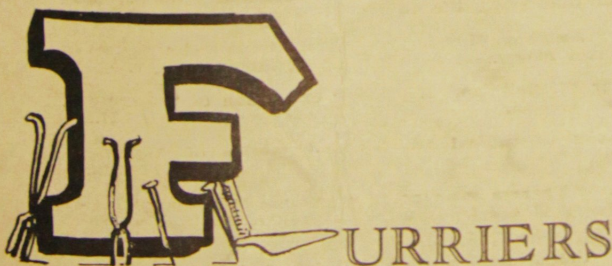
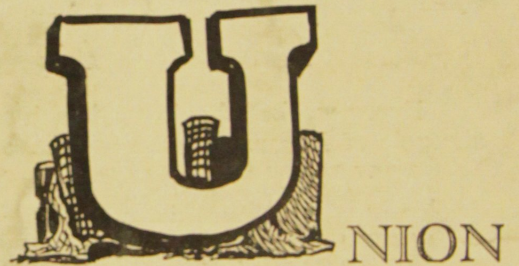
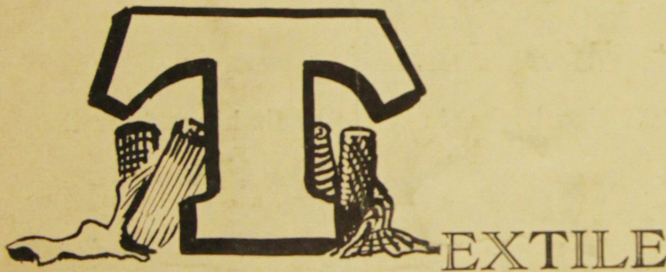
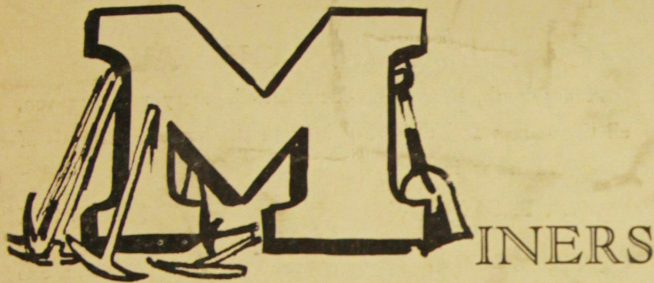


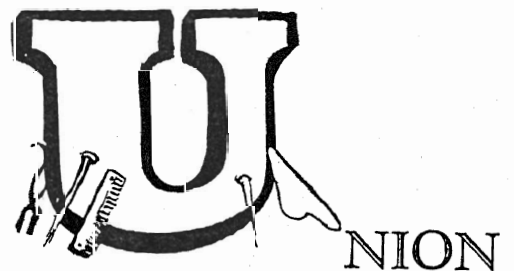
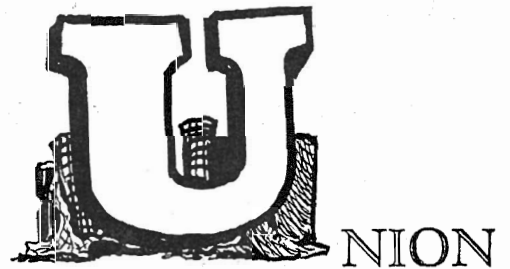
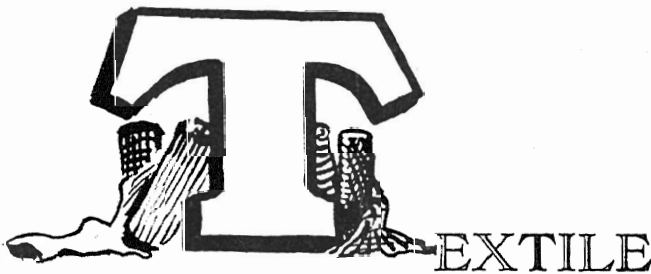
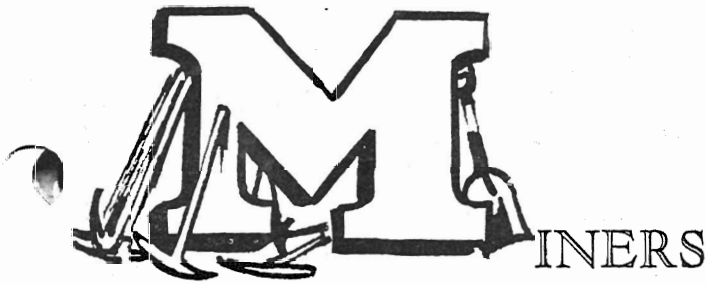
LABOR UNITY

Workers Of Four Industries Form
New Fighting Unions



LABOR UNITY

Workers Of Four Industries Form
New Fighting Unions

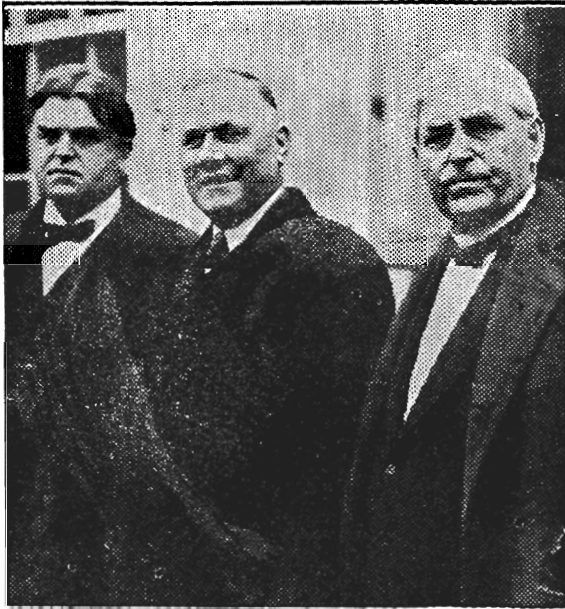


September

1928

Price 20c

MISLEADERS OF LABOR



MISLEADERS OF LABOR

John Lewis, Wm. Green, and Frank Morrison

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Striking miners at Avella, Pa., living in their tent colony after eviction by the Coal Co., and after the Lewis gang refused them lumber for barracks. To these miners a new union is not a theory; it is a vital necessity.

New Unionism in the Mines

By ARNE SWABECK

WITH the launching of the new national miners union at the Sept. 9-16 Convention in Pittsburgh another milestone will have been passed in the march of the American labor movement. It will signalize a definite turn away from surrender and toward militant struggle and organization.

The wreckage upon which this new union is being built strikingly illustrates the disastrous extent of the employers' offensive to smash the unions and their attacks upon the workers' standards of living in general. But this goal the employers could reach only with the assistance of the most criminally corrupt capitalist agents who ever infested themselves into labor's ranks. The rank and file coal miners are now in forcible terms repudiating the traitorous collusion of Lewis and his henchmen with the coal operators.

Other New Unions

Not only in the mine fields but in other industries also there are indications that the bosses' attacks will be fought and that the workers will follow increasingly the left wing leadership. In the textile industry powerful strikes against wage cuts are taking place in New Bedford and Fall River. While the old reactionary union leadership is working hand in hand with the bosses and with the police trying to break the strike as the price of eliminating the left wing the workers there to an increasing extent directly

follow the left wing leadership in the building of a new union in each place. This influence is extending to other textile centers and active preparations are now under way to link all the local organizations into one new national textile workers union.

In the needle trades the one time socialist leaders have become the bosses' agents of the blackest reactionary type and almost succeeded in bringing the workers back to the sweatshop conditions of old. These workers are now, led by their left wing, actively engaged in the building of a new union. These efforts are so far widespread among the ladies garment workers, the furriers and the hat and cap makers. But their union will be an industrial union for all the workers in the clothing industry. In numerous shops in the manufacturing industries, mostly unorganized, strikes have taken place due to dissatisfaction with the intense speed-up system and with wage cuts. In the automobile, oil and even in the steel industry local strikes occur: forerunners of bigger struggles to come. In the meat packing industry there are wage cuts and growing dissatisfaction among the workers. On the railroads the workers are pressing harder for their demands, just now on the Western lines 70,000 trainmen and conductors are taking a strike vote against the speed-up conditions.

(Continued on Page 15)

Tasks of Militant Transport Workers

A Resolution Adopted At The Fifth International Conference of Revolutionary Transport Workers, April 5-11, 1928, Moscow, U.S.S.R.

THE transport workers of all countries are confronted with a number of tasks for which they should organize the struggle of the workers in every line of the transport, and on the basis of which, according to the conditions in each country, and depending on the state of organization of labor and capital, and the achievements already gained, they should endeavor to work out the demands for each variety of the transport, and organize the struggle for these demands. Hence these demands should be considered as material for working out a platform of the strike struggle, making use of all the possibilities of the political struggle both nationally and locally, depending again on the conditions of each country, and of each individual case.

What All Should Struggle For

In spite of the resistance of the reformist leaders of the transport workers' unions to the establishment of unity in the trade union movement, and despite their disruptive activity, the masses of the transport workers are becoming more and more profoundly imbued with a consciousness of the need for unity. It is our task to develop the unity campaign in all countries, attracting the masses of the employees, and endeavoring to establish unity from below, both in the course of strikes, through the strike committees as well as through the primary trade union organizations. In times of class conflicts, the class solidarity of the transport workers facilitates the struggle of the particular group of transport workers that is involved in the conflict. Therefore the revolutionary transport workers should endeavor to establish the united front in each country, as well as on an international scale, organizing boycotts against enterprises involved in a strike, and material aid to the strikers.

In late years the transport workers in the colonial and semi-colonial countries are taking an ever-increasing part in the class struggle, as well as in the struggle against the national oppression of their peo-

FOOD FOR THOUGHT FOR THE AMERICAN TRANSPORT WORKERS

The resolution of the April 5-11 international conference of transport workers, that part of it which is published here, is of especial significance to American seamen. It is a close analysis of the working conditions in the industry, with suggestions for remedy, and in the chaotic state of organization in the American shipping industry, with its enormous and successful rationalization, blacklist, and unemployment, should be taken to heart by every American marine worker. Read it and study it, Fellow Workers, then act in an organized manner to end the abuses which abound in the marine transport industry. — GEORGE MINK, National Secretary and Organizer for the International Seamen's Clubs in America.

ples by the imperialists. The most brilliant examples are: the struggle of the Chinese seamen, railwaymen and transport workers, both against the national bourgeoisie and against the foreign imperialists. The strike of the transport workers at Canton and the boycott of English goods have played a decisive role in the development of the revolutionary movement not only at Canton, but also in the whole of China.

The struggle of the Indonesian transport workers, railwaymen and seamen, against the Dutch oppressors in Java and Sumatra, the struggle of the Hindu railwaymen on the Bengal railway, as well as the struggle of the Lascar seamen in the course of the strike of the British seamen in 1925, and a whole number of other smaller conflicts of the colonial and semi-colonial transport workers with their employers and the imperialists: all this goes to show that the transport workers of these countries have taken to the path of the class struggle and the struggle for national emancipation. They are developing a struggle for the improvement of material conditions, for higher wages, shorter hours, and improved legal status of the transport workers.

Frequently the struggle is crushed by the imperialists by means of police force, and even by the use of troops, frequently with the passiveness, and sometimes with the active assistance of the white transport workers.

The revolutionary transport workers in all countries should show their class solidarity with the transport workers of the colonial and semi-colonial countries in the course of their struggles and develop the widest campaign against the oppression of the transport workers in these countries, organizing in every country the collection of contributions for the strikers in the colonial countries.

The rationalization which is being carried out in all countries is yielding tremendous profits to the capitalists, whilst the conditions of the workers are becoming worse, and it is therefore the task of trans-



Militant Transport Workers. Part of the crew of the Tirpitz, with their flag. They fought for the rights of sailors and under arrest now are continuing their battle against the German marine laws.

port workers to develop propaganda and to organize the struggle for increasing the wages of transport workers, railwaymen and seamen.

Along with the introduction of rationalization on the transport there goes on the continuous discharging of workers, resulting in growing unemployment, which renders the hard conditions of the transport workers even more severe, and clogs the class struggle. The revolutionary transport workers should organize a fight for shorter hours, particularly in those branches of the transport where intense rationalization is in progress; they should also agitate for the abolition of overtime work and against the enterprises in which the capitalists are trying to introduce overtime work. The system of piece work practised on the railway transport, among freight-handlers, dockers, and other transport workers, has for its purpose to achieve the maximum output with the minimum number of people employed, which again increases unemployment. It is the task of the revolutionary transport workers to demand the abolition of piece work on all branches of the transport in all countries, yet without reducing the wages.

Unemployment Benefits

The revolutionary transport workers in all countries should carry on propaganda among the transport workers of various branches and of various

tendencies and political convictions, in the press as well as by speaking at all meetings and conferences, aboard ship, in the workshops, at railway stations, docks, labor exchanges, etc., for the following demands: Social insurance for transport workers against sickness, unemployment, invalidity, and old age.

The transport workers, particularly the seamen, in connection with the rationalization that is being carried out on the marine transport, which yields a tremendous increase in the profits of the ship-owners, are frequently thrown out of work. Such a state of affairs is also to be observed on the railways in Germany and in other countries. It is therefore one of the most urgent tasks of the trade unions to organize the struggle for social insurance for transport workers at the expense of the employers and the governments in those countries where there is no social insurance, and for the extension of social insurance to the transport workers where such extension has not yet been established by legislation, so that the transport workers are not insured against unemployment and sickness. It should be insisted also that the unemployment benefits should not be lower than one-third of the wages of a given category of transport workers. In nearly all the bourgeois countries there is practically an absence of legislation concerning invalidity and old-age pensions for transport workers,

and yet the transport workers, and particularly the seamen, owing to the rigorous conditions of life on the high seas, grow old and incapacitated much quicker than other workers.

Frequently one meets a fireman of 35-37 years who looks an old man of 60, while at 40 the majority of men become so worn out that they are turned into total invalids, and then they are thrown out by the employers as useless rubbish. Nearly the same extent of premature invalidity is to be observed among the firemen on the railways. The same conditions are to be observed among freight-handlers and dockers, while this group of transport workers is the least paid category of workers, and the least able to save up for old age and invalidity. They are therefore doomed to a hungry death or to pauperism, while the capitalists are continually lining their pockets with gold and building their happiness upon the bones of the transport workers. Things are not any brighter with other groups of transport workers. It is our task to develop propaganda and to organize the struggle for social insurance at the expense of the employers and the State, for all groups of transport workers against invalidity and old age.

Seamen's Demands for Shorter Day

The revolutionary seamen should not only resist the capitalist offensive, but should also organize a counter-offensive, in order to secure better conditions of labor and better material conditions. They should carry on the widest propaganda for shorter hours, opposing this demand to the action of the capitalists who are reducing the crews aboard ships, thereby increasing the numbers of unemployed seamen. The seamen in all countries should include in their programme of demands the 7-hour day for seamen of all categories, and the 6-hour day for firemen working on hard fuel and for engine-room staffs working on motor-boats, and also when navigating in tropical water. At the present time the firemen of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics on board ships burning hard fuel are working 6 hours. The water transport workers' union is now working out the question of introducing the 7-hour day aboard ships in the U.S.S.R. for the deck crews. While agitating for the 7-hour day for seamen on the seas, the revolutionary seamen should insist also on the 42-hour week, or at least 44-hour week, in port.

Equal Wage For Equal Work

The capitalists in their conferences establish equal tariffs for the transportation of passengers and freights over one and the same line, yet, for similar work on board similar ships the seamen are getting different scales of wages. It is the task of the revo-

lutionary seamen of all nationalities to struggle for increasing the wages and bringing them up to the level of the highest wage scales existing upon a given line, in order to establish an equal rate of wages for ships on the same line.

Overtime

While asking for a definite working day for seamen and a minimum wage, class conscious seamen should not allow any overtime work. In those cases when overtime work is indispensable owing to the conditions of navigation, the remuneration for such work should be not less than one and a half times for the first two hours and double pay for additional hours, as well as on holidays. At the same time class conscious seamen should struggle against classifying overtime work as emergency and shipwreck work, thus compelling the seamen to work longer hours than have been fixed.

Vacations

The seamen of all nations, except the seamen of the U.S.S.R. and the officers of some shipping companies, in spite of their hard conditions of labor, do not get any holidays, even if they sail for a score of years on board ships owned by the same company.

The seamen of the U.S.S.R. in line with other categories of labor, enjoy annual vacations at the cost of the employers. During their vacations they have the use of rest homes and sanatoria, if required by their state of health, at the cost of the insurance funds and the managing organs. The seamen of all nationalities should wage a struggle for paid vacations of not less than two weeks for seamen who work from 6 months to 1 year, and of one month for firemen, at the expense of the shipowners. A monthly vacation should also be granted to engine crews of steamships navigating in tropical waters. At the same time the period spent by the individual seamen in the employ of a given company on its different vessels should be taken into consideration. If a seaman has failed for some reason to take advantage of his vacation, he should be paid compensation by the shipping company for the unused vacation. If a seaman leaves his job before the expiration of 6 months, he should be paid compensation for the portion of his vacation that he is entitled to.

Sick Relief

In the event of sickness of a seaman, he is dumped on shore by the employers as something useless. Still worse is the condition of seamen in the event of shipwreck. They are summarily discharged in any port without being paid even the value of their lost effects, and are left to their fate in a foreign port. The seaman is stranded in a foreign port, suffering

hunger and want, and eventually forced to sign on any terms. This frequently furnishes a breeding ground for scabs, and it is the task of revolutionary seamen to organize the struggle for full compensation for shipwrecked seamen or to sick seamen stranded in foreign ports, as well as the travelling expenses to the port where the seaman has signed on.

Shipwreck Compensation

Some shipowners pay compensation in the case of shipwreck only to the officers, but not to the seamen and firemen.

Right To Quit

The bourgeois maritime laws protect especially the interests of the capitalists. The capitalists may dump a seaman in a foreign port without any excuse, and with perfect impunity; but if a seaman quits his ship in a foreign port of his own account he is persecuted by law. The seamen must ask for the abolition of penalties for quitting a ship in a foreign port.

The seamen's unions should sign collective agreements in which it should be stipulated that the seaman has the right to quit his employment in any port, with full wages until the time of quitting.

Food And Living Conditions

The crews of the ships, regardless of their strenuous labor, are living in terrible housing conditions. The bunks for the seamen are usually located in the fo' cas'le, and those of the firemen are frequently located above the boilers, whilst the bunks are built in two rows, one on top of the other.

The seamen, owing to the rattling of the anchor chains, etc. are unable to rest, while the firemen are inconvenienced by the heat from the boilers. At the same time the relief watch is also placed in the same quarters as the resting seamen and firemen, who are prevented from sleeping by the talks and arguments that are going on all the time. It is therefore necessary to establish the cabin system for all seamen and firemen, so that each cabin should have only two berths, and be located in places where the members of the crew will secure restful sleep and sufficient air.

At present the members of the crew take their food in the same quarters where they sleep, so that there can be no attention paid to hygiene. The seamen should insist on equipping the ships with special quarters for seamen and firemen for the purpose of partaking of food, as well as showers and baths.

Ship Committees

In order to be able to protect the interests of the seamen on board ship, the seamen should struggle for the recognition of the ship committees, on board ships, on the same terms as factory committees or local organizations of the seamen's unions.

At the present time in the capitalist countries even where on shore there are factory committees legally existing, there are frequently no ship committees on board ship.

The ship committees should protect the rights of all seamen on board a given ship and be elected by all categories of seamen, including the engine-room crew, the firemen, the deck hands, and the stewards, etc. In cases where the seamen have an industrial union embracing all categories of seafarers, the ship committees should constitute primary units of the industrial union, as exists now on board ships of the U.S.S.R. and as it existed on board Chinese ships in 1926. Only under such arrangements will it be possible for the ship committees to do full justice to their functions on board ship.

Colored Workers

There are many ships which have crews composed of both white and colored seamen. Although it is frequently assumed that the two categories are paid the same wages, nevertheless the opposite story is told by the facts. Usually the colored seamen are paid less, while compelled to do more work, and kept in even worse conditions aboard the ships than the white seamen. This is particularly frequent on those ships where the number of colored seamen is limited.

The revolutionary seamen should expose the falsehood of the reformist leaders who are supporting their respective national bourgeois, and struggle for equal pay to either white or colored seamen for equal services.

In order to do away with hostility between the white and the colored seamen, and to establish the common struggle of the white and colored seamen for better conditions of labor, higher pay, and the principle of the preference of union men, and also in order to avoid the possibility of strike-breaking by colored seamen, the revolutionary seamen should endeavor to get all the seamen organized in the union and the admission of the colored seamen into all the seamen's unions on the same terms as the white seamen.

In all bourgeois countries there are still existing barbarous mediaeval laws directed against the seamen, which turn the latter into the slaves of capital. These laws are frequently abused by captains of ships, so that people who are supposed to be free-born citizens are put in chains and incarcerated, whilst the bourgeois courts are also very severe in imposing penalties for violating the antiquated code of the sea. Therefore all the seamen without exception should struggle for the abolition of the unjust laws directed against the seamen.

NEW NEEDLE TRADES UNIONS

FOUR THOUSAND enthusiastic fur workers gathered in a mass meeting in Cooper Union, New York, August 15, to hear reports from the representatives of Locals 1, 5, 10, 15, 25, 30, 40, 70, 54, 58, 53, 91, 88, and the Progressive Bloc from the New York Joint Council. The above locals are the masses of the fur workers of New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Boston, Toronto, and Winnipeg.

The meeting unanimously adopted a resolution:

"To do everything in our power to organize one united International Union capable of safeguarding the interests of the fur workers and protecting them against the encroachments of the fur bosses and their company union.

"We also hereby empower and direct the above mentioned representatives to form a provisional National Executive Committee to function as a control body of all local fur unions for the purpose of uniting and mobilizing all of the locals and all of the fur workers throughout the United States and Canada for the organization of a real union

"We further empower and direct the incoming provisional National Executive Committee to call a convention of all local unions within sixty days from this date for the purpose of forming a new International Union of fur workers of the United States and Canada."

Active Organization

It was also resolved at the meeting to prepare immediately to collect the sum of \$25,000 to start immediately to organize the open shops which abound because of the right wing's misleaderships, and to protest against police brutality against the left wing workers which constitutes an official reign of terror to help the right wing. The chairman introduced at this meeting Meyer Weinstein a fur worker who had been slashed by a right wing thug in the shop where he was working because he refused an invitation to attend a right wing meeting.

A typical demonstration was the "block meeting" of August 28, when left wing furriers poured out of the shops along West 29 St., stood in the streets shouting until thousands not yet lined up came out, and marched to the number of 2,500 to union offices.

The entire needle trades' industry is laughing at the pitiful exposure of the Woll-McGrady "Committee For The Preservation of Trade Unions", the right wing organization which A. F. L. bureaucrats financed in the attempt to crush all left wings everywhere, and reduce all unions to company unions. The letter reproduced on this page was accidentally made public, and shows the cash-down policy of the union smashers, and their complete failure to eliminate the left wing.

Rebuilding the Ladies Garment Union

Even before the furriers moved to finally rid themselves

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
WASHINGTON, D.C.

A.F. OF L. BDCG.

July 6, 1928.

Copy

Mr. A. I. Shiplacoff, Secretary,
Committee for Preservation of Trade Union,
55 West 21st Street, New York City.

Dear Sir and Brother:-

Upon my return to New York City I was informed of the action of the Preservation of Trade Unions Committee in giving financial assistance to the Fur Workers Joint Council in New York.

It is indeed too bad that no further financial support can be given to the fur workers at this time. As you know, a large number of the disgruntled, and I might say dishonest, members of the fur workers have been suspended from membership for the good and welfare of the organization. They have joined with the communist forces of the city in a last desperate attempt to smash the Fur Workers Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The committee representing the American Federation of Labor feels very much discouraged over this situation and as a result of the action of your committee I have conferred with President Green on this situation and we feel that inasmuch as the Preservation of Trade Unions Committee is not in a position to render any further assistance the American Federation of Labor will surrender its control of the situation just as soon as we can close the various matters up.

If there is anything further that you think might be done in the immediate future, I will be very glad to hear from you. Otherwise the American Federation of Labor will get out of the situation within the next few weeks.

Thanking you for the personal interest you have taken in the matter, I am, with every good wish.

Yours sincerely,

Edward McGrady-Organizer

Copy of Official Letter From McGrady To Shiplacoff Admitting Failure.

of the nightmare of right wing leadership, the left wing members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (the masses of the unionists) made a similar decision.

Fifteen thousand cloak and dressmakers, with delegates from locals in other cities met August 8 in Bronx Stadium, New York, to pledge support to the Organization Committee of 500 authorized by the Progressive Conference in Boston last May. A ringing resolution denouncing Sigman's misleadership, gangsterism, and the corruption that surrounds all his efforts was adopted, and the definite formation of a new, real workers' union in the ladies garment industry decided upon. "Tear up your old union books, take out books in the real workers' union", is the substance of the proclamation to the workers issued after the meeting by the Committee of 500. The announcement has struck Sigman and the Yellow "Forward" into terror. It has brought a broadside of vituperation from Matthew Woll and Green. But it has brought an organization campaign, waged on a constantly broadening front, in countless shops to bar the gangster "organization committees" of the right wing, and line up the workers with the new union. Many shops are struck throughout New York. Many others have already signed up with the new union. Headquarters are at 16 West 21 St.

The Garment Workers Struggle Enters An Organization Phase

By H. KORETZ

WITH the passing of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union convention held in Boston last May, all illusions about the possibility of reaching a settlement of the struggle between the right and left wings in the organization have been totally dispelled.

The convention manifested the complete bankruptcy of the right wing leadership, which through its methods of co-operation with the bosses and its wholesale expulsion policies is fully responsible for the complete destruction of the once powerful organizations of the cloak and dressmakers. It exposed the right wing's farce battle cry of "fighting the Communists" and made it clear to everybody that this treacherous clique, as is the case with all bureaucrats, will go to any lengths in giving concessions to the employers, but will not give in one iota to the thousands of union members whose interests they are claiming to represent.

The convention, instead of occupying itself with industrial problems concerning the welfare of the membership, was converted into a battlefield of the struggle for power between the two main cliques in the right wing machine: the Sigman clique on the one side and the Shlesinger clique on the other.

The main outstanding feature of this tragi-comedy called a convention was the hypocritical stand taken by the lieutenants of Shlesinger, Messrs Dubinsky and Ninfo, on the question of "election of general officers through a referendum". No sooner was there an agreement reached on the division of spoils, than this bunch gave up all pretence of "fight" for progressive measures.

Sigman's Destructiveness

Twenty-one months ago the Sigman clique, having united all possible opposition to the left wing leadership, took over control of the Cloakmakers' general strike, expelled the joint board, and following that, began to "re-organize" the most powerful locals of the international union, which were under the control of the left wing membership. In this war of extermination on the "left wing and the Communists" the right wing group following Sigman utilized every possible agency. They received the active support of the higher officialdom of the American Federation of Labor, the state government, the police, the courts, the yellow "Jewish Daily Forward," the socialist renegades, and most of all, the underworld.

The threatening danger of the "Red Peril" was so big that the right wing found it necessary to organize the "Special Committee for the Preservation of the Trade Unions," which operated on a national scale and had for its purposes, first, to collect financial assistance for the Sigman pogrom, and secondly, to circulate, among the trade unions "facts and figures," so-called, about the "invading enemy" (the rise of the left wing, militant union sentiment) so that "when and wherever it manifests itself, it will be fought vigorously and not permitted to develop."

Notwithstanding this enormous help they have secured in their struggle against the rank and file of the I.L.G.W.U., the pogrom clique today find themselves beaten, exhausted, demoralized, internally split, financially bankrupt, the union smashed, union conditions wiped out through right wing activity, struggling only to survive with the assistance they are getting from the bosses.

"Tolerance Group" Joins Left

The membership continues its determined opposition to the rule by force, and this is the most important factor responsible for the downfall of the pogrom clique. Thousands of members fell victims of the pogroms, were beaten and slugged, lost their jobs, or were sentenced to long terms in prison, but never did they submit to the corrupt and self imposed leadership of Sigman & Co.

The right wing is being eliminated as an important factor in the organization, and the central problem confronting the workers in the industry and the left wing leadership is that of rebuilding a union and re-establishing union conditions.

Pursuing all the time a policy of unity among the workers for the purpose of maintaining union standards against the extortions of the bosses, the Joint Board (left wing) has been able to attract not only those elements who have hitherto held aloof, but has split the right wing machine by getting over to the left wing side the "Tolerance Group" which was the most active of the Sigman following in the beginning of the fight.

The formation of the National Organization Committee at the Boston Conference of progressive delegates who were not admitted to Sigman's farce convention, was of historic importance. The National Organization Committee has adopted a program which is clear-cut and points the way out of the

present chaotic condition. From the application of this program a united organization is to emerge, formed on such a basis as to insure full control to the rank and file, to those who are the actual backbone of the organization, and for whom the organization exists.

With the union at present practically destroyed, and with the problem of right wing-left wing peace abolished, it is evident that the union can never again gain its former prestige with either Sigman or Shlesinger at its head. Those who destroyed most of it, those who converted whatever they could control of it into a company union, can not build it, can never secure the confidence of the masses.

The task of winning back control over the conditions in the garment industry is therefore the task of the left wing, which is the only organized constructive force in the union today. The National Organization Committee, which is a united front of all honest and sincere elements, desiring to build a united organization, is the workers' particular reliance.

Drive To Organize.

The decision of the Boston Conference of progressive delegates that the National Organization Committee initiate in New York as well as in other centers, organization drives in order to organize the open shops and restore union conditions is very significant. Already this is being done in New York, and steps are being taken to do so in Los Angeles. This means, that from now on the workers are to recognize the only one genuine labor union in this industry, the National Organization Committee.

True enough, the right wing octopus will not surrender so quickly; true, that it will through artificial means, here and there, still make known its existence, but its days are numbered. To the extent that the National Organization Committee goes ahead with its program, the influence and power of the right wing clique will become more and more negligent.

The decision of the conference to have national organizers sent out to every important needle trades center to organize branches of the National Organization Committee is of the utmost importance, but what is even more important is the new form of organization upon the basis of which the union is to be built.

The left wing for years has propagated the idea of a shop delegate system, but the right wing, whose throne was threatened by it, not only scoffed at it, but expelled those who dared to agitate for it. The Boston conference decided that hereafter the shop chairman conference should become a permanent institution, and all legislative power should eventually be transferred to it from the present outworn craft locals. This is a very real step in the direction of drawing more and more of the rank and file into the activities of the union and therefore assures the successful carrying out of the tasks confronting the National Organization Committee.

The formation of the National Organization Committee in Boston and the program adopted at the conference lays the corner stone for a new united organization of cloak and dressmakers. The struggle in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union enters its final phase.

MACHINIST LEFT WING URGES POLICY

By FRED BRILL

(Sec'y, Int. Metal Trades Progressive Committee)

THE 18th convention of the International Association of Machinists meets in Atlanta, Georgia, on September 17th for the first time in four years. What will it accomplish? What should left wingers do? What are the progressive elements inside of the organization doing in preparation? The answer to these questions depends on an analysis of the present state of the union.

The I. A. of M. follows at present a reactionary and destructive policy. Its membership is at a low ebb, about 70,000. Members are constantly dropping, new members drop out when they see that the union offers them nothing, and does nothing to organize the trade. Only a few new members are added, mainly garage mechanics. The large factories, the trustified factories are left untouched. The campaign

to organize the auto industry decided upon by the I. A. of M., the Metal Trades Dept. of the A. F. of L. and the A. F. of L. Detroit Convention was a complete failure, the entire campaign consisting of an attempt to convince the auto manufacturers through personal interviews that the unions could guarantee more able, and willing slaves than the companies themselves could provide. The Grand Lodge organizers simply build up their political fences.

Local organization campaigns fizzle out, because the business agents follow not a policy of appealing to the workers to fight for better conditions, but of winning over the boss to organize the men. The hundreds of thousands of unskilled and semi-skilled are neglected; the sole object of the bureaucrats being to maintain themselves at the expense of the

skilled workers. Strikes are practically unheard of; when strikes occur, injunctions are not fought, except by futile court appeals, and the strikes are lost.

The policy of the I. A. of M. is one of class collaboration, of the B. & O. Plan (union-management cooperation plan), of labor banking. It will be recalled that former President Johnstone was one of the prime movers for the B. & O. Plan on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad in 1921. The B. & O. Plan has proved a failure, the men are dissatisfied with it.

As a means of keeping up their reactionary policy, the Grand Lodge bureaucracy follows a policy of expulsion of those advocating a policy of struggle. Overgaard, Lodge 390, was expelled in 1927; recently, Price was expelled from Lodge 79, Seattle. Threats of expulsion were made recently by Charles Fry, business agent of Lodge 126, the real boss of District 8, Chicago.

The Fry Opposition

The Machinist Journal in recent months has had articles for and against the constitutional amendments proposed by Fry, one calling for abolition of the referendum for the election of Grand Lodge officers, and substituting election of those officers by the Convention, and the other a compulsory insurance proposal which will increase dues \$1 per month. The Grand Lodge officialdom is opposed to those amendments. It feels that it can control the present elections through its large staff of auditors and organizers, and through control of small, blue-sky locals, and makes no fight for a change. Fry, in control of a large district, hopes through the convention method to secure advantage through horse trading with other districts in convention election of officers. Neither of these propositions is meeting with much favor, many influential locals in Fry's own district, No. 390, No. 337, No. 113 among others, voting them down.

But Fry's policies are the same as those of the Grand Lodge, basing the organization on the skilled workers, the B. & O. Plan, labor banking, craft organization; the same reactionary policies. In 1925, Fry supported Anderson against Johnstone for International President. The Anderson group received the support of the left wing, in the final election, after the left wing candidate failed to get into the final election. The left wing at that time failed to utilize this opportunity for clearly differentiating itself from the Anderson forces and for winning over Anderson followers.

Since the Anderson followers accepted Wharton as the compromise candidate for International President, there has been no opposition from them, on policy.

The real opposition to the policies of the Grand

Lodge and of the Fry forces as well, is the left wing. It has put forward a program for the convention, urging a fighting program as follows:

(1) Industrial unionism a crying need; amalgamated Unions.

(2) Organize the large machine shops. 100% organization on the railroads. Shop committees must be set up in the unorganized shops. More attention to specialists, semi-skilled, women, youth and Negroes. Against the compulsory insurance proposal, as the increased dues would hinder organization work.

(3) Defeat the class collaboration schemes. Repudiate the B. & O. Plan (the union-management cooperation plan) and the Watson-Parker Law. The plan has proved a complete failure.

(4) A fight for better conditions, for the 5-day week and the 8-hour day to be made a part of union agreements. The strike benefit system should be reestablished in preparation for coming struggles.

(5) Democracy in the union. The membership must run the organization. Defeat the proposal to elect officials in the convention; more power to the membership. Stop the expulsion campaign of the officialdom. Re-instatement of all brothers expelled for advocating views different from the administration. Biennial conventions, instead of the present method of one every four years if approved by a referendum every fourth year.

(6) For a Labor Party. A struggle against injunctions. Fight for relief of the unemployed.

The Program for the I. A. of M. Convention issued by the International Machinist Progressive Group ends with an appeal "We call upon every lodge in the Association to endorse the above program and instruct their delegates to the coming convention to fight for its adoption."

Who Will Organize The Metal Industry?

Who will organize the metal industry? The I. A. of M. officialdom? No. They made a bluff at organizing the auto industry. Agricultural machinery, electrical manufacturing, other sections of the metal industry are left unorganized. The decrepit Amalgamated Association of Tin, Iron and Steel will not organize the steel industry.

Only the left wing offers a program that holds out promise for the worker in the machine industry.

The Chicago Situation Becomes Sharper

Due to the circulation of the Progressive Program for the Atlanta Convention, Fry in the District Lodge meeting on August 13th, together with the sluggers from his lodge, beat up and threw out of the hall two progressive brothers: William Mauseth, Trustee of Lodge 113, delegate to the Chicago Federation of Labor, and Chairman of the Speakers Committee on Organization; and William Simons, Trustee of Lodge 199, and delegate to the Atlanta Convention of the I. A. of M. This brutality of Fry, directing the beating, has caused a great wave of resentment among the membership.

TEXTILE NEWS : : :

Edited By ALBERT WEISBORD

Reports of the Textile International Committee of Propaganda and Action

THE Twelfth Congress of the Textile Workers International was held in Ghent between May 28 and June 2.

This Congress was convened at a time when the whole textile workers' movement was up in arms; textile workers throughout the world are bitterly struggling against the designs of the employers to raise the productivity of labor while introducing simultaneously lower wages and longer hours. Thus, the British dispute which affects almost half a million textile workers had been on since January last; a great strike of 150,000 textile workers was on in Bombay; 28,000 textile workers were striking in New England (U. S. A.), the textile workers of Lodz, Poland, were on the eve of declaring a strike, while there were several small disputes and strikes on in France, Germany and Czecho-Slovakia. Everywhere the workers are on the defensive, and by no means have taken up an offensive struggle. In all countries the employers state that they have been forced to worsen conditions because of the necessity of competing with other countries, where they allege wages are lower and hours longer. British manufacturers point to the lower wages in Germany and France, the German and French textile barons point to Italy, Austria, India; the Northern United States employers point to the Southern and so on. The textile manufacturers are competing among themselves for the introduction of the lowest wage and the longest workingday.

What, then, did the Reformist Textile Workers International take up at its Congress, where the need was for world-wide coordinated action?

On India

The first one to speak was Bakhal, a representative of the Bombay Textile Workers Union, who, as a guest, attended the Congress. He made a pathetic speech, full of pity for the "unfortunate and illiterate" textile workers of India and mentioned that the Bombay textile workers strike was already in the 12th week. This Indian reformist, however, said never a word about the role he had played on the spot when the strike was declared.

The employers had demanded that weavers attending two looms should in future attend three without wages being correspondingly increased. The workers categorically rejected this demand and urged the union to declare the strike. Bakhal, who is an executive member of the union and Djoshi, the chairman of the union, as well as the other leaders, did their best to prevent a strike, but when the workers despite their wishes came out, Bakhal, Djoshi and Co., declared that "when more confidence is placed in the strike weapon than in negotiations... the representatives of the Bombay Textile Workers Union (i. e. Djoshi and Bakhal) can only be on-lookers".

The Congress adopted an empty resolution (why not?) to send the strikers "expressions of sympathy."

"Successes" of the International

The Congress noted with satisfaction that since the founding of the International—in 1896—the number of members of the organisations affiliated to the International had grown considerably. It was by no accident that the astute leaders of the International found it necessary to make comparisons with this year, so far removed from the present. The fact of the matter is that were they to have comparisons with more recent years it would not be to their advantage. For then the true picture of the "growth" of the Interna-

tional would be made plain. In 1923, the International had 1,267,440 members; in 1924 it had 1,426,030; in 1925 it had 985,572; in 1926 there were 956,999 while in 1927 the membership had fallen again to 941,551 members.

Schroder, the German delegate, who presided, warmly praised the "activity" of the secretary and the report was adopted unanimously.

On Working Hours

The report on working hours and the decision adopted thereon were luminous examples of reformist phraseology. Feinhals (Germany) who reported on this question, stated that previous to the inflation, the working week in Germany has been 46 hours and afterwards was lengthened to 56; but that of late "thanks to the efforts of the trade unions, we have been able to reduce the working-week to 51 hours".

But thanks to whose efforts was the working week increased from 46 to 56 hours? Rascher, another German delegate gave a classical reply to this obvious question: "The 8-hour day", he declared, "was received by the workers through the revolution and that is why it was so easily taken from them." This is certain a classical-reformist explanation!

A harmless resolution was adopted urging that "efforts be pressed forward to introduce the 8-hour day".

Family Bonuses

The question of family bonuses, so vital for the textile workers, especially of Belgium and France, where the employers have turned this bonus system into a powerful weapon of enslaving the married workers and sowing disunion between the married and single men—this extremely important question after a brief exchange of views was deferred until next Congress to be held in 1931.

The Question of Rationalisation

Although the question of rationalisation plays an enormously important role in the textile industry, where in various branches of the trade the productivity of labour has increased by leaps and bounds during the last few years, where the speed-up system introduced has been instrumental in increasing the strain of the physical powers of the workers by 10, 15 and 20 times more than ever in the past, Vandeputte, the French representative said that "unfortunately there was no time to discuss it". This question was not taken up at all.

Relations Between the Unions, Factory Committees and Employers

And finally, the last question of the Agenda reads: "Mutual relations between the unions and the factory committees, and the employers."

It appears that the Bureau of the International in raising this question desired the Congress to discuss the problem of: "factory councils or negotiations with the employers". Tom Shaw gave a very plain answer to this question as follows: "Such councils are perhaps important, but the principal thing is to have powerful organisations with good specialists who are able to discuss affairs in the right way with the employers."

Such is the quintessence of reformist ideology. Such is their remedy, not a mass organisation of the workers, but a close-knit group of specialists, who, in the right way—that is, behind the backs of the workers—will set up an alliance with capital under the slogan of "peace in industry".

The Fall River Strike

By ALBERT WEISBORD

THE Fall River textile strike is one of the boldest and most remarkable achievements in the history of the left wing. The vicious brutality of the police and the tremendous barrage laid down against the workers come mainly from the terrible fear of the employers that the left wing would be successful.

Let us consider the facts. Last February the workers in Fall River received a ten percent wage cut. This was the opening of the employers' drive to cut wages generally. For obvious reasons they began their drive in the cotton section of the industry located in the southern part of Massachusetts, the centers being Fall River and New Bedford: * Fall River was a better place than New Bedford to begin the drive for the following reasons:

1. Unemployment was much greater in Fall River than in New Bedford.
2. The employers could with more plausibility in Fall River than in New Bedford plead competition from the South, since many of the mills produced coarse cotton goods also made in the South.
3. The composition of the working class was of a very backward character, the French Canadians with their complete lack of traditions of struggle being in the majority here, whereas they are only in the minority in New Bedford.
4. For tens of years in Fall River the Mill owners had ruled with an absolute iron hand.

(a) The police chief was not controlled by the Mayor as in New Bedford and therefore was not susceptible to local opinion, but was directly appointed by the State, by Governor Fuller.

(b) There had been no general strike in Fall River since 1904.

(c) No meetings of a liberal character, nor even of the Socialist Party had ever been permitted in Fall River even during the Presidential election campaigns.

(d) Even the American Federation of Labor officials were hounded. The Central Labor Union was found complaining of police interference. The hostility of the employers to the U. T. W., the A. F. L. union, was due to the fact that the skilled workers were in an "independent" union, the A. F. T. O. (American Federation of Textile



Textile Workers And Police

The uniformed agents of the mill owners are always against the workers.

Operatives) which was completely in the hands of the mill owners.

Mr. Tansey, the President of the A. F. T. O. while serving as union president, had been at the time a police official (for eight years). The A. F. T. O. thus was a police union. Under these circumstances, the United Textile Workers found itself the "outside" union. It came too late to serve. The bosses had no use for it. So in order to gain recruits the U. T. W. organizer had to put on a militant front, making "demands" on the bosses, "talking" strike, etc. Still the membership of the A. F. L. was small, the workers generally not trusting Campos, the organizer.

This then, was the strategy of the employers. However, when the wage cut was announced so great was the indignation of the masses, that even the skilled workers of the A.F.T.O. clamored for a strike vote. The officials were forced to take the vote. Then they "counted" the vote and found it "just" 11 votes shy of the "necessary" 2/3 votes. At the same time the U.T.W. organizer, Campos, kept on "talking" but did nothing. Thus the workers were betrayed and the wage cut drive was temporarily successful.

The plans of the employers had been acute and well executed. Having succeeded in Fall River, the employers then extended the drive to New Bedford. Everything was well oiled to sell out the workers in New Bedford also, especially as the workers saw their defeat in Fall River. Then along came the left wing, the Textile Mills Committees and spoiled the plans.*

The left wing, in carrying on the New Bedford struggle determined to enter Fall River as well and carrying the fight right on to the bosses' territory,

* For the story of the strike, see the articles in the May, June, July and August issues of *Labor Unity*, the July and August issues of the *Labor Defender*, the July and August issues of the *Communist*.

* See articles by Albert Weisbord in the June issue of *Labor Unity* and July issue of the *Communist*.

make up for the betrayal of the workers by the A.F.T.O. and U.T.W. officials in April.

The Left Wing analyzed the situation as follows:

1. The textile industry generally was ripe for action and particularly after what happened, Fall River especially was ripe. To organize Fall River with its real and reputed obstacles, would be a most encouraging demonstration.

2. After the sell out by the A.F.T.O. and U.T.W. officials, the workers would enthusiastically hail the T.M.C. The T. M.C. would have no competition. From the very beginning it would take the leadership in the struggle and break the back of the A.F.T.O. misleadership.

3. The best way to win the New Bedford strike would be an extension of the strike to Fall River.

(a) At least 10 mills in Fall River were producing fine goods and scabbing on the New Bedford workers.

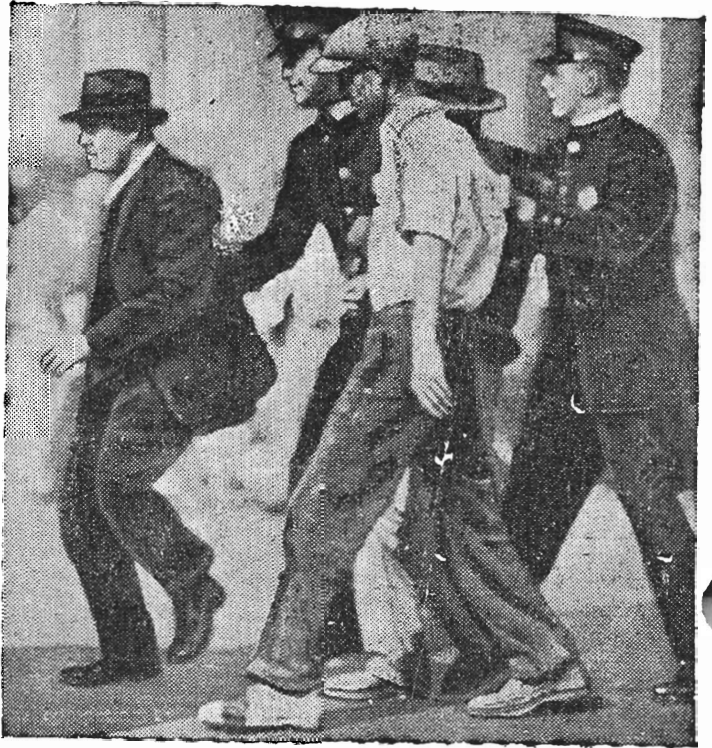
(b) The fight in New Bedford would be long and bitter. The extension would raise the morale of the workers and greatly aid in bringing the employers to terms.

(c) A strike under the leadership of the T. M. C. in Fall River would definitely break the back of the A. F. T. O. and U. T. O. in New Bedford, liquidate that organization and definitely put the T. M. C. in New Bedford in complete control.

4. The best time to hit Fall River was the present when the workers were aroused over wage cuts, when they saw the battle in New Bedford and understood most clearly the role of the left wing.

Following this logic, as soon as possible the national office of the T.M.C. sent in organizers **James P. Reid**, **Peter Hegelias**, **Samuel Weisman**, and **Bill Sroka** and later others to take up organization work.

From the very beginning the work took on a heroic character. The police constantly hounded our organizers. Every hall and lot owner was visited by the police and threatened that they would be driven out of the city if they gave any place to the T.M.C. to meet. Finally after hard work a lot was obtained. And this was done only by the workers themselves chipping in and actually purchasing the property for the purpose of holding meetings. When the lot was opened and meetings carried on, tremendous enthusiasm broke out among the workers most affected. In a city where there had never been any meetings whatever, thousands came to meetings of their own. For the first time the workers could express and articulate their interests which had been suppressed for so many years. Hundreds joined the T.M.C.



Young and old alike are arrested for picketing in mill strikes.

The mill owners looked upon our advance with the greatest apprehension. If anything the police tightened up their vigil. Although we had broken through in one quarter of the city, there were three other places in the city that had to be penetrated. And before the T.M.C. could get a place in each one of the other sections of the city, the same hardships had to be undergone. At every opportunity the police tried to break up the union. At one time the police arrested the organizers for stepping on private land. Another time the police forced through the doors of a private tenement rented by the T.M.C. and tried to break up the meetings. However nothing availed. In section after section the police terror was definitely broken and meeting places obtained.

Workers Make Demands

From the very beginning the T.M.C. organizers stated that they were in the city to organize the workers for struggle against the wage cuts, for a real workers' union, and for the support of the New Bedford strikers. The demands of the T.M.C. in New Bedford were made the demands of the workers in Fall River. Each day brought in new recruits. Each day the workers were urged to prepare for struggle.

The employers also were preparing their ground for the fight. Their preliminary conferences were being held so that when the fight should reach the

open phase the maximum pressure could be used against the workers with the maximum speed.

The Textile Mill Committee organizers concentrated on the American Print Works. This was the largest mill where the workers were most bitterly exploited and where the wage cuts had started. The workers there were most anxious to begin the fight. In a short time it seemed as though the workers were indeed ready. At a big meeting it was decided to present demands to the employers. A committee was selected to see the superintendent, Monday, August 6th and it was decided that if the demands were rejected that the strike would take place.

Came the decisive day. The committee went to see the superintendent. The committee was fired. The signal was given. And at once, in spite of the police massed at the mill, the workers in the printing division of the American Print Works in a wonderful demonstration poured out of the mill. Immediately efforts were made to picket the plant. At the same time some of the workers from the cotton division of the plant, representing about half the workers, started to come out also. At the same time news was received that a few of the workers in the Lincoln mill, a mill producing fine goods cloth, had walked out. Throughout the entire city there was tremendous agitation and excitement.

On The Offensive

The immediate task was the extension of the strike. To close down the cotton division of the print workers, to close down the Lincoln mill, to stimulate action in other mills, to build a huge picket line of all the workers, these were the immediate objectives which the left wing strove to carry out.

The mill owners were frantic. They were desperate. They were also very well and carefully prepared. This was the first time in the history of the textile industry that the left wing had deliberately set itself the extension of an existing strike, had deliberately gone into another city, which by its analysis it had believed to be ripe for struggle, had announced its purposes, had broken through the police terror, had set the date for the struggle, and on the time appointed, to the hour, in spite of everything the mill owners could do, had successfully called the strike. It was this more than anything else that drove the employers wild, the fact that they had lost control of the situation, that these workers who had never resisted before could now put up such an open and defiant struggle against them.

Only when one fully appreciates the hysteria and desperation of the employers can one understand what took place. If we can say that never before did the left wing better demonstrate its boldness and

correct analysis than in Fall River, we can also say that never before did the employers prepare their forces better, and throw their full power so quickly into the fray.

As soon as the workers were out of the printing division of the American printing works about 200 police massed outside the mill and with the greatest brutality smashed up the line. One pregnant woman was held up against the fence and squeezed until she fainted and then was sent to the hospital where she was in a critical condition. However, to the credit of the workers it should be said in spite of the unexpected fierceness of the police, they reformed their lines five time before they were finally broken up. It was only after many had been hurt and many arrested and all of the union leaders had been jailed that the workers sullenly gave up their picket line formation.

Immediate Resort To Terror

The mill owners and police well understood their business. So far only 2,000 had come out. If the left wing was to be defeated at all, if Fall River was not to be another Passaic, the police would have to crush the picket lines at the very beginning. Each moment's delay might be fatal. It was for this reason that the entire police force of 300 men was mobilized the first day. It was for this reason that the mounted police were brought in at once. By the utmost use of the full power of the police machinery on the very first day of the strike it was hoped to crush the picket lines, and terrorize the strikers.

With the picket lines smashed the next thing was to break up the strike.

1. Wholesale arrests were made at once and over 80 strikers sent to jail and the organizers arrested again and again.

2. A veritable horde of private detectives were sent in among the strikers. These agent provocateurs did everything in their power to break up the workers' solidarity.

3. From the very beginning the newspapers were well prepared. Scarcely had the strikers walked out when the next hour the local Herald, a despicable filthy sheet, came out with a special editorial to the effects that the red flag of communism would never fly in Fall River but that the whole force of the community would be thrown into the battle at once to crush the strike.

4. The American Legion at once issued a statement that it would back up the police to the limit.

5. Simultaneously with this frontal attack came the attacks from the side and from the rear. The strike was hardly on when the priests went from house to house telling the workers the T.M.C. was

a blackhand union and to go back to work at once.

6. At the same time the union was told that it would have to quit its headquarters and get out immediately.

7. And to cap it all the labor fakers of the A.F. of L. and the A.F.T.O. at once rushed into the battle to break up the strike.

Official Order To Scab

On the second day of the strike Mr. Tansey of the A.F.T.O. called together a special meeting of his "executive" committee and announced that all workers must stick to their jobs, that this was the best way to help the New Bedford strikers win and that the A.F.T.O. members must scab on the job or violate union discipline. At the same time MacMahon of the U.T.W. advised the workers not to strike. Campos, the local organizer issued an open statement to the effect that if the bosses would recognize the U.T.W. he would tell the workers to go back at once. And when he finished his conference with the bosses he immediately urged the workers to quit the strike and scab.

Never was there such a holocaust rained on the workers from all sides in such a short time as that which fell on the heroic strikers and organizers of the T.M.C. The strikers and organizers really covered themselves with glory. In spite of everything they stuck firm. Not only that but although desperately attacked they found the necessary strength to spring a surprise attack on the police and throw a picket line around a new mill, the Algonquin Printing Company employing a few hundred workers. These workers clustered around the windows, answered cheer for cheer, and the next day streamed out of the mill in a 100% effective strike.

However, with scores arrested, with all of the leaders in jail, with hundreds of police massed around

the mills, with labor spies filling their ranks, faced with bitter attacks from the newspapers, from the petty bourgeoisie, from clergy, from labor bureaucrats, the workers, only 3000 strong, were very hard pressed. Especially as the mill owners soon began the maximum utilization of the unemployed, by offering them extra high wages, and bringing them in as strikebreakers. Yet the workers are still fighting hard. Very severe sentences have been handed down by the judge. All the left wing leaders will be sentenced to long terms. Extortionate bail has been exacted and threats made to have the bonds forfeited if any should get arrested again. The picket lines have been smashed. Yet the union holds.

Support Them

It is too early to state definitely all the results of the Fall River strike. Yet it is already plain that the hold of the A.F.T.O. and the U.T.W. has been definitely broken. The treacherous leaders of those organizations have been thoroughly exposed. They are now hated and despised by all the workers. In New Bedford, also, the honest workers see more clearly than ever the menace the U.T.W. and the A.F.T.O. leaders are to them. Secondly, the workers in Fall River have been made much harder for the struggle. We have dug in and dug in well. We shall yet break open that Massachusetts hell hole. Finally the T.M.C. and the strikers have really covered themselves with glory. When the full facts of the Fall River strike become known, this strike shall live in the annals of labor as one of the bitterest and most courageous battles fought by unorganized workers.

Workers everywhere, let us support the textile strikers to the end! Let us build a real union, a new national union, for the textile industry, which will take up the battle against wage cuts and will unite the workers in their struggle against the employers and against the labor fakirs.



NEW UNIONISM IN THE MINES

(Continued from Page One)

That this leftward turn finds expression among the unorganized workers is of real significance and indicates great prospects for the new union movement. Where this tendency grows it is a distinct rank and file one and in practically every case in direct opposition to the official union leadership.

History of Betrayal

The reactionary trade union leadership has followed its inevitable course of development. In 1919, at the beginning of the employers' post war offensive, they could still in a measure be pressed forward, although reluctantly, to offer some resistance. Great strikes took place. But shortly after that the period of surrender set in. The reactionary leaders orientated themselves toward class collaboration and efficiency schemes to avoid waste in industry. They surrendered to wage cuts and the speed-up system. They worked ardently to turn the trade unions into virtual company unions. These fakers became revealed as the tools and agents of capitalism.

In the mining industry the right wing reactionaries have traveled this road completely. When the "open shop" began to eat its way seriously into the organized coal mine territories the reactionary United Mine Workers of America told the miners to load clean coal and to speed-up so that the operators in the organized fields could more efficiently compete with those in the unorganized territories. They gave up the working conditions in the mines and control of the tonnage rate with the installment of loading machines and mechanical devices. Step by step they thus proceeded to betray strike after strike, to separate the miners in the anthracite from those in the soft coal districts. They gave up the Jacksonville scale and the national agreement, finally wrecking the union. Whatever agreements will now be signed by the old machine in Illinois, Indiana or fields further West will at best be company union agreements with the miners employed under practically non-union conditions.

Drive For Open Shop

But even company unions are not satisfactory to the employers. Their offensive is for the complete wiping out of all semblance of unionism. The employers aim for the "open shop," the coal operators follow this policy and have shown it conclusively in the wrecking of the mine workers' union. A company union agreement in the Western fields based upon a wage cut is just one more step in the wrecking process. It will not and cannot increase produc-

tion in these fields, or elsewhere, nor will it give more employment to the miners. This is known perfectly well to John L. Lewis, Fishwick of Illinois, Cartwright of Indiana and all the other henchmen of that decrepit machine. They are just appearing in their true role.

The final stage of the clash of policies between the militant left wing and the reactionary Lewis machine within the United Mine Workers has been reached. The new union is now actually being built. The correctness of the policies proposed by the militants in the past has been proven by every event up until the final destruction of the old union. That a new union must be built can now no longer be disputed. The difficulties in the way are immense. Today in building the union the coal miners will face the operators solidly united and with the firm backing of the whole employing class of the country. But the miners also have had some valuable, although costly, experiences and possess a great fighting union tradition. This tradition will become the very foundation of the new union.

Enormous Task

Immense are the tasks this new national miners union will face the day after its formation at the Pittsburgh convention September 9 to 16. Only a few remnants of a union are left with the overwhelming part of the industry unorganized and the miners working there under conditions of poverty defying description. That the new union will pay heed and actually organize the unorganized territories is already evidenced by the fact that an important part of the pre-convention activities is the building of union nuclei in the unorganized fields. Some have already been built and will be represented at the Pittsburgh convention.

The unemployment problem in the mine camps has long been a very serious one. That the new union will follow the opposite course from that pursued by the Lewis machine of trying to drive the several hundred thousand unemployed miners out of the industry has already been established. The history of the movement proves its energetic fight for the reduction of the working hours but in addition the militants are indicating their further course. The new union will be the instrument to help realize the organization of this great army of unemployed to fight side by side with those working in the mines.

What has been criminally surrendered by the Lewis machine can be recaptured only by the new union.

MINERS LIVE IN SHACKS -- CORRUPT OFFICIALS OF OLD UNION IN LUXURY



John L. Lewis maintains this palatial home in Springfield, and charges for his fare daily to his office in Indianapolis.



Frank Farrington's house in Springfield. He has another in Indianapolis; partly supported on a \$25,000 a year bribe from Peabody Coal Co.



Fishwick, Farrington's successor as Pres. Dist. 12, lives here while miners starve in shacks.

THE officials of the old United Mine Workers of America drew enormous salaries, and built themselves lovely houses to live in on equally enormous expense accounts. Lewis, International President of the United Mine Workers of America continued throughout the entire period of the strike, while the miners were getting never more than \$1.50 a week per family for relief and often nothing at all from the union, to draw his \$12,000 a year salary, and about that much more for "expenses".

District officials profited in proportional measure. A glance at the style in which the old corrupt officials lived and the miserable housing conditions of the miners will show at once how little these two groups had in common. The officials lived the lives of rich men, associated with and had the standards of the bosses.



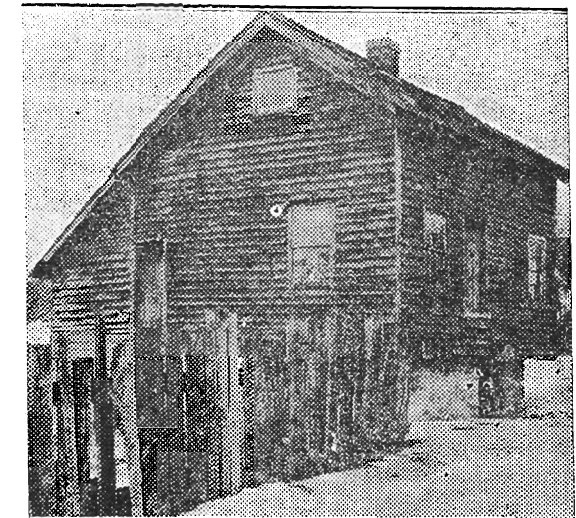
Operators' Machine Gunner. Miners of Daisytown crowded these barracks while Lewis sat under his awnings

They had no fellow feeling for the miners, and never did anything for them. It is certain that the new union will never permit anything like this. Temporary officials of the already reorganized districts draw the wages of a miner, and only necessary, actual, expenses.

The new miners' union will elect to office real miners, men from the job, staunch fighters against the bosses, and will not "de-class" them by making plutocrats out of them. The days of graft with enormous salaries or \$25,000 bribes from the companies are over.



Where the miners who kept Lewis rich had to live



A miner's house

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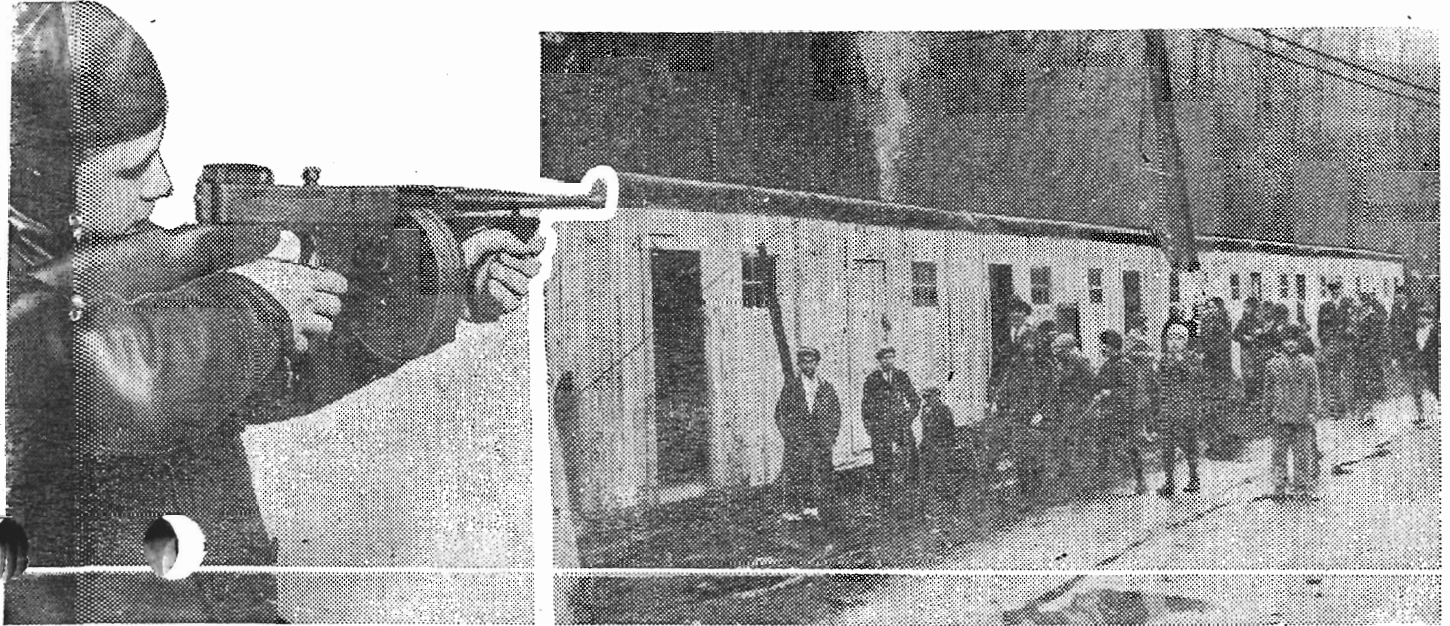
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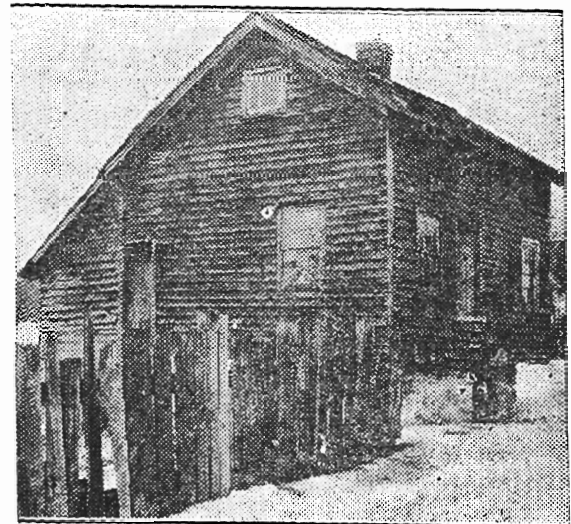
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IN THE PACKING INDUSTRY

The Organization of the Employers

By M. F.

THE workers in slaughtering and meat packing have to contend with one of the most trustified industrial organizations of the United States. The meat packing business is dominated by a closely interrelated group of gigantic concerns which dictate the policies of the industry and hold the existence of the smaller companies in their hands. This group has been known as the "Big Five" which consisted of Armour & Co., Swift & Co., Wilson & Co., Cudahy Packing Co., and Morris & Co. Recently Morris & Co. was absorbed by the Armour interests. We can see from the following figures the part played in the industry by this trust.

Sales and Profits of Packers in 1925

| No. of Concerns | Average Net Worth (in millions) | Net sales (in millions) | Net Profit (millions) |
|-----------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 4 | \$601 | \$2314 | \$33.8 |
| 9 | 73 | 318 | 2.2 |
| 34 | 71 | 348 | 6.3 |
| 149 | 50 | 287 | 2.1 |

As we shall see later, many, if not most of the 43 concerns in the second and third groups above are in reality subsidiaries of, or in some other way financially controlled by the "Big Four" in the first group.

It is instructive to look into the history and development of this food trust. All these companies grew on the basis of the mechanization of the meat packing processes and with the development of refrigeration, especially the refrigerator car. The original Armour started his fortune through some very lucrative meat contracts during the American Civil War. So also did Morris. Swift was a live stock handler and speculator and started his business with fortunes made in these lines. Cudahy and Wilson were at first partners of Armour and Swift.

By 1880, Armour's yearly sales already amounted to \$12,000,000. In 1886 Swift & Co., increased its capitalization from \$300,000 to \$3,000,000. Almost from the beginning, these three companies entered into an understanding and agreement with one another to exterminate all competition. They had the backing of the government, the banks and the railroads in this crushing process. Government inspection of slaughtering plants was advocated by the big

This is the first of a series of special articles on the meat packing industry, enormously important, hitherto of late almost neglected by organized labor, and due in the near future for a great organization campaign. Many of the statistics and facts gathered in this series are presented in a popular form for the first time. The next article, to appear in Labor Unity next month, will be on the conditions of workers in the packing houses, and other articles following will discuss the state and problems of organization.

packers and used to strengthen their hold on the industry nationally. They built up tremendous fortunes by a vicious exploitation of waves of immigrants, rounded up like cattle from one European country after another through agents of

the packers sent across with tales of fortunes to be made, toiling for the packers.

The small packers, local retail butchers, stock raising farmers, and later the dairy farmers fought for years against the expansion of the trust; they held to the democratic illusion of enlisting the government against the trust. The National Butchers' Protective Association was organized in 1886 "To oppose all monopolies and combinations which ultimately injure and oppress the people by controlling and manipulating the market in a staple and indispensable article of human food."*

In Akron, O., in 1887, in support of the butchers, the Trades and Labor Assembly consisting of 22 labor organizations in the city, passed a resolution to patronize no butcher in the city who after due notice persisted in buying meat from Armour & Co. Armour opened two meat markets in Akron, cut the price of meat in half, and in a week the 60 local butchers capitulated.

Opposing elements went to their state legislatures and got laws against the trusts. The state and federal courts nullified the laws. They took up the fight in Congress. The results of this struggle are very interesting.

In 1903 an injunction was obtained against the big packers. The supreme court killed it in 1905.

In July, 1905 they got an indictment against the packers. It was nullified through the famous "Immunity Bath" decision the next year.

A criminal action was started against the packing trust in 1910. It was lost in 1912.

The middle class opposition to the trust was from the very beginning waging a hopeless, futile fight against economic forces which they could not understand. However, let us see the final results of this anti-trust fight.

* Clemens, The Meat Industry, p. 243.

The tremendous profits of the Big Five during the world war, and the exorbitant prices of meat stimulated the last major battle, in a war which had been going on for over 30 years. As a result of much agitation, Congress finally ordered an investigation of the meat packing industry. It began in 1917. The report of the Federal Trade Commission came out in 1918.

If by the investigation the anti-trust forces desired to expose the workings of the trust, as far as the library shelves are concerned, they succeeded. The Commission found that the Five Packers dominated the industry. These packers controlled the markets where they bought their livestock, they controlled the markets where they sold their products, they owned the by-products industries, the transportation of livestock, storage of meat, and generally the industry from beginning to end. The report says:

"They (The Big Five) are closely linked up with a large number of banks, railroads, and trust companies which connections are utilized, often unfairly, if not illegally, for the promotion of the packers' interests in the food industry."

Notice how gently and mildly they put the matter: "often unfairly if not illegally." What is legal for a trust? Anything that promotes its interests. How then can actions be illegal, where they are the law-makers, government, and the judges? The report continues:

"The records of the companies, particularly as regards the stock holding lists and other evidences of ownership were constructed to **conceal** rather than to **reveal** the facts".

But some further facts brought out, nevertheless, were as follows:

"Some show of competition is staged by the five great packing establishments. It is superficial."

"Some independent packers exist by sufferance of the five, and a few hardy ones have survived in real competition. Around such few of these as do remain, the lines are drawing in."

Another fact established was that Morgan & Co., through the Guarantee Trust and Kuhn, Loeb & Co. were most active in bringing about the concentration of the industry.

The meat packers were found to handle as high as 86 per cent of the country's meat business. In the war years, 1915-1917, four of the five packers made net profits of \$178,000,000, after the bankers got their share in interest, etc.

"They are rapidly extending their control over all possible substitutes for meat-fish-poultry-eggs-milk-cheese, etc."

"Swift & Co. is the greatest butter distributor in the U. S., and handles one half of the interstate commerce in poultry and eggs."

"Armour's car routes reach 24,681 towns; Swifts, 23,376; Morris', 4,019; Wilson, 1,903; Cudahy 4,98."

"They own or control more than half of the export meat production of the Argentine, Brazil, and Uruguay."

Directorships in the National City Bank were held by Armour, in the Chase National Bank by Wilson,

in the International Bank Corporation by Armour, in the Irving National Bank by Swift and by Armour, in the Guaranty Trust Co., by Wilson. They also were directors in 25 banks in Chicago, and in 24 banks in the Central South and the West. The joint interests of the Big Five packers were represented in 108 land companies, stockyards, cattle loan companies, cotton oil companies, publishing companies, railroads, banks, packers' machinery and supplies, cold storage, cannery companies, etc.

"They had joint funds to influence legislative bodies, to elect candidates, to secure modification of governmental rules, to bias public opinion by the control of editorial policy through advertising loans and subsidies."

An editor of the trade journal "National Provisioner" for years received an annual subsidy of \$5,000 from Armour, Swift and Morris. We shall hear again from this journal.

These facts, and hundreds more, filling thick volumes, were brought into light. What was the result? Did the press serve its "solemn purpose" by spreading the news to the public? Certainly! The press immediately set up a barrage of propaganda in favor of the packers by the usual methods. Pages were given to the life histories of the packing company founders and heads.

And what did the U. S. government, "the representatives of the people" do? Read the chronology.

On Feb. 23, 1920, two years after the report, an agreement between the Big Five and the U. S. government was filed in the Supreme Court. The packers were to sell all their holdings in stock yards, railroads, newspapers, cold storage warehouses and to disassociate themselves from food lines unrelated to meat packing.

On April 2, 1921, the department of justice agreed to a plan for the companies to deliver their stock in stockyards and terminal railroads to the Illinois Trust and Savings Bank (one of the packers' banks) as depository until sold, which was to be within a year.

On Dec. 31, 1923, the stock deposited amounted to about \$3,000,000 and the time was extended to Jan. 12, 1925. Notice that the date was set for after the presidential campaign of 1924.

We must stop here a minute and listen to La Follette, who was then making his last fight against the trusts: (He wrote in 1923, in preparation for the 1924 campaign).

"This lawless monopoly, thriving under the administrations of Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, and Harding, exacted its toll of millions of dollars annually (1) by robbing the stock growers the ranchman and the farmer through artificially depressing prices for livestock and (2) by robbing the public through artificially inflated prices levied upon the consumer." (Not a word about the workers!)

On May 1, 1925 the whole matter was suspended by Federal Justice Jennings because the department

of justice had failed to take into consideration the right of growers and producers whose products are marketed by the packers!

And finally, in 1926, another federal judge directed the return of all stocks and bonds and evidence of ownership in unrelated lines to the original owners. *

Trust Growing

Now let us look at the present state of the meat industry. The trust is still growing, nationally and internationally. In 1927 Swift & Co.'s sales amounted to \$925,000,000. Of 50,000,000 animals slaughtered in 20 leading markets, Swift & Co.'s share was over 17,500,000 animals. It employed over 50,000 workers.

The company had 30 packing plants, located principally in Chicago, Kansas City, South Omaha, East St. Louis, South St. Joseph, Sioux City, St. Paul, Fort Worth, Milwaukee, Denver, St. Louis, New York, and Boston.

In 1924 Swift & Co. purchased the plant of the Midland Packing Co. for \$622,500. In 1925 it bought at receiver's auction the plant of the Iowa Packing Co. for \$405,000. In 1926 it bought the plant of the Independent Packing Co. of Chicago.

Among the numerous secondary meat concerns which Swift & Co. controls are G. H. Hammond & Co., A. B. Swift, president, capital \$5,000,000, and over 2,000 employees; Libby McNeil & Libby, capital \$27,000,000, with 8,000 employees; Sperry & Barnes Co. of New Haven, Conn., Geo. H. Swift, president, capital \$1,500,000. In the month of July, 1928, Swift & Co. was reported to expand as follows: bought the Interstate Packing Co. employing 200 men ("It will operate under the same name"); opened a new produce plant in Wisconsin; building a new cold storage plant in Alabama; establishing a branch at Big Springs, Texas; planning a refrigerator system at Dallas, Texas.

Swift & Co.'s assets are over \$337,000,000; its capitalization is \$150,000,000 which has expanded as follows: In 1886 from \$300,000 to \$3,000,000; in 1888, \$5,000,000; in 1890, \$7,500,000; in 1893, \$15,000,000; in 1899, \$20,000,000; in 1902, \$25,000,000; in 1904, \$35,000,000; in 1906, \$50,000,000; in 1909, \$60,000,000; in 1911, \$75,000,000; in 1916, \$100,000,000; in 1918, \$150,000,000.

Swift & Co.'s surplus alone is over \$73,000,000. Since 1896 stockholders have taken profits totalling over \$300,000,000.

Alden B. Swift, vice president of Swift & Co. is a director in Swift Refrigeratory Transit Co., G. H.

Hammond Co., Mechanical Mfg. Co., St. Joseph Stockyards Bank, St. Joseph Public Elevator Co., Union Cattle Loan Co., and others.

Chas. H. Swift, vice president of Swift & Co. is a director in: Union Stockyards of Chicago, Libby McNeil & Libby, Swift Internacional, etc.

Geo. H. Swift is president of the National Leather Co., National Calfskin Co., North American Provision Co., New England Dressed Meat and Wool Co.

Harold H. Swift, another Swift vice president, is president of the board of directors of the University of Chicago, and vice president of the United Charities.

Louis F. Swift, president of Swift & Co., is a director in Milwaukee Stock Yards Co., St. Louis Stockyards Co., St. Paul Stockyards Co., Sioux City Stockyards Co., and numerous railroads, banks, land companies, etc.

As an example of the activities of other directors in the concern, consider L. L. Clark, who is also the chairman of the executive committee of the American Exchange, Irving Trust Co., and director in more than a score of the biggest corporations of the United States.

Armour & Co. Powerful

Armour & Co. has assets of over \$471,000,000; its capital stock is over 200,000,000; its surplus is over \$46,000,000, and its indebtedness (bonds, notes payable) is over \$150,000,000.

Amour's sales in 1927 were \$900,000,000 against \$750,000,000 in 1926.

The Armour family has long since lost the control of the company, which has passed into the hands of the bankers. F. Edson White, president of the Armour board of directors is a director of the Chase National Bank. Samuel McRoberts, another director of Armour is Chairman of the board of directors of the Chatham Phoenix National Bank and Trust Co. A. H. Wiggins, a third director is Chairman of the board of directors of the Chase National Bank of Chicago. The voting trustees of the \$50,000,000 Class A common stock and the \$50,000,000 Class B stock are: Samuel McRoberts, A. Reynolds, and A. H. Wiggins. These bankers are connected with almost every large industrial corporation in the U. S.

It is also interesting to note that S. L. Avery, a director, is also a director of the Chicago Daily News and of the University of Chicago; that J. S. Pillsbury, another director is vice president of the Pillsbury Flour Mills Co.

Armour acquired Morris & Co. in 1923. It also controls Armour & Co. of Delaware, a \$100,000,000 corporation, and other subsidiaries such as the New York Butchers Dressed Meat Co., North American

* The National Provisioner, organ of the Institute of American Meat Packers says (August 11, 1928) "... the Federal Trade Commission has adopted a policy of constructive assistance to business which replaces the old destructive policy prevailing in the early years of its activity."

Provision Co., etc. It has 26 meat packing plants, 46 auxilliary plants such as soap, glue, sand paper, ammonia, leather, creameries, milk condensation, 29 fertilizer works, refrigerator car plants, etc. One outstanding instance of recent acquisitions is the purchase in 1928 of the Jens Jensen Creamery of Iowa, with 35 stations throughout the state and a yearly handling of over 2,000,000 lbs. of butter, 3,000,000 lbs. of poultry and 3,000,000 dozen eggs.

The other two companies, in a smaller way, repeat the same story.

International Connections

Having made fortunes by driving their laborers, exploiting women and children, and having a monopoly of the domestic market, the Big Five began expanding to other countries about 1900. Robt. W. Dunn in his book "American Foreign Investments" shows that Armour & Co. operates a large packing plant in Cuba under the name of American Provision Co., has subsidiaries in Australia, Uruguay, Brazil, Argentina, France, Italy and Denmark.

Swift & Co. are in Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Canada, Great Britain, Australia, Cuba and other countries.

Wilson & Co. operate in Great Britain, Brazil, and otherwheres. Cudahy has its grip on Australia and Great Britain.

Here are some figures, showing the share of Argentina's trade in meat:

| | 1909 | 1918-1920 |
|-----------------------|---------------|---------------|
| British Companies | 37 per cent | 22.1 per cent |
| American Companies | 35.3 per cent | 68.1 per cent |
| Argentinian Companies | 27 per cent | 9.8 per cent |

The American Bankers Association Journal for Feb. 1928, writes of a "severe competitive battle which has been raging in South America for several years."

This is the material from which international wars are brewed, and is rapidly changing the international relations of the United States. *

Speculation And Chaotic Conditions

The control and fortunes of the big meat packers have fallen into the hands of the bankers who replace the original holders, control and manipulate the prices of stock, prices of meat and make millions through these tricks. Thus the capital stock of Armour & Co. was increased from \$160,000,000 in 1920 to \$400,000,000 and reduced to \$200,000,000 in 1925. In 1928 there is talk of another recapitalization.

J. Ogden Armour's death left behind him a mess of debts, speculations, and real estate deals which wiped out his personal fortune and turned his company over to the banks. Morris was absorbed by Armour after going through a similar process. Armour and the others also lost millions of dollars lately in the South American meat war with England.

Prices of Meat

The price of the packers' products has gone up to unheard-of heights. Yet there is a continual, inspired, cry of shortage. One reason is that there is a continual accumulation in cold storage, held by the packers. On July 1, 1927 there were 953,159,000 lbs. in cold storage, one year later there were 1,012,437,000 lbs. The Butchers Advocate of May 16, 1928 says:

"Much of the winter pork products was stored at an average of thirty percent below the present prices and pork products, on which prices have been advanced recently to correspond with higher quotations of hogs are realizing profits for packers."

And what profits they will be!

* The packers are continually increasing their importation of beef produced at low prices in their South American ventures. From January to May, 1928 the importation was 13,613,141 lbs., as against 8,583,925 lbs. in the corresponding period of 1927.

Help The Chinese Trade Unions!

Chinese Unionists are fighting bravely against foreign imperialism and native despotism. Hundreds of thousands have been killed with horrible tortures by the Chiang Kai-shek government since it sold out to the capitalists and invading American, English, French and Japanese plutocrats.

The Committee To Aid Chinese Trade Unions, Robert W. Dunn, Secy., 96 Fifth Avenue, Room 314, New York City is collecting funds for the Chinese Trade Unions. Add your bit.

Picture shows Li Li-San, member of Executive Committee, All-China Federation of Labor Unions addressing masses of workers in Hankow before the unions were driven underground.



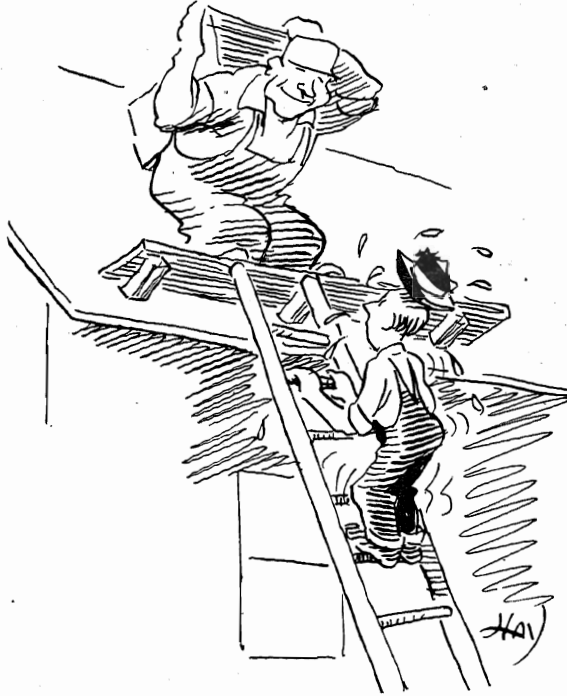
Hunting The Job

By HENRY GEO. WEISS

THE hard-featured lady at the window stated the situation. "Yah", she said, "there's one job open, but you don't look very strong."

This being the sixth employment agency I had visited that morning, I was not to be balked without a struggle. "In this case, ma'am", I said quickly, "looks are deceiving. In my day I've dug ditches, chauffeured wheelbarrows, and mixed cement. What did you say the job was?"

"Shingler's helper, four dollars a day. Well, I guess you can try it out. Here's the address". She scribbled on a piece of paper and passed the re-



"You wanna hoist 'em on your shoulders like this, Buddy."

kinda shingles, 36 inch and 42. Use last first. Keep that guy up there supplied." He waived at the roof of the residence, spat judiciously, and wandered away.

Left to my own devices, I removed my coat, eyed the ladder, and hefted a bundle of shingles. The shingles weighed seventy pounds, and I weighed a hundred and twenty-four. The battle between me and that first bundle of shingles was on on. It was a tough fight, and had its moments of uncertainty, but I won. That is, I won to the plank foot rest skirting the pitched roof, three stories up. There I stuck, and a kind heart-



The shingles weighed 70 pounds; I weighed 124.

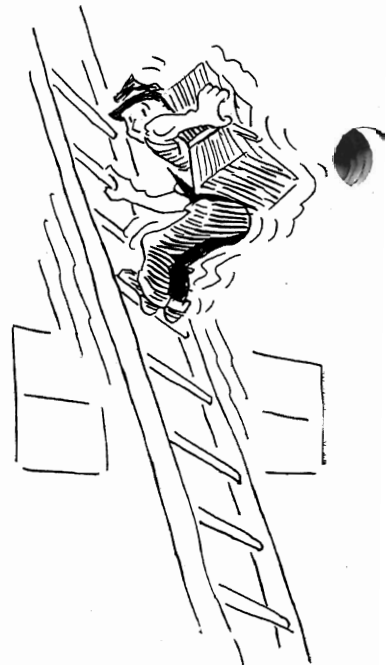
sults to me. "Terms five percent of first week's wages. Let me know how you get on."

The place was in San Marino, exclusive millionaire district lying on the southeast corner of Pasadena. Not having carfare, I walked; walked through beautiful Oak Knell where the dignified, and otherwise, man-

sions of the leisure class stood in spacious grounds. Prim English nurses (at any rate they were dressed like them, drab, disfiguring uniform and bonnet) escorted sketchily clad members of the youngest set about the grounds and walks, or pushed them ahead in cute little perambulators. Police dogs eyed me with aloof disdain, and replicas in dog life of their useless owners told me what they thought of the shabby, worthless working class in no uncertain lan-

guage. You understand, everything was refined and peaceful and artistic in this select neighborhood with one exception: myself. Even the delivery boys and laundry wagons took an air of humble and obedient service, blending harmoniously with the tradesmen's entrance. Well!

I arrived at the job, a large residence, garage, and gardener's cottage in process of being finished. The boss shingler looked me over without noticeable enthusiasm. He supplied me with a rule and some short instructions. "T w o



Half way between the ground and the roof I stuck.

ed shingler relieved me of the bundle. "You wanna hoist it on your shoulder like this, Buddy," he informed me, giving a demonstration of how easily his hundred and eighty odd pounds of overworked muscles could handle the shingles.



"Them's the terms", he said, "Take 'em or leave 'em."

Well, why not? Ain't the second time easier than the first? But somehow, the back of my legs was trembling as I climbed with another bundle. Half way between the roof and the ground I stuck.

"Take it easy," advised the kindhearted guy on the roof. "Now, now." And it was now. Either me or the bundle; or both of us; had to go, and I preferred it would be the bundle. The crash was something awful, and what happened to those expensive, chemically prepared shingles hardly bears repeating. "You see," said the good-hearted guy, "It's all in the knack of lifting 'em. Why say, I used to carry two of those bundles up the ladder at once."

It was too much. I eased by strained and aching back up against a post. "Brother," I said, "I'm no human elevator. Something tells me I'm through with this job."

"That's the trouble with you working stiffs," sneered the boss. "You go around howling for a job, and when you get it, you won't work."

"Well, I'm back again," I said to the hard featured lady at the window.

"What's the matter," she asked, "work too hard?"

"Well, you could call it that," I said. "Anything doing today?"

"There's a dishwashing job, two dollars and meals."

The boss was behind the cash register at his prosperous looking eating place. "Ten hours every day except Saturday, then you work 'till eleven, nights."

"And what do I do with my spare time?" I asked.

He gave me a dirty look. "Them's the terms", he said. "Take 'em or leave 'em."

Working men in hard times can't be too particular, so I took 'em. If you have never stuck your nose over steaming, nauseating, greasy dishes ten hours a day, you've missed knowing what Dante didn't have the heart to tell you about in his "Inferno." Even in my sleep I went through the motions of sloshing a rag. And there were certain things the dishwasher couldn't have for meals. What came back was considered decent food for the help. The cook ate all his meals home for reasons the pots and pans alone could breathe to the initiate. By the time I was doing the fifteen hour stretch, life wasn't worth living, not at the expense of valleting cups and saucers anymore.

Which means, of course, that I'm back murmuring to the employment shark: "What's doing to-day?"



Even in my sleep I went through the motions of sloshing a rag.

MILITANT WORKERS

Read LABOR UNITY, Organ of the Trade Union Educational League

Fill this blank, tear out, and mail to LABOR UNITY, 2 West 15th St., New York City

LABOR UNITY, Enclosed find \$ _____, for which send me LABOR UNITY for _____ years.

Rates: \$2.00 a year; \$1.25 for 6 months.

Name _____

Address _____

Wisconsin Federation of Labor Meet in Kenosha

A TYPICAL STATE CONVENTION

By CLARK JOHNSON

PRESIDENT Wm. Green of the A.F.L., 200 official delegates to the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, and some open shoppers met July 17, 18, 19, and 20, in Kenosha, Wisc., and pulled off a very tame affair.

On the opening day in the Moose Temple, the Chamber of Commerce, heart and soul back of the struck Allen A Co.'s scheme to smash living standards for its hosiery workers, greeted the convention, and the greetings were duly and thankfully acknowledged. The City Manager, Osborn, who is known to be controlled by the Allen A, the Nash Motor Co., the American Brass Foundry, and other open shop concerns, delivered an address of welcome, and received the glad hand from the officials of the state federation. The Kenosha Evening News, which has been loudly yelping for the militia to come in and help break the six months' old strike at the Allen A, also greeted the convention.

When the business of the meeting got under way, it started with the appointment of safe-and-sane standing committees, in the well known labor-faker way. President Henry Ohl, Jr., 11 times "elected" to his office, appointed them, and they were of the sort that would guarantee that a non-progressive resolution would never reach the floor of the convention in a form to be recognized by those who framed it, or would get lost altogether by a "non-concurrence" report, or would be "turned over to the incoming officers for their consideration."

For example, a resolution came up from Superior central body, signed by its secretary, M. M. Krieps, which condemned both old parties as representing big business, and called for independent political action. The resolution committee "non-concurred" and not even the sponser of the resolution, who was present as a delegate, dared to defend it after it had been thus officially frowned upon. A resolution for the pardon of the Centralia victims was shelved by

This report on the 1928 Convention of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor is not intended to do special honor to the Wisconsin state organization of the A. F. of L., by singling out its Kenosha meeting from among the other state conventions held this year, but because of the fact that Wisconsin has by many been considered one of the more progressive states, has long had a Socialist Party administration in its largest city, and because the convention itself, addressed by President Green of the A. F. of L., was held in a strike city, Labor Unity thinks the Wisconsin convention can be considered as no worse, or a little better perhaps, than the average state convention. A reading of this article will then convince anyone that the American trade union bureaucracy has led American unions to a dismal swamp of pettyness, smug innocuousness and decay. A strong organized left wing movement is the only thing that can bring a little new life into such a movement.

being "referred to the incoming Executive board for study and such action as they may deem advisable." The mover of this resolution, a young progressive painter from Milwaukee was quietly persuaded not to speak in favor of it. A resolution for the release of Mooney and Billings was adopted in a modified form. One progressive resolution, introduced by Wm. E. Brown of the Fire Fighters (Local 215 of Milwaukee) slipped through. It was

directed against compulsory military training in training camps, and schools. The same delegate had his name signed to a resolution condemning the capitalist system for unemployment and advocating some mild Socialist Party "remedy" in the way of municipal ownership. But this last was too radical for the convention and the committee, and was turned down.

The big day was Wednesday, when Wm. Green came down. Some one who evidently thought the gentleman needed defense had part of the Kenosha strikers brought in to parade around the hall and yell that "Bill Green is all right!"

The Happy Coal Miner

Green began his speech by telling how much he had come to admire the president and officers of this federation, and by pledging his support in their "great endeavors." Green said: "I believe in state and central bodies, because in these days of company unions, where else can I go to discover the wishes and aspirations of Labor if not to the central bodies?" Green said he himself represented "five million workers, yes, many more," and stated, "I am proud you are so loyal in Wisconsin," and more of the same. Then he went on to tell of how he was a miner once, and the horrible conditions he had to work under, whereas, "the miners of today enjoy good conditions, high wages and the eight hour day, through their organization."

The delegates acted as though they thought all of this was true, though everybody there knew that the

conditions and wages and organization of the miners have just been smashed by Green's associate, Mr. Lewis of the U.M.W.A.

Green did not say a word about the coal strike, but he did mention briefly the strike in Kenosha against the Allen A. Co., stating that it was his belief that the workers would never go back except on "honorable conditions."

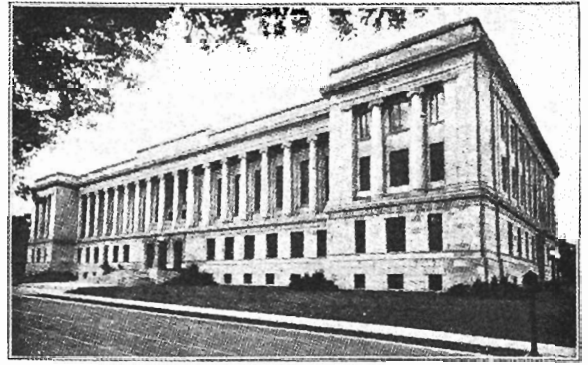
He wound up by denouncing all political parties outside of the two old stand-bys, told the boys to elect their friends, and praised La Follette, ending his speech amidst well directed applause.

A rank and file miner got the floor. This man, though credentialed by Lewis, evidently could not stand the picture of happiness, peace and contentment which Green had painted of the coal fields. He told of three years' strike in Western Pennsylvania, during which time 75 men had been murdered, and while he said this, Green sat on the stage disapprovingly shaking his head.

Green did not answer the miner, either then, or the next day, when the open shop city administration of Kenosha granted him the Library Park for a mass meeting. He used the mass meeting to tell 5,000 citizens of Kenosha that capital and labor were really at peace, and that the only little difficulty was that the Allen A would not arbitrate its differences with its employees. The Kenosha News came back the next day saying that the Allen A. had only the good of its (scab) employees at heart when it refused to arbitrate with those who went on strike.

Attacking The Miners

The next day, after Green had gone, John Lewis, President of the Iowa state federation took the floor to bawl out the Save-the-Union Committee and warn the delegates against it. Though this Lewis seems to hate the miners' real organization, the Save-the-Union movement as much as his namesake at the head of the U.M.W.A. does, he too contradicted Green's rosy description of coal field prosperity and harmony between employer and employee and admitted that there was huge unemployment and that police brutality is visited upon the striking miners. There does not seem to be good team work among the reactionary wing of the A.F.L. in these matters. Instead of all making up their story and sticking to it, they make too many, and too contradictory stories. Nobody appeared with proofs of Lewis' wild statement that "he knew and could prove the Save-the-Union bunch were paid \$80,000 by the operators."



Kenosha County Court House, not only built by scab labor but advertised in the Federation of Labor Convention program from which this picture was taken.

And that was about all there was to the convention. The only resolutions that did not go through without argument were harmless things about union labels, etc.

All of the delegates accepted cheerfully the printed programs put out by the Kenosha central body, which included an advertisement of the scab-built Kenosha County Court House. All of them let go through without question the printed "officers' report" which in veiled language sabotaged the campaign of the National Miners' Relief Committee by advising that all mine relief intended for the victims of Green's class collaborating coal operators should go to Frank Morrison, secretary of the A.F.L., from which source they will undoubtedly be used to pay some of Lewis' \$1,000 a month salary, or still higher "expenses" which he has continued to draw regularly throughout the strike.

Need of T.U.E.L.

It is not to the credit of the real workers of Wisconsin that they have let this convention go by without a single dissenting voice there, to give vent to their real grievances. There is a craving for organization among the workers in Kenosha; spontaneous strikes have taken place in the Nash Motor Plant, Milwaukee, and the feeling of irritation and depression among the workers could be seen in many of the resolutions that came to the resolutions committee, for editing.

A strong Trade Union Educational League should be organized among these dissatisfied workers; with plenty of literature and a few speakers, we might make the next convention a good deal different.

"Misleaders of Labor" -- A Review

By V. F. CALVERTON
Editor of *The Modern Quarterly*

THESE are days of dark reaction in the history of American labor. Perhaps at no other period has the American labor movement been so close to annihilation. A general bankruptcy has spread throughout the entire trade-union body. Ill-equipped because of its structural anachronisms and individualistic and oftentimes corrupt leadership, the American trade-union movement has decreased in size, diminished in energy, and almost disappeared from the horizon as active, fighting organization. With the recent advance and temporary stabilization of capitalism since The World War, the American unions have become more like fraternal orders than trade-unions. The basic force in economic life which inspires the organization of trade unions and occasions the development of a labor movement is struggle. The struggle of workers against employers, of the exploited against the exploiters, is an inevitable corollary of our industrial order. If there were no struggle, no class-conflict, there would be no trade-unions, no labor-movement. When trade-unions cease to fight the employing class, when a labor-movement gives up the idea of struggle, they have already become bankrupt. And that is what has happened to the American trade-union movement in the last five years. It has lost the desire and the determination if not the power to struggle. It has become anaemic. It has become a goose-stepping, pussy footing movement, without courage, challenge, or vigor. While opposed to the company-union, it has itself become company-unionized in spirit. Its leaders, often members of the Republican or Democratic parties, have surrendered the very cause of labor to reaction. They are individualistically instead of socially-minded. When they are not corrupt, they are unprogressive. The fear of personal loss alone often makes them endeavor to thwart economic changes that are imperative if advance is ever to be achieved. Their rule is bureaucratic. Their influence upon the labor movement is overwhelmingly dangerous and destructive.

Foster's Clear Analysis

This condition of corruption and collapse in the labor movement, is familiar to every radical student of labor. Nevertheless, it takes a book such as William Z. Foster's *Misleaders of Labor* to attack this corruption and collapse with intelligent courage and vigor. In *Misleaders of Labor* the American

trade-union movement is subjected to a scrutiny and an analysis that are characterized by fearlessness and candour. The insistence upon struggle that is so markedly absent in the present activities of the American labor movement is abundantly present in Foster's challenge. The energies of his attack are directed first against the bureaucracies that now dominate the unions, and secondly against the ideas and attitudes that are still inherent in the prevailing trade-union philosophy. The paralyzing influence of contemporary labor leaders he deals with in exhaustive detail. It is a pathetic spectacle. It is not that he never errs or exaggerates, as he would of necessity have to do in cases where so many individuals, and so many unions are covered and discussed; but it is the fact that his general indictment is so scathingly correct which makes his book so important and signal. Such exposures are vitally necessary and significant. If their existence can only be made to reach the mass, their influence might be enormous.

The one outstanding weakness of the book, as I see it, is that Foster, with all his penetrating insight into fundamentals, seems too often to place an undue amount of blame upon leaders rather than upon objective conditions which foster such leaders as their natural creation. It is not that I disagree with Foster in his assault upon the prevailing leadership in labor, but that I feel that he has somewhat misplaced or exaggerated his point of emphasis. Such leaders, after all, are the product of such conditions as prevail in America. It is not that Foster does not realize this—he does—but that in this book he fails to give this causal connection sufficient stress.

That the American movement would prove more individualistic than any other labor movement was a historical necessity. The factor of the frontier alone was decisive in encouraging an individualistic attitude of mind throughout the nineteenth century—and this, despite the organization of a multiplying proletariat and the increasing aggravations of an exploitive system of production. Furthermore, the fiction of individual initiative had a much longer time to grow and develop in a country geographically so enormous, and which did not reach its late stages of closed concentration and centralization until generations after England, for instance, or Germany. Vestiges of this same fiction still linger today, as Foster himself very strikingly indicates, in "the illusions growing out of such propaganda as Carver's,"

and from the fact that in "many sections of America skilled workers have been corrupted and 'bourgeoisified'," all of which he scores as very "dangerous." That these illusions can have any meaning at all to the working class of America, that the workers can be deceived by the simple devices of impotent stockholderships and the technique of trade-union capitalism, even to the point of denying the existence of a class-struggle, illustrates their ideological backwardness and lack of social vision. These illusions and deceptions are the product of an individualistic attitude, that are inevitably poisonous to a collective movement. On the whole the labor leaders in America represent this tendency in its worst, its most egregious and atrocious form.

Organize The Unskilled

The existence of these facts makes all the more important Foster's intelligent emphasis upon the necessity of organizing the semi-skilled and unskilled laborers in the United States. The American myths and fictions have less meaning, because less chance to grow, among these elements. The American Federation of Labor has always catered to the skilled workers, and fostered these illusions and deceptions through an inflated sense of aristocracy in its craft-union philosophy. The organization of the semi-skilled and unskilled workers can mean a tremendous advance in the development of more militancy in the labor movement. The material they provide is intrinsically more responsive and rebellious. All this,

of course, is part of the more general program which must be waged to "organize the unorganized."

Foster has stated so many things with such clarity, and challenged so many practices with so much courage, that it is impossible, in the span of this review, to do them justice. How many books on American labor, even many affecting to be radical, hesitate to denounce deception, fear to score tendencies that must be fought. Foster's analysis and exposure of the B. & O. plan is acute and accurate. His attack upon the exorbitant salaries that are paid to labor-leaders in practically every union opens up a significant issue. How can labor-leaders who are paid salaries that lift them out of the living conditions of the working-class continue to be intimate with the sufferings of the proletariat? Inevitably, even when they are most sincere, they become "bourgeoisified" in their way of living and very often in their way of thinking. The existence of such salaries should be strictly assailed. The fight against such salaries, of course, is but part of the general fight against corruption in the unions. And this general fight is but part of the larger fight for amalgamation, and the ensuing fight for a labor party. Foster is again correct when he observes that these things must be achieved "by united front movements between a well organized left wing and the progressive group." The problem that confronts both the left wing and the progressives is not the necessity of this tactic but how to achieve it successfully. Foster has delivered the challenge and suggested the direction; the next task is to make them effective.

THE RED INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM

This is the fourth installment of the main thesis adopted by the Red International of Labor Unions at its Fourth World Congress, Moscow, U. S. S. R., March 17, April 3, 1928. The first installment was published in the May issue of Labor Unity, and back numbers are available for those desiring them. Send 4c stamps for postage on each number desired.

X. Strengthening the Revolutionary Trade Unions

In those countries where besides the class revolutionary unions (France, Czecho-Slovakia, Cuba, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Japan, etc.), there are reformist unions as well, the main task of the adherents of the R.I.L.U. is to do everything possible to strengthen the revolutionary trade unions, to develop their activities, and, in the process of the struggle, to make them the effective leader of the mass movement of the proletariat. First and foremost, they must be strengthened by bringing the broad mass of the unorganized workers into the revolutionary trade unions, by reorganizing the whole revolutionary trade union movement on the factory basis, by establishing close connections between the leading organs and the workers at the point of production. If they are to pull the masses with them, the revolutionary trade unions must give their fullest attention to the day-to-day, practical

and minor needs of the workers. They must watch everything that goes on in all factories; they must at once respond to the workers' demands; they must rapidly seize on and formulate these demands, and be able at the suitable moment to take the lead of the mass movement by drawing the workers in the reformist unions in to the struggle.

In regard to the reformist unions, the revolutionary trade unions must follow the policy of establishing unity of action between the workers of different views directly at the point of production and in all working class action against the capitalists. The revolutionary unions must help all revolutionary and left wing elements inside the reformist unions who are fighting inside their own organization against the reformist leadership; they must give these elements every assistance by helping them to rally those workers in the reformist organizations round the slogan of the class struggle.

While always broadcasting the slogan of setting up a single trade union organization in every country, the revolutionary trade unions must bear in mind that the fullest organizational strengthening of their own ranks, the increasing of their own memberships, the extending of their influence over the mass of the workers both in the reformist organizations and those outside any trade union organization, and what is the most important thing, a correct policy in regard to the class struggle of the trade unions, is the best guarantee for the speediest establishment of trade union unity on the basis of the class struggle.

Depending on the situation, conditions, time and place, individual trade union organizations belonging to the reformist centre which are won over by the R.I.L.U. adherents may be transferred to the revolutionary center. This sort of question must be settled as the need arises from the viewpoint of the effect it is likely to have on the further influence of the revolutionary trade unions on the broad masses of the proletariat of the country concerned.

XI. Struggle for the United Front and Unity

The tactics of the united front and unity which have justified themselves during the last few years must be continued. Everywhere, particularly when economic conflicts are growing and sharpening, foremost place must be given to the united front of the workers of all views and to have unity of action in the struggle against the employers. At the same time it is essential to fight most determinedly against the subordination of the interests of the class struggle to formal unity. A determined struggle must be fought against the policy of unity at any price (such slogans are to be met with in France, Czechoslovakia), for unity is not an aim in itself, but a means to an end. The working class requires unity to increase its ability to fight, to raise its activity—it needs unity on the basis of the class struggle. That is why the struggle for unity must not be of an abstract character, why it must be based on a concrete programme of action against capital.

In view of the evolution undergone by the leaders of the Amsterdam International, the **main slogan should be: Unity from below:** at the point of production, in the rank and file organs of the reformist trade unions. This does not exclude the possibility of negotiations with the leading organs of the reformist unions, but such negotiations after the break-up of the Anglo-Russian Committee (which was a model of the united front from above and below) are remoter than ever. Negotiations between the unions of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics Norway, and Finland, have given results partially because neither the Norwegian nor Finnish unions are affiliated to the Amsterdam International, though mainly because the mass of the Norwegian workers have brought pressure to bear on their leaders. Thus unity from below must be given first place, for the more the direct contact between the organs of unity and the points of production, the more definite and stable they will be and the more chances on the basis of the class struggle. The chief thing is to remember that the stronger the revolutionary unions and minorities are, and the more workers they are able to organise, the more speedily and more closely we will get to the realisation of unity.

XII. Fight Expulsions from the Trade Unions

The closer the alliance between the trade union bureaucracy and the employers becomes, the less finicky the bureaucrats are in breaking the most elementary rights of union members and the more furious they are in their attack on the revolutionary workers. The withdrawal from their posts,

the expulsion of progressive workers from the reformist unions and other repressions are becoming more and more frequent (Britain, Germany, U. S. A., etc.), yet the supporters of the R. I. L. U. do not everywhere react to this sort of thing with sufficient energy and determination. For example we find the revolutionary press of Germany giving very little attention to the method of these expulsions. Instead of organising a campaign up and down the country against expulsion, views are voiced that any sharp protest might only make the position worse and lead to further expulsions. In such cases passivity is particularly dangerous if it be supplemented by a tinge of the theory of unity. Such theories must be most determinedly fought since they represent nothing more than the merest capitulation. Whoever does not fight against expulsions just on account of the unity pretext or declines to undertake revolutionary work in the unions so as not to render himself liable to expulsion, is no revolutionary, for capitulation to the reformists is the first step to capitulation to the bourgeoisie. The struggle against expulsions must be conducted with maximum determination, always keeping in view that the main thing is to get the masses to participate in this work and to make every violation of trade union democracy, every expulsion, the immediate business of the broad masses. When the reformists undertake expulsions for the purpose of disorganising left wing locals or trades councils (Basle) submission would mean to repudiate the right of winning entire trade union organisations for the class struggle. In the class struggle against expulsions, the supporters of the R. I. I. U. must effect a broad mobilisation of the working masses both in their own unions and in the working class generally, for the reinstatement of expelled members. The adherents of the R. I. L. U. must make efforts to get the biggest number of trade union organisations to take action against expulsions and actively to fight for unity against the splitting activities of the trade union bureaucracy.

XIII. The United Front of the Workers of the East and West

The offensive against the standard of life of the workers in the colonies is facilitated to a considerable extent by the fact that capital can emigrate to the colonies or regulate the whole labor market by the gigantic reservoir of cheap labor at its disposal in the colonial and semi-colonial countries as well as in the economically backward countries of Europe. The combination of up-to-date technique with cheap slave labor furnishes fabulous profits and the possibility for the capitalists of utilising in their own countries the attractive power of such countries for the investment of capital. With the rapid industrialisation of the Pacific littoral, it is becoming more and more difficult to compete with these countries. The low living standards of the doubly exploited and oppressed workers may lead, against their will and wish, to the lowering of a standard of life of the workers of the advanced capitalist countries, since the employers always want to level the wages down to the cheapest type of labor. We witness the forcible proletarianisation of the African tribesmen, forced by poll-tax and hut-tax to abandon their pastoral life and become wage slaves for the British landlords. Hence such pressure in recent years on the working conditions in the home countries, together with counter-action against the raising of the well-being of the colonial workers. Instead of making efforts to liberate the colonies and to raise the standards of the workers in those countries suffering under imperialist oppression, the reformists endeavour to establish their guardianship over them so that they may not work in the direction of independence

apart from imperialism (General Council and British Labor Party in India, etc.). In this connection the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat set up in the middle of 1927 which unites the workers of the most important Pacific countries acquires particular importance. The said Secretariat, to which are affiliated the trade unions of China, Korea, Indonesia, the Philippines, Australia, the U. S. S. R., the left trade unions of Japan, the revolutionary minorities of Britain and the U. S. A., etc., is deserving of all support, seeing that it has placed the question of lining up the workers of the East with those of the West on a practical foundation. In particular, extensive help must be given to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat by the workers of those countries (Britain, France, Japan, U. S. A.) whose bourgeoisie have possessions in the Pacific and hold in slavery hundreds of millions of the toilers in those colonial and semi-colonial countries.

XIV. White and Colored Labor

In some countries (U. S. A., etc.), where the workers belong to different nationalities and different races, it is found that a burning question there is that of relations between the white and colored workers. The reactionary leaders of the unions refuse to admit Negro workers to membership, or else admit them as members not enjoying full trade union rights. It must be said that R. I. L. U. adherents are far too passive in this matter. Instead of at once starting to organise unions of the Negro workers, they pass annual resolutions on this subject. These resolutions have not advanced matters a single step. It must be realised once and for all that this is not a problem for the future, but of the present. In the United States where there are not less than 5 million Negro workers, the dragging out of this question is a most serious mistake. Our minds must be made up to begin with the organisation of the Negro workers in special unions. At the same time an active struggle must be fought for admitting Negroes into existing trade unions, while exposing the policy of racial prejudice pursued by the reactionary trade union bureaucracy. The refusal to organise the Negro workers in special unions on the excuse of a falsely understood internationalism or on the pretext that such independent Negro unions would isolate the Negro workers from the white workers, can only play into the hands of the trade union bureaucrats and enable them to go on sabotaging the organising of the Negroes and is really out and out opportunism. Racial restrictions and racial prejudices will be all the more easily overcome the more speedily the broad masses of the Negro proletariat enter the path of the organised class struggle. There must be no putting off or delaying, or else this work of organisation will take place without us and, consequently against us. The Negroes represent an enormous potential revolutionary force and any disregard of the work of organising the Negroes is really an echo of the ruling classes' influence.

XV. Towards The Trade Union Federation of Latin-America

The endeavour of the United States to obtain possession of all the riches of Latin-America is forcing a profound protest from the working masses of these countries. This protest is all the stronger in that American imperialism acts not only directly but also through its henchmen: the organisation known as the Pan-American Federation of Labor. Anarcho-syndicalism and reformism are the two diseases the Latin-American labor movement suffers from. The growth of social contradictions, the fruitlessness of anarchist tactics, the hopelessness of reformist strategy, the

necessity for rallying to the full all workers in each country as well as the labor movement of the whole of Latin America for the struggle against the common danger, is forcing the trade unions towards the line of revolutionary class struggle, towards unification of their forces for joint action against U. S. imperialism. Hence, the origin of the idea of setting up a Latin-American Trade Union Secretariat. The R. I. L. U. and all its affiliated bodies must render every support to this initial step, realising that every movement towards the unification of the workers of several countries is likely to bring the labor movement of the whole world near to the creation of an all-inclusive international. It goes without saying that the supporters of the R. I. L. U. must do all that lies in their power to prevent this freshly created organisation from remaining aloof from the international trade union movement and that it should, on the contrary, serve as the starting point for bringing the labor movement of Latin-America into the ranks of the struggle against American imperialism and into the struggle of the international proletariat for its emancipation.

In this connection the R. I. L. U. supporters in the United States must in close contact with the Latin American Secretariat, give particular attention to the fight against the attack of U. S. imperialism on the countries of Latin-America by organising a united front of the workers of North and South America against U. S. imperialism and its labor agents in the person of the Pan-American Federation of Labour.

XVI. Struggle for the Single Class T. U. International

In spite of the stubborn unwillingness of the Amsterdam International to take heed of the demands and interests of the masses, the problem of the creation of the single all-inclusive international remains in full force. The greater the number of trade union organisations brought into the struggle for the united international, the more determinedly the international organisations coming into existence (Pan-Pacific Secretariat, Latin-American Secretariat) and the international organs of the united front (Soviet-Norwegian-Finnish agreement, and the Soviet-Swedish and the Soviet-Norwegian industrial committees) fight for unity, the sooner will success be met with in rallying the entire world trade union movement round one centre and in creating a powerful weapon against Capital. Come what may, it is essential to smash the counter-action of the Amsterdamites, to fight for the single international despite all the sabotage of the reformist allies of imperialism. The international proletariat cannot wait till the Amsterdamites want unity. Unity must be gained in the everyday struggle against the employers and their reformist henchmen. The broad working masses must be made to realise what the single international is needed for and in what respects this united international will have to differ from the Amsterdam International. The working class needs the International to organise action on a world scale against the capitalists, in order to help with the joint forces of the international proletariat the struggle of the workers of any country at all, of any particular industry. The working class requires unity in the international trade union movement and therefore all supporters of the R. I. L. U. must line up the masses **without the help of and against** the will of the reformist leaders who are sabotaging unity and continue steadily to work for the erection of a single, militant, working class international of trade unions.

(Concluded Next Month)

A Brief Review of Events

Incidents Treated Elsewhere In This Issue Are Not Mentioned Here

Taxi Drivers Organizing In New York

Protesting against sweatshop conditions, police persecution, discriminating on the streets and in the courts, suspension of licenses, starvation earnings, and the speed-up system, the organization committee of the Taxi Chauffeurs union of Greater New York has announced a unionizing campaign throughout the city.

A chief grievance is the blacklist, maintained by fleet owners in New York. Though such a blacklist is illegal, it exists, and hundreds of names are on it, with more being placed there every day.

Labor Sports In New York

The Second Annual National Athletic Meet for workers under the auspices of the Labor Sports Union of America took place on August 25-26 at Public School Athletic Field, Brooklyn. More than 600 labor athletes were participants, most of them from the East and Middle West. The Second National Convention of the union was opened August 27 at Progressive Hall, 15 West 126th St.

Canton Steel Strike

Hundreds of steel workers in the Central Alloy Steel Corporation, Canton, Ohio, have gone on strike for recognition of their mill committee, six dollars for an eight hour day, and removal of their autocratic superintendent, Mr. Selden. They are working to extend the strike.

Relief To China

The Committee To Aid the Chinese Trade Unions, a national organization of which Robert W. Dunn, author of numerous books, including American Foreign Investments, is secretary, is continuing to collect money through subscription lists and tag days for the persecuted unionists of China.

In the collection in New York Chinatown, August 14, fifteen collectors were pointed out to the police by representatives of Chiang Kai Shek's government, and arrested. They were brought into court and given a suspended sentence.

The address of this committee is Room 314, 96 Fifth Ave., New York.

Munitions Trust Boosts Smith

DuPont Powder Co., whose financial interest in a new world war is obvious, has given \$50,000 to the National Democratic Campaign Fund.

Both Hoover and Smith have formally accepted their nominations in long, meaningless and practically similar speeches. The sole difference seems to be that Smith admits he favors an amendment to the Volstead act, and Hoover says he does not. On this comparative side issue, the election campaign is to be fought.

The Workers Party has placed its ballot in 25 states as this is written, one more than in 1924, and with about as many more to come. Being a new party, it is very difficult procedure in many states to have the names of nominees or electors placed on the ballot.

Say Right Winger Grafting

Samuel Heller, right wing manager of the Grocery Clerks Union, Local 388, New York, an almost fanatical opponent of the left wing is charged by B. Cantor, a Brooklyn grocer, with soliciting a bribe from him to stop picketing by right wing gangsters, in an attempt to force him to join the bosses' association which Heller was assisting to organize. Heller is on \$500 bond.

Seamen's Club Helps French Strike

When the French Line steamer Rochambeau left Le Havre she carried a crew partly made up of sailors from the French navy, ordered on board by the government to replace men striking against bad conditions. When this ship arrived in New York her crew was circularized by members of the International Seamen's Club in New York with a special leaflet against the strike-breaking and with working class literature in French. This resulted in much enthusiasm by the crew against such scab tactics as those used by the French naval command and the ship owners.

Railroad Strike Vote

Hampered by the provisions of the Watson-Parker law, the members of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen are going through the slow process of balloting on the question of authorizing their officials to call a strike on railroads west of Chicago, sometime in September. This balloting, with its abundant warning of the railroad companies follows a still longer period of proceedings under provisions of the Watson-Parker law before mediation committees. The railway men demand increases necessitated by the rising cost of living, of from ten to eighteen per cent in various trades.

Four of the railroads, the Southern Pacific lines, the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific, that is, the main and the longest lines, have consolidated their power against their workers, by what is probably the greatest merger of railroads in history. Hale Holden, president of the C. B. & Q. has just taken over the chairmanship of the Southern Pacific, and the other two roads are similarly linked up.

Why McAndrew Lost

While a number of eastern Liberals were condoling over the framing up and ousting of Chicago Superintendent of Schools Mc Andrew on obviously ridiculous charges of being an agent of the British government preferred against him by Big Bill ("Bookburner") Thompson, Chicago's comic opera mayor, the Chicago Federation of Teachers lifted not a hand to help him. The reason is to be found in McAndrew's speed-up, regimental drill, and union smashing attitude towards the teachers.

Locals 2 and 3, high school teachers, have also just issued a statement declaring McAndrew guilty of professional dishonesty.

He is described as an educational crook framing false evidence to bolster up his pretensions of great achievements under his rule.

"He manufactured proofs of his allegations", teachers assert. "He gave tests to 'large unselected' groups without warning or preparation; then much later he gave the same or similar tests to 'small selected' groups and repeated those tests until the desired results were attained. Publishing the results of these two entirely incomparable tests he claimed that the difference between them indicated the dreadful condition in which he found instruction when he came and the splendid achievement of his administration."

Other crooked statistical dodges were made by this educator who, the teachers charge, was "carefully building up a barrage of false information" while denying them their traditional publicity avenues.

International Labor Notes

MISLEADERS OF LABOR IN CHILE - By M. Malkin

The picture alongside is that of a banquet in Valparaiso, Chile, given by the misleaders of labor of Chile, the officials of the legalized trade unions (yellow reformist leaders) to Mr. William Collier, American Ambassador and therefore representative of Wall Street in the Nitrate state. These brothers of Woll and Green feted Collier, the same Collier who urged and assisted the reactionary Chilean government to use soldiers and "vigilantes" (a kind of Fascist militia) to break up workers' demonstrations for Sacco and Vanzetti a year ago. The death of fourteen workers during the attack on the demonstration is directly due to Collier's influence. Collier also at that time called on the American cruisers in the harbor to land marines and bluejackets to help kill the Chilean workers.

To show their complete class collaborationism and their loyalty to Wall Street, the labor fakers invited to this banquet, besides Mr. Collier, Don Conradorios Gallardo, minister of foreign affairs for Chile's military despotism, to be master of the feast. The Church and foreign ambassadors were also represented.

While this lavish festival, a symbolic drinking of the blood of the workers, was going on, the workers of Chile were slaving for ten or eleven hours a day. Wages are 75 cents a day for good mechanics, and sink to unfathomed depths for unskilled labor. The least attempt by the workers themselves to struggle for better conditions is not only betrayed by the officials of the trade unions shown here hobnobbing with their Wall St. master, but results in all participating being called "Communists" or "Anarchists" by the government, and being killed, imprisoned or exiled to the island hell-holes in accordance with the Chilean law against revolutionary movements.

The workers of Chile are trapped between two empires. American and English battleships or cruisers are in every Chilean port. When the Chilean admiral died, the officers of the British flagship Colombo, with a guard composed of the whole crew, landed and paraded through the city, for the Admiral was a British subject, placed in power in the Chilean armed forces as part of the British imperial scheme.

The real workers' movement is growing, but is still underground. The misleaders of labor who feted Collier do not represent Chilean Labor, they represent the Anaconda Copper Co.

Chinese Revolt Grows

Delayed news from China indicates that the Worker-Peasant revolt sweeps on in Kwantung and Honan provinces, most of the territory in those provinces lying outside the larger cities being now under control of local soviets.

Japanese imperialism continues to clash with both American and Chinese governments, for the Japanese claim a protectorate over Manchuria, and refuse to allow the puppet general dictating there to align himself with the Nationalist or Nanking government, which has practically been recognized by the U. S. State Department.



In the Centro Espanol in Santiago, Ambassador Collier being feted by the so-called "Workmen's Unions" of Chile

The revolt of Buriat or Mongol tribesman in western Manchuria is something of a mystery. The tribes have every reason for wishing to get rid of both Manchurian and Nanking despotisms, but there are some indications that the present uprising was provoked by Japan, as an excuse for more complete intervention.

Hoover Enslaves Liberians

The official report of the Mandate Commission of the League of Nations charges that Herbert Hoover, present Republican candidate for president of the United States, while he was secretary of Commerce plotted and carried out the subjugation and enslavement of the workers and peasants of Liberia. The report points out that the Hoover program in Liberia, through treaties and agreements between the powerful U. S. and the weak and helpless Liberian government, practically confiscates the peasant lands for use as a rubber plantation to be managed by Harvey Firestone, the American rubber magnate, and guarantees forced labor at the wage of 25 cents a day.

Strikes In India

The Bombay mill strike, now in its fourth month, is spreading, the workers of the Choolai mills having just gone out in protest against the double loom system. A strike has started in the shops of the Guaranteed State railways at Hyderabad. The Indian Peninsula Railway may be soon tied up by a great strike in the Bombay area. On August 21, the Tata plant steel workers at Calcutta struck, to enforce reinstatement of men discharged for organization and agitational work.

EDITORIAL

The recent decisions of the workers in the needle trades, textile mills, and coal mines to cut loose from their treacherous union bureaucracies and formally enroll themselves in new unions under their own control has filled the A. F. L. higher officialdom with im-
Woll And The
New Unions

potent wrath. Mr. Matthew Woll, vice-president of the A. F. L. and chief collaborator of the bosses, betrayer of the workers and most active in the drive against the rank and file, has rushed into print with an appeal to employers not to recognize such workers' unions, which he alleges are created by a "shipload of money from Moscow". He gives no reasons why workers should not have their own unions, makes no offer to the workers to organize the unorganized, merely holds fast to what he seems to think is the vested interest of the union misleaders to continue to control, and sell out, the interests of the workers.

Woll offers no evidence of the arrival of the shipload of gold aside from the fact that according to him quite suddenly, four new unions have appeared. He conveniently forgets the history of his treachery. These unions are not just dual organizations appearing out of thin air. They are the final result of a long fight by the workers in the old unions to take over those unions for their own use, and oust corrupt gangs of officials who maintained power with the support of the bosses. By the time that the vast majority of workers in the old organizations had mobilised around the left wing, in many cases had been formally expelled by the bureaucracies in the old unions, it was also time to disregard the continued claims of the bureaucrats to control the organization, to form new unions and to go on without traitors. The chief difficulty is not the presence of money but the lack of funds. For the further discomfort of Mr. Woll and his employers, it may be said that he can expect still more of these new unions. Such industries as are not organized: rubber, automobiles, and meat packing will not remain unorganized merely because some skeleton "unions" just large enough to pay salaries to their officials claim "jurisdiction" over them. Great organization campaigns must be launched under the banner of new unions, since the hog-tied and boss-controlled old unions will not move to organize. In the opinion of the Fourth Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions, of which the Trade Union Educational League was a part, the left wing in America has delayed this work too long already, out of deference to a dislike to seem to create dual unions.

And for Mr. Woll's information, we point out an error in his statement. He declares that this "new policy" of new unions, will clarify the issue, from his point of view, by placing the left wing outside of the existing unions, where the bosses can "refuse to recognize it". Mr. Woll will discover that in unions which have a considerable membership, not yet aware of the betrayal committed on them by the Woll type of official, the left wing, and the Trade Union Educational League, will work on as before, to educate the members within the old unions and to win the unions for the members. Whether, when the masses of the membership in the carpenters' union, for example or the printing pressmen's union, or the iron workers, shall have rallied against their corrupt officials, those members will be forced to follow the course of the members of the United Mine Workers, International Ladies Garment Workers, and others and go through the form of organizing themselves into a new union, will depend on circumstances at that time, and is a detail which can be left until later.

As a result of an invitation from the Norwegian Trade Union Congress which met last December, to the Finnish and Union of Socialist Soviet Republics trade union centers to convene an international congress in Berlin for the establishment of a united single world wide international of trade unions these two centers accepted, and an appeal was directed by the Finnish and Norwegian trade union centers to the (Amsterdam) International Federation of Trade Unions to participate in such a congress.

International
Unity Betrayed

After a long delay, the Amsterdam international, following a meeting of its central committee, made reply—which as indicates the growing influence there of the "Americanization" group and its policy of division amongst the workers and collaboration with the employers. Amsterdam's reply refuses to recognize the right to existence of the Red International of Trade Unions or any of its members, and merely invites the Norwegian trade union movement, which at present does not belong to any international, to join Amsterdam. Such an answer is more than a reply, it is a self exposure of the reactionary role of the reformist union leaders at Amsterdam.

The ghastly wreck of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company train at Times Square, New York, August 24, brings to the fore again the conditions of workers on the New York subway lines. The city administration (Tammany Hall) and the I. R. T. have again showed themselves united by agreeing that the guilt for a defective switch should be laid on the shoulders of a track foreman, an I. R. T. employee.

Real Lesson
Of The Wreck

However, the tower switchman is also "suspected" and the cursory investigation already made has exposed the fact that trains loaded with anywhere from one to two thousand workers coming from or going to their jobs could be wrecked at any time by a slight mistake in pulling levers in the tower. One employee states that the fatal lever might have been thrown accidentally, by some one in the tower "brushing against it".

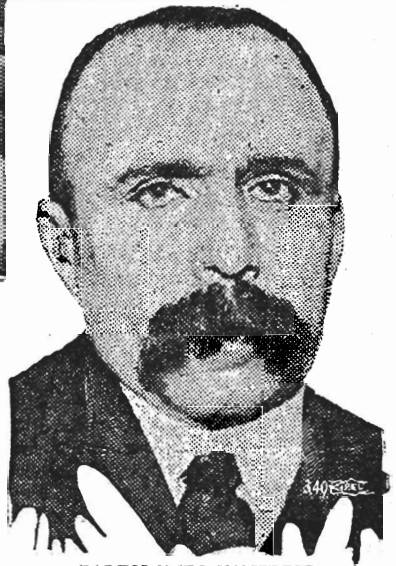
That such a condition could exist as a regular matter of routine shows how much more important to the company their profits are, than the safety of those who ride their trains. Plenty of safety devices have been invented to make such wrecks unnecessary. While this antiquated equipment is still in use, it would seem that at least railway employees in charge of it should be highly paid men, working short hours, under conditions that permit them to be cautious and attentive and careful.

The company's policy has been, there is abundant evidence to show, just the opposite of what common decency requires. It has beat out of existence the workers' organizations, as a preliminary to the longest day in any transportation industry, and the lowest wages. Furthermore a severe injunction to keep the trains on time, coupled with an ubiquitous spy system, compels the semi-starved, harrassed and overworked worker to take chances with his life and the lives of his passengers that no man would wish to take of his own free will.

The Times Square Wreck has done more than to kill eighteen passengers and wound a hundred more. It has proved to all that a union of traction workers in this system will change such conditions. Tammany has already indicated that it will do nothing.



NICOLA SACCO



BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI

On August 23, anniversary of the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti a series of enormous meetings throughout the United States began. Above picture shows meeting during rain in Union Square, New York.

Abroad, strikes and meetings commemorated the martyrdom of these two workers, in Riga, Latvia, where 400 went to jail and there was fighting between police and workers, and at Rosario, Argentina, where the city's industry was tied up. A great mass meeting in Berlin was protected by Red Front Fighters from interference by fascist organizations.

LABOR UNITY

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Have You Forgotten Mooney and Billings?

By HENRY GEORGE WEISS

HAVE you forgotten them?

FORGOTTEN how for twelve long weary years they've lain behind bars for you and yours.

HAVE you forgotten the bitter days of struggle when the magnates said, By God, Tom Mooney shall die, when the Traction Interests said, By God Tom Mooney shall hang?

HAVE you forgotten?—forgotten the marked wall, the terrorized witnesses, the perjured testimony, the company detectives, the lying prostitutes?

HAVE you forgotten the stretching rope looped for a throbbing neck?

HAVE you forgotten the blackened beam, the yawning trap, the hideous death those foul monsters of greed had ordained for a man who would not cringe, for a labor leader who would not sell, for an organizer who would not swerve?

HAVE YOU FORGOTTEN?

FORGOTTEN Billings rotting his young life away in Folsom, "doing it all" because some plutocratic knaves wanted a bigger profit, because thieves and harlots would speak for a price, because some rascals in the guise of labor leaders were at the service of gold!

HAVE you forgotten the smug fat bosses?

O there have been lean slimy rats stealing from putrifying sewers; fat, waddling rats feeding on the dead bodies of shattered men dying to make more millionaires; long, evil rats tearing the flesh of wounded men with gleaming, razor-like teeth;—O there have been millions of rats that gnaw bones, wallow in garbage, and breed in filth; but never have there been more loathsome rats, never have there been more noisome rats, never have there been more SLIMY rats than those smug, fat bosses who conspired to send Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings to the gallows.

LISTEN, Labor, twelve long weary years! Are the keys never to turn, the prison doors never to open, the victims never to go free?

SPEAK!— Have you forgotten them?