

*Liberty*

# LABOR UNITY

DECEMBER, 1928

PRICE 20c

An Illustrated  
**LABOR**  
MONTHLY  
MAGAZINE

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A Proletarian Christmas

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A Proletarian Christmas



## In the Next Issue of Labor Unity

WM. Z. FOSTER

Will Write A Complete Analysis

Of The A. F. of L. Convention

**WILLIAM Z. FOSTER**  
National Secretary of the Trade  
Union Educational League

Since the Forty-eighth American Federation of Labor Convention at New Orleans is being opened a day after we have to place the December issue of Labor Unity on the press, it is not possible in this number to print much about it. The January issue of Labor Unity, will, however, contain an article by Wm. Z. Foster, National Secretary of the Trade Union Educational League, on the A. F. of L. Convention, thoroughly analyzing its composition and the results of its activities, and inactivities, the effect of its policies on labor movement.

*Send in at once for special bundle orders for distribution.*

## LABOR UNITY

Official Organ of the  
**TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE**  
AMERICAN SECTION OF THE RED INTERNATIONAL  
OF LABOR UNIONS.

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# ONE NEEDLE TRADES UNION

**T**WO conventions, one of the cloak and dressmakers and the other of the furriers, are to open in New York City on December 28 and 29 respectively. They are expected to culminate a few days later in the establishment, not of two, but of one new left-wing union in the needle trades' industry. The calls for these conventions have been issued by the National Organization Committee of the cloak and dressmakers and by the Furriers National Committee. Energetic preparatory work has been carried on in all the centers of the needle trades' industry and there is every indication that the masses are rallying to the support of this movement.

This action of the militant needle trades' workers comes after years of struggle between various left-wing elements and a "Socialist" leadership which was ever growing more and more reactionary and becoming more and more an open tool of the bosses. After 1922 this struggle took on a clearer and sharper form with the organization of the needle trades' section of the Trade Union Educational League and the adoption

of its program by the needle trades' left wing for amalgamation, a shop delegate form of organization, and a class struggle policy against the bosses. The great mass of the membership of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and of the International Fur Workers Union quickly rallied to this new aggressive and well organized left wing because of its program and because of the fact that in every struggle it was they who developed the program and furnished the militant strike leadership.

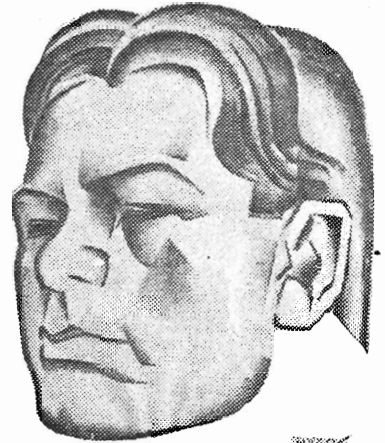
## Left Wing Expelled

The reactionary leadership of these old unions, supported by the equally reactionary leadership of the Socialist Party and by the Jewish Daily Forward, driven to desperation by the constantly growing strength of the forces supporting the T. U. E. L.,

adopted policies of ever more open collaboration with the employers, the police, and the corrupt, reactionary officials of the A. F. of L. Left wing supporters were expelled from the unions by the hundreds. Gangster rule became the law in the unions as well as in the shops. The officials were ready to destroy the unions rather than permit the union membership to turn the leadership over to the left wing forces.

These attacks did not stop, but on the contrary stimulated, the growth of the left wing. Left wing members permitted neither expulsions, gangsterism, nor the police to turn them away from their course. In the shops and on the picket lines they took the lead in the struggles for higher wages, shorter hours and improved working conditions. In the unions they fought sharply against the ever more open be-

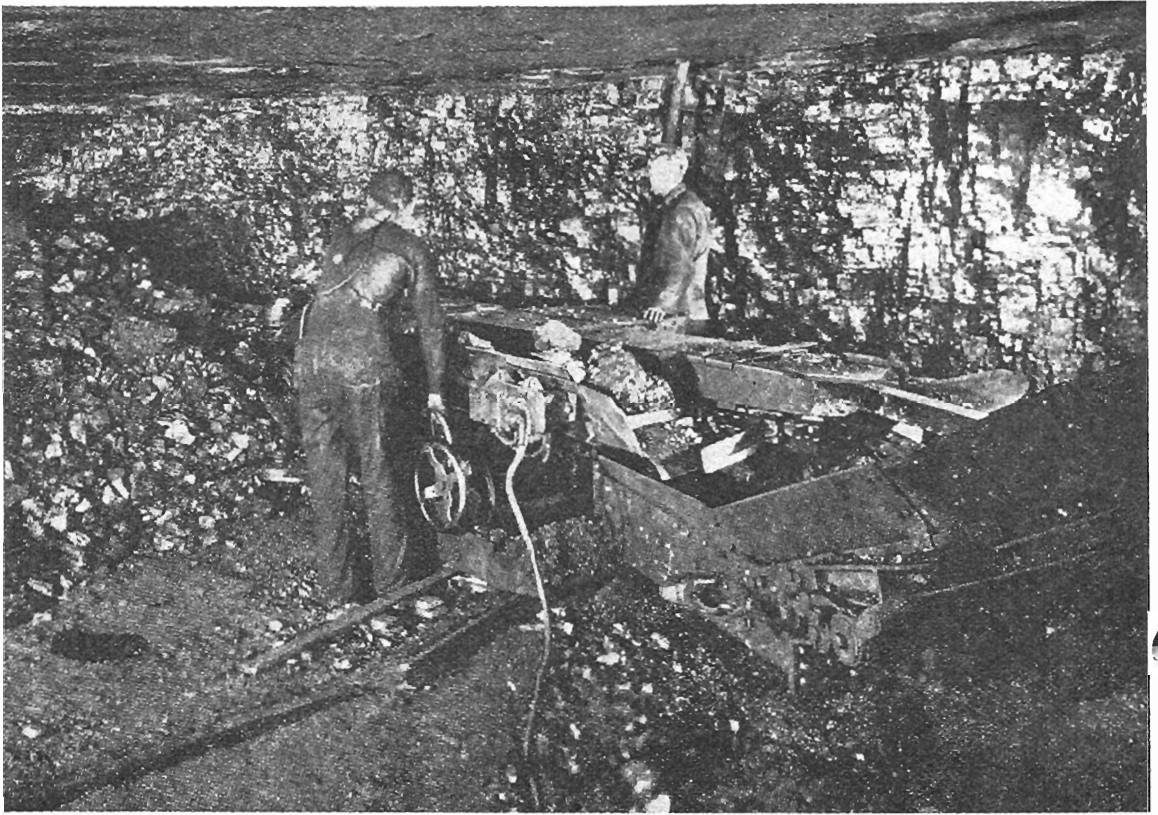
(Continued on Page 27)



**BEN GOLD**  
Leader of left wing furriers, one of the organizers of the Needle Trades Union.



Mass picketing by Left Wing Needle Trades' workers during the recent big strike in New York City



LOADING MACHINE WORKING AT THE FACE OF THE COAL

The National Miners' Union Will Insist That Adjustments in wage scales and working hours be made to take care of men thrown out of work by machines.

## National Miners Union Moves West

By FREEMAN THOMPSON

(National Executive Board Member of National Miners Union)

**W**YOMING is one of the most recent of the battlefields, and every district of the old United Mine Workers of America is now a battlefield, where the Lewis forces have openly united with the employers to try and enforce wage cuts upon the miners. The Wyoming miners have just fought and defeated a Lewis-operator proposition for a wage cut, passed a referendum vote of two to one against it, and now find the old union officials and the companies disregarding their vote, and preparing to take another referendum with undoubtedly more provisions this time for miscounting the ballots.

Of course Wyoming is only one of the long list of districts where the U. M. W. A. serves as a wage cutting machine. Ohio and Pennsylvania are the last of another series of districts in which, during the last seven years, the U. M. W. A. has been destroyed altogether. It is now a terrible sight to see the few remaining districts in full retreat led by the

coal operators' lieutenants, Lewis and his officials with the coal operators themselves bringing up the rear like a pack of hounds chasing a rabbit. Chaos reigns everywhere, there is not a single sign of uniformity or unity left in the entire field, for the organized mob of the Lewis gangsters and officials conducts a reign of terror against the members of their own union, to reduce them to helplessness, and sell them over and over again for the checkoff that will go to pay official salaries.

### History of Treachery

Let us review briefly the events surrounding the wage scale and the expiration of the contracts in the few remaining districts of the U. M. W. A. Through the activities of the Lewis machine the Anthracite is completely split off from the bituminous fields. The Anthracite expires Sept. 1, 1930. The only promising thing in that agreement is that Lewis does not get a checkoff out of it, and I predict that every con-

cession necessary will be made by the Lewis administration there, if they are still there in 1930, to get a check off.\*

With a few hundreds left out of their former 45,000 members in Ohio, the Lewis-Hall-coal operators outfit has put over the 1917 wage scale, after first completely wrecking the union there. They have a five dollar a day agreement expiring April 1, 1930.

Adjoining is Indiana, torn with dissension and unemployment, the "co-operative mining question", the maximum wage of \$6.10 and with an agreement expiring April 1, 1930.

The most important remaining district of the U. M. W. A. is Illinois. At present Illinois is working under the stolen agreement which provides for \$6.10 a day, with the speed up system which grinds on, and throws onto the scrap heap thousands and thousands of workers who can never return to the industry.

**Another Kind of Machine**

Mechanical loading devices have just invaded the field, such devices as conveyors, loading machines, entry drivers, etc., and these are mercilessly and swiftly doing the work. Men operating the loaders in conjunction with those running the coal cutters and electric drills are taking from the solid as many as 47 tons per man for eight hours and putting it right in the cars to go to the outside. The entry driving machine operated by two men takes the solid from 35 to 60 feet of yardage every shift.

At the head of the Lewis gang in Illinois is a man who is the most servile tool of the bosses that has ever been seen here, barring none, not even Frank Farrington, that Benedict Arnold of labor who took a \$25,000 a year bribe from the coal operators to betray his fellow members in the union. That man Harry Fishwick, Farrington's accomplice in so many crooked deals that finally the operator Peabody who is paying Farrington the \$25,000, exposed his actions, placed Farrington openly on the company payroll, and let the understudy, Fishwick, run the union for him. At present Peabody dictates to Far-

\* For other aspects of the Anthracite situation, see article in this issue, Page 4.



COMPANY MONEY, used in the Frick mines in the Cannelville Coal Region.

rington, and Farrington as always before, tells Fishwick what to do, and the good work goes merrily on. Any opposition leads to disciplinary action by the Fishwick administration. Even local unions that seek to have the work evenly divided among their membership get their charters revoked for it. Local strikes are raging all over the state. The agreement Fishwick made with the operators expires April 1, 1932.

What is left to the old union in Kansas and the South-west is signed up with a five dollar a day wage in an agreement to last until April 1, 1931.

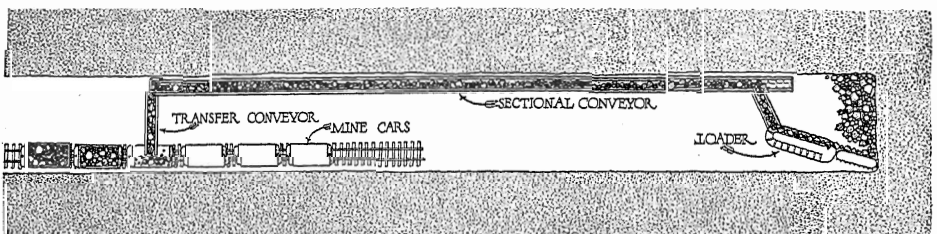
And the proposed agreement in Wyoming was for a \$6.72 wage scale, and was to expire July 1, 1932. Everywhere different wages, and different expiration periods; no more unity possible, no united strike, each district in a position to be cut down unmercifully whenever the operators want to smash the union there, or reduce the wages some more. The case of the miners is hopeless, if they stay with Lewis' union.

**Smash Union, Cut Wages**

With a steady hand, the coal operators, assisted by Mr. Lewis, have wrought wreckage and ruin to the once powerful U. M. W. A. In the early career of the machine Districts 18 and 26 were wrecked, both located on Canadian soil, then came Kansas, Washington, Colorado, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Texas, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, West Virginia, Maryland, and their latest nefarious attack, completely destroying their union in Pennsylvania

(Continued on Page 28)

Diagram Showing How Coal Loading Machinery works, displacing men who formerly moved loaded cars and moved coal to the cars.



# Pittston Miners Strike Again

By JACK LEE



ANTHONY MINERICH  
Member National Executive Com-  
mittee of National Miner's Union  
Now in Anthracite.

After the article below was written, McGarry appeared before a mass meeting of 3,000 Pittston strikers at Browntown, Nov. 19, and openly advised them to go back to work and lose their strike. McGarry denied the floor to Anthony Minerich, National Executive Board Member of the National Miners Union, but Minerich got the floor, nevertheless by the unanimous demand of the miners there, and denounced both the Lewis union and McGarry's misleadership, advising the strikers to stand firm. At the end of his stirring speech the strikers overwhelmingly repudiated McGarry, and declared for continuing the strike under leadership of their strike committee, organized by Minerich.—Editor.

**T**HE militant miners of Pittston, in the anthracite region of eastern Pennsylvania, are out on strike against the contractor system. The contractor system in these fields is a plan by which certain petty bosses, hired other miners and made a profit on them. These contractors stand between the masses of the men and the companies. In the past, and still in the Lewis union, these contractors were union members, and dominate the union policy. They were the strength of the old Lewis administration in District 1, the Anthracite, that of Cappellini, they are the strength of the new Lewis administration of John Boylan, placed in power after Cappellini had completely discredited himself, and it was during the struggle of the rank and file of the miners at Pittston against the contractor system that their leaders Lillis, Campbell, Harris were assassinated by Lewis gangsters during the winter and spring of this year. Campbell was president of Pittston local of the United Mine Workers of America, elected before the formation of the new union, by the progressive forces there.

## Misleaders Arise

The present form of organization of the strikers in Pittston is that of the "Anthracite Mine Workers of Pennsylvania", a local independent union, under the domination of Frank McGarry, who is the sort of a leader who seems to believe in frequent votes as to whether the strike should be called off, strict subservience to the dictation of the local mayor and police, incorporation of his union, high salaries for officials, and sectarianism, though many of the members of the union want to unite with their brother miners of the soft coal region in the National Miners Union.

Even with this equivocal leadership the miners of this vicinity are fighting hard. At mass meeting held in a little village called Browntown, outside of Pittston, thousands of miners voted unanimously eight times during the same meeting, against going back

to work except on their own terms, the most important of which is abolition of the contractor system.

The Pennsylvania Coal Co., whose three mines Numbers 5, 6, and 14 are the center of controversy in Pittston, is defending its contractor policy. Mayor Gillespie, of Pittston, a coal company official pure and simple, and the local judges, have combined to prohibit meetings in Pittston. The mayor issued a statement to the press, in answer to the demand made by the American Civil Liberties Union that meetings be allowed, announcing that he "accepted the challenge of the Civil Liberties" and free speech or not, no strikers' meetings would be allowed in Pittston. Also a flood of usual slanders against strikers.

Since this prohibition of meetings in Pittston, the miners have been meeting outside of the town. Now the state troopers are breaking up these meetings, and along with it goes a campaign of arrests and convictions... and murder.

## One Day's History

For example, here is what happened on Nov. 14. In the morning the police went up and down the streets of the town telling miners to stay in their houses, or they would be clubbed. Those who came out were clubbed. In the afternoon was the trial of Sam Licata, accused by a mine foreman of having spit in the foreman's face. He had had a preliminary hearing before Mayor Gillespie, who refused to let more than one defense witness out of a dozen testify, on the rather unique grounds that "it is no use to hear them, they will all say the same thing anyway". Licata was bound over on a thousand dollars bail and five hundred dollars peace bond.

The International Labor Defense got a lawyer and filed habeas corpus proceedings to force a hearing before a judge. The trial was turned into a meeting in which the judge lectured the miners on obeying the law. "If a man hits you with a blackjack", said he "have him arrested."

"What if the state police club me, for nothing?" said one of the miners in the audience.

"Well, you have a lawyer there who went to school with me", said the judge, "let him advise you."

Licata's fate was to be again remanded on a thousand dollars bond. That was in the afternoon. About 7:30 in the evening, 5,000 more walked up the road over which Campbell and Riley rode to their death and came to a little schoolhouse outside of the town to hold a meeting. The news passed around that a few minutes before the meeting opened, two pickets were shot down by a Lewis-Boylan scab working in the mines. A scab called Joe "Greeny" was beating up a picket, the father of Jacob and Mike Loyack, 21 and 23 years old, respectively and they came to his assistance. Another scab in ambush near by then shot John through the abdomen. He died a few hours later. The murderer also shot Mike in the thigh, he is in a hospital.

The McGarry leadership, neither then at the mass meeting, nor later made many attempts to rally the miners to militant defense, or effectively to protest against this latest of the many Pittston murders. At this particular meeting McGarry announced that the session must be cut short because the state police were going to break it up, and then spoke especially to the miners of No. 9, saying, "Boys, you can't win without me, and I can't win without you". It is evident that the No. 9 bunch were not any too enthusiastic about McGarry leadership.

Later while Sam Licata was speaking, the state troopers, ten of them in a truck, descended upon the meeting, shouting "Break it Up!" The meeting dispersed.

### Miners Solid; McGarry Hollow

It is obvious that there is good sentiment for winning this strike, and that the killings have not intimidated the miners of Pittston. But it is also certain that the McGarry misleadership, cowardice, and eagerness to collaborate with the company and the mayor will not help any in winning the strike.

For example, several days ago Anthony Minerich, National Executive Board Member of the National Miners Union, now in the Anthracite, secured a promise from the American Civil Liberties Union that they would defend the right to public assemblage and free speech in Pittston. The miners demanded of McGarry that he co-operate with Minerich in holding meetings. McGarry had a conference with the sheriff, and Minerich demanded to come in. The sheriff refused to admit him; the conference consisted of McGarry, the sheriff, and a certain Captain Rogers of the state police. After it broke up, the sheriff and the captain saw representatives of the coal company. The next morning word spread around that McGarry said the best thing to do would be to go back to work. At eleven o'clock Minerich saw McGarry coming out of the court house, where the conference with the sheriff had been held the night before. At two o'clock in the afternoon the

meeting was held, at Brownsville. The sheriff spoke, counseling "order" and moderation. Next Harris, McGarry's lieutenant, opened his speech by putting the question of going back to work to a vote. It was voted down. Harris spoke a few minutes in a pessimistic vein, and again put the same vote. Again it was voted down. No less than eight separate votes on going back to work were taken, while the McGarry gang spoke to the crowd. Every time miners insisted on continuing the strike.

### Minerich Speaks Up

Minerich seized the floor because of the demand among the miners that he be heard, and against McGarry's will. He attacked Lewis, Gillespie, and the coal companies, declared that the National Miners Union was in solidarity with the strikers, and he would have gone on, with further arguments, had not the McGarry officials cut down his time. Minerich ended, saying: "They won't let me speak any more", and afterwards the miners gathered in groups, saying, "What the hell's the matter? Isn't this just the sort of thing we wanted to hear from the soft coal miners? Why did they stop him?"

This in general is the situation. The miners will not follow Lewis. Shady leaders, with doubtful policies have created a certain local following, and are forced by the militancy of the miners to lead strikes. They lead them badly, cowardly. Thus the McGarry group never set up a strike committee in Pittston. The first thing that Minerich, representing the National Miners Union, did, when in contact with the situation, was to organize a strike committee of fifty from among the militant rank and file. The strike committee was divided into sub-committees in charge of picketing, relief, defense, etc.

Seventy-eight McGarry-Harris-Brennan local unions, that is those which sent delegates to the special convention at Scranton in May, have cut loose from his organization, and call themselves "neutral" at present. Only two locals are still with McGarry. Lewis organizers are trying to force the check-off through in such places as Silverbrook, where they make arrangements with the companies that miners who do not carry U. M. W. A. badges will not be allowed to work. They also try to drive out the officials of independent locals through mandamus proceedings and injunctions in the courts.

In this chaos the National Miners Union comes with a clear cut program of union on a national scale, no half-hearted leadership by the McGarry's and their sort, no truckling to the Lewis-Boylan-operator combine. The N. M. U. invites the militant miners of the Anthracite to aid in a real struggle to win organization, freedom from contractors, and improved wage rates and working conditions.



# THE CREW OF THE VESTRIS

By N. SPARKS

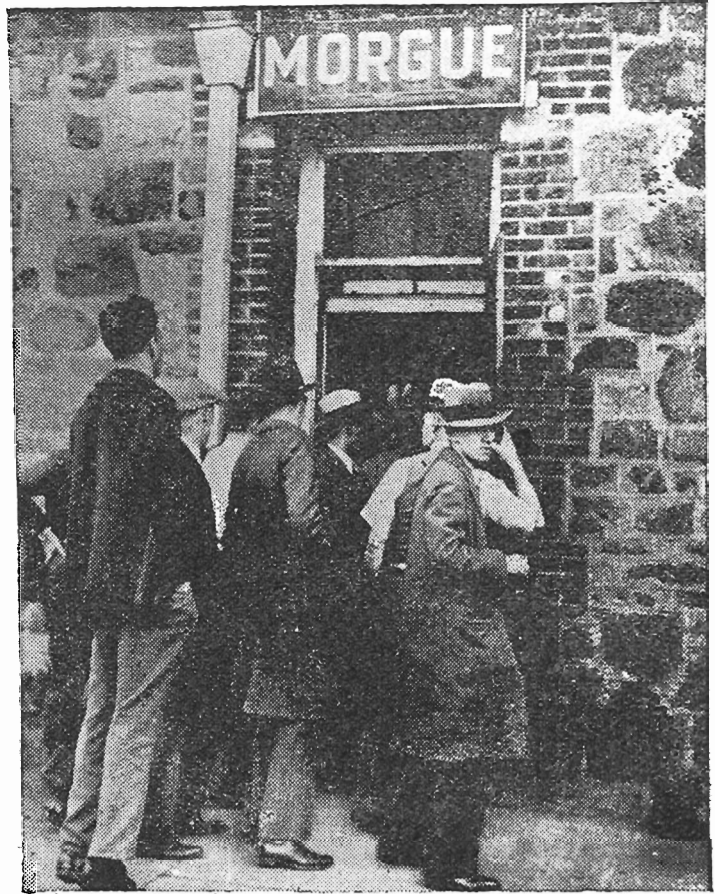
**I**N the millions of words that have been printed about the *Vestris* catastrophe in the regular newspapers, scant space has been given to the seamen's point of view. In general the attitude of the upper classes has been that the survivors of the crew owe "the public" distinct apologies for being alive—that "the best traditions of the sea" have been disgracefully flouted by the fact that a fair proportion of the crew refused to get drowned for their \$30 or \$40 a month.

Unclearly, members of the crew have struggled against this attitude of their employers and "superiors". They have protested vigorously that they did everything possible to save the victims of the disaster. But no exertions of theirs were capable of averting the natural consequences of the murderous negligence and greed of the steamship company.

Not just negligence on a single point, though that alone would be sufficiently unjustifiable in the face of the dangers of the sea, but a calculated policy carried out in point after point, of gambling lives against dollars, is the record of the Lamport & Holt Line leading up to the needless loss of over 100 men, women and children.

Why was there so much delay in sending out the S. O. S.? All are agreed that the S. O. S. should have been sent out at least 12 to 24 hours earlier in which case not a single life need have been lost. Every sailor knows the reason for the delay. In the words of Edmund Burgess, in charge of the Brooklyn Station of the Radio Marine Corporation.

"Captain Carey had to think of his owners. There is not a ship commander alive who would send an S O S so long as there was a possible chance of avoiding abandonment of the ship. If he sent the distress call under any but the most urgent conditions he would never be able to get another berth. Besides the payment of salvage fees, any passenger line objects to the adverse publicity it receives by having a distress signal sent from any of its ships unless it is absolutely necessary."—(N. Y. Times, Nov. 16).



THE STATEN ISLAND MORGUE

Crowds waiting to identify relatives and friends picked up from the *Vestris* wreckage. Over one hundred lost their lives due to the criminal policies of the Lamport and Holt Line and of the United States Government inspectors.

There can be no doubt furthermore from the testimony developed that the Lamport & Holt Co., sent radios to the captain instructing him to wait specifically for the *Voltaire*—another ship of the same line—in order to save the salvage fees that would be incurred of the *Vestris* was saved by an outsider.

Here is the answer in a nutshell. Captain Carey was a good captain for his masters. He waited with his S O S until the last possible moment—and even longer. He followed the orders of his company and did not let the danger to life make him forget his sound business principles.

The *Vestris* was unseaworthy! No one can dare to deny, in the face of the detailed accounts, that the vessel went to sea with a coal port that would not close, with a half a dozen other leaks, with boats that were rotten, leaky and insufficiently equipped, with

davits that were rusted—and all this immediately after a government inspection.

What does a Government inspection amount to? The writer has been present at more than one steamship inspection and can bear witness to the fact that these functions are conducted more or less in the spirit of a family affair between the government inspectors and the officials of the company. Handshakes, funny stories, a couple of drinks, previous contacts between the inspectors and the company—all serves to create an atmosphere which prevents the inspectors from being too hardboiled. Rather than carry thru the whole laborious procedure of a detailed examination of every part of the ship and its equipment, it is usual merely to look at a couple of things in detail and take the word of the officers and engineers for the rest.

The outstanding development since the disaster has been the attempt to sidetrack the criminality of the company and put the blame for the loss of life on the crew. To answer this dastardly attack, and to give the seamen a chance to express their own view, a meeting was called by the Marine Workers Progressive League at their headquarters in the International Seamen's Club, 28 South St., New York City. Hundreds of seamen attended, including several members of the crew of the Vestris and of the rescue ship "American Shipper." One and all, the assembled seamen denounced the criminality of the company and proclaimed their determination to stand by the heroic crew of the Vestris. The hall rang with applause as a member of the American Shipper crew clasped hands with a man from the Vestris. Hundreds of hands were raised when the chairman asked how many men have sailed on ships that they knew to be unseaworthy. Several seamen, including two of the Vestris crew, joined the Marine Workers Progressive League. The sentiment of the seamen is summed up in the following resolution which was unanimously adopted:

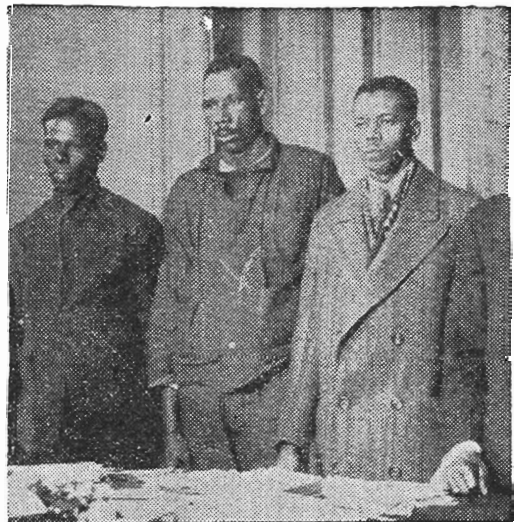
#### Seamen Register Protest

"Five hundred seamen, assembled in mass meeting under the auspices of the Marine Workers Progressive League, protest emphatically against the utter disregard for human life amounting to murder, shown by the profit-grabbing Lamport and Holt Line in the Vestris disaster. We place the responsibility for the disaster upon the steamship company and upon the government inspectors who were supposed to have inspected the ship before its departure. The wilful

delay in sending out the S O S until too late in order to save salvage fees, the unseaworthy condition of the ship, the fact that it was allowed to sail with a coal port that would not close, the rotten and insufficient equipped lifeboats, the captain's complete mismanagement of the abandoning of the ship, the testimony of the passengers and the crew, the withholding of the radio messages exchanged between the steamship company and the captain—all bears witness to the fact that the guilt for this murder of over one hundred men, women and children lies at the door of the profit-hungry steamship company.

"We protest against the dastardly attempt by the company and the press to place the chief blame for the loss of life upon the crew, especially upon the Negro members. We declare that the crew acted like heroes and did all they could to save the lives of others. We condemn the cowardly attitude of the officials of the N. Y. Central Trade and Labor Council in blaming the men instead of the company.

"This meeting declares that the only way in which such disasters can be prevented in the future is by the organized strength of the seamen, exerted thru a militant union. Only thru organization will the seamen be able to improve their conditions and have control over their own lives. The Marine Workers Progressive League is laying the basis for such a union. The Marine Workers Progressive League calls upon all seamen: "Organize against coffin-ships! Join the Marine Workers Progressive League!"



THREE NEGRO MEMBERS OF THE VESTRIS' CREW



C. EVANGELISTA  
Member of Printers' Union, well known labor leader. Delegate to Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat

## Pan Pacific Trade Union Congress Meets In Vladivostok In August

After this article was written and as we were about to go to press, the official call for the Pan Pacific Trade Union Congress was received. This call will be published in full in our January number.—EDITOR.



DOMINICO PONCE  
who signs the call for the Filipino Labor Congress.

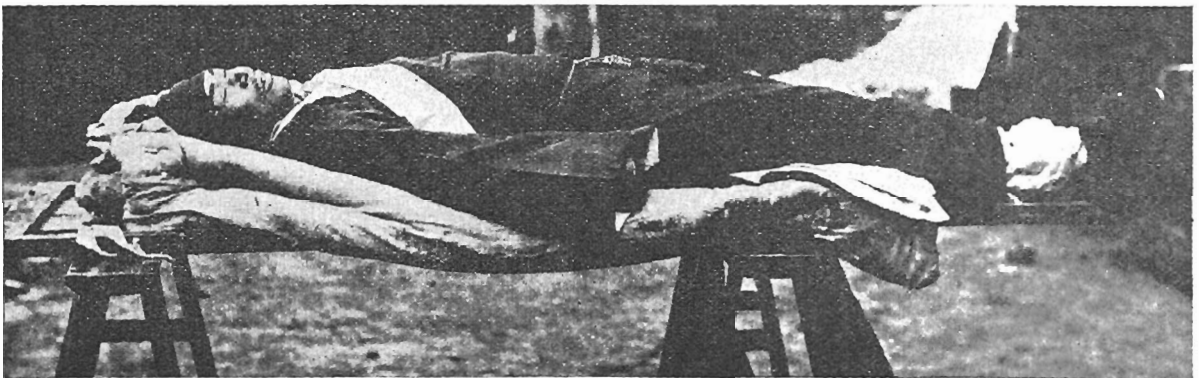
**T**HE Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat meeting, October 27th and 28th, decided to issue a call for the congress next year in August and fixed on Vladivostok as the place. The agenda is to include: (1) **The Struggle Against War**; (2) **Colonial Independence and The Role of Worker-peasant Organizations**; (3) **International Trade Union Unity**; (4) **Immigration**; (5) **Program of Action**. This call for the convention is signed by the following members of the P.P.T.U. Secretariat: Lo Chao-lung and Chu Pin-kun of the Chinese Trade Unions; Domingo Ponce and Jacinto Manahan of the Filipino trade unions; Shimasaki and Tokuyama of the Japanese trade unions; Briskin of the unions of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics; and Earl Browder of the Trade Union Educational League, U.S.A., and secretary of the Pan Pacific Trade Union Congress.

The Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat is the permanent body set up by the Pan Pacific Trade Union Congress, held in Hankow, May, 1927, and attended by representatives of trade unions bordering on the Pacific Ocean. The Filipino Labor Congress

(80,000 members) and the New Zealand trade unions were not officially represented at the Congress but have since affiliated with the P.P.T.U.S. Australian delegates were barred from attending the Congress by their government, which refused them passports but the Australian Council of Trade Unions has affiliated with the Secretariat, and the second congress was to have been held on its invitation in Australia, March, 1929. The Australian government definitely prohibited the congress threatening to prevent delegates from landing, to arrest them if they did land, and to break up the meetings.

### Big Unions Back P.P.T.U.S.

The meeting of the secretariat which declared for a congress in the spring of 1929 was held in Shanghai, Feb. 3-6, 1928, and was attended by representatives of the following unions and trade union centers: Australian Council of Trade Unions (500,000 members), Congreso Obrero de Filipinas (81,000 members), Nippon Rodo Kuami Hyogikai and the Toitō Domei (about 80,000 workers in Japan), Far Eastern



LI SAO-TANG, a ricksha-coolie, shot to death by foreign marines in the April 3 incident at Hankow. The Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat fights imperialism.

# For a Real Fight on Imperialism

By HARRISON GEORGE

**T**HE expansion of United States imperialism, particularly to the south, engulfing all Latin America with its influence, corrupting or smashing with brute force when necessary the governments of Central America, the Antilles and South America, its armed forces massacring ruthlessly the workers and peasants who resist, as in Nicaragua, places before the revolutionary trade unionists of the United States who adhere to the Trade Union Educational League, definite tasks in defense of their own interests as well as those of the Latin-American workers.

We must be continually on guard here in the United States against that tendency originating in the imperialist bourgeoisie, which allows the working class in the imperialist countries to fall into an apathetic and passive attitude toward joint actions of ourselves and the workers and peasants of Latin-America against our imperialists.

There is a tendency for which we have been criticized that leads us to accept the struggle against imperialism as something we approve of but do not carry out; that tends to limit our opposition to imperialism to a literary struggle, to manifestos, declarations and statements. Obviously, this is not enough; and it tends to justify another tendency in Latin-American countries which holds that the whole working class of the United States is corrupted and bribed by imperialism, is useless as an ally in real fighting, and that the elements which are to be sought as allies are such bourgeois liberals and demagogues as the school led by Senator Borah.

## All One Struggle

Neither should our opposition to imperialism be founded on the idea that the Latin-American workers and peasants are deserving of our patronage as noble beings whose sufferings pain our humanitarian hearts, and therefore we are bound to shed a few tears over them as an interlude to "our own" more important affairs. This is a Phillistine sentimentalism whose political basis is reformism.

Our mass demonstrations, to be effective, must be a demonstration of power, of masses imbued with class feeling, not merely before masses of idle individuals imbued with curiosity, but with participating masses ready to fight for the slogan under which they march. A demonstration is potentially an approach to physical conflict with the forces of the ruling class, something which surely should not be under-

taken by individuals or even a small group of individuals. At times, of course, the propaganda of a small group's demonstration is not without value; but we must not forget that the historic period of propaganda alone is passed with the beginning of the imperialist epoch in which organization and action of a mass nature is the all-important thing. We must have masses, organized and conscious of the issue, and if we haven't got them, then we must win them, not by commanding them to stand forth, but by working with them and for them in their daily, visible interests, in their shops and trade unions. Everything, finally, goes back to that as the basis of our activities.

We must understand, clearly and act unequivocally, on the fact that "our own" struggles are only a part of one greater struggle involving the exploited classes of Latin-America in defense of the common daily, material interests of the toilers of both North and South.

The fact must be forcefully brought home to us, and realities will awaken us if we remain unaware, that there are a number of Latin-American workers, estimated at 4,000,000, within the United States itself, underpaid, overworked and almost totally unorganized, and as long as we allow them to remain so it is our fault if they are used against native-born and other foreign-born workers in wage struggles. Most of these Latins are immigrants from Mexico.

Again, can it be denied that "our own" interests are identical with the workers of Latin-America when we see that the Copper Trust, owning properties here in Chile and Peru, increase production there, minding hundreds of Chilean workers to break the unions, while at the same time it closes down mines and smelters in the United States? The metal workers here also should have an interest in all this.

## All Workers Together

What better allies can the workers of Ford, the General Motors and the General Electric have, as they enter upon a fight against the tremendous power of these combinations of capital, than the workers who produce copper and rubber and petroleum under conditions even more insupportable in Peru, Bolivia, Brazil and Venezuela? Do we need long articles expressing our abhorrence of imperialism, or do we need solidarity strikes and mutual financial support in such cases? Do the marine transport

workers, struggling against the stream of International Seamen's Union and International Longshoremen's Association reaction combined with the powerful shipping trust, want pamphlets full of strips of statistics proving incontrovertably that imperialism is invading Latin-America, or do they need assurance that when scabs load a boat in Philadelphia no dockworker in Rio de Janeiro or Buenos Aires will touch its cargo? Instead of bothering with this very article, the writer would much rather send a telegram to the Cuban trade unions saying: "Transport and refinery workers refuse to handle Cuban sugar until Machado government withdraws troops sent against strikers in sugar centers." We must enter the road which leads to precisely this sort of fight against imperialism.

In this connection let us quote from "The Latin-American Worker,"\* now being issued by the Committee for the formation of a Latin-American Trade Union Confederation at a conference to be held next May at Montevideo. In an article entitled "Against the Yankee Bourgeoisie, With the North American Proletariat," it is said in part:

"Are we alone in this fight?... Are the proletarians of Latin-America the only ones who struggle against the imperialist monsters? No! They have within their reach a great and loyal ally in the shape of the revolutionary proletariat of the United States itself."

Yet..."there appears at times among the working class elements less advanced in understanding, a certain desperation... that leads to mistaken conclusions and prejudices that by right belong to our petty bourgeoisie, concerning the role played by the North American proletariat in our anti-im-

perialist crusade. We refer to the false conception of grouping in one and indivisible whole the Yankee bourgeoisie and the workers of that country as common enemies of the workers of Latin-America."

**Class Struggle Everywhere**

Pointing out that "in the United States there exists a class differentiation as profoundly marked and with interests as antagonistic as in the rest of the world," the article proceeds:

"While it is quite true that the revolutionary movement among the workers of the United States is not as powerful as could be desired, yet it is also true that there exists already a considerable nucleus of class conscious workers who fight heroically against their own bourgeoisie and for the unification of the world proletariat."

The revolutionary trade unionists of the United States, led by the T.U.E.L., better organized in the future than in the past for real conflicts, must measure up to the need of the joint struggle of both North and South, must assist themselves by assisting the formation of the Latin-American Trade Union Confederation, must fight the imperialist lackeys of the Pan-American Federation of Labor in their own back-yard, and set up genuine connections with all Latin-American unions such as will result in action, in a real fight against imperialism.

\* Spanish speaking workers in America who wish to keep in close touch with the center of the movement to organize a Latin-American Trade Union Confederation should subscribe to the publication of its Committee for Organization. El Trabajador Latino-Americana, Calle 9 de April, 1654 Gabato, Montevideo, Uruguay. Price, 80 centavos Uruguayan currency (or send \$1, American currency). The paper is published twice a month.

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MORRIS ROSEN  
Pres. former Local 376, expelled by  
the Hutcheson machine.



ONE OF THE MACHINE  
Frank Duffy, Gen'l Secretary



WM. L. HUTCHESON

# Fight Hutcheson's Program

By MIKE ROSS

**W**HEN President Hutcheson expelled seven members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and put eight others on probation, he evidently thought that he was rid of all the trouble makers, the people who argued that a union should be run in the interests of the rank and file. He called them "Reds" and since they persisted in exposing the bureaucracy as corrupt agents of the bosses and advocated the election of progressive officials they had to be suppressed.

The Hutcheson machine, however, soon began to feel that it was not certain that things would remain nice and peaceful, so a warning was issued that if any support was given to the expelled in their local unions, supporters would be summarily dealt with. This warning was sent officially by telegraph to every local union where a member was expelled or put on probation.

## Covering Up

There is evidence that the machine still did not feel very secure about its future, in a further move that was made by it. In order to give a face of legality to Hutcheson's despotism hereafter, it proposed that the right of local unions to try members on charges be abolished and that this right be given to district councils, bodies far removed from the membership, and on which Hutcheson's henchmen are in control. Here under forms of legality they can persecute all members who have the courage to criticize

them for their treachery to the rank and file.

Even this was considered insufficient by Hutcheson ("Those Reds are sly devils") so to further safeguard his regime from any membership interference, he proposed to make a dynasty of the administration of the union, with himself as king. He proposed, "in the interests of the organization" of course, that "a member to be eligible for nomination and election as a general officer must be a full beneficial member."

Very few of the members, of course, realize just what this means. A full beneficial member in the carpenters' union is one who gets \$300 when he dies. In order to be entitled to this reward for leaving the labor movement in a seemly manner, he must be five years in the union, for one thing.

## A Swindle

What has five years in the union to do with usefulness as a general officer? Why did Hutcheson propose it? Herein lies the swindle. A slight change in death benefits would change the requirements for official position. For instance, Hutcheson, with big tears rolling down his cheeks, arguing in behalf of the wives and children of deceased members, might easily put through a death benefit of \$50 more for those who were in the union 20 years. Then to be a "full beneficial member," that is to be able to hold office, a man would have to have been in the union 20 years!

Still, even this is not absolutely necessary. Hucheson, instead of pouring out his sympathetic heart for a \$50 increase in death benefits, may by a simple legal twist and stretch of the imagination decree that only he can be considered a full beneficial member who is entitled to the old age home or pension. To be eligible for this, a man must have been a member of the union for 30 years, and be over 65 years of age. Why should his majesty worry any longer over rebellion in his kingdom? Any opponent who can have been from 20 to 30 years in the union without expulsion would make a rare specimen for a museum of natural history of the pleistocene age.

Let us hope that the membership has sufficient foresight to defeat all of Hucheson's proposed amendments to the general constitution. The progressive carpenters, of course, see through most of Hucheson's proposed tricks, and are exposing his methods. A special national committee has been organized to protect the persecuted. A determined fight has been planned for the reinstatement of the progressive leaders expelled recently at the carpenters' convention. Morris Rosen, former candidate for general president of the union has been chosen secretary of the committee.

### Fighting Back

As a first step, a circular letter has been sent out to all the local unions with a resolution inclosed, condemning the expulsions and demanding the reinstatement of all the expelled with full rights and privileges. Following is a copy of the communication:

November 5, 1928.

TO ALL LOCAL UNIONS OF THE U.B. of C.&J. of A.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

The persistent persecutions and expulsion policy practiced by General President Hucheson in order to eliminate his opponents and suppress opinions has reached such great proportions that it has become an absolute necessity to organize a centralized national committee to defend the victims of Hucheson's disruptive methods and counteract the reign of terror existing in our Brotherhood.

As a climax to despotism, at the 22nd General Convention, held recently in Lakeland, Florida, seven leading progressive trade union fighters were illegally expelled and eight others were put on probation.

Those who were expelled and deprived of the right of earning a living as union men are **Morris Rosen**, candidate for general president in 1924 and president of former Local Union No. 376; **Nathan Rosen**, Recording Secretary of former Local Union No. 376 and Secretary of the Defense and Reinstatement Committee of Local Union No. 376, which carried on the fight for the suspended local. **Thomas Schneider**, President of Local Union No. 2090, a member of the Brotherhood for 25 years; **Robert Golden**, Recording Secretary of Local Union No. 1164 and **Joseph Lapidus** of the same local—all from New York City. Also, **Nels Kjar**, of Local No. 181, and **George Leach** of Local No. 1367—two Chicago leading progressive trade-unionists.

The following eight—all from Chicago—were put on

probation, which means that they will have to act like clams and obey orders given by his highness Wm. L. Hucheson. These are: **Nick J. Koenig**, **George A. Kroon**, and **Henry Goerling**, of Local No. 419; **Louis Long** and **Peter Timmer**, of Local No. 80; **Fred Bobzin** and **C. M. DeGroot**, of Local No. 62; and **A. T. Jacobson**, of Local 181.

This action was taken under the report of the Appeals and Grievances Committee on the case of Local Union No. 376 vs. General Executive Board. Local No. 376 has carried on such a determined struggle against injustice that its charter was revoked. It published a booklet of its case entitled: "The Appeal of Local Union No. 376," which was widely distributed. The exposures and revelations made created such a sensation and the protest raised was so great that when Morris Rosen came to the convention to make the appeal on behalf of the suspended local, the general officers were forced to give him the floor for a hearing.

Brother Rosen exposed the despotic and irresponsible methods used by President Hucheson against the local because it challenged his autocratic rule and endorsed the "Progressive Carpenters' Program," on which Morris Rosen ran for General President, a program in the interests and for the welfare of the rank and file of our organization. The program includes the reinstatement of all expelled for their opinions, the five-day, forty-hour week, organization of the unorganized, job control, general elections and conventions every two years and other measures.

General Secretary Duffy in his reply to Rosen, side-tracked the appeal. Instead, he used the old red-baiting and heresy-hunting tactics. All who had the manhood to stand up to their opinions were branded as reds. All who had some spirit of fair play or questioned the actions of Hucheson, or any of his faithful subordinates were named and denounced as communists or members of the Trade Union Educational League.

Amid the atmosphere of frenzy the appeal of Local 376 was forgotten and the above-mentioned 15 were expelled or put on probation. This terror began even before the convention, brother Morris Rosen being assaulted by two thugs, supporters of Hucheson, while traveling on the boat to the convention, in an effort to prevent his attendance.

Brothers Nathan Rosen, Lapidus, Kjar and DeGroot were in their home cities and never saw Lakeland. Most of those present at the convention were not even allowed to say a word in their defense while all of them were not charged, tried and found guilty of a misdemeanor as provided in our general constitution.

Brothers, we must realize that the "red scare" is raised as a smoke-screen in order to suppress all opposition and hide the bureaucratic and unconstitutional methods used by leading officers of our organization against those who are active on behalf or in the interests of the rank and file. All, who have the courage to protest and expose these officials, are terrorized and called "reds."

We must stand as men worthy of our membership in the U.B. of C.&J. of A. and uphold the democratic principles guaranteed by our general constitution. We must fight for freedom of expression of opinion. We must rally to the defense of our persecuted brothers, those who have the courage to stand up and fight for the rights and welfare of the membership.

**Protest against this highhanded action by endorsing the enclosed resolution. Organize to fight against such methods.**

Please let us know what action was taken by your local union.

Fraternally yours, **Defense and Reinstatement Committee** for members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, **Morris Rosen**, Secretary.

# Another Paterson Strike

By GERTRUDE MUELLER

What was the situation in Paterson at the beginning of the strike on October 10, 1928? Wage-cuts had been coming thick and fast all Summer. Hours began increasing until working two-shifts was not uncommon. Speed-up affected every craft.

For over a year an eight-hour day conference had been carried on under the leadership of the Associated Textile Workers in which A. F. of L. locals in Paterson participated. This movement, together with the steadily increasing hours of work, began popularizing the 8-hour day slogan, and when the strike atmosphere began developing, it was the eight-hour day which became the chief slogan at issue.

The strike for the eight-hour day, wage increases and union recognition was called for Oct. 10 without previous preparation. A left wing motion to postpone in order to prepare to set up strike machinery was defeated under the leadership of the officials. The latter were made up of rank reactionaries of the type of Matthews, Yanarelli and the majority of the members of the joint board, and of Hoelscher, the centrist, a man of narrow bureaucratic outlook, the secretary-treasurer of the Union. None of these officials believed in the strike. None of them believed the workers would respond, and they made no preparations for a large-scale continued strike. They assured the workers beforehand that it would be a short strike. They made no efforts to psychologize the workers into a real fight for solidarity. One whole department of the union—the ribbon workers—did not vote to strike, and the officials did nothing to explain to the workers in that department that the strike would affect their own conditions as well. A further division within the organization took place when groups in the broad silk department which voted to strike, one section of the workers, refused to go out. These were the Jacquard workers, who are more highly skilled than the others they were the chief victims of the 1924 strike, and hesitate now to come to the aid of the broad silk workers for fear of being left behind again. Nothing was done by the officials of the union to make these workers see where their proletarian duty lay. Nothing was done to reassure them. And so another section of the workers remained inside the shops.

Many illusions prevailing in the organizations help the officials in their policies of misleading the workers and conducting typical A. F. of L. methods, one of these is the illusions about democracy.

Why aren't the Jacquard workers forced to come out—because they voted to stay in—to interfere there, even though the winning of the strike depended on it, would never do. A centralised machinery for conducting the strike? Heaven forbid—that means dictatorship—Mussolinism! Even though the winning of the strike depends on a functioning centralised machinery. Spread the strike? What for? We'll win and then we'll tackle the unorganised crafts and unorganised shops—even though these latter are used by the boss as a lever against the strikers. Pay any attention to outside silk centers? Why Paterson is the Silk City—organise that first and then tackle the problem nationally! Organise the "auxiliary crafts"? Get the weavers first and the rest will follow—call the strike on a weavers' schedule and then fix up the schedule for the rest of the crafts during the course of the strike—three weeks after the strike begins.

## The Left Wing

At the beginning of the strike the left wing was not crystallized—the whole union was supposed to have been left wing. But the conduct of the strike by the officials began calling forth the opposition, first of the Communists, then a gradually growing periphery until the real left wing crystallized. The fundamental reactionary policy of the officials and right wing elements, including the S. L. P., S. P. and disillusioned I. W. W. elements which have not come over to the Communists, became exposed.

What was the policy of the left wing, which attracted such mass adherence among the strikers?

- 1.—Organization of the unorganized—spread the strike.
- 2.—Militancy in fighting—refuse to be cowed by the police.
- 3.—A real strike emphasising all the crafts.
- 4.—Mass picketing.
- 5.—Cooperation with the National Textile Workers Union and spreading the idea of the need of establishing a real national union in order to maintain the union in action and hold whatever gains are made as well as winning the strike.
- 6.—Centralize strike machinery with full power to the Strike Committee. Quick establishment of relief machinery calling in the Workers Relief in spite of the view of being "outsiders" even on the question of relief.
- 7.—Organization of the Youth.

This left wing policy serving as a basis by which to expose the officials as reactionaries as well as expose the policy of Hoelscher who is responsible with the other reactionaries about whom many of the members had illusions because a real test of their policies had not been made in struggle. The offi-



cialists carried out their policy of getting rid of the strike as quickly as possible, quick settlements were made. The strike was called on Wednesday and the settlements were made on Friday and the workers went back on Monday. No check up was made whether the settlements were real or fake settlements. The workers would have to shift for themselves. The "back to work" psychology created these settlements and lack of preparation of the strike worked against the spread of the strike.

The left wing fought militantly and insistently for their policies and against that of the officials. They succeeded in creating some militant picketing and win a growing adherence. The left wing was a minority in the strike committee and finally forced the policies to be taken up at the membership meeting. After their policies were voted down in the Strike Committee.

In the general membership meeting held on November 2, the left wing secured a majority vote on their report against that of the officials. Workers of all nationalities gave support to the left wing. Even a section of the ribbon workers gave support to the policies of the left wing. But the officials blocked the final count and prevented the motion of the endorsement from being adopted. The issue was yet to be fought out and a meeting of the broad silk department embracing the striking workers was called for ten days later. In the mean time, as a result of desertion from the right wing and of the inability of the right wing to mobilize its supporters the left wing got a majority in the strike committee. Accepting the last membership meeting as a mandate despite the failure of the officialdom to count the vote, they began a policy of cooperation with the National Textile Workers Union, called a parade to demonstrate the power of the union for mobilization to win the strike, began to check up the fake settlements, in order to establish union conditions in the shop. The officialdom began to sabotage the decisions and prepared for the adoption of desperate tactics in view of the fact that the masses were rallying around the left wing. At the membership meeting held on November 13th they packed the meeting. Despite that, the left wing elected its chairman against that of the right wing. When the strike committee was about to report they began to break up the meeting. They beat up workers who were supporters of the left wing and Hoelscher called in the police to adjourn the meeting.

The Joint Board then expelled the strike committee and appointed a committee of their own, the names of which have not yet been made known. They are going the full way of the A. F. of L. bureaucratic officials and on a course typical of the Greens, Sigmans and Beckermans. At this moment of writing

the issue between the strike committee and the joint board is being fought out, with the masses rallying more and more around the left wing as they have seen that the criticisms and policies of the left wing are correct. The officials will of course adopt expulsion policies from the union.

**The left wing is organized in the Trade Union Educational League and is fighting to win the shops and the workers for its policies to oust the officialdom and establish the left wing policies and leadership in the Associated.**

The National Textile Workers Union has been a big issue in the strike. From the outset it offered cooperation with the strike committee. It proposed joint efforts to organize the dye workers, the most bitterly exploited craft workers in Paterson. The dye workers produce 80% of the dye finishing in the country. Its proposals rejected, the National Textile Workers Union proceeded with the organization of the dye workers and the left wing blocked the policy of the officialdom to openly fight the National Textile Workers Union in the dye workers campaign. The N. T. W. U. became more and more popular among the workers. The silk workers recognize that the officials are incompetent that the craft form and the local character of the Associated cannot establish union conditions in the shops. The silk workers look forward to the N. T. W. U. as a means of organizing them into a union that will overcome their desperate situation in the industry.

The National Textile Workers Union is intensifying its campaign among the dye workers and has extended its policy to include the bigger shops. At the same time it is making efforts in other parts of the country. The Trade Union Educational League has succeeded in pointing out to the workers the need for a national textile workers union, a national organization of all textile workers.

The policy of the left wing, now the T. U. E. L., throughout the strike has brought results. It has crystallized the workers into a definite left wing organization, the T. U. E. L., and has gained the adherence of the workers for the left wing. It has established a militant spirit where passivity and pessimism prevailed before. It has given confidence to the workers that they can fight and with correct leadership can win against the bosses.

The struggle in the shops is assuming the forms of the struggle in the needle trades and miners. With a correct militant policy the struggle will result in defeating Hoelscher and the reactionary officialdom, which looks to affiliating the Associated to the United Textile Workers and will result in the establishing in Paterson, of an organization, as a part of the National Textile Workers Union.

# The Negro Hunts a Job

By SCOTT NEARING\*

**N**EGROES who leave cotton fields and sugar plantations for centers of industry must find jobs.

As slaves Negroes were expected to do all kinds of work. Here, too, their competition with whites was slight.

Negro slaves were frequently trained as blacksmiths, sawmill hands, carpenters, bricklayers, plasterers, wheelwrights, shoemakers, millers, bakers, tanners, shipwrights. Slave owners not only trained their Negro bondsmen for these professions, but they frequently rented them out for long periods. Before the abolition of slavery Negro artisans were replacing white artisans throughout the South.

"The slave owners were generally the owners of all the factories, machine shops, flour mills, sawmills, gin houses and threshing machines. They owned all the railroads and the shops connected with them. In all of these the white laborer and mechanic had been supplanted almost entirely by the Civil War. Many of the railroads in the South had their entire train crews, except the conductors, made up of the slaves—including engineers and firemen. The 'Georgia Central' had inaugurated just such a movement and had many Negro engineers on its locomotives and Negro machinists in its shops."—(Weatherford, *The Negro from Africa to America*, p. 237.)

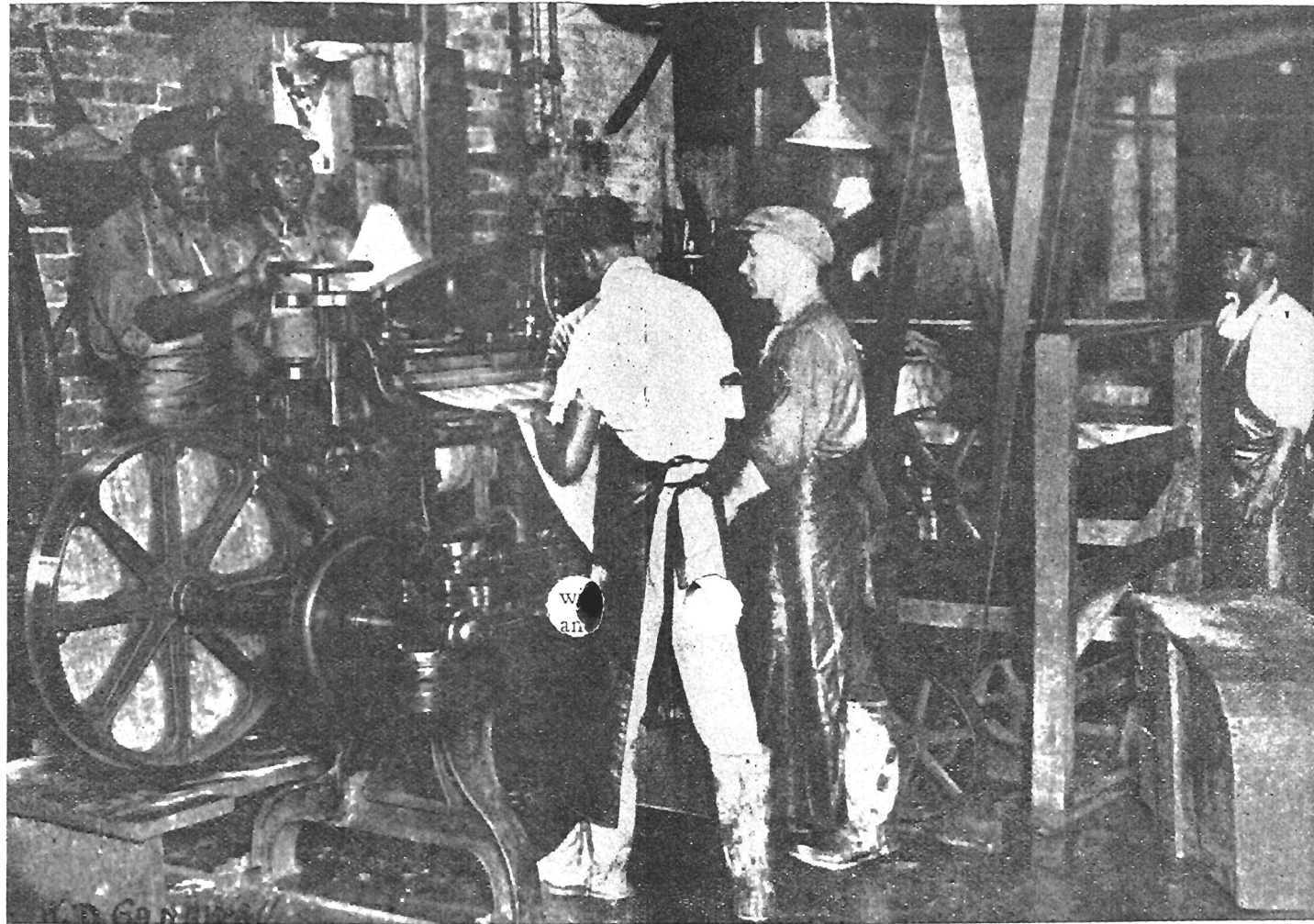
When the Negroes were emancipated they were forced to compete with white workers. So long as they were willing to remain on the plantations and to do the housework this competition was not particularly sharp. When they entered the field of industry with its higher rewards and greater economic opportunities, competition with white labor became savage.

Industrialization followed the abolition of slavery in the South. The Southern whites, former slave owners and mountaineers alike, were drawn into the industrial vortex. At the same time that the emancipated Negroes were seeking industrial opportunity, the whites were entering the competitive struggle for the control of the new economic system.

The whites won—easily. Then they closed the door of industrial opportunity to the Negro.

Negroes had been building workers, mechanics, artisans, craftsmen. As factory industry replaced hand labor, the strategic and the best paying among these occupations were preempted by the whites.

\* This article will be Chapter XI of "Black America" by Scott Nearing. Vanguard Press, 100 Fifth Ave. Out in January. \$3, 272 pages. 160 photographs.



The upper picture shows a group of Negroes on wet, disagreeable work in a factory.

The lower picture shows Negroes at work on the streets of Philadelphia.



From certain occupations in the industrial field, the Negroes have been almost entirely excluded. White collar jobs are generally denied to Negroes. Jessie O. Thomas writing on "Economic Deadlines in the South" (*Opportunity*, February, 1926, p. 49), states:

"There is probably not a Negro bookkeeper, stenographer, 'honest-to-goodness' clerk in the whole South, employed other than by his own race; not a Negro may work in the Post Office and regardless how efficient he may be he does not get beyond the position of clerk; no street car conductors or motormen, telephone or switchboard operators."

The same general situation prevails in the Border States and in the North. "Who would expect to find a Negro clerk in a white man's store or a Negro bookkeeper or stenographer in a white man's office is surely not acquainted with the conditions in the North today," writes H. G. Duncan. (*Changing Race Relationships*, p. 77) A Negro answered an ad for a position as clerk in the suburbs of Philadelphia. "What do you suppose we'd want of a Negro?" was the question with which the store-keeper met him. (Idem.)

In a number of Northern cities business colleges refuse to accept Negro students. Business schools of St. Paul, Minnesota, formerly accepted Negro students. Recently the schools have refused Negro students as the office managers of St. Paul will not employ Negro bookkeepers, stenographers or clerks.

St. Paul is far to the North—almost on the Canadian border. Its Negro population is very small, but like many other Northern cities, St. Paul has felt the effects of the Negro migration.

"Negro girls were formerly employed in offices here," said a representative of the St. Paul Urban League. "Now they are universally refused. There are no colored sales girls in stores. They work here only as maids and attendants. A Negro girl cannot get a sales job or a clerical job here unless she is fair enough to pass as white."

One of the leading Negroes of New Haven, Connecticut, said: "We turn out Negro girls from the schools each year who are well qualified to do office and sales work. They can find little or nothing to do.

"There is no room for them in offices.

"Stores never give them a chance behind the counter. They can sweep and dust and act as maids. But for those jobs no school training is necessary." ...

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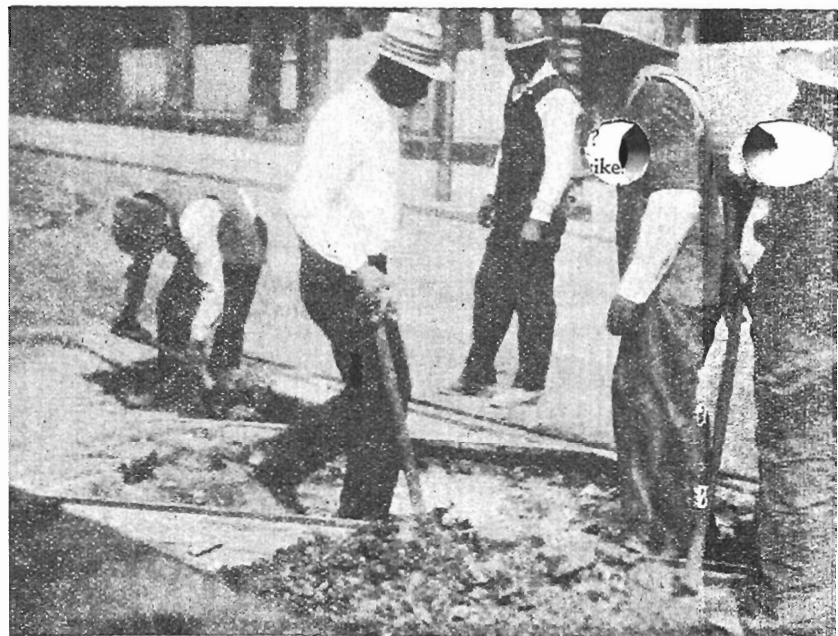
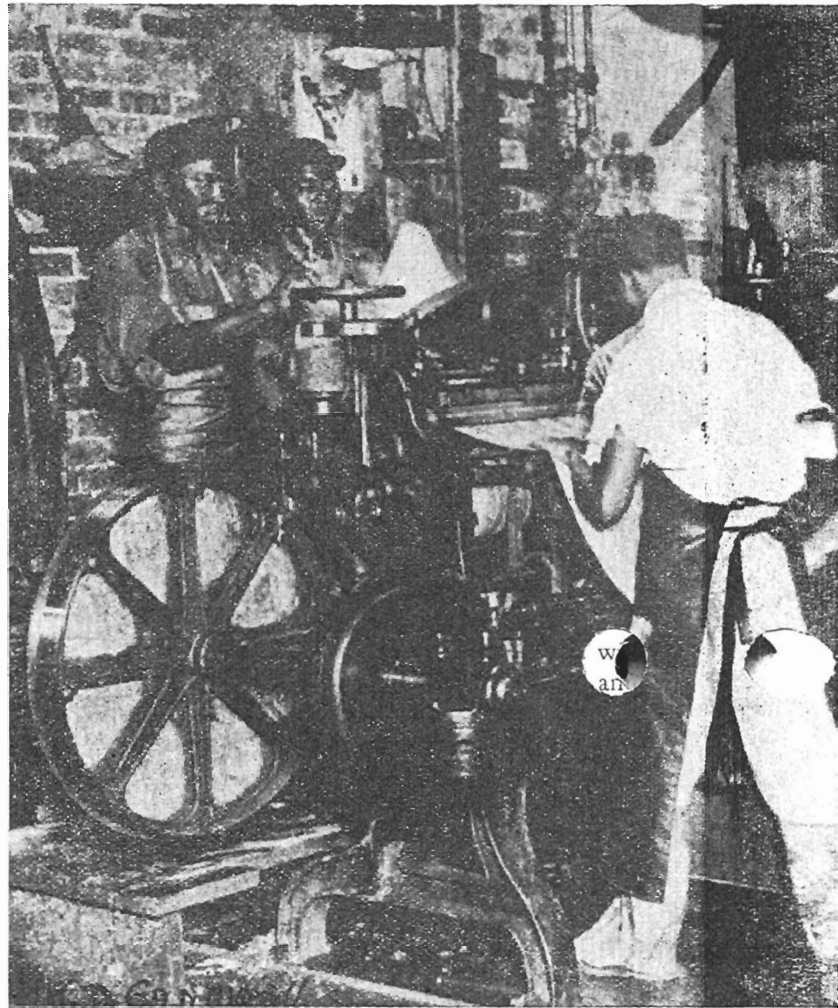
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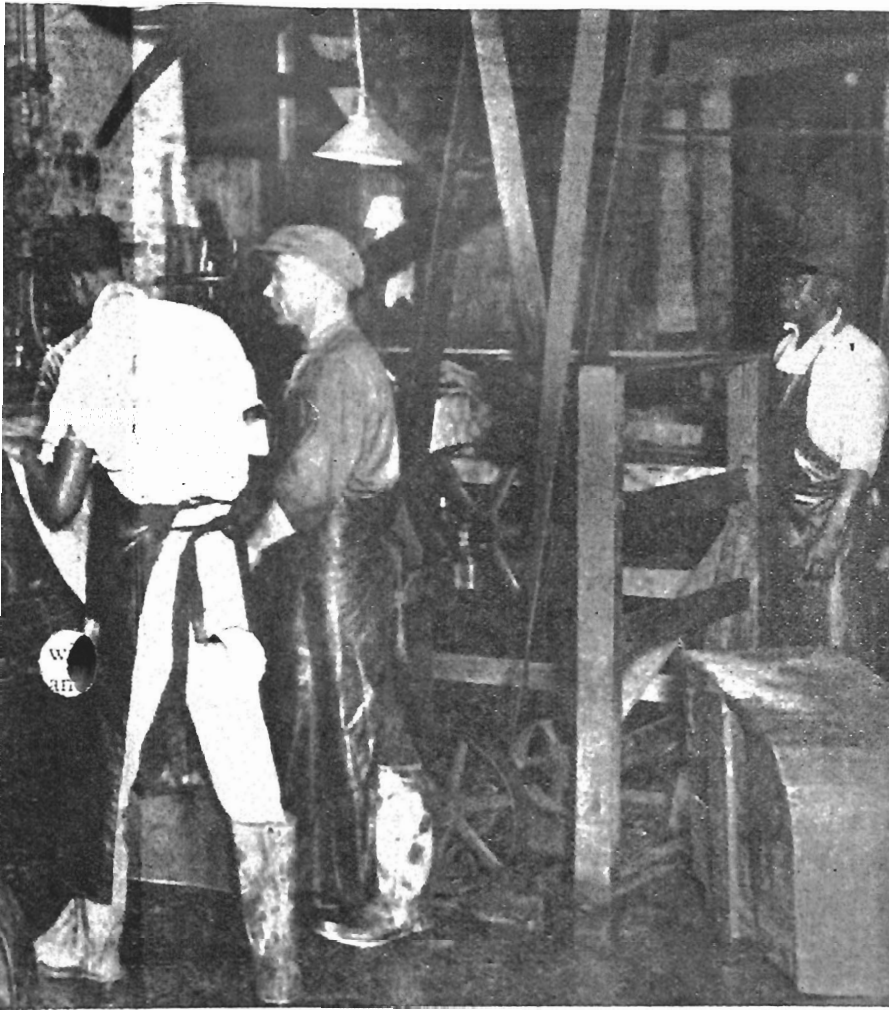
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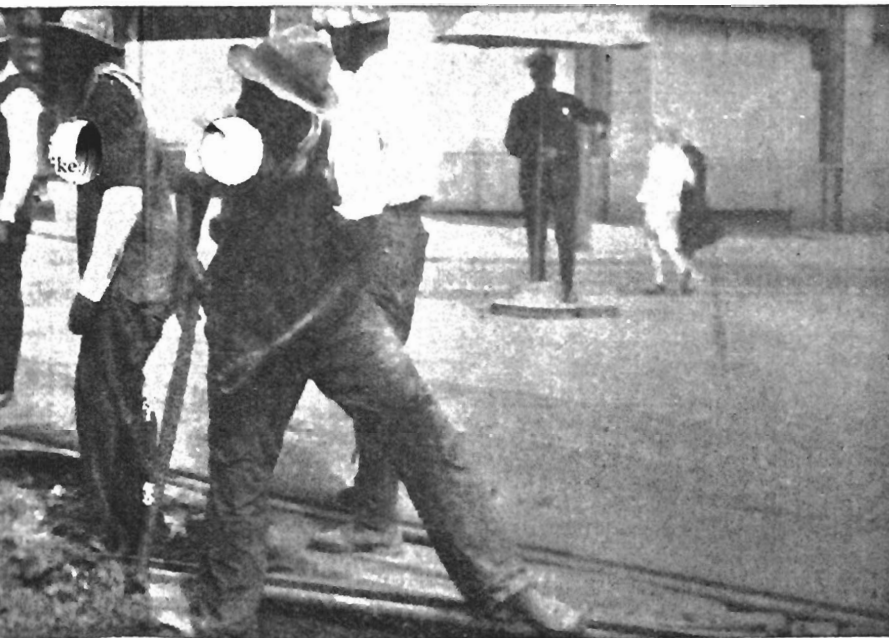
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The lower picture shows Negroes at work on the streets of Philadelphia.



From certain occupations in the industrial field, the Negroes have been almost entirely excluded. White collar jobs are generally denied to Negroes. Jessie O. Thomas writing on "Economic Deadlines in the South" (Opportunity, February, 1926, p. 49), states:

"There is probably not a Negro bookkeeper, stenographer, 'honest-to-goodness' clerk in the whole South, employed other than by his own race; not a Negro may work in the Post Office and regardless how efficient he may be he does not get beyond the position of clerk; no street car conductors or motormen, telephone or switchboard operators."

The same general situation prevails in the Border States and in the North. "Who would expect to find a Negro clerk in a white man's store or a Negro bookkeeper or stenographer in a white man's office is surely not acquainted with the conditions in the North today," writes H. G. Duncan. (*Changing Race Relationships*, p. 77) A Negro answered an ad for a position as clerk in the suburbs of Philadelphia. "What do you suppose we'd want of a Negro?" was the question with which the store-keeper met him. (Idem.)

In a number of Northern cities business colleges refuse to accept Negro students. Business schools of St. Paul, Minnesota, formerly accepted Negro students. Recently the schools have refused Negro students as the office managers of St. Paul will not employ Negro bookkeepers, stenographers or clerks.

St. Paul is far to the North—almost on the Canadian border. Its Negro population is very small, but like many other Northern cities, St. Paul has felt the effects of the Negro migration.

"Negro girls were formerly employed in offices here," said a representative of the St. Paul Urban League. "Now they are universally refused. There are no colored sales girls in stores. They work here only as maids and attendants. A Negro girl cannot get a sales job or a clerical job here unless she is fair enough to pass as white."

One of the leading Negroes of New Haven, Connecticut, said: "We turn out Negro girls from the schools each year who are well qualified to do office and sales work. They can find little or nothing to do.

"There is no room for them in offices.

"Stores never give them a chance behind the counter. They can sweep and dust and act as maids. But for those jobs no school training is necessary."



NEGRO WORKERS ON HOUSE WRECKING OPERATION

Stores are particularly strict in their exclusion of Negro sales people.

A Negro woman, graduate of a Southern College, applied for a job in a Chicago department store. She was very fair, and as she did not state that she was a Negro, the employment department never suspected it. Within two months this woman had the best sales record of any one in the department. At the end of four years, she stood out as one of the most efficient sales-women in the entire store.

#### Fired!

One morning she was called into the manager's office at three minutes of nine. At two minutes after nine she was leaving the store—dismissed. The management had discovered that the woman was of Negro extraction.

Manufacturing establishments frequently follow a policy of excluding Negroes from ordinary factory employment. An Urban League survey of Fort Wayne, Indiana, made in 1928, showed that among the 11 largest industrial plants in the city, 4 employed no Negroes, 3 employed a total of 7 Negroes, and the remaining 4 employed 220 Negroes. The total number of white employees in these eleven plants was 17,334. The plants included an electric manufacturing concern, with 5,759 workers and 3 Negroes; a knitting mill with 1,004 workers and no Negroes; an agricultural implement plant with 1,400 workers and 54 Negroes, a railroad shop with 2,070 workers and 70 Negroes, a foundry with 379 workers and 31 Negroes, and a rolling mill with 315 workers and 65 Negroes.

Several careful industrial surveys made by the Urban League show a sharp division of policy between employers on the question of employing Negro labor. In many important plants Negro workers are excluded merely because "we don't hire Negro help."

Generally where Negroes are hired they do the dirty work. Charles S. Johnson reports in his Urban League Industrial Survey of Los Angeles, "Negroes are associated, traditionally, with . . . domestic service, and, in some instances, common labor. Actually the bulk of them are engaged in these two lines." In Philadelphia, the Armstrong Association reports the employment of 300 Negroes by one of the leading department stores of the city. They are elevator operators, maids, or stock girls, but they do not occupy clerical or sales positions. Negroes are employed very little in the principal machine shops and in the textile factories. On the street-railways a number of Negroes occupy positions as foremen, but in general they do the common labor work. They are never employed as conductors or motormen. In the principal railroad offices "responsible" jobs are not open to them. In one railroad office where Negroes have long been employed as messengers, they are now being replaced by young white men.

#### Excluded From Skilled Jobs

An investigator from Baltimore reports that Negroes are excluded almost wholly from highly skilled operations. There are no Negro registered plumbers or electricians in Baltimore. Negro linotypers are admitted grudgingly. There are less than a dozen Negro movie operators. In the clothing industry Negroes are employed, but the strongest group of Negro workers in Baltimore is among the longshoremen. This Negro Longshoremen's Union has forty years of history behind it. No Negroes are employed on the street cars of Baltimore, but they do work for the street railway company on repair gangs, as car cleaners, and in other inferior positions.

An Urban League post-war survey of Buffalo gives a very complete occupational classification of Negro men:

	Total Number of Workers	Negro
Skilled .....	54,336	332
Laborers .....	25,189	798
Semi-Skilled .....	17,260	183
General Workers .....	5,111	35
Personal and Domestic .....	8,174	81
Clerical Workers .....	20,618	43
Work Requiring Examination.....	4,047	8
Business Men .....	14,939	27
Public Service .....	834	7
Professional Service .....	7,292	57
Apprentices .....	1,554	1
Foremen and Superintendents.....	8,017	11

United States railroads employ 136,065 Negroes of whom about three-fourths are laborers and one-seventh porters. The remaining Negro workers are wide-

ly distributed over various railway occupations. Half of these Negro railway workers are employed in eight Southern States. (Wesley, *Negro Labor in the United States*, pp. 301-2.)

An Indianapolis employer summed up the position of the Negro in these words: "Negroes get only the left-over jobs—the hard manual work. They are employed to do some of the more disagreeable jobs in the stock yards; they get the heaviest tasks in the factories. They do not hold either the nice jobs or the important jobs anywhere. I have employed two Chinese and a Hindu. As yet I have never dared to employ a colored man about the factory."

This employer stated that the situation of the Negro in Indianapolis was much worse since the War of 1914 with its accompanying migration. The rapid increase in the number of Negroes in the city led to sharp competition between Negroes and whites and the tenses race feeling which this competition generated.

### War Time Jobs

Until 1914 Negroes were practically excluded from responsible industrial positions. The war gave them their first great industrial opportunity.

The war stimulated production. At the same time it limited immigration. The only considerable source of mass labor in America was the Negro population. It was this combination of circumstances that enabled the Negroes from 1915 to 1922 to break into essentially new industrial fields.

Up to the period of the war, trade schools, with minor exceptions, had taken few Negro students. Their reason was the obvious impossibility of placing trained Negro workers. Professional education for Negroes was even more limited. The pioneer work of certain Negro educational institutions was supplying a considerable number of Negro artisans and Negro professionals. War demand quickly absorbed this supply and led to the rapid enlargement of educational facilities. In the same way war wages made it possible for Negro parents to increase the number of opportunities that they could offer their children.

The Urban League in its Industrial Survey of Trenton reports an investigation made in that city in 1902 in which out of 398 establishments, with a total of 128,412 employees only 83 establishments employed Negroes in any capacity. This was typical of the industrial position of Negroes throughout the United States.

Within the next twenty years profound changes took place. The United States Census of 1920 reported Negroes in a wide range of industrial activity: 9,046 blacksmiths; 1,402 boilermakers; 10,736 brick masons; 34,916 carpenters and cabinet makers; 19,849

cigar and tobacco workers; 3,596 clay, glass and stone workers; 13,888 clothing workers; 2,252 coopers; 27,160 dressmakers; 1,411 electricians; 6,353 stationary engineers and 29,640 firemen. The list extends to most of the principal manufacturing and mechanical occupations. In 1910, 406,582 Negroes were engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. Ten years later, the number was 566,680.

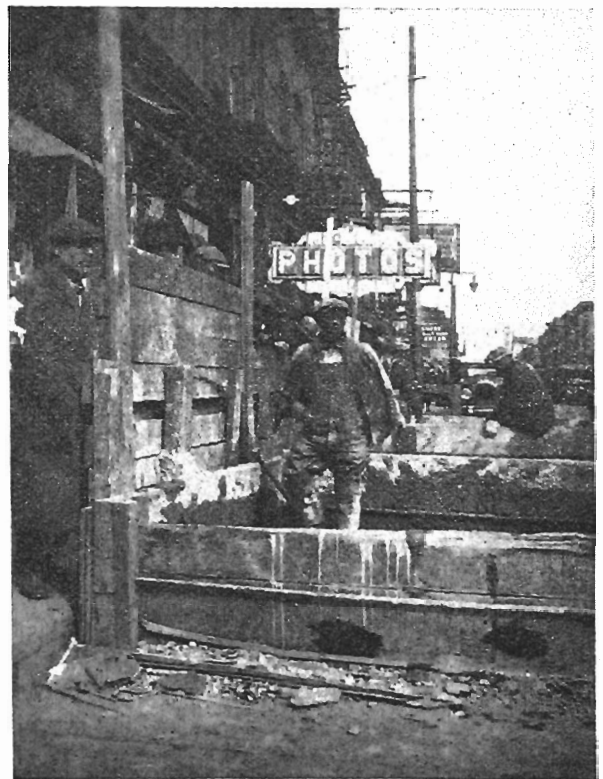
Occupational distribution of Negroes as shown by the Census of 1920 is analyzed in detail by E. B. Reuter, (*American Race Problems* pp. 228-9) T. J. Woolfter summarizes the result of the Negro movement into industry in this way:

"The most radical change caused by the movement since 1916 has been the entry of some 140,000 colored men into industry. These are, to a great extent, concentrated in eleven large industrial cities. The cities of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Detroit, Indianapolis, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, include about 40 per cent of all Negroes living outside of the South. In 1920, 230 plants employed some 115,000 of the 140,000 in manufacturing industries. According to industry, colored laborers in the North were distributed about as follows: iron and steel, 40,000; automobile, 25,000; meat packing, 15,000; Pullman shops and yards, 15,000; miscellaneous, 40,000."

(Woolfter, *Negro Migration*, p. 157.)

Trade union rules and exclusion from trade union

(Continued on Page 29)



NEGRO WORKER MIXING CONCRETE

# WORLD POWER OF U. S. CAPITAL AND ITS EFFECT ON WORKERS

From the "Social Economic Review Bulletin", put out by the Labor Research Department of the Red International of Labor Unions.

ONE of the most far-reaching changes that have taken place in the economic position of the United States during the last decade is the incredible growth in the exportation of capital. Although on the eve of the World War the United States was a debtor to Europe, this country has now become the greatest creditor in the world. One of the results of this change is the transfer of the world financial centre from the City of London to Wall Street and its neighborhood in New York. It is precisely with this powerful lever that American capitalism is changing the entire aspect of the economic and political relations of international capitalism.

In 1914 European investments in the United States reached approximately 5 billion dollars, while United States' investments abroad comprised only 2½ billions. By 1927, the total sum of European investments in the United States was only 3.7 billions, while United States private loans and investments abroad amounted to 14.5 billions. Together with the 12 billions of State (chiefly war) loans, this amounts to the colossal sum of 26.5 billion dollars of exported capital—exceeding the capital exported from Great Britain in the course of almost a century.

After the war, the American capital export exceeded the British, on the average by 2.5 times per year. Indeed, the export of capital is growing every year and during the last few years has reached the tremendous figure of 2 billion dollars annually. A new record was made in 1927 with \$82,000,193,500, which exceeded the figure for 1926 by 13 per cent.\* The beginning of 1928 shows still higher figures.

## Usury Instead of Profits

In 1925, interest on foreign investments and payments on loans amounted to 680 million dollars, which exceeded for the first time the assets on the trade balance. Interest on private loans abroad during 1927 amounted already to 795 millions, interest and payments on war loans being 206 millions, whereas there were only 548 million dollars assets on the trade balance. This shows clearly the tremendous significance that export capital has acquired in the trade balance of the United States and how deep is its influence on the entire economic and social structure of the country.

\* NOTE—According to figures given by Max Winkler, which, although exceeding the official figures, are generally recognized as being the most correct.

The export of capital is rapidly liquidating the last remnants of the former peculiar isolated "provincialism" of American capitalism. The economy of the United States is being closely bound up with the fate of world capitalism as a whole. And here lies the reason why the American bourgeoisie is now playing a far more important role in the international arena than hitherto. The American bourgeoisie has become one of the decisive factors in international relations, and in its turn is becoming increasingly dependent on surplus value produced outside the borders of its own country.

## All Fish For U. S. Nets

There is not a country in the world, nor a branch of industry where American investments have not been made during the last few years. Full-page advertisements are to be seen practically daily in all the large newspapers of the United States advertising the floating of a new loan of a foreign government, municipality, trust or foreign concern. The floating of foreign loans, which is centralized in the hands of a few big banks (chiefly the Morgan concern), is truly reflected throughout the whole financial and economic system of American capitalism.

This connection received very clear expression in a report of Malvin Traylor, the former chairman of the Bankers' Association, made at the end of 1927. This is what he said:

"Whether he liked it or not, every banker in the United States was becoming more and more interested in every foreign investment made, as foreign notes and bonds were penetrating every town and were being covered for the most part with bank deposits. They were being sold to every client and depositor. Governments, municipalities, churches, electric companies, tramway concerns, building corporations, water-supply and cinematograph, steel and automobile plants, dye factories, textile mills and many other enterprises throughout the world are seeking money in America. We are purchasing shares in oil works in Mexico, Venezuela, Persia and Trinidad, in Norwegian aluminium enterprises, French silk factories and perfumeries, Finnish cooperatives, Belgian and Spanish telephone concerns, Brazil coffee plantations, African rubber and cane-sugar plantations, fruit plantations in Central America, in Caucasian Manganese enterprises and railroad shares in every country in the world, and so the list could go on without end.".....

"There are hundreds of thousands of American citizens, who, prompted by the instinct of self-preservation and the right of ownership are following very attentively everything that is happening in the rest of the world.

"We have already had cases in the past, when our private

citizens have had their property menaced by the actions of foreign Governments. But should we judge from the reaction observed when similar attempts were made by our southern neighbor (i e. Mexico) it is not difficult to predict that the day will come when no small section of our people will not only be keenly interested in everything that occurs abroad, but will insist, that our government also take a very active interest in these questions."

It is hardly necessary to add, that the American government is carrying out in deed and action this modest, but very clear and unambiguous order of concentrated financial capital.

Whereas previously, during the period of British commercial-industrial monopolism, the "trade followed the flag," to-day the "flag," following exported capital, is leading to new imperialist adventures and the preparation of new wars. In 1917, capital investments made in supplies and loans to the Allies prompted the American capitalists to participate in the war and compelled thousands of Jimmy Higgins to "save Europe," to "defend democracy and civilization" against the "Hun." But since that time the amount of capital exported has increased more than fourfold. The field of its investment now covers the whole globe. Can there be any doubt whatever that dollars will be followed by cruisers and soldiers, to protect the dividends from the numerous dangers threatening them?

Throughout the world we observe to-day how American capital is pouring out funds and forces, scouting out the ground in all countries so as to prepare this defense and to extend further its field of exploitation.

### Export of Business

Of special significance during the last few years is the tendency of American capital to establish its own enterprises abroad. This matter deserves to be taken up in greater detail, as its development very clearly indicates the whole character of the export of American capital.

Evans Clark's survey (printed in the "New York Times"\*) shows distinctly the tempestuous and rapid development of foreign enterprises and branches of American trusts.

The oil trusts of the United States either directly or through auxiliary companies control 70 per cent of the oil output of Mexico, 40 per cent of the output in Venezuela, 81 per cent of Peru's production, the whole output of Columbia, and owns considerable "holdings" in the oil enterprises of Trinidad, Mosul, Rumania, Poland and the Dutch Indies. The Standard Oil company of New York alone invested 375 million dollars abroad in oil-wells, oil refineries, warehouses, banks, etc. This company owns more than 3,000 pumping stations scattered all over the world,

not counting those in America. A considerable part of their oil products never reaches the United States, for it is sold abroad.

The automobile trusts during the last few years have flung out a tremendous network of foreign enterprises and branches. Their sales agencies are to be found in all parts of the world. Furthermore, the General Motors Company has founded assembling enterprises in 5 towns in Australia, as well as in London, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Antwerp, Berlin, Buenos Ayres, Montevideo (Uruguay), Port Elizabeth (South Africa), Wellington (New Zealand), Osaka (Japan), and Batavia (Java).

Ford owns enterprises in Alexandria (Egypt), Antwerp, Barcelona, Berlin, Buenos Ayres, Copenhagen, Cork (Ireland), Manchester, Mexico, Rotterdam, Santiago (Chile), Sao Paulo (Brazil) and in Yokohama. Furthermore, a Ford company in Canada, formally independent, has many enterprises in all the British Dominions. All these enterprises are increasingly concentrating on producing or purchasing various parts, especially automobile bodies, locally.

The agricultural machinery trusts have a large network of foreign enterprises. The International Harvester Co., has large enterprises in Croix (France, Neusse (Germany) and Norrkoning (Sweden); it controls auxiliary industrial companies in Argentine, Brazil, Australia, New Zealand, Denmark, Italy, Great Britain and France, with auxiliary companies in Canada, England, France, Germany, Holland, Italy and Spain. The foreign turnover of this concern exceeds the turnover on the home market.

The well-known German printing machines factory, the Gergenthaler Setzmaschinen G.M.B.H., is in fact a subsidiary of the American trust which has its own companies in Canada, England, Germany, and South Africa, and which produces linotype-machines adapted for fifty languages. Another American concern (Hoe & Co.) has a large factory in England producing printing presses for several countries. The Worthington Machine Construction Trust likewise owns large factories in England and France.

### Grabbing Metals

The metallurgical trusts of the United States own not only tremendous resources of raw materials, (especially in the sphere of light metals) in various parts of the world, but also foreign metallurgical and machining enterprises.

The Aluminium Trust controls more than half of the world's production. It owns boxite mines in British Guinea, Italy, France and Jugoslavia, and smelting works in Quebec and Norway, and also manufacturing plants in Canada.

The Copper Trust likewise handles more than half the world's production from the great mines in Mex-

\* NOTE.—New York Times, April, 1928.



ico, Chile and Peru, while during the last few years several enterprises were closed in the United States and transferred to South America.

The **Nickel Trust**, known as the International Nickel Co., has a world monopoly on this metal, having got control of the Canadian mines where 90 per cent of the world's known deposits lie. The National Lead Co., owns half the shares of the British Trust which controls the world's greatest supplies of tin and has large holdings in the Bolivia deposits.

The two great electrical trusts of the United States have a large network of branches abroad. The General Electric Co. has enterprises and branches in 33 countries; the Westinghouse Co. having branches in 42 countries with several foreign enterprises.

The Singer Sewing Machine Co., the National Cash Register Co., and the Remington and Underwood Typewriting Machines and Mechanical Office Equipment cater for customers the world over with their chain of factories and agencies.

The **Goodyear Rubber Co.** handling as it does one-seventh of the world's rubber output, has branches and auxiliary concerns in more than a 100 states and colonies. Another company, the Goodrich concern, has plantations in Sumatra and on the Malay Peninsula, and factories in Canada, England, France and Germany. A third concern, the Firestone Co., is turning Liberia into its "own" vassal State.

Of much significance is the fact that during recent years large American construction firms, like the Foundation Co. which has built many New York skyscrapers, are also entering the international arena. Office buildings and plants are being constructed in Montreal, Mexico, London and Paris. The Wellen, White and Stone Co. has also commenced to take large building orders in several countries in all the five continents. The International Cement Corporation owns cement plants in Cuba, Argentine and Uruguay and is building several new plants in various countries.

The **International Telephone and Telegraph Co.**, controls the telephone systems of Spain, Mexico, Chile, Brazil, Buenos Ayres, Montevideo, having factories in Paris, London, Madrid, Milan, Budapest, Tokio and Shanghai, with three great international concerns controlling telegraphic cable and radio connections. This company employs more than 50,000 workers and employees abroad.

The Packing Trusts of Chicago, known as the "Big Five" (although really only four large combines exist at the present time) supply a large portion of the world with their meat products and today are receiving large quantities of meat from South America. They control 50 per cent of the cattle trade of Argentina and the slaughter houses of Uruguay. The Armour Trust alone has approximately 100 auxiliary

concerns in 12 countries and controls 46 per cent of Great Britain's meat supply.

The two **gramophone trusts** of the United States cater for the whole world. One of them, the Victor Co., invested 9 million dollars in the factories of Argentina, Brazil and Cuba and owns the majority of the shares in the British gramophone company, with factories in France, Spain, Czecho-Slovakia, Germany, Italy, Australia and India.

The American **cinematograph companies** dominate the market in 70 countries, one-fourth of their income from abroad, while in many countries they have bought up all the large cinema theatres.

The broad retailing activities of large trading concerns in the United States in the European market should likewise be noted.

The well-known Woolworth Five and Ten Cent Stores have set up a chain of about 300 similar stores in England and 117 in Canada, while last year their organization was also commenced in Germany (for the most part inaugurated by mixed companies, the majority of the shares being held by the Americans).

The United Drug Company, which in the United States has 10,000 drug stores, is now extending its activities in Europe, owning at the present time 800 of these stores in England.

Practically every large scale trust in the United States is an international corporation with foreign branches, auxiliary concerns, whose industrial enterprises spring up like mushrooms overnight.

### U. S. Money Domination

The connections of the big American banks with foreign countries are becoming increasingly wider in scope. They are organizing branches in all countries, which are rapidly overtaking the network of British banks, while simultaneously attempts are made persistently to utilize the connections, long experience and traditions of the latter. It is precisely through these connections and the bank loans provided that the large American trusts are able to exert their control (described above) over many similar enterprises in Europe, and organizing branches of American factories, are able to bring so much pressure to bear, that not infrequently they control governments and parliaments, municipalities and political parties.

All ways and means are used with a steady persistence and on a scale never witnessed before, to prepare the struggle for further control over the most important centres of world economy, to secure "the commanding heights" in industry, to control the trading routes, the sources of raw material and most important strategic points. No one in America doubts for one moment that this struggle will inevitably lead to new wars.

The illusion of the "last war" was perhaps nowhere

so rapidly dispelled as in the consciousness of the broad masses of the United States and in the numerous agencies that "form" public opinion. The government, the churches, radio and cinema, schools and women's clubs, press and science all are being used openly and impudently to prepare the masses for a new war, or rather, for new wars.

Our problem here is not to outline and analyze the imperialist contradictions arising between the United States and other imperialist states (first of all with Great Britain and Japan) brought about by the extended export of capital. We shall merely take up here the consequences that the export of capital will have for the industry of the United States itself, and especially its influence on the development of contradictions between the productive apparatus and the consumers' purchasing power. On one hand, the export of capital helps to a certain degree the development of industrial exports and thus extends the foreign markets of the United States. In some cases (the frequency of which is certainly exaggerated) loans to foreign governments, municipalities or industrial enterprises, are directly linked up with orders for equipment to be placed with American firms. Sometimes these orders are an indirect result of the connections established through the investments made. But the significance of this influence for the growth of industrial exports should not be over-rated. Today it plays a far less important role than during the epoch of the British monopoly, when the export of British capital and the backward stages in the economic development of new countries automatically compelled the acquirement of British equipment and finished goods, or, as was observed during the war, when American loans to the Allies were for the most part made up of supplies of ammunition, food, oil, etc., on credit. At the present time the investment of American capital abroad is no longer so distinctly bound up with the supply of goods, and has become purely financial in character. These investments are made by the banks whose only consideration is a high and sufficiently reliable interest return. The question of influencing industrial exports is now pushed into the background, although the investing banks are the actual owners of corresponding branches of industry. And naturally, the broad strata of the bourgeoisie who purchase these foreign bonds are still less concerned with this question.

### Cutting The Market

Of still greater importance is the fact that export capital, even if it does help to increase industrial exports, creates as it develops an opposite tendency, in the long run outweighing the former.

With the present limited state of the world markets and the desperate struggle that is made for every

trading sphere that has not yet been finally divided up, the flow of investments, directed to the industrial countries of Europe or to the colonies and semi-colonies, there to accelerate the industrialization process, rapidly creates new competitors for American industries working for the export trade. No government "choice" of the direction of export-capital and no attempts on the part of capitalist "planning" itself can change this position. The more favorable are the industrial conditions in the given locality abroad, the cheaper the labor power, etc., the more dangerous becomes the new competitor and it is precisely these regions, that are sought out for investments by capital. Even when export capital appears in the organization of American enterprises, that is, when American capital retains in its own hands not only the distribution of a large part of the profits, but controls also the entire process of production, the situation is in no way changed for American industry.

Meanwhile, as we saw earlier, the basic tendency in this sphere is precisely, that the American firms begin by organizing abroad first their sales agencies, then assembling enterprises are established which increasingly take up the production of various parts locally, which later turn the production of the whole product so as to cut down transport expenses and utilize the cheap labor power on the spot. The profits of American capital are by no means decreased by this practice. On the contrary, they are increased, but the foreign markets for American industries contract inevitably. We have observed time and again in the past, that American trusts completely closed down various enterprises in the United States and transferred their production abroad.

But possibly the export of capital, which supplies the United States with considerable super-profits, causes a compensating tendency (referred to above) through the widening of the home market. True, we note that a certain extension of the home market undoubtedly takes place as a result of the growing consumption of the bourgeoisie and the increased possibility of corrupting the labor aristocracy. But the growth of the personal consumption of the bourgeoisie, despite all the incredible luxury of the American millionaires, is, after all, limited, and besides the American bourgeoisie prefer to spend the profits with which they do not know what to do, in the restaurants and night-clubs of Paris, the Riviera and Italy. The sums spent by American tourists grow as every year goes by, and comprise a very large part of the liabilities of the American balance (in 1927 this sum was 770 million dollars). The bribing of the labor aristocracy with a few crumbs of the super-profits reaped in is not very widespread in scope, as the contingents of skilled workers that capitalism has to corrupt are continually decreasing as a result of rationalization,

and as capitalism is by no means prone to make presents. Meanwhile, the exploitation and position of the broad masses, as a result of the development of capital export, is becoming increasingly worse, and there is no sign of improvement. This was noted by Hobson\* who pointed out that while export capital was increasing the "national income," it also changed the distribution of this income. The capitalists' share was increasing while that of the working class was decreasing. Only the position of the workers in the luxury trades was improving, with an increased demand for the various forms of labor rendering personal services to the bourgeoisie.

### Less Wages

This is precisely what we see today in the United States. The phenomenal growth in the export of capital, facilitating as it does, the corruption of the ever-contracting strata of the labor aristocracy, and increasing the parasitic elements of the population, at the same time worsens the position of the broad working masses and enhances unemployment. Even various representatives of the bourgeoisie, not completely subject to the rapidly growing process of amalgamation between industrial and financial capital, have had to turn their attention to these results of the export of capital. Even Davis, the Secretary of Labor, was forced to declare in one of his speeches dealing with the results of rationalization: "We must ask ourselves how much longer we shall be able to rejoice over our prosperity, if we fail to cover a far larger part of our needs with our own production, instead of lending American money to foreign industries that compete with us. America must have a customs tariff that will not permit the import of any goods that we are able to produce ourselves. Those, whose eyes look abroad, are still further complicating the labor problem in the United States".\*\*

It is plain that Morgan and Co., will not heed these lamentations. But they are very characteristic indeed as they show clear enough the maturing contradictions resulting from the export of capital.

In general the analysis of the causes and consequences of the post-war export of capital from the United States completely bears out, and is a splendid illustration of the well-known statements that Lenin made about capital export:

**"The export of goods—was typical of the former capitalism. But for the new capitalism, with its dominating monopolies, the export of capital has now become typical."**

A very clear example of this tendency is today the United States. Lenin showed how capital arises that seeks investment abroad despite industrial stagnation inside the country.

**"It is plain, that if capitalism developed agriculture . . . it**

would raise the standard of the masses, which despite the great technical progress made, is everywhere below the subsistence level, then there could be no question of a "superfluous" capital . . . But then capitalism would not be capitalism, as the inequality of development and the half-starved position of the masses are inevitable, basic conditions and pre-requisites for this method of production. While capitalism remains capitalism "superfluous capital will not be used to raise the standard of the masses, as this would decrease the profits of the capitalists. Consequently superfluous capital is used to enhance profits by exporting it abroad to the backward countries."\*

Already these causes and sources of export capital demonstrate the "over-ripeness" of capitalism in the given country: The necessity of exporting capital is created by the fact that in a few countries capitalism has become "over-ripe" and that (through the backward condition of agriculture and the poverty of the masses) capitalism has no field of "profitable investment." Meanwhile, the development of capital export still further increases this "over-ripeness," these elements of disintegration and parasitism.

**"The export of capital comprises one of the most vital economic basis of imperialism, it enhances still further the complete separation from production of the rentier class living by the exploitation of the labor of several overseas countries and colonies, and spreads an atmosphere of parasitism throughout the whole country."\*\***

Lenin's statements referred at that time chiefly to Great Britain, where, according to Schulze-Graevenitz, whom he quoted, we find that: "Despite an absolute increase of industrial exports, the relative significance in the national economy of income from interest, dividends, emissions and speculation, was increasing, while the industrial state was growing into a usurer state. But "a rentier state is a state of parasitic, disintegrating capitalism." Even at that time Lenin called attention to the especially rapid growth of these very tendencies in the United States.

**"In the United States" he wrote, "economic development during the last 10 years has been still more rapid than in Germany, and accordingly the parasitic features of this new type of American capitalism have become especially clear."**

Since then these tendencies and especially the export of capital from the United States have grown tremendously. Only the dazzling light of the "American economic miracle," which unfortunately is influencing many alleged Marxian attempts to analyze the economy of the United States, may prevent these elements of parasitism, so dominant at the present time, from being noticed. United States capitalism, as we know it today, is no exception in the general picture of capitalist disintegration, but is in fact its greatest and clearest embodiment. The export of capital, far from being an outlet or valve for the foregoing contradictions is in reality leading to their further growth and intensification.

\* NOTE—Hobson: Capital Export.

\*\* NOTE—Taken from the "Berliner Tageblatt" of May 24, 1928.

\*NOTE—Lenin "Imperialism," page 38.

\*\* NOTE—Lenin "Imperialism."

# The Milltown Rubber Strike

By TOM DE FAZIO

**T**HE recent brief militant strike of 1,200 rubber workers at the Michelin Tire plant in Milltown, New Jersey, is typical of the spontaneous, hotly-fought strikes of unorganized workers breaking out with increasing frequency under the lash of rationalization. Especially significant in this strike was the strong impulse toward organization shown by workers who had been kept carefully isolated in a company town from contact with the labor movement, and yet called for the formation of a union, at their first mass meeting following the walkout, before organizers had entered the situation.

Milltown is a 100% company town after the manner of the feudal strongholds owned by Mellon and Schwab in the Pennsylvania coalfields. It is off the railroad, an hour's ride by trolley from New Brunswick, the nearest town, with one street, (Main street), and long grey squalid one-story wooden company barracks in the shadow of the plant, where the majority of the workers live under the wretched conditions imposed by their starvation wages. The halls are company controlled, and were closed to the strikers, who had to hold their meetings out in the woods off company property in November cold and rain. Mayor, sheriff and police act openly as watchdogs for the company in the same way as the squires and coal and iron police in mining territory.

## Starvation Wages

There are Poles, and some Hungarians and Greeks, but the great majority of the workers are French, imported direct by the company on an illegal contract basis, peasants and fishermen from Brittany, selected as less likely to revolt against exploitation than the city workers. Except for a few highly skilled mechanics, the men get from \$13 to \$20, including a "premium" used to speedup production, and the women, about 25½% of the workers, as low as \$10.000. Last year the profits of the Michelin Tire Company ran to over \$6,000,000.

On Monday November 5th a wagecut of 3½c to 5½c an hour was put into effect, the third cut within recent years. The workers, unorganized and leaderless, struck, 100% solid except for a few of the higher paid skilled mechanics, also forced out as the plant ceased working. The strikers massed around the plant in rough picketlines, some, who had seen demonstrations in France, sang the "Internationale."

## T.U.E.L. Enters Field

The T.U.E.L. learning of the strike situation, sent in Tom De Fazio, and Sam Brody, Frenche-speaking

organizer. Picketlines grew, and by Thursday, the police made its first attack on the line, beating up two of the leading strikers. The clash with the police only increased the determination of the strikers to organize, and a spirited meeting was held out in the woods in the pouring rain. Demands were put forward for: (1) Immediate restoration of the wagecut, and a 10% increase; (2) Recognition of the union; (3) No discrimination because of strike activity; (4) Safeguard against poisonous fumes, etc.

Alarmed by this unexpected resistance the company offered to cut the reduction in half. The strikers unanimously rejected the proposal.

Then Henry J. Hilfers, organizer of the American Federation of Labor appeared on the scene summoned by the company to combat the T.U.E.L. leadership and the sellout began. At the last convention of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, Hilfers, was found guilty of accepting thousands of dollars in bribes from manufacturers for "protection," in his capacity of secretary of the Federation. Hilfers was removed, and later appointed representative of the national A. F. of L. organization for New Jersey. He has a long record of strikebreaking and corruption throughout the state, including an attempt at strikebreaking manoeuvres in the Passaic strike, and at disrupting the Furriers union in Newark.

On his arrival, Friday, Hilfers immediately went into conference, not with the strikers, but with the plant superintendent, the sheriff and the mayor. That evening a sharper attack was made on the picketline than the previous day, the special target being the French T.U.E.L. organizer, Brody, who was so badly beaten that he was disabled for the following week. Hoffman, the Hungarian militant beaten the day before, was slugged and thrown into a car and taken to the county jail. "Get out of town and stay out of town" was the sheriffs ultimatum to the T.U.E.L. organizers.

## A. F. of L. Betrayal

Hilfers began calling meetings, being given the use of the company controlled halls closed to the T.U.E.L. organizers. He sent stoolpigeons among the strikers, advising them to go back to work on the compromise half-reduction. The demand for organization he met by telling the workers the A. F. of L. would build an organization inside the mills after their return. He worked to weaken the strikers' morale by telling them the company would bring in scabs from outside if they refused to go back; "There are others in other towns to take your place" he told them at a meeting,

SALARY	\$ 12.95
PREMIUM	\$ .03
REGULARITY PREM.	\$ _____
NIGHT PREM.	\$ _____
TOTAL.	\$ 12.98

### WHY 1,200 MICHELIN WORKERS STRUCK

This facsimile of an average pay envelope for a week's work in the Michelin tire factory in Milltown, N. J., graphically illustrates one reason why the 1,200 men and women workers in the plant struck their jobs. Note especially the "kindness" of the company in giving a three cent premium to this worker.

And it was workers receiving such wages as these that Hillers, the New Jersey organizer of the A. F. of L. deliberately and consciously betrayed, we presume with the full approval of his superiors in Washington. The masses of the unskilled workers in all industries receive no support from these fakery.

working on their fear of being stranded jobless, strangers in a strange land. The T.U.E.L. he denounced as swindlers, Bolsheviks and Communists, flourishing A. F. of L. documents and representing himself as the only one with a "legal right to carry on organization in New Jersey."

The more conscious elements sized up Hillers immediately. As one of the leading strikers put it:—"We have no interest in people who organize from Michelin for Michelin." Another said: "Hillers says you are Bolsheviks, Communists. Well, if Communists can organize us, let them organize us."

But many, inexperienced in labor battles were disheartened and confused. Both A. F. of L. and T.U.E.L. were new to them, and though the few who knew the ways of labor fakery from the past summed up the situation correctly, the majority lost all confidence, not knowing whom to trust. Besides the T.U.E.L. organizer, still ill, had not returned, and English was a strange and hostile language.

On Tuesday, the 13th, Hillers called a meeting and announced that the "strike committee" formed from

his followers, had decided to end the strike the following day. Two hundred of the most militant strikers were informed that they were laid off. One had worked in the plant for 19 years.

### Wage Cut Stands

Returning, the workers found that Hillers had deliberately lied to get them back to work. The full cut stood, and the company had no intention of returning 50%, as Hillers had repeatedly told them. The statement about building a union after the strike was equally false. Hillers vanished from the scene after his job was done.

Many of the workers who were hesitant while the strike was on, declare that now they realize the strike-breaking role the A. F. of L. has played, and are turning to the T.U.E.L. for organization, though the company threatens to have all those joining the "Bolshevik" union deported. The T.U.E.L. is planning an intensive organization drive among the Michelin workers, as well as those employed in other rubber companies located in that section of New Jersey.

# One Needle Trades Union

(Continued from Page One)

trayals of the workers' interests by the leadership and for democracy in the union. Finally in both the I. L. G. W. U. and in the Furriers' Union, with the support of the overwhelming majority of the membership, the left wing gained control of the most decisive sections of the unions.. With the unions in their hands the left wing successfully lead great struggles against the employers to improve the workers' conditions, in spite of the continuous sabotage of the right wing.

## Reactionary United Front Formed

These successes served to cement more firmly the united front of the old leadership, the Socialist Party, the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, the judges and the police against the left wing. Hundreds of militant workers were beaten up by gangsters, hundreds more were thrown into jail by the city authorities, and the largest sections of the unions were expelled. In short the once powerful unions were destroyed rather than permit them to become real fighting workers' organizations instead of company unions.

The left wing tried until the last to preserve the unions and maintain their fighting power against the bosses, but early this year it became evident that, to further serve the interests of the needle trades' workers, it was necessary to create a new union. Since that time all preparations have been made to insure the success of the conventions called for December 28th and 29th.

But the reactionary forces have not yet lost hope. The old leaders, as agents of the employers, are still trying to prevent the development of a strong left wing organization which they know will be powerful enough to wrest great concessions immediately from the bosses and at the same time prepare the masses for even greater struggles against capitalism. Therefore these reactionary leaders are now trying to accomplish by "peace" maneuvers what they failed to accomplish by open warfare against the membership.

## Schlessinger for "Peace"

In the November 16th issue of "Justice" the official organ of the old gang, Benjamin Schlessinger, who recently took the place of the defeated and discredited Sigman as President of the I. L. G. W., declares his desire "to heal wounds and to bring about harmony and solidarity of action". This speech represents only a beginning in this direction. They tried first to brutally exterminate the left wing and to turn the needle trades' unions into company unions. They failed! Now they will try to accomplish the

same end by peace and harmony maneuvers. And they will again fail!

In order to defeat these maneuvers, however, the left wing leaders must clearly realize, that after months of struggle, many workers can be misled by this fakery unless aggressive counter measures are taken. It must be made clear to every worker that Schlessinger stands for the same company union policy—a policy of cooperation with the employers—as did Sigman. He is for a policy of peace with the employers and warfare against the interests of the workers. Momentarily he talks of peace in the union only to more effectively serve the employers by trying to prevent the building of a real union in the industry. First they tried warfare against the membership and failed. Now they want an armistice to again prepare for an even more bitter struggle against the militant rank and file which he hopes will bring better results for his masters—the needle trades' bosses.

## Intensified Struggle Necessary

The left wing forces must meet these maneuvers by intensified work among the workers in the garment shops, by intensified struggle on all fronts against both the employers and their representatives in the union. The fight for **one union** in the needle trades and for a shop delegate form of organization for this new union must be intensified. These struggles in turn must be closely linked up with the struggle to re-establish union conditions and job control in the garment factories.

The left wing needle trades' leaders have shown in the past that they could wage the most determined and on the whole successful struggle against the employers and all their henchmen both inside and outside of the union. Now they must intensify their work to checkmate this latest move of the reactionaries.

There is every indication that in this they will also be successful and that the conventions of December 28 and 29 will represent the great majority of the ladies garment workers and the furriers. The plan is to open with two conventions, one of cloak and dressmakers, the other of furriers, and then, after certain preliminary work has been done, to amalgamate these two conventions and to form **one union** to include both groups of workers.

This will conclude the first step in the greater task of bringing about one union for the entire needle trades industry which will be able to completely establish union conditions in the garment factories of the United States.

# National Miners Union Moves West

(Continued from Page 3)

and Ohio. Swiftly on the heels of this comes their wage cutting scheme, and from the top of the Allegheny and Blue Ridge mountains of the East, to the tops of the Rocky Mountains of the West, nothing escapes them; their work is one of stealing and plundering, nothing is allowed to get in their road when they are putting over the operators' program.

Until now we come to Wyoming. Wyoming is the last to be attacked. The treacherous, traitorous Lewis murder machine (literally murderous, think how many opposing miners their gunmen have shot down during the last year!) kept Wyoming men at work while they destroyed the eastern sections of the union. Now they train their guns on this western section, telling them to take the same wage cut that prevails elsewhere.

While pleading with the coal miners of Wyoming, for the coal operators, Hefferly, the Lewis henchman had this to say: (He was addressing the delegates in the district convention at Cheyenne):

**"The coal operators of Wyoming have been very gracious and good to you boys for the last seven years, therefore you must be manly in your dealings; you must be willing to reciprocate, return good for good, and so therefore I know of nothing more fitting, more becoming of men like yourselves than to vote to accept the agreement which is now pending."**

Even though the convention did not accept it, these Lewis officials tried to stampede the men back at the mines; they sent out word that the contract had been accepted! They even said when it would take effect, Oct. 16! Instantly like a lighted match applied to an open gas tank, the membership flared up; sporadic strikes sprang up everywhere, and by the 18th the whole district was seething.

The class collaboration officials and the bosses alike seized upon the idea of rushing the meeting halls where mass meetings were in progress in order to intimidate and browbeat the men back to their jobs. It was here that they got the surprise of their lives, for under no circumstances would the men give them a hearing, and in some instances these misleaders were thrown bodily out of the halls.

These tactics struck terror into the official hearts of the Lewis outfit, and it was not long until they discovered the contract was not accepted after all, and must be submitted to a referendum, which was done October 29.

To the surprise of the fakers the representatives of the National Miners Union dropped in before the vote; immediately circulars were distributed exposing the corrupt and thieving methods of the machine,

admonishing every one to vote, and advising them that their vote would be stolen unless they stayed and watched it counted. The circulars called upon them to not only reject the contract, but to reject the company union, which was what the old U. M. W. A. had become, to join the National Miners Union, and quit paying dues to the enemy but to pay dues to the National Miners Union, which holds out the only hope for real unionism that the American coal miner has.

Circulars by the thousands, carrying this message were hurriedly distributed throughout the Wyoming coal fields.

## Prevent Fraudulent Count

As one result of this propaganda, a clever maneuver was carried out from one of the Rock Spring locals, which wired every local in the state to immediately telegraph the result of the vote to the Rock Springs secretary, the moment it was counted. Within three hours after the polls had closed, I had the returns from practically every local in the district. The Lewis gang did not have any chance to steal the vote, and as a result the bosses and their Lewis official lieutenants were knocked for a roll, by a two to one vote against them.

The very next morning the officials and the bosses alike advised the men to stick to their jobs so as not to have any reduction in their wages, proving that the officials must have had this understanding with the companies in advance.

On Nov. 8 the Lewis-operator combination again locked itself behind closed doors in a conference, and gave out absolutely nothing. Their silence did not worry our forces. We knew what they were doing; we knew they were conspiring to put the operators' wage cut program across, and now we see that with the able assistance of the master diplomat of the Lewis wrecking crew, John P. White, the task is again under way. They have decided that there is only one thing to be done, they must steal the referendum after all, so they are going to make the miners vote again on the same proposition. They have every henchman and stoolpigeon desperately on the job, and it is certainly great to see the class collaborationist officials of the old union, now a company union, and the bosses alike feverishly laboring to make the rank and file take a wage cut. I predict another defeat for Lewis. We must prevent them from stealing the vote. And the National Miners Union must be substituted for the old Lewis run, operator controlled, United Mine Workers of America.

# The Negro Hunts A Job

(Continued from Page 19)

bodies have proved to be an effective obstacle to the industrial advancement of Negro workers. Charles H. Wesley in his *Negro Labor in the United States* prints a long chapter (Chapter IX, "Organized Labor and the Negro") dealing in great detail with the relation between organized labor and the Negro. Theoretically, the American Federation of Labor has always stood for the inclusion of the Negro in the ranks of organized labor. Practically, while a small number of unions have excluded Negroes from membership by constitutional provision and by-laws, the great majority have simply refused to accept them when they applied for membership.

The American Negroes are industrially unskilled mass workers, confined to those jobs which pay the lowest wages and demand the heaviest work. Within the industries which do employ Negro labor, the line of separation between white man and black man is usually the line which separates the highly paid, clean, comfortable jobs, from the low-paid, dirty, heavy work.

Until the World War the Negro freeman remained a field hand or a domestic worker. Within the last few years, however, he has launched a mass movement which aims to provide for the Negro worker an industrial opportunity equal to that of a white worker.

## A Brief Review of Events

### Grand Jury Returns Conspiracy Indictments Against 25 Leading New Bedford Strikers

Twenty-five leaders of the New Bedford textile strike and leaders of working class organizations have been indicted by the New Bedford Grand Jury charged with "conspiracy to disturb the peace" and "conspiracy to parade without a permit." Thus a new mass trial is framed-up against the New Bedford textile workers and against the New Bedford Textile Union, just a few days before 662 strikers are to appear in the New Bedford Superior Court to answer to 882 separate charges on which they were all found guilty in the district court, as a result of the police persecution in the New Bedford textile strike.

Alfred Wagenknecht, Executive Secretary of the International Labor Defense, which is defending these workers, when informed of the new attempt to frame-up the strikers and their leaders said:

"The International Labor Defense is issuing a call to all affiliations today requesting that membership meetings be held in every city for the purpose of mobilizing masses of workers in protest demonstrations against the attempt of the textile mill barons to railroad these strike leaders to jail. Instructions are being sent to all locals of the organization to call delegate conferences of labor unions and other workers organizations in order to acquaint them with this frame-up and secure their participation in defense of the New Bedford defendants and in the I. L. D. Christmas campaign.

"The International Labor Defense calls on all workers and sympathizers to immediately rally to the defense of the New Bedford strikers and of those indicted for conspiracy, and to send funds immediately to the National Office of the International Labor Defense at 80 East 11th Street, Room 402, New York City." Meetings are also being held in many cities.

The crudeness of the Frame-up against the New Bedford strikers is seen by the fact that the Evening Standard, the bosses paper printed in New Bedford, in reporting the new charges listed the name of Paul Crouch as "Paul Crouch alias Paul Crouse." Crouch was in New Bedford as a

representative of the Young Workers League during the strike, fighting against the railroading to prison of John Porter, who was at that time active in the strike and who is now Vice-President of the New Bedford Textile Workers Union. Of course Crouch used no other name than his own, but the Massachusetts frame-up system has again been set in motion and an attempt is being made to brand these working class leaders with a criminal record in order to make their railroading to prison easy, just as was done in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Those who are indicted in the conspiracy charges are as follows: Albert Weisbord, Frederick Biedenkapp, Paul Crouch, Nathan G. Kay, Ellen Dawson, Elizabeth Donneley, Eli Keller, Eulalia Mendes, John Pelczar, Elsie Pultur, Jack Rubenstein, Jackson Katsikaros, Louis Katsikaros, Alphonse I. Lameiras, Germaine J. Medeiros, Maria C. Silva, Mary Silva, Augusto C. G. Pinto, Masmiro Lameiras, Manual Machado and Manuel Pitta.

### Government Flouts Trainmen

No one was much surprised when the rail emergency labor board which had sat in Chicago during October rendered its decision in Washington. The board gave the conductors and trainmen a choice of 3 evils. The significant thing is that each of these choices had been previously offered by the railroads and were still open to the men when final arguments before the board were concluded. The board parrots the offers of the roads to the men. The board members all being of the investing class. Not a labor idea ever got near them.

### Filipino Stevedores' Strike Broken

Stevedores along the waterfront of Cebu, Philippine Islands, went on strike for a wage of 2 pesos (\$1) a day, according to dispatches received from Manila. More than 3000 men were involved.

Shipping was practically tied up at the port, until steamship companies, backed up by the Chamber of Commerce, used soldiers of the Philippine constabulary at dock entrances, brought in strike-breakers and defeated the stevedores' union.



# THE MACHINIST CONVENTION

By WILLIAM SIMONS

**T**HE 18th convention of the International Association of Machinists, held at the fashionable Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia, Sept. 17th-27th was completely reactionary. Progressive notes struck in the Rochester and Detroit conventions (1920-1924) gave way to a gruff reactionary tone. The article on the convention in the September issue of "Labor Unity" proved correct, in estimating that there would be combined attack by the grand lodge and the Chicago Fry machine against the communists and the progressive elements. Fry's propositions for convention election of Grand Lodge officers and for compulsory insurance were both voted down. On fundamentals Fry was with the grand lodge gang. The rift between Davison, Secretary Treasurer, and International President Wharton, on which some progressives laid much stress, did not reveal itself. Those who expected Wharton to go along with the old Anderson forces (Chicago, New York, etc.) against the Grand Lodge, were sorely disappointed. Wharton did want more power independent of the executive council, but he did not dare to step out in the open and fight for it.

## An Employers' Program

The Grand Lodge officers step out of this convention with more power over local lodges, determined to watch more closely the activities of the business agents, and of the local lodges. The program of the bureaucracy is to keep the local lodges from affiliation with any movement that has the slightest red tinge, to prevent the circulation of any literature against the official policy and to rid the union of any members who dare to oppose this policy. Class collaboration with a vengeance; continuation and extension of the B. & O. Plan, of "co-operation" with the employers) extending the roots of the Mt. Vernon Savings Bank into the local lodges and into the members' home through individual savings accounts and stock buying, continuing to vote for capitalist candidates on the old party tickets, this is the program laid down by the convention. This program ran through the resolutions adopted, through the discussion (what little there was), through the officers' report, and through the speeches of the officers and invited guests. The convention consolidated the reactionary forces.

Terrorism started off with a bang on the very first day of the convention when the credential from Lodge 199, Chicago, was questioned. Sinclair, Lodge 3, stated that he had been asked by Simons to say that the latter had challenged the credential from 199, as Simons had been duly elected at the regular election and had been removed without just cause. Charley Fry, the big boss of Chicago, issued this warning: "Simons was canned for being a communist, and if Sinclair wants to sympathize with him, we will can him too, if that is any news to him".

The power of the Grand Lodge machine was first noted on the opening day in the vote, 107 to 88, to seat delegates of Lodge 1528, against the will of the Chicago machine. The debate was made interesting by Business Agent Uhlmann's charges of "racketeering" against Cline; business agent of Lodge 1528; charging Cline with this defiant speech in lodge 1528: "Yes boys, I am crooked. What about it? I have got to be crooked on this job, in order to get something by for you fellows".

## Main Convention Decisions

The executive council remains as it was. Fry's proposition was to reduce the number of vice-presidents from 7 to 3,

and elect an executive board of five. Lodge 337 proposed a rank and file executive board of 9, each member to be elected in his own district. The status quo was maintained by a roll call vote of 292 to 165.

The proposal to lengthen the term of office for grand lodge officers from two years to four years came first as a brazen proposal to permit the present officers (elected until 1929) to serve until 1931. An amendment carried for a four-year term to start in 1929.

An amendment to prevent the international president from suspending or expelling members, and insisting that charges be placed against members in their own local lodge, was voted down.

To offset resolutions calling for a reduction in officers' salaries, much propoganda was spread for increasing Wharton's salary, but no change was made in officers' salaries. Fry boosted Wharton, saying "What we need is a boss". Much criticism was made of the grand lodge officers in resolutions, and in speeches, saying that they had done nothing, were passing the buck, etc. No wonder they didn't dare raise salaries!

Minimum dues for journeymen and specialists were raised from \$1.50 to \$1.75 a month. Supporting the change, one of the law committeemen stated: "There are some people that you just have to take it away from; there are some people that you cannot educate." The original proposal for \$2 a month was defeated.

Fry's proposition for election of grand lodge officers by the convention was voted down. Fry had the gall to say: "Men are being disfranchised, shellshocked and gassed by your referendum vote in the election of officers". The crookedness of the grand lodge machine he attributes to the referendum. In Chicago Fry, the Democrat, has only recently, blackjacked progressives.

Fry's compulsory insurance plan was defeated, but new members must pay \$1.50 the first quarterly payment.

A resolution calling for efficient shop committees was defeated, on the pretense that lodges had such power.

The 40-hour week resolution was not accepted; the substitute carried, calling for 42 hours on the railroad, and 40 hours in contract shops to be proposed where the union is strong.

It was made mandatory to hold a convention every four years; the referendum on this question was eliminated to save expense, since conventions have been voted by referendum of the membership. The proposal for a convention every two years was voted down.

Voters can still be identified. They do not have to sign the ballot, but there is a corresponding serial number on the ballot, and on the perforated stub which is to be signed.

The attempt to increase the number of necessary endorsements for a referendum from 10% to 20% of the total number of local lodges (advocated by Sec'y Treasurer Davison to eliminate communist propoganda) was defeated by a vote of 122 to 87, when it was shown that even 10% was enough to bar progressive measures from getting a referendum. Davison's alarm at \$14,000 spent in four years for the referendum is sheer hypocrisy, when one considers that the average expense of the I. A. of M. grand lodge for one year was over \$700,000.

It was decided to discontinue scholarships to Brookwood College, because it was too radical.

### Class Collaboration the Keynote.

The welcoming speeches declared that there was no difference between a machinist and a banker; they were both workers. The Georgia state superintendent of banks and the I. A. of M. attorney both lauded "the wonderful age we live in". Resolution 26 against the B. & O. Plan was voted down without discussion. The executive council amendment was carried, to eliminate that constitutional clause which prohibited delegates to the A. F. of L. convention from voting for officers who are active or honorary members of the National Civic Federation.

The number of strikes has diminished, the officers don't believe in strikes. Fry once stated in Chicago that the day of strikes had gone; he later denied having said it. But in this convention, Fry stated his policy of telling the employer: "You can have relations with these men without the possibility of strikes". The amount of donations to strikers has dwindled to almost nothing (the regular system of strike benefit was done away with in 1921).

To help put this class collaboration program over, a campaign was instituted against those who opposed it. The appeals of Tim Buck, Lodge 235, Canada, and H. G. Price, Lodge 79, against expulsion orders by Wharton for "communistic activities" were given scant hearing, despite evidence that Price had never had a trial and that the evidence against him, membership in a Miners' Relief Committee, singled him out for an action of the lodge which had duly elected him to that committee. Yet the action of Wharton was approved. The I. A. of M. has intensified its expulsion campaign, branding any opposition to its devastating program as "communistic activity". This campaign was especially marked in the Chicago District, where Wm. Mauseth, Lodge 113 was expelled for distributing the Progressive Statement on the I. A. of M. Convention. Wm. Simons, Lodge 199, convicted by a farcical trial and lodge procedure of being a Communist, was saved from expulsion, the reactionary forces failing to get the necessary two-thirds vote for expulsion. The expulsion campaign is on in full swing.

### Craft Unionism Maintained.

Despite the admission of James O'Connell, President of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. in his speech of welcome that "What was a skilled job yesterday is a specialist's job today; and what is a specialist's job today is a handy man's job tomorrow", still the resolution for amalgamation was defeated without discussion. The officers' report referring to the Railway Employees Department blamed the 1922 railway strike on the "radical element"; it complained that "the laws of the department were constantly amended to encourage the industrial form of organization and disloyalty to the international unions". The executive councils was given power by the convention to withdraw from the Railway Department, if they saw fit.

This narrow, craft attitude is maintained despite the bitter jurisdictional dispute with the plumbers and the street carmen. Outside of the dispute with the street carmen, there are 77 disputes with 17 international unions.

Speaking of one of the jurisdictional decisions of the A. F. of L., President Wharton stated boldly: "We have not complied with that request and I don't think we ever will." A changing industry doing away with the craft skill—and the I. A. of M. meets it by a provincial, backward policy, by carrying on bitter, jurisdictional warfare with other international Unions.

### Organization Work Fails

The officers report makes great claims of organizing work done, and in the A. F. of L. campaign exonerates the grand lodge officials. But these officials are to blame as well. They

appointed one special organizer in Detroit, and when he refused to go along with the grand lodge machine, they yanked him out. The officers' report refers to over 50,000 new members coming in during the last few years; which would mean the dropping of more than that number: failure of the organization to hold old and new members. Reports in "Labor" claim increasing membership; but no membership figures are given in the officers report.

American Labor Year Book figures are as follows: 1920-330,800; 1922-180,900; 1924-77,900; 1925-71,400; 1926-71,400; 1927-72,300;. Based on stamp sale per-capita from local lodges, plus unemployed and strike stamps, the figures would be: 1924-71,715; 1925-65,863; 1926-64,721; 1927-65,497. Per capita to the Ladies Auxiliary was paid on a membership of 1926-71,499; 1927-71,598; and for the first six months of 1928, on 69,600. Per capita to the A. F. of L. shows 1925 and 1926 paying more than 1924; but 1927 and 1928 less than 1924. The figures cited above show clearly a loss of membership since 1924. Fry in Chicago stated that the membership is now about 65,000.

And yet, general organizing expense varied from \$82,757 in 1924, to \$114,970 in 1927, with 7 international vice-presidents, 14 general representatives (supposed to be organizers), outside of the 48 cities business agents and 10 railroad business agents reporting regularly to the grand lodge. A big staff, enormous expense, and no results.

### Old Party Politics

A resolution for a labor party was defeated. Members were urged to study the records and speeches of the various candidates for president and vote accordingly. A resolution to draft capital in time of war was tabled. Members were urged to take more interest in elections, and to put I. A. of M. members up for office whenever possible. One of the machinist lobbyists at Washington pointed out "the men who call themselves union men, and who are nothing more than card men, are now occupying chairs in the House of Representatives". Yet, the policy is continued to elect more of these traitors to Congress, on the old party tickets. Old age and unemployment insurance laws were recommended, not federal laws covering the entire nation, but state laws, contributions to be made equally by the state, employers and employees. Resolutions for federal laws on these subjects were rejected.

On company unions, the officers' report utters strong words of condemnation, but it adds "this problem cannot be decided by conflict". The convention offered no solution, either. The only answer they give is the acceptance by the bosses of the union's company union plan "the union-management cooperation plan".

The definition of "women workers" was eliminated from the constitution; this will undoubtedly be the basis of ridding the constitution of all reference to women workers. The ratio of apprentices was changed from 1 to 5 journeymen, to 1 to 10 journeymen.

The attempt to admit Negroes into the union met with failure once more. Negroes are barred not by the constitution, but by the ritual, that secret order mummery, which binds each newcomer to pledge that he will propose for membership none other than a white, sober, and industrious machinist. (This convention eliminated the word "SOBER" from the ritual). But the bar against the Negro remains.

Affiliation with the International Metal Workers Federation is continued. The officers' report hardly mentions it, except to say that as a result of such affiliation, machinists from Europe usually apply to the I. A. of M. for a transfer, upon arrival in this country.

### Moves Backward

The Atlanta convention moved backward. In Detroit, the 4-year term for officers was defeated; Atlanta carried it. In Detroit, after some discussion, 33 votes were registered against the B. & O. Plan as against 126 votes for the Plan; at Atlanta, the Plan was endorsed without discussion. In Detroit, the Jensen substitute on amalgamation to put teeth into the measure got 148 votes on a roll call, as against 324, while the committee substitute endorsing amalgamation and instructing the grand lodge officers to take advantage of all opportunities for amalgamation was then carried. At Atlanta, the Amalgamation resolution was defeated without discussion. The Detroit convention adopted a resolution for recognition of Soviet Russia; Atlanta defeated it without discussion, the grand lodge officers whining later that they were tricked in Detroit on this question by false arguments for recognition. The Detroit Convention voted to maintain biennial conventions; Atlanta voted for conventions every four years. Detroit had some discussion on the labor party; Atlanta voted it down without discussion.

### What Can Be Done?

The Grand Lodge machine is wielding the big stick; the mailed fist is ready for any opposition. Chicago for the last few months has coupled expulsions of leading progressive elements with slugging them. This threat must be met.

An energetic struggle must be waged against the policies of the grand lodge. In the coming convention decisions' referendum, the reactionary decisions must be opposed; in

later referendums, constructive changes must be proposed. A strong campaign must be made against expulsions.

In the past, the progressives made considerable headway in the Chicago District, in district elections and in some of the local lodges. but the work in the rest of the country did not keep pace. The progressive elements inside of the I. A. of M. must work on a national scale. The coming district and local lodge elections must be utilized for putting up a progressive program and candidates. Preparations must begin for the 1929 grand lodge election of officers, in order to consolidate the opposition to the reactionary forces.

The grand lodge bureaucrats are trying to brand as communist and expel any member who dares to challenge their autocratic, arbitrary and reactionary rule. This challenge must be met. Expulsions can only be stopped by fighting them hard; to permit expulsions to stand means that there is no end to them. Progressives must get together in local lodges, in district lodges, and throughout the country. So long as the reactionary officials are in the saddle it will be impossible to change the policy of the officials. In 1925 the grand lodge officials stole the elections, to keep themselves in power. Through the blue-sky locals they now control elections and referendums. Hope for the machinists lies in the membership of the I. A. of M., in the progressive elements.

**The membership of the union must be rallied for a progressive program, and for progressive officers. Push forward progressive measures! Oust the reactionary officials! This is the immediate program for work in the I. A. of M. in the immediate period ahead.**

# International Labor Notes

### German Textile Strike Spreading

With German textile wages averaging only 14 cents an hour, 300,000 textile workers of the Rhineland will probably walk out on strike for a pay increase. Wage contracts expire this month.

Skilled men textile workers average 18 cents and skilled women 13 cents an hour, according to a report from Germany to the U. S. Department of Commerce. Unskilled men earn 15 cents and the unskilled women not quite 11 cents an hour. For a 48-hour week this means less than \$10 a week even for skilled men workers. Unskilled women workers are averaging \$5.13 a week.

Living is not cheap in Germany. Cost of food and rent is slightly less than in American industrial centres. Potatoes are cheap but not meat, eggs or milk. Cost of clothing is quite equal to clothing costs in cities of the United States.

Less than a cent an hour increase was offered 190,000 textile workers of the West Prussian district instead of the substantial increase demanded by the workers. Mill owners declared that a general lockout in the whole textile industry of Germany would bring the workers to terms.

—F. P.

### German Steel Lockout

A lockout of 213,000 workers in the heavy iron and steel industry of northwest Germany began Nov. 1. The die-hard steel magnates are defying the 3 trade unions in the industry.

Wages are the principal issue. The unions had agreed on a demand for 15 pfennigs per hour increase. This would bring wages to 21½c an hour for the skilled group. The government arbitrator compromised at an increase to 20c an hour. The unions accepted the award. The employers did not.

### Russian Co-ops Grow

Addressing the 6th biennial congress of the Cooperative League of the United States at Waukegan, the Russian fraternal delegates N. E. Sverdlov, representative of Centrosoyus, the central coop. of the Soviet Union, said:

"The Soviet cooperative system has a membership of over 22,500,000 organized in 28,600 consumer societies maintaining 85,028 stores. We serve over half of the urban population and 40% of the peasant households. The Centrosoyus is not only the wholesale department of the system but the organizing center.

"The gross turnover of the consumers cooperative system for the year ended Sept. 30 1928 was \$9,370,000,000. In the preceding year the city populations made 64.5% of their total purchases in coop stores and the rural populations 57.4%.

"Our coops handle 40% of the entire production of metal goods, 65% of leather and shoes, 76% of rubber goods, 80% of cotton textiles, 85% of sugar and 90% of salt. We handle the entire tea business of the country. We contract direct with the government factories and syndicates for long terms to supply our stores. We collected 128,000,000 bushels of grain the past year and a large share of meat, butter and eggs. Our prices are 15 to 20% lower on the average than our private competitors.—F. P.

### Factory Fire Kills Fourteen

When the Preble Box Toe Co. stored its factory full of celluloid and other highly inflammable substances it apparently did not care that it was building a death trap for its workers. Something started a fire, Nev. 8, and before they could get out of the building ten employees were killed. A mother and four children living in a nearby home were also burned to death.

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**SOVIET TRADE UNIONS**, by Robt. W. Dunn. Just published. "The purpose of this book is to provide an introductory picture of the trade unions in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, a country which has as its official motto: 'Proletarians of All Countries, Unite!'" 50 cents

**LABOR PROTECTION IN SOVIET RUSSIA**, by Dr. George M. Price. A first hand account of the protection accorded the Russian worker today, by an American authority on factory sanitation and industrial hygiene. \$1.25

**PROGRAM OF THE TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE**, Adopted by the Third National Conference, New York, December 3-4 1927. An analysis of the crisis in the labor movement, and a complete outline for struggle on many fronts. The basis of T. U. E. L. activities. 5 cents

**COMPANY UNIONS**, by Robt. W. Dunn. Employers as labor leaders carefully examined. Many examples given. Yellow dog contracts and "Co-operation" between employers and employees. 25 cents

**WHITHER CHINA?** by Scott Nearing. A leading economist of America finds the political confusion of China to depend on the clashing classes there, and prophesies the next step. \$1.75

**THE CIVIL WAR IN NATIONALIST CHINA**, by Earl Browder. While editor of Labor Unity, Browder travelled with the International Workers Delegation entirely across China at the height of the critical period of the reaction against the left wing in the Koumintang. 25 cents

**THE AMERICANIZATION OF LABOR**, by Robert W. Dunn. The various devices, open and secret, used by employers and their associations to prevent unionization of the workers. \$1.90

**THE LIFE AND DEATH OF SACCO AND VANZETTI**, by Eugene Lyons. A complete and vivid account of the great social drama told against the background of immigrant life in America. \$1.50

**HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS**, by Anthony Gimba. The organizations and the activities of both the economic and political phases of the labor movement during the past hundred years. \$2.75

**THE WORKER LOOKS AT GOVERNMENT**, by Arthur W. Calhoun. A popular exposition of the nature of the U. S. government under the prevailing economic system. \$1.60

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Section of the Russian Trade Unions, the T.U.E.L. of America, Minority Movement of England, and All-China Labor Federation.

At this writing it is not possible to say who the delegates were at the October meeting of the Secretariat, aside from the officials who have signed the call, but the unions represented were undoubtedly substantially those named above.

### Fights Imperialism

The Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat struggles continuously against imperialism, for the organization of the unorganized, and for trade union unity, in unions controlled by organs the workers by organizational activity, and through its publication, the Pan Pacific Worker, Australian edition, published at Trades Hall, Sydney, Australia through the Pan Pacific Relations Committee of Australian Council of Trade Unions, The Pan Pacific Worker, of Shanghai (suppressed by the government) and other publications.

The Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat has attracted great attention among the exploited and oppressed peoples of the East, and has worked tirelessly to drive home to the working class of the imperialist powers the fact that their own interests are closely bound up with the tremendous struggles of the workers and peasants of the Orient for higher standards of living and national independence.

### Against Chinese Terror

By being formed in China and at a time when the Chinese revolution was at its height, a great part of the work of the P.P.T.U.S. has been devoted to the aid of the Chinese trade unions, which were savagely attacked by the white terror following the betrayal of the revolution by Chiang Kai-shek supported by the imperialists. However, other results have been accomplished as well, such as developing the trade union unity movement and the revival of the Filipino trade unions, linking up the trade unions of India (which is little more than a huge prison of British imperialism) with the world movement; the assistance to the strong but confused trade union movement of



STRANGLING A WORKER IN CHINA

Conditions such as these, show the intenseness of the struggle in the Pacific area in which the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat defends the workers.

Australia, aid to Japanese and Korean trade unions, fighting against the war danger and imperialist aggression.

As such, the P.P.T.U.S. is one of the best hated organizations in the world, by the big capitalists of four continents. All the more reason why the workers of the Americas, of Asia and Australasia and the island colonies of the Pacific should rally to the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, affiliate their organizations with it, and send representatives to the Vladivostok congress in August.

## "BIG BILL" HAYWOOD RETURNS

Half of the ashes of Wm. D. ("Big Bill") Haywood were buried under the Kremlin wall in the Red Square of Moscow, the capital of the first workers' republic and the center of that proletarian revolution to which Haywood gave his whole life.

The other half of the ashes, were, by his own request, brought to America, and laid in state in New York on Nov. 7 and 8, after which they were taken to Chicago, to be buried in Waldheim cemetery besides those of the Haymarket victims, whose martyrdom according to Haywood's own story, marked a turning point in his life and made him realize that he was a revolutionist.