Indian workers". He referred especially to repressive measures of the McDonald cabinet.

The Congress congratulated Soviet Russia on its tenth anniversary, denounced the breaking up of the Anglo-Russian Committee, condemned the government of India for stopping the delegates of the Indian unions to the meeting of the Pan Pacific Secretariat, supported the peasants and workers revolution in China, denounced imperialism and the Simon Commission, and announced as the aim of Indian unions, not only the winning of immediate demands, but the abolition of the Capitalist system. A plan was made for further centralization of the work of organization in India in a Council of Action, ordered to begin the following tasks: organization of peasants and workers in co-operation with the existing unions; propaganda for the assertion of the rights of workers and peasants; setting up a publicity bureau and press; collection of funds for these purposes.

This decision transforms the All India trade union center from a loosely federated and merely co-operative national organization to a close knit, fighting organism.—Earl Browder.

## Indian Textile Strike

Seventy-six out of eighty textile mills in Bombay are shut down in the strike of 150,000 workers there for better conditions and more wages.

## Larger Dutch Unions Grow

A review of the Dutch trade union movement in 1927, made by S. Halsen for the R. I. L. U., shows that the large trade union federations there are slowly growing, and the small ones losing members, proving the theory of the R. I. L. U. correct, that large organizations attract the workers more than small ones, for they have more protection to offer.

In October 1927 the Netherlands Trade Union Federation had 202,532 members, an increase during the year of 3%; the Roman Catholic Union had 103,947, 6% increase; the Christian Nationalist Trade Union Center had 53,091, 4% increase. The Union of Brain Workers dropped during the same period from 16,013 to 15,665; the syndicalists fell from 6,800 to 4,844; the National Labor Secretariat (semi-syndicalist) fell from 14,653 in April, 1927, to 14,465 in October.

## Russian Miners Congress

The Sixth congress of the Russian miners' union, opening in Moscow April 26th, reports that during the last two years the production of coal has increased 92 percent, oil has increased 45 percent, and both are above pre-war production by about twenty percent. There has been a 45 per cent increase in wages in the last two years, and an extensive program of building modern houses for miners has been paid for by the industry.

## Plot To Ruin Russian Mines

About fifty engineers and purchasing agents of the Don Coal Mining region were placed on trial in Moscow, May 18, charged with being part of an organized conspiracy with its directing heads abroad among the coal capitalists who formerly owned the mines, and affiliated with the secret service departments of Poland, France and England. The object of the conspiracy was to wreck the Russian coal industry by bad management, purchase of the wrong machinery, endangering and cheating the workers, etc. Several of the accused have confessed, and told of receiving large bribes from abroad for their work. They managed to do some damage before being found out.

## The Peruvian Government Breaks A Strike

The government of Peru called out the army and at the points of bayonets forced back to their jobs railroad and dock strikers who had tied up the largest port in the country.

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