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Official Organ of The Trade Union Educational League



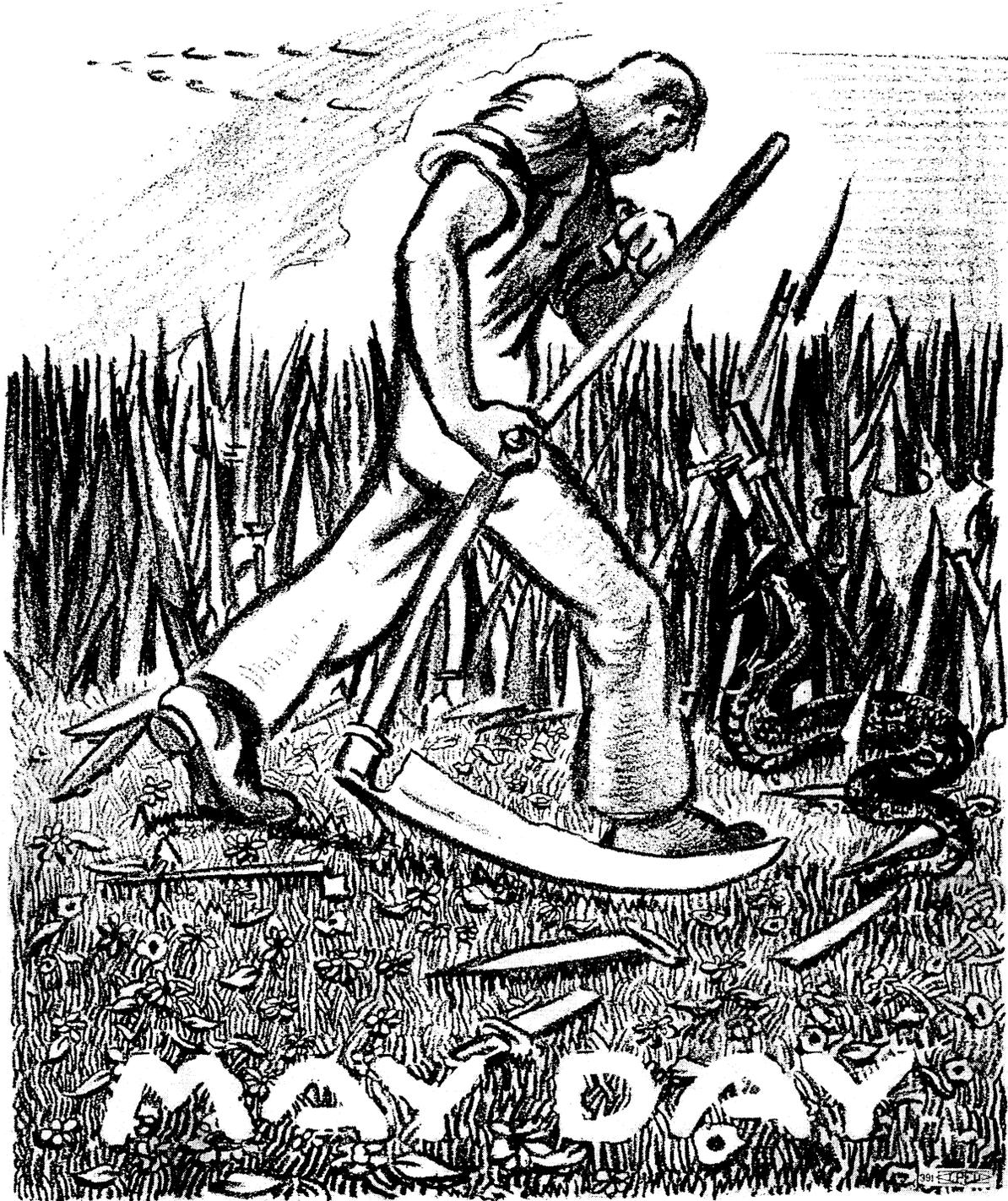
MAY 1924

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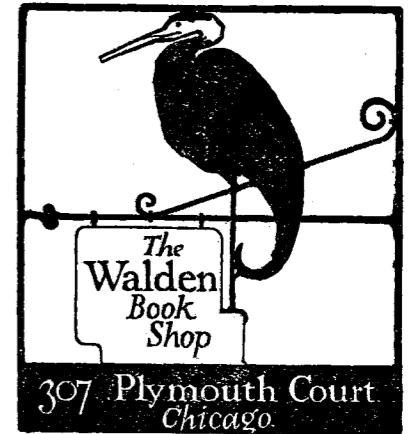
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MAY, 1924



No. 3

Doings and Misdoings of the Month

Making the Franc Toe the Mark

BUSINESS has been not only good, but excellent for that amiable international pawnbroker, J. P. Morgan, who now holds in hock both the French and German nations after a few weeks dickering—not forgetting that he left the United States government at home for the baby to play with when he went sailing over the raging main.

Strangely enough, cuss words in both French and German, indicate that the main has no monopoly on raging. The French government, whose mania for subsidizing White Guard armies and "cordons sanitaire" against Bolshevism had sent the franc into a tail-spin dive, is, naturally, officially and personally thankful that Morgan tossed France a life-preserver of a loan, but some non-governmental Frenchmen are sarcastically remarking that Morgan's bank holds hundreds of millions of French securities which would have evaporated if the franc continued downward.

Besides taking away his halo of an unselfish financial Jesus redeeming the world, some Frenchmen were shockingly ungrateful because Morgan's loan sent the franc up again and they—capitalist gamblers first and French patriots second—had "sold short" on francs and—"sacre bleu!"—had to sell their stocks and bonds at ruinous prices to buy the francs they had sold without owning. And their grouch grew when it was learned that Morgan's agents on the inside knew the loan and the rise was coming, deliberately cornered the franc and ruined French money gamblers. The life-preserver is thus seen to have a rope attached to it.

"Be thou comforted," said Morgan, playing to the nationalist spirit of the French, and, speaking through the newspaper *Eclairneur* he remarked, "I am pleased extremely to learn that your senate has ratified new taxation. But it is quite understood that Germany must pay you."

"Making Germany Pay"

MR. MORGAN, having soothed the French with the dictum that "Germany must pay"; his office boy, "Hell-and-Maria" Dawes of the labor-baiting open-shoppers organized in the

"Minute Men of the Constitution," at once echoed in the now famous and ultimately infamous "Dawes Report on Reparations" that—"Germany must pay."

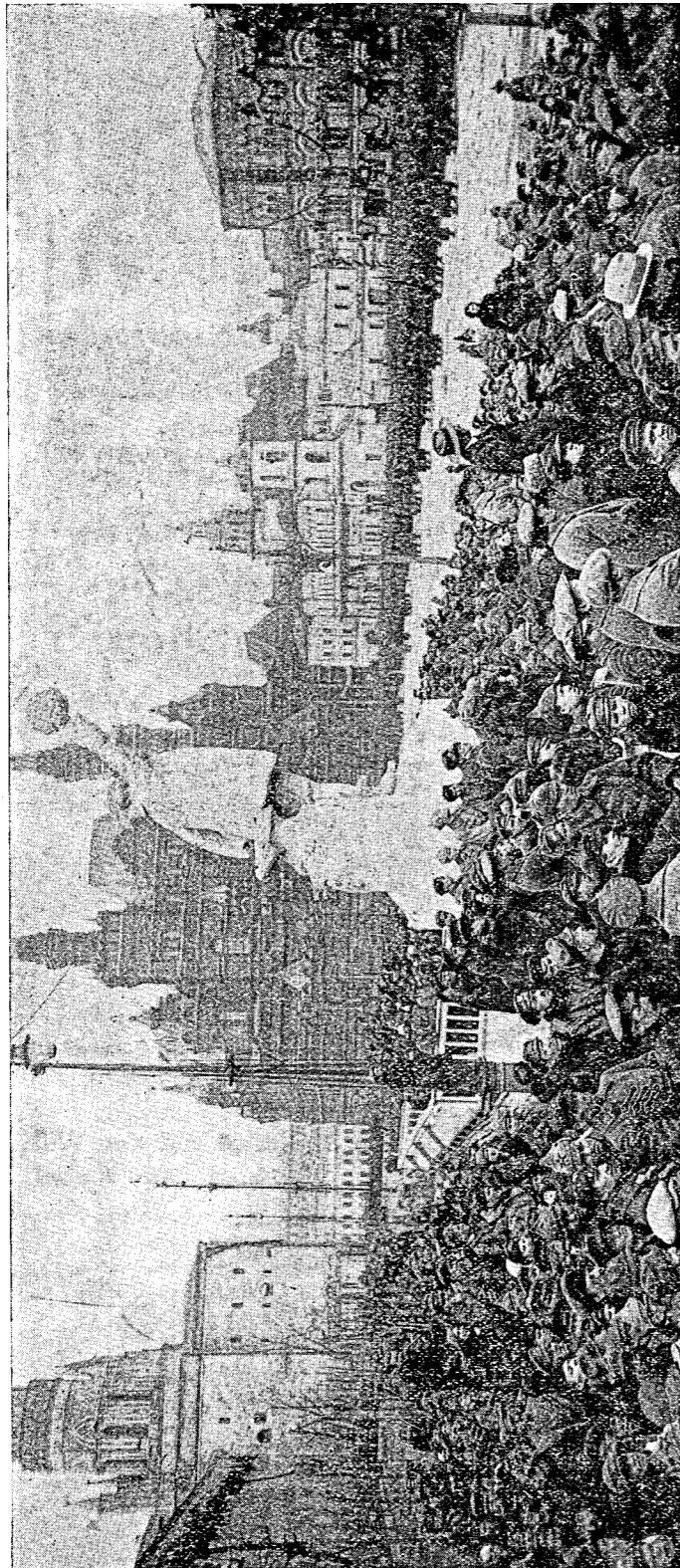
Those millions of workers whose lives were snuffed out in the imperialist war, be they Allied or German, did not cause the war; neither did those workers who escaped slaughter, even those in Germany. Hence, in all reparations talk where the Russian Bolsheviks have entered, they insist that capitalism, both Allied and German, caused the war and, therefore, "Capitalism should pay."

But, granting that German capitalism is particularly guilty, and that according to the formula of "No penny, no paternoster" this guilt can only receive forgiveness C. O. D., is there, in the Dawes scheme of sprinkling the holy water of "reparations" over the robbery of the Versailles Treaty, any provision that German capitalism must pay? Is there any clause safeguarding the German working class against the whole reparation bill being loaded onto it by the German capitalists who will continue to pile up billions in profits?

Quite to the contrary, the Dawes Report insists that Germany "must have her hands free to exploit her economic resources," a most important part of which is the labor power of German workers; all meaning that any measures of suppression of armed white terror of German workers who may resist this added burden, should be morally approved by the Allies.

What the terms are upon which German capitalism has accepted the job of getting "reparations" out of the hides of the German proletariat, may be easily seen in the speech of Kurt O. Sorge, President of the Association of German Industry, delivered before that body at Berlin in April.

Herr Sorge spoke right out and said that if the German government wanted the support of German capitalism it must agree to seven proposals of capital: 1) The political power of the trade unions must be destroyed. 2) The government must stop direct negotiations with the trade unions. 3) The eight-hour-day law must be repealed. 4) A united front of trade unions in industrial decisions must be prohibited. 5)



May Day in Moscow, 1923

LOOKING north on the famous Red Square. At extreme left is the Northeast corner of the Kremlin wall. The statue in the center is of a worker, greeting with uplifted cap the International Labor Day. Behind it on the north side of the Square is a museum containing the relics of a thousand years. In the distance, between the Museum and the Kremlin wall can be seen the Second House of the Unions. There are eight great buildings devoted to the unions in Moscow. The first one is headquarters of the unions of all Russia. There are free hotels for union men as well as offices, libraries and lecture halls. The crowd is interesting. Note the Red Soldiers in left foreground.

The five-pointed red star on their caps represents the five continents—for Red Soldiers are taught they are soldiers of world revolution, not of Russia alone. The "troops" on parade are, in reality, students of the military schools, where they are taught history, sociology and political economy as well as military science. Besides these, and out-numbering them ten to one, are the armed union workers. Men and women work, drill and fight together in equality. Thus the union is the bulwark of the workers' dictatorship. From America, land of Teapot government, injunctions and jails, let us hail the 5,000,000 armed union men and women of Soviet Russia on the First of May!

Compulsory arbitration of wage disputes must be restricted (to those where the workers have the upper hand!). 6) All nationalized industry must be given over to private ownership. 7) High tariff rates on commodities used in Germany.

Far from giving up its profits, German capital is thus shown to be certain to plunge its dagger of starvation deeper in the bowels of the German proletariat. And if German workers revolt, the blessing of General Dawes goes with any army, German, French or American who will massacre them.

But rifts in the capitalist lute appear that shatter all their palavering. Reparations are partly based upon taxes on goods consumed in Germany, and increased revenue is expected on this in flat contradiction to the fact that lower wages will reduce the aggregate consumption. Still more impossible is the means of payment. Germany cannot pay in gold, she can only pay in goods. But if she does pay in goods the world market will be flooded with cheap commodities made by the enslaved German workers, thus putting French, British, yes, and American workers, out of a job—for all "reparations," it must be remembered, are to be paid by workers to capit-

alists and bankers. This is queer, is it not, considering that workers lost their lives by the millions in the war, while the capitalists and bankers became wealthier than ever.

Nobody Gone to Jail Yet

IN spite of the proof of complicity in graft of the leading politicians of both Democratic and Republican parties in the oil game, and of the unspeakable depravity of all kinds shown in the investigation of the Department of so-called Justice—you notice that nobody has gone to jail—nobody . . .

Federal judgments were sold for \$35,000; Newt Baker, democratic ex-secretary of war, was shown whitewashing graft by investigating his own administration; Mellon still holds his job despite the testimony of a most reliable investigator that he (the investigator) was ordered by Harding to spy on Mellon and that he "got him"; Doheny shown to have taken naval reserve oil and contracted it to Britain; Chief Justice Bill Taft of the Supreme Court shown as "placing" men in Department of Justice to stop investigations of clients of his law firm; these clients, Mitsui & Co., being both Japanese spies and paymasters for German spies in this country



OPPORTUNITY—"EACH DAY I STAND OUTSIDE YOUR DOOR AND KNOCK."

as well as robbing the U. S. Government of several millions on airplane contracts; the fixed price contract of the Wright-Martin company changed to cost-plus and the attorney fees for the lawyer getting the change charged to the government; cigars and laundry bills charged to the government; high government officials, one related to Harding, mixed up in selling dope to federal prisoners at Atlanta; army officers rifling brief cases and desks trying to thwart the Wheeler committee—right in the committee room; pro-Germans running the war and getting the U. S. to pay the bill for spies against itself; the boss “red raider” Mitch Palmer, selling the Bosch Magneto holdings worth \$12,000,000 to his own left hand—an alien enemy police character dummy—for \$4,000,000; this sale blessed by Hughes and handled by Weeks, included selling \$2,000,000 in cash money actually belonging to the government; incidental proof that Hoover diverted \$1,000,000 worth of relief funds to finance an attempt to overthrow the Soviet government; and Jake Hamon who paid Hardings election bills complaining that “the Democrats haven’t left much public land but I’m going to get the rest”; Daugherty’s friends swindling Oklahoma Indians out of their lands—probably after the example of the Pilgrim Fathers who, landing on the Atlantic coast, fell upon their knees and the aborigines—all this is just a part of the month’s high spots at Washington.

The most significant feature of the investigations is the attempt, now becoming successful, to stop them—both old parties getting scared. Borah led off with some bunk about “dissolving ourselves as grand jury,” Lenroot of the Walsh Committee resigned—after being exposed as helping Fall outside the Committee. The Democrats—Senator Robinson—saying, “There is no disposition unduly to prolong these inquiries”; and Coolidge sending an insulting message to the Senate warning it that the people are getting so much against the government as a whole that if “disorder and serious consequences” follow, responsibility would be on the “intrusions” of “lawless” investigations. Last but not least, a framed up indictment of Senator Wheeler is pulled in Montana, by conspiracy between Daugherty, Burns and the national committee of the Republican party. The press everywhere howls down investigations; all the best people are sick of ‘em; and it is certain that investigations are being strangled.

Meanwhile, Soviet Russia catches a Communist who got away with about \$5,000 and sentences him to six years in prison. The Teapot cannot call the samovar black. Nobody gone to jail yet for the Teapot.

And He Gave Us a Stone

THE country is imperiled! The rights of citizens are endangered! Homes are raided! Things happen that oughtn’t to happen in free America! Let’s start a defense committee, form a united front or somethin’—but, wait! Who the dickens is the victim? Some foreign-born worker held for deportation because he went on strike? No. Some railroad shopman who made faces at a scab and was pinched by the Wilkerson Injunction? Nope!

The down-trodden prey of circumstance is none other than Harry M. Daugherty, who was booted out of office by Coolidge after the latter held him in office so long that Coolidge himself was facing impeachment or certain defeat in election.

Daugherty, inciter of “red raids,” who sends his spies—as admitted by Gaston B. Means—to burglarize homes of workers and offices of workers’ organizations; Daugherty, who ordered Department of Justice Agent Means to burglarize the office of LaFollette, who sent his agents illegally and unlawfully to prosecute Communists who met in convention in Michigan; Daugherty, who sued for and obtained from Judge Wilkerson the most damnable of tyrannical injunctions against the railroad shopmen on strike in 1922, who looted the nation and peddled pardons while insisting upon holding tubercular political prisoners in Leavenworth until they “promised to obey the law”; this Daugherty now complains:

That his unoccupied home at Columbus, Ohio, has been raided without warrant; that, to quote his words—“I did not think it could take place in free America;” that—“In the battle for my rights, the rights of every citizen is involved, for who knows but that he may be next to become the object of unjust accusation maintained by lawless inquisition.”

Somehow, we remain dry-eyed and cynical. And we call attention to the fact that the People’s Legislative Service states that the appointment of Harlan F. Stone as successor to Daugherty—“if not dictated by Wall Street and particularly by J. P. Morgan & Co., will at least be completely satisfactory to them.”

Plugging a Mellon

MR. MELLON, who runs a brewery unofficially while officially enforcing prohibition, is also a multi-millionaire capitalist in private life who, publicly, is supposed to conduct the national taxes so that the down-trodden rich and the malefactors of great poverty are mutually responsible for paying enough taxes to support

(Continued on page 96)

The Needle Trades Convention

By J. W. Johnstone

IN the month of May, conventions of three principal unions in the clothing industry will take place. On May 5th, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union opens its biennial convention in Boston; on the 12th, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers meet in Philadelphia; while on the same date the Furriers are called to meet in Chicago. In these three unions, in one of the most advanced sections of the labor movement, will be fought out three phases of the battle for progress in the trade unions.

Fur Workers Ruled by Gunmen

It is the Furriers' Union that presents the most extreme form of reaction in the needle trades. Although the rank and file of the union, in large majority, are progressive and revolutionary, yet the administration of Kaufman, supported by the machine of the Jewish *Daily Forward*, still keeps the union committed to right-wing policies and ruled by right-wing elements. The methods by which this has been accomplished are well known. Thugs and gunmen have been called in to break up local union meetings to prevent action against Kaufman and his cohorts. In the elections, all the left-wing candidates were arbitrarily ruled off the ballot. No member could vote unless he voted for a right-wing candidate. Also, the Convention is taken to Chicago, away from the large locals.

In the Furriers we thus have the most extreme type of reaction in power. It rules by brute force, the exclusion of opposition from the elections, and by alliance with the reactionary forces in the other unions. It is bold and unashamed, and makes no pretenses of working-class democracy. Ruling by such methods over a rank and file that is naturally revolutionary, this bureaucracy is headed directly for a smash-up. It is possible that their boasts of complete control of the Chicago convention may be made good—but the downfall of the Kaufman machine in the not distant future is guaranteed by the primitive nature of its methods of rule. It cannot last. The progressive forces must and will organize their rank and file support which is in a vast majority, and take over the Furriers' Union.

The I. L. G. W. U. has been, for the past year, a scene of battle between the left-wing elements, led by the Trade Union Educational League, and the right-wing administration, led by the *Forward*-S. P. alliance. The left wing has been fighting for amalgamation of all needle

trades union, the right wing for craft separatism; the left for an all-inclusive Labor Party, the right for an exclusive S. P.-bureaucratic collaboration; the left for the shop delegate system of union organization, the right for continuation of the present cumbersome local forms; the left for militant struggle against all reductions in wages, the right for compromise and collaboration.

When, a year ago, the left wing was sweeping into power in the principal local unions throughout the country, the reactionary general administration launched a war upon the left, in a desperate effort to stem the tide of progress. Expulsions, disfranchisements, and discriminations, were the principal weapons relied upon, although even in the I. L. G. W. U. strong-arm men were occasionally brought in and at the famous Chicago protest meeting, shots were fired at Wm. Z. Foster. The I. L. G. W. U. officials became the principal exponents of the tactics of the Amsterdam International, expulsions and splits to destroy the left wing; and the Boston Convention on May 5th, will have this expulsion issue as the main question before it.

"Repudiate the Expulsions!"

"Repudiate the expulsion policy" has been the slogan of the elections to this convention. The membership has rallied to this issue very decidedly. In spite of the fact that all members of the Trade Union Educational League have been removed from the ballots, and the most arbitrary obstacles set up against any effective protests being made, still the reports from all the large centers of the trade show that a majority of delegates elected are pledged to repudiate the expulsion policy, and to restore the right of free propaganda for amalgamation, the Labor Party, the shop delegate system, etc. Although opposition to the expulsion policy does not mean support of all left-wing issues, yet every one recognizes that it is really all the progressive measures that are at stake, and not an abstract question of "rights."

The absurd charge of "dual unionism" against the T. U. E. L. and the adherents of the R. I. L. U. has been completely exploded. How such a charge can still be made at the convention, after the expelled Chicago members have been placed in responsible posts in the strike now going on, and again proved that they are among the best fighters even while they are officially "outside" of the union, will be hard for the delegates to

understand. The expulsion will be indefensible before this convention. That it will be repudiated, all the expelled members re-instated, and the I. L. G. W. U. brought back into the path of progress is a result to be expected. The majority of delegates so far elected at this writing give promise of a real battle for this result. Upon this issue there can be no compromise.

Amalgamation a Burning Issue

The question of uniting all needle trades unions into one industrial organization through amalgamation will be a most vital issue at the Convention. Even though the avowed amalgamationists have been deprived of their rights as delegates, still the facts of life itself will force amalgamation upon the attention of the delegates.

In Chicago the strike now going on shows again the necessity of amalgamation. The dressmakers are battling bravely alone, with the other branches of the needle industry expressing their sympathy. All recognize that a defeat for the dressmakers is a defeat for the entire industry. But loose alliances do not give the necessary strength to do battle with the well-organized employers. The very best that comes from the loose connections now existing is irregular and un-systematic financial assistance. Amalgamation is the only real solution to the question of solidarity.

Another fact that forces consideration of the proposal to amalgamate the needle trades unions, and forces to I. L. G. W. U. to take a leading part in this amalgamation, is the growing centralization taking place in the industry. The factories hitherto confined to making men's clothing are beginning to take over production of women's garments. The section system is being applied to cloak making. What may be expected soon is indicated by the fact that Hart, Schaffner & Marx, large producers of men's clothes, are now turning out large quantities of women's cloaks. If there is to be any effective control of this change that is going on in the industry, to protect the interests of the workers involved, it can only be done by uniting the two unions with jurisdiction over the two fields that are thus being united in the industry itself.

There is but one alternative to amalgamation to solve this question—that is to engage in a war of jurisdiction between the two unions. This would be destructive of all unionism in the needle trades. It is a method that cannot be defended even by the blackest reactionary. There is not one argument against amalgamation left. The I. L. G. W. U. at its Boston convention will

be called upon to enter into a movement for unity in the needle trades.

In the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, in common with all unions in America, the issues between right and left wings have become more acute. The line-up on policies, for class collaboration by the right wing and for class struggle by the left, is becoming clearer all the time. But this ideological struggle has not taken on the same destructive character of open warfare against the left wing and its rights in the A. C. W., such as occurs in the other unions. The attitude of the administration has, on the whole, assisted in preserving the A. C. W. from wholesale right-wing disruption.

Issues in the A. C. W. of A.

But distinct danger-signals have appeared also in the A. C. W. The administration group has been catering to the reactionary elements in New York City—a most dangerous course, for it thus invites them to begin emulation of the Sigman-Perlstein tactics of warfare, tactics that would be fatal to the A. C. W. as a militant union. This tendency to the right was shown in the appointment of Wolf, a reactionary, as manager of the N. Y. Joint Board. The election in Local 2, where the right-wingers stole the election, while the administration looked the other way—if it did not assist—is another warning to the left wing to be on its guard.

Participation in the June 17 Convention for the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party on a broad national scale, inclusive of all class elements ready to unite upon a common program—this will be one of the major issues before the A. C. W. of A. Convention in Philadelphia. Notwithstanding the action of the Convention of 1922, which favored an all-inclusive class Farmer-Labor Party, the administration carried out only the letter of the resolution, but not its spirit. It did not play a responsible and active role in the great July 3rd Convention, at which was formed the Federated-Farmer Labor Party. Further dallying on the issue, now that the Farmer-Labor movement is approaching the critical months of the general election, should not be allowed. It will be a major task of the left wing in the A. C. W. Convention to fight for a whole-hearted instruction to throw the Amalgamated into the political battle in a united front with all class forces willing to cooperate in a mass Farmer-Labor Party. This means full endorsement of and participation in the June 17th Convention at St. Paul.

The general referendum taking place in the Journeymen Tailors' Union for general secre-

tary-treasurer, shows the same line-up between progress and reaction witnessed throughout the needle trades. There are numerous candidates, but the real struggle is between Max J. Sillinsky, backed by the left wing, and T. J. Sweeney, present incumbent, backed by the reactionaries. The issues are exceptionally clear.

Sillinsky has been endorsed by 35 local unions; in his letter of acceptance he states the program upon which he solicits the vote of the membership: this contains, in addition to the purely trade issues, amalgamation, the Labor Party, protection of the foreign-born; recognition of Soviet Russia, organization of the unorganized, and other planks.

Sweeney, on the other hand, is a follower of Gompers. He voted against amalgamation in the A. F. of L. Convention at Portland, although his own union is in favor of amalgamation. He voted to unseat Bill Dunne, an act that aroused high resentment among the tailors. He has made a personal organ out of the official journal, to slander his opponents. He is calling for the support of every reactionary element.

The writer has never met Sillinsky, but has watched his record in a number of conventions and in the movement generally. Sillinsky has made a consistent record of voting and fighting for progressive measures, even when they were decidedly unpopular. He was one of the few that voted for all the progressive measures in

the Portland A. F. of L. Convention, and against the expulsion of Dunne. He has no affiliation with any organization but the Tailors, but by his record he has won the support of the left wing and of all progressive tailors. If all such elements actively support him, Sillinsky stands a good chance of election.

* * *

The next few weeks will be a period of intense interest in the needle trades. Prospects are good for a decided left-wing advance in the needle trades, in common with the general advance throughout the labor movement of the left-wing forces. Repudiation of the expulsion policy in the I. L. G. W. U., participation in the June 17th Convention by all the unions, particularly the A. C. W., endorsement of amalgamation by the I. L. G. W. U., adoption of the shop-delegate principle of organization, election of Sillinsky in the Tailors' Union—all or any one of these will mark a great advance in the labor movement. In all unions the left wing will be fighting militantly for these principles of the R. I. L. U., and for many other measures, particularly for measures against unemployment. Victory on all of them is quite possible if the whole left wing strength is thrown into a real fight for them, because they represent the pressing life-needs of the needle trades unions today. The left wing is fighting with history on its side. Let every militant needle trades worker do his part.

Canadian Railroaders' Convention

By J. Lakeman

THE Convention of Division No. 4, Railway Employes' Department, A. F. of L., met in Montreal, March 24th to April 3rd. It was preceded by the First Conference of the Canadian Committee for Amalgamation of the Railroad Organizations. These two gatherings were of utmost importance to the labor movement of America, as well as to the Canadian railroaders. They marked the first definite crystallization of a class policy in opposition to the bureaucratic collaboration with the employers.

Division No. 4 includes all railroad workers organized in the A. F. of L. throughout Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. It has shared with the miners the reputation of being the militant section of the Canadian labor movement. That the Canadian railroaders are responding today to the necessity for more militant struggle is evidenced by the fact that the Amalgamation Conference on March 23rd was at-

tended by 74 delegates from local unions of eight crafts and from the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employes, while the official convention of Division No. 4 had about 200 delegates, being larger than any previous convention of that body.

The tremendous interest in these gatherings is in striking contrast to the general apathy now engulfing union activity in general. In spite of the fact that the shopmen have suffered great losses since 1920, wages being reduced 18c per hour, overtime rates enjoyed for 20 years being lost, pressure of an extended industrial depression and unemployment being heavy, yet the workers were aroused about these gatherings, and expected much from Division 4 convention.

But if the membership was sending its delegates in unprecedented numbers to Montreal to demand that a new chapter be opened in the union history of Canada, other people were also at work. From Washington, Chicago, and other

union headquarters in the United States, came Wm. H. Johnston, president of the Machinists' Union; Bert M. Jewell, of the Railway Department; Edward Evans, of the Electrical Workers; O. S. Beyer, Jr., efficiency engineer; together with a host of lesser fry, descending upon the Convention with a well-organized program to block the progressive forces. From Ottawa, Canada, came also Tom Moore, president of the Canadian Trades Congress and member of the directing board of the Canadian National Railways, with his own special purposes that fitted into those of the international officials.

"Amalgamation is Power"

The desires of the rank and file were clearly expressed in the amalgamation conference on March 23rd. Reports showed that over 300 local unions had endorsed the Minnesota plan for amalgamation. "The problem of the working class," declared the Conference, "is the development of our power, and only through amalgamation can power be obtained." Definite and practical organizational steps were taken to establish the amalgamation movement and to hook it up closely with the headquarters of the Committee in St. Paul.

That the officialdom was preparing to block amalgamation by means of the Johnston cooperation scheme was realized by the left-wingers. The conference therefore adopted a resolution pointing out the dangers of class collaboration, how the cooperation scheme was being used against the amalgamation movement, and affirming its lack of faith in all such nostrums.

When Division No. 4 Convention met, therefore, it found the rank and file standing for amalgamation, on the one side, determined to prepare a militant struggle to win more food, clothing and shelter. On the other side were Johnston, Jewell & Co., prepared to chloroform the delegates with collaboration propaganda; with Tom Moore on hand to tell about the "good will of the management of the Canadian National Railways" and the non-existence of the class struggle. For three days the delegates were bombarded by the propaganda of Johnston, Jewell, Evans, and Beyer, and all of the official pressure of the trade union officialdom as well as the daily press was put upon the convention.

Meanwhile the reactionary officials had suddenly become quite "progressive" and even "pink." They swore by all that was holy (outside of the convention, of course, and over a social cup) that they were for amalgamation, for the class struggle, for the social revolution, and for everything else that anyone might want

—if they could also just put across the collaboration scheme as part of their "revolutionary program." And after the amalgamation forces had shown that the convention was overwhelmingly for this measure, they even joined in adoption of an "amalgamation resolution" which very slickly endorsed the "principle" of industrial unionism and instructed the officials to work for amalgamation.

The chloroform worked on many delegates. Fooled by the fake endorsement of amalgamation, the weaker ones among the delegates were confused and overawed by the official family. They were not convinced and they did not vote in favor of the cooperation plan; but when the crucial test came neither did they vote against it. The resolution committee recommended the endorsement of the principle of the collaboration plan and an experiment in one selected shop. It was adopted by a vote of 85 to 29 with a large block of the weaker progressives not voting.

A feature of the convention was the talk on amalgamation given by Tim Buck, Canadian Secretary of the Trade Union Educational League, when that measure was before the body. He was received enthusiastically, to such an extent that some delighted rank and file delegates moved that he be given a seat in the convention. That was, of course, an irregular proposal and doomed to defeat, and the officials made the most of it by announcing a great victory for themselves over the "red menace." The incident was a demonstration, however, of the completely revolutionary sentiments that dominated the delegates, even though there was much confusion on practical measures that allowed the wily bureaucrats to defeat their wishes.

"Down With Collaboration"

The fight against class collaboration in the railroad unions has only begun. Already the delegates who weakened in the convention are finding their bearings. The chloroform is losing its effects and the brains of the delegates are being cleared by the atmosphere of the class struggle as they return to the shops and local unions. The melodious phrases of Johnston and Beyer about the glories of efficiency and good locomotives, lose their charm outside of convention halls. The issues of starvation wages, bad conditions, unemployment, and all the actual evils of working-class life, are pressing upon them. From now on the railroaders of Canada will be faced with the issue of "amalgamation or class collaboration." The slogan of the left-wing is: "Down with collaboration: On with the Fight!"

Destroy the Injunction!

THE most menacing weapon of the employers against the labor movement today is the injunction. Hardly a strike occurs but the courts of America, local, State, and Federal, intervene against the working class with orders and injunctions designed to cripple the unions, tie up their funds, prevent effective action, and defeat the strikers. The latest injunctions of Judge Sullivan of Chicago, against the striking garment workers, under which the police and court officials are arresting hundreds of men and women, sentencing them to jail and to pay outrageous fines for the crime of walking in front of scab shops when Judge Sullivan orders them to keep away, is but another crime against the working class by the corrupt capitalistic governmental machinery in a long history of such tyranny.

Since the days when Wm. H. Taft, father of the labor injunction and present Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, issued the first writ of this kind against the American Railway Union Strike in 1893, under which Eugene V. Debs was sent to jail for six months, the use of the injunction and court orders against Labor has developed into one of the most specialized branches of capitalist law, into a complete system of suppression. The most crushing blows delivered against the trade union movement by this weapon were the Anderson injunction against the miners, in 1919, and the Daugherty-Wilkerson injunction against the railroad shopmen in 1922. The attempt to fasten industrial courts upon the back of the working class, led by Henry Allen in the Kansas Industrial Court Law crusade, was an extension of the principle of injunctions, or the rule of Labor by judges.

In the fight against injunctions, the workers have been victims of the treachery and cowardice of the official leaders of the labor movement. In 1919, John L. Lewis submitted to the Anderson injunction without a fight, covering his betrayal under the hypocritical cloak of patriotism. The leaders of the shopmen's unions were almost equally as cowardly in face of the Wilkerson in-

junction, confining themselves to futile arguments in court as their only weapon of defense for the men whose interests they were sworn to protect. They shamefully neglected the thousands of workers thrown into jail under the injunction. Fearful of their own comfort, the officials of Labor have licked the boots of injunction judges.

The only basis upon which the injunction can be defeated was laid down in the 1916 Convention of the A. F. of L., when the following was adopted as the official policy of Labor on injunctions:

We therefore recommend that any injunction dealing with the relationship of employer and employee be wholly and absolutely treated as usurpation and disregarded, let the consequences be what they may. Kings could be and were disobeyed, and sometimes deposed. In cases of this kind judges must be disobeyed, and should be impeached.

There is only one thing wrong with this declaration of the A. F. of L. That is, it has not been put into practice. Gompers has advised violation of injunctions, but he has never gone to jail himself. His Grand Dukes have discreetly followed his example.

The proof that defiance and violation is the effective weapon against court orders, as advised by the A. F. of L., was given by Alex Howat, in his glorious and successful fight against the Kansas Industrial Court. Basely deserted by the A. F. of L. officials, who had advised his course of action, Howat led his fellow miners again and again on strike in disregard of injunctions and courts. He went to jail for 18 months, but the Industrial Court was smashed, never to be heard from again. The same thing can be done with injunctions generally by the same methods.

The Trade Union Educational League calls upon the militants to lead an aggressive fight, according to the principles laid down by the A. F. of L., to smash the use of injunctions against Labor by totally disregarding them. Open defiance and violation of such usurping orders on a mass scale will shortly make injunctions as dead as the Kansas Industrial Court.

National Committee, T. U. E. L.

Petty Bourgeois Leadership vs Proletarian Rank and File

By Wm. Z. Foster

IT is axiomatic that industrial development tends to stimulate and extend the growth of labor organizations. As these organizations take an increasing part in shaping the relations between the employing class and the working class, it is logical to expect that they would develop a stratum of officials which would generally reflect the level of advancement arrived at by the rank and file. Further, it is natural to suppose that through experience in the movement, the officials might even advance farther than the rank and file in ideology and in advocacy of progressive measures.

Yet the slightest examination of the American labor movement shows that its officialdom initiates no progressive measures and, when such measures begin to take form among the membership, the officialdom as a whole is found in bitter opposition, fighting them to the last ditch.

Labor Shopkeepers

The explanation of this phenomenon is that the labor union officialdom has itself become a special section within the ruling class. It is a section of the petty bourgeoisie. It has a distinctive economic interest in maintaining the *status quo*, just as does the class of shop-keepers. This does not mean that the present union officialdom has no interest in the unions. On the contrary they are certainly and vitally interested in the struggle between the workers and employers, but it is an interest secondary to the primary interest in their personal fortunes. Labor organization is, to them, a means. Their end is their personal profit without labor. They have a property interest in the union, and therefore have the same interest in organizing and maintaining the union as has the shop-keeper in building shelves and filling them with saleable merchandise.

This property interest of officialdom is diametrically opposed to the interests of the rank and file workers. Conditions of capitalist production continually compel the workers not only to organize but to wage warfare by means of the union to improve wages, shorten hours, and better conditions. Up to a certain point these rank and file interests coincide with the property interest of the officialdom. Low wages and bad conditions assist in organizing a union, without which the dealer in labor union contracts would have no shelves and no merchandise.

But capitalist conditions are not static, and capitalism during the present epoch of its historical decline can only maintain itself by such drastic inroads on the interests of the workers that the

latter are driven into action upon a mass scale. The workers are demanding that their unions take up a more militant position in conformity with their life interests as a class. It is here that the interests of the union officialdom diverge from and become, finally, absolutely opposed to the interests of the rank and file members of the unions. It is this process which we witness today in the American movement. Almost completely the officials of the unions are lined up against every measure which tends to make of the unions an efficient instrument of the struggle against the employing class.

Not Conflicts of Opinion

This opposition does not arise from any "honest difference of opinion." The officials do not oppose the Trade Union Educational League because they are, for example, convinced that amalgamation and a labor party are bad things which would not benefit the workers. On the whole the officialdom is the most stupid and ignorant imaginable—far too low in mentality to ascribe to it an "opinion" of any nature upon theories and tactics of the labor movement. The officials of the Machinists in Toledo, Ohio, who are trying to expel the left wing members, are, for example, so ignorant that they do not know what dual unionism is or what the program of the T. U. E. L. is, although they charged these things as crimes against the members on trial. There is only one thing which could unify such a porcine element so solidly against anything, in such unity as we find among union officials against the measures of the Trade Union Educational League. That unifying element is their material interests as a class.

The fight against the union bureaucracy is a part of the class struggle. On one hand we have a great mass of workers, with little or no property, depending entirely on a weekly wage wrested from some corporation in return for considerable time and toil. Conditions on the average tend to set a standard which allows the great majority barely to exist when employed, and occasionally, to face black abysses of debt and deprivation when out of a job. Naturally, such workers demand an organization responsive to their needs, able and willing to fight for improvement.

The official class, on the other hand, are not dependent on the uncertainty of wringing a wage out of the boss every Saturday, nor of sweating for it, nor of worrying all the while if there will

be work next week. They do not draw wages; they draw salary and are sure of their job from convention to convention. These conventions come not oftener than once a year and are usually well controlled by the official machine. Some unions meet in convention only every two years, some every six years and there are one or two which never hold conventions. Such security is a rare thing for a worker, it does not exist for the rank and file.

Wealthy Labor Leaders

Not only are official incomes secure over long periods of time, but they are fantastically high. The salaries received by the officials of the American labor unions are the highest in the world. Whole sections of the petty bourgeoisie receive less average income than many union officials, whose salaries exceed that paid many responsible officials of the government. American labor union salaries are a king's ransom beside the salaries of the officials of European unions. American salaries are rarely lower than \$5,000 a year and run up to many times that amount. Yet in England recently a discussion raged for some time throughout a union over the question of increasing an official's salary from nine to ten pounds sterling a week, or from about \$35 to \$40. The princely salaries of the American union bureaucracy define the class line between it and the rank and file.

In addition, many of the officials are personally wealthy. John Mitchell, once head of the U. M. W. of A. died a millionaire. An official of the Chicago Building Trades died recently leaving an estate of \$150,000. Such incidents are very common, and arise from the wide custom of the whole officialdom from local Business Agent up to International President acquiring big money by playing the stock market under the kindly guidance of the very employers they are supposed to be fighting. This thinly veiled graft is more customary and more insidious than the cruder forms of purchase and sale which are certainly not absent.

These perquisites of union office afford the officials a totally different manner of living than that of the rank and file worker. Union officials often live in palatial homes and are catered to by servants. They stop at and in many cases reside at the very best hotels and dine at the same grill with the employers their union must fight. They may belong to the same clubs and the same lodges as do the employers. They often attend the same churches and fraternize with the bosses on every occasion the bosses permit. By these fraternal connections the employers "purify" any union leader who shows signs of proletarian spirit. He

is taken in hand and polished down. In the Elks and the Moose, union officials are given a "sheep-dip" of class collaboration. All rude notions of class conflict evaporate when the "labor leader" sits down to the poker table with employers and exchanges the usual traveling-man stories over cigars and a nice bottle of the real stuff.

Particularly do the "stag parties" of the lodges, attended by officials and the bosses, blot out the unpleasant picture of workers demanding action. Many a strike has been lost between the employer's cup and the lip of a union official at a stag party. Stag parties are a standard bait, because they get collaboration without the boss actually admitting "boorish and vulgar hired men" into home circles and "real society." As butlers who bring in "labor" on a tray, the employers must find time for "labor leaders," but still they are only high grade servants to be humored with the privilege of wearing the same lodge gew-gaw and tickled under the chin at drinking bouts.

Political Lieutenants of Capitalism

The union officialdom also has elaborate political connections with the capitalist class. It is hard to find a union official anywhere who has no connection whatever with one or the other of the capitalist parties' political machines, local, county, state or national. They trade in "favors," deliver "influence," and profit in a thousand devious ways through this connection by which the official class of the unions are organically joined to the ruling class, taking part in its plans and sharing the profits of its exploitation of the organized workers these officials are supposed to protect. To understand how thoroughly the union officials have been absorbed into the ruling class it is only necessary to note that on both old party tickets they are beginning to demand the vice-presidential nomination.

The interests of the union official are, then, to maintain the *status quo* of class relations, to keep peace between the classes even at the expense of rank and file interests, to start no trouble that disturbs class relations or allow others to start trouble; to drink, smoke, eat and play poker in corpulent comfort like the bosses. To such a situation the rank and file interests are unalterably opposed.

When the workers, forced on by conditions, go on strike, everything in this little fairy-land is upset. Labor as a union becomes unruly and as merchandise grows unsaleable. Hence the pipeline of fat sustenance is either destroyed or endangered. The "right sort" of labor leader is a boon companion at the lodge affair. The strike

leader is not. A labor official who is leading a strike is regarded with reproach. His reputation is at stake and he must settle the strike soon and satisfactorily or he is no longer welcome.

But it is not possible for a strike to exist in a comfortable, friendly atmosphere. A strike is a crisis in the class war, and it is especially hostile to the capitalists and their labor lieutenants when it is directed by a comprehensive plan and watched over by a vigilant rank and file. Class collaboration and friendly relations have to be broken off, a painful business. Local and undirected strikes, and planless discontent, is not so bad for the bureaucracy, because it can be side-tracked, stifled, or ignored. But not so with the new left-wing movement in the unions.

An Irreconcilable Conflict

This is the reason why the union officialdom stands so solidly opposed to the measures of amalgamation and the labor party. Amalgamation of the craft unions is poison to the bureaucrats, because it disturbs their comfortable *status quo*, because it makes the issues of the struggle broader and clearer, and therefore harder to compromise and sell out, because it stirs the rank and file into militant action—but above all because it directly threatens their "authority" as Grand Presidents of weak organizations by subordinating them to large and powerful unions — in short, because amalgamation is in the interest of the membership but against the special class interest of the bureaucracy, the officials fight against amalgamation with all their power.

With the labor party issue it is again the petty material interests of officials that keep the trade union movement from independent political action. Opposition to the labor party is shortsighted, because with a powerful labor party in the field even the bureaucrats would gain; parasites though they are, they would still have a richer body to feed upon. But bureaucrats see only the immediate advantage; they are so thoroughly corrupted by the capitalists, so completely entangled with the Republican and Democratic machines, so thoroughly reactionary and capitalistic in all their thoughts and actions, that they must fight against the labor party to the last ditch, no matter how crying the need for effective political action by the masses of the workers. Again, we can explain the official attitude only by pointing to the special material interests of the officialdom, as a part of the petty bourgeoisie.

Theoretically, the officials may concede—sometimes—that certain progressive measures are good. But not good for them; so they are, practically,

all against them. While locally they may approve of a labor party, as did Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor, yet such approval is merely a matter of expediency, and when the same movement assumes a national character and thus threatens the interests of the whole official class with destruction, then the recalcitrant is frightened, perhaps disciplined, and falls back into line.

A Section of the Class Struggle

Such are the interests of the union bureaucracy which compel the militants to fight. It is not a factional struggle. It is fighting the class struggle at the first point of contact with the enemy. Who can doubt what relations ought to exist between an honest worker of the rank and file and such leaders as Major Berry of the Pressmen, strike-breaker, Legionaire and aspirant to the democratic nomination for vice-president? Other typical bureaucrats are Jim Lynch of the Typographical Union, a dear friend of the publishers and now retired, living on the interest of accumulated wealth; Michael Boyle of Chicago; Tom Lewis, former president of the U. M. W. of A.; John A. White, another ex-president of the U. M. W. of A., and Bill Lee, president of the B. of R. T., and also president of a million dollar corporation selling equipment to the railway companies.

Granted that these conditions are deplorable, the question arises as to what can be done about it. Besides the immediate measures of amalgamating the craft unions and forming a powerful labor party, we must have some plan to do away with the bourgeois class character of union leaders. The trade union militants must begin a relentless campaign for the drastic reduction of the salaries of union officials. Some such solvent must be given to dissolve the hard and indigestible lump of official opposition in the body of labor.

While it is unquestionably true that the stratum of labor officialdom is not without its honorable exceptions, yet as a class it is rotten to the core. It gives no leadership whatever in the struggle against capitalism. It is doubtful that any remedy will be sufficient that will stop short of a complete renewal of personnel from the rank and file. A new and militant leadership must be developed.

The moldy old crust must be thrown off. New blood and young blood must come in. But this, too, will become rotten if not put on a proletarian basis. It must draw the wage of the worker. And it must, before and above all, be inspired by a real proletarian philosophy of the revolutionary class struggle, without which any new leadership will follow the old, but with which a rank and file can enter any battle with confidence of victory.

American Labor and the First of May

By Harrison George

THE First of May—the Labor Day for revolutionary workers of all the world—is celebrated because on that day culminated the great fight in which many have fought and some have died for the Eight-Hour Day.

When we celebrate the first of May we commemorate no bourgeois anniversary, no nationalist-militarist tradition of "victories" marked by belching cannon and bleeding men. Rather do we pay homage to the limitless heroism and profound tragedy of hundreds of thousands of workers who struck and fought and fought and struck again to win for the working class the leisure and the light of an Eight-Hour Day.

With the close of the Civil War, which had struck from the Negro the shackles of chattel slavery only to bind him to the impersonal mastery of the wage system of capitalism, there arose in the United States, a numerous and fairly stationary class of wage workers, and among them germinated for the first time in America, a national labor movement.

Painful beginnings. More an aspiration than an organization was the National Labor Union founded at Baltimore in August 1866.

The Great New York Strike

Industrial and spiritual depression reigned until about 1868, when unionism revived and its spirit was shown by affiliation, in 1870, of the N. L. U. to the First International, founded by Marx. This spirit increased, and in March, 1872, 100,000 men, mostly of the building trades, struck for the Eight-Hour Day in New York City—and won.

But prolonged industrial depression again gripped the country. The N. L. U., which claimed 600,000 members in 1868, evaporated, not only because of this depression, but because the N. L. U. leaders had neglected to anchor its political efforts to the developing national trade unions growing up within it, even allowing the conservative union leaders to rule and finally ruin the N. L. U. But the unions also were ruined, only 50,000 members remained in 1878—all strikes were defensive and the Eight-Hour movement was suspended.

Desperation begot rage. Driven to the wall a general strike wave swept the country in 1877. With heavy losses strikers drove militia out of Pittsburgh; battles raged at Martinsburg, Baltimore, Chicago. At St. Louis a Workers' Com-

mittee ruled the city for a week. Armed workers' defense groups appeared.

Another confused but militant organization which became noticeable in the '70's was the Knights of Labor, which allied itself with the reviving unions in 1881 in the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, which began a fight for the Eight-Hour Day despite Gompers' opposition shown in its 1883 Convention.

Economic depression again brought general strikes, class clashes leading to renewed spirit after the Wabash shopmen won two strikes against Jay Gould. The Federation convention of 1884 passed, on the motion of Gabriel Edmonston of the Carpenters, a resolution that, "Eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from and after May 1, 1886," and invited the Knights of Labor, again separate, to co-operate.

May 1st — 1886!

Though officials of both organizations were cold, the rank and file and the workers generally adopted the slogan of "The Eight-Hour Day on the First of May" with deep enthusiasm. A rush to the unions began, 600,000 joining in 1886 before May Day. On that day 200,000 struck for Eight-Hours, the strike centering at Chicago; 200,000 won, and 200,000 more got shorter hours than before. Although some provocateur's bomb at the Chicago Haymarket had resulted in a reign of capitalist terrorization against labor which hardly ended with the legal murder of four brave workers on the scaffold after a farcical trial before Judge Gary, the upheaval continued. Labor the world around watched America.

By request of the A. F. of L. in 1889 the International Labor Congress, then in Paris, adopted May Day to celebrate the victories of the Eight-Hour movement and it is now the day on which world labor marches under red banners and sings its own song—*The Internationale*.

But, while the world watched, the spirit of American labor was being smothered by the growing power of the reactionary trade union officialdom. The A. F. of L. confined, firstly, the May Day strike for Eight-Hours in 1890, to the Carpenters alone. Then, blighted by Gompersism, the call of the A. F. of L. in 1894 to repeat the movement of 1884 and demand universally the Eight-Hour Day on May 1, 1896, was revoked in 1895. May Day has been lost to America. The militants must give it rebirth . . .

Shoe Workers Act for Amalgamation

By Wm. Simons

OUT of the chaos and disunity that has prevailed in the shoe and leather industry, the rank and file is coming into its own—and woe to those who stand in the way of progress.

Due to the wage cuts, the meddling of the boss-controlled State Board of Arbitration with "neutral" arbitrators who never see the workers' side—and due also to the steadily gaining influence of the International Shoe and Leather Workers' Committee on Amalgamation, the rank and file are awakening to the fact that only by unifying their forces can they cope with the shoe barons.

The movement for amalgamation which developed a few years ago was felt to have missed its mark, because, instead of really attaining amalgamation of shoe workers it only resulted in the formation of another independent union—the Amalgamated Shoe Workers of America.

But the militants realized no union in the industry could stand alone and the demand kept rising for amalgamation among the membership, despite which the leaders expressed the feeling that the membership was not prepared for it. The three rank and file conferences which have taken place so far this year have marked the rank and file demand as becoming ever stronger and more clarified in method.

The Lynn conference on February 24th was not satisfactory, even to its strongest elements, and the resolution adopted there, though sent to the locals was more an unclear groping toward amalgamation than a practicable means to that end.

Unity at Last

But the very weakness of the Haverhill merger plan convinced those who had to act upon it that it was not the best means, and on March 9th, a new plan was adopted and the locals were invited into the Shoe Workers Protective Union on the same terms upon which the United Shoe Workers had joined. But these terms were not presented, and not until the third conference of rank and file delegates gathered on March 23rd, was their nature discovered to be unsatisfactory and, moreover, under suspicion from the secrecy in which they were held by the officials of the United.

The Haverhill delegates at the March 23rd conference felt that they were becoming the object of charges that they were seeking to strengthen their union alone, the Protective. To show their sincerity they moved a recess to allow

the Amalgamated delegates to draft and present their own proposal. This carried and the A. S. W. rank and file delegates finally presented the following resolution which was adopted unanimously:

"It is the sense of this Conference that the Amalgamated Shoe Workers of America and all other independent Shoe Workers Unions meet in an open and joint convention to bring about an amalgamation of the shoe workers of the United States, said convention to be held not later than May 1, 1924.

"We request that the Shoe Workers Protective Union hold a convention at the same time and place for the same purpose.

"All locals sending delegates to this joint convention are to be pledged to abide by the action of said convention.

"It is the sense of this Conference that the convention of May 1, 1924, be held at Boston.

"All locals accepting this resolution are to select three delegates to attend said convention.

"All general officials are to be requested to resign on the first day of the convention, said resignation to take effect on the election of new officers.

"No salaried officials of any organization are to be allowed to participate in this convention.

"A copy of this resolution is to be sent to all locals of the Amalgamated Shoe Workers of America, the Brockton District Shoe Workers Union, the Shoe Workers Protective Union, and all other independent shoe workers organizations."

This resolution was endorsed by three delegates each from the local unions of the S. W. P. U. of Haverhill, Marblehead, Lynn and Salem; the A. S. W. of Lynn and New York, and the Brockton District S. W. U.

All shoe workers are called upon to bring this resolution, which points the way to clarity and action in really getting amalgamation, before their locals, and to write Rose Gauteau, Secretary of the Organization Committee, 33 Garfield Avenue, West Lynn, Massachusetts.

A Paper for Shoe Workers

Out of the forces which have thus shaped the way for real accomplishment, has also come the establishment of the seventh progressive trade paper of the left-wing movement of the United States—the *Progressive Shoe and Leather Worker*—the organ of the militants in this industry, which is published monthly at 60 Pemberton Square, Boston, Massachusetts, at rates of 50 cents a year and five cents per copy. It hopes to and deserves to reach every rank and file worker with the message of a better and stronger unionism. On to the unity of all workers in the shoe industry!

More Class Collaboration Bunk

By Earl R. Browder

LATEST recruits to the advocates of collaboration of the working class with capitalism, according to the scheme of Wm. H. Johnston of the Machinists' Union, are the erstwhile Intercollegiate Socialists, now the "industrial democrats," who publish an organ called *Labor Age*. The group consists of well-intentioned, educated, and more or less religious, young men and women from the middle class who are quite determined, come what may, that Labor shall be elevated, made "self-respecting," given some "control," and generally brought up to their own high level of culture.

It would be ungenerous not to preface a cold-blooded examination of the objective functions of such groups as that gathered about the *Labor Age* with an appreciation of their good intentions. They mean well. They are overflowing with love for their oppressed fellow-men. They are bursting with desire to help the world out of a bad fix. Many of them are admirable persons, generous to a fault, keenly intelligent within specialized fields, and withal quite pleasing folk with whom to spend an idle hour or to recommend a deed of personal kindness.

Unfortunately, however, the actual life of the world runs along upon another plane entirely from that inhabited by this middle-class intelligentsia. With the result that, entering into practical affairs of the labor movement, these advocates of "industrial democracy" become tools of the most sinister influences at work within the trade unions of America today. This is glaringly illustrated in the *Labor Age* for March, which is devoted to eulogizing Johnston's scheme for turning the unions over to the bosses, daubing it over with the pink paint of "workers' participation in management," to make it more attractive, or to use another metaphor, coating the poisonous pill of class collaboration with sugary arguments of "industrial democracy." The result upon those immature minds unable to pierce through to reality is complete confusion, delivering them helpless before the agents of capitalism, the official bureaucracy of the trade unions.

Enemies of Amalgamation

Amalgamation of our ridiculously divided craft unions into strong industrial organizations is a basic necessity for the labor movement. The class-collaboration movement is the deadly enemy of amalgamation. *Labor Age*, supposedly favorable to amalgamation even though it is but a few months since it printed "Amalgamation" on its

cover in the form of a big question mark, indicating serious doubt of the matter, itself carries the evidence of hostility to amalgamation on the part of the collaboration scheme. In an article by O. S. Beyer, technical high-priest of the movement, we find the contemptuous expression: "The new policy of cooperation . . . automatically brings with it the remedy for these conditions which your railroad amalgamationists maintain can only be realized when everything has been soundly 'amalgamated' — whatever that may mean. . . ."

This is not an isolated instance; it sounds the key to the entire collaboration propaganda. Every trade union official working among the railroad and metal trades unions for the adoption of Johnston's scheme is at the same time working night and day to choke out the growing demand for amalgamation of the unions along industrial lines. Always when the workers demand stronger organization, more militant policies, more power for the working class—the answer is being made in terms of the collaboration scheme: "Forget about amalgamation, whatever that is; get to work cooperating with the bosses, eliminating wastes, boosting profits, and then the boss will fix you up without a struggle."

It is the classical Gompers policy with a new dress. It is the repudiation of unionism, of the class struggle. Not by accident was the official blessing of Gompers' family of Labor Grand Dukes given to it at Portland last year, while the other outstanding event was the expulsion of Bill Dunne because he, as a Communist, castigated the spineless servility of the officialdom to the capitalist class. The whole scheme of collaboration with the capitalists involves struggle against the militant rank and file. When the A. F. of L. officially declared for such collaboration, it was but the logical next step to declare war against the militants and throw Dunne out. When Johnston inaugurated the B. & O. plan, he laid the basis for the campaign of expulsions he is now beginning in the Machinists' Union against the advocates of amalgamation.

The "Workers' Control" Camouflage

Not only is the Johnston scheme in deadly hostility to amalgamation; it is also death to such unionism as we now have. Under the false coloring of "workers' control," even the weak craft unions are being tied hand and foot, are being rendered incapable of any effective action to protect the workers. The union machinery is

being turned entirely into an organ for helping the bosses to make greater profits: better wages and working conditions are to come "as the good results of the idea are shown," which is to say, that when the railroads have cashed in a few billions of dollars extra profit, they may, if they see fit, kindly drop a few hundred thousand to the faithful servants.

"If Labor hopes to get control of industry, it must learn how to conduct management as a group. This gives the opportunity." Thus does *Labor Age* crushingly answer the communist criticism of collaboration. Yes, Labor must learn to manage industry, but how? Your answer, dear "democratic" children, does not answer. Because you have twisted the problem exactly hind-end-to, you have headed yourself straight into the capitalist camp.

The only correct statement of the problem of workers' control is: "If Labor hopes to learn how to conduct management as a group, it must get control of industry." The way to learn management is to manage: to manage presupposes first control: the only way to control is to build up strong and powerful industrial unions closely united with a powerful and militant political organization. The pitiful "control" the collaborationists propose works in the opposite direction, eating the heart out of unionism.

Corrupting the Progressives

It would be hardly worth while to give special attention to *Labor Age*, the arguments of which are mostly echoes of the official propaganda, but for the article therein by E. J. Lever. Brother Lever is a progressive who, in the past, has stood staunchly for amalgamation. Now he has swallowed the collaboration bait, but is busy trying to reconcile it with a "militant program" and with amalgamation. Beyer has aroused Lever's "creative instinct," with the result that capitalist control is forgotten; Lever is already dreaming that he works under a proletarian system where the problem is no longer one of struggle against the capitalist class, but of building up the industries by the workers.

There is no doubt that the engineer Beyer would be a very valuable man for the railroad workers—where they were actually in control of the railroads, for instance in Russia. But the "socialist" union politician Beyer is a very corrupting influence for the railroad workers in America where the workers are only taking the first feeble steps toward power. Corruption is the only word that describes a process that transforms Brother Lever, militant progressive and advocate of amalgamation, into apologist for the poisonous collaboration scheme of Wm. H. Johnston.

Do you know, Brother Lever, that the Fascist movement in Italy began to come to power at the moment when the Italian unions gave up militant struggle for a promise of "factory committees" whereby they should learn "the technique and management of industry?" Where are the Italian workers today? The German unions gave up the revolution for the *Arbeitsgemeinschaften* (equivalent of the Johnston scheme, on a vaster scale), but today their unions are destroyed and even the *Arbeitsgemeinschaften* are taken away. More than a year ago the German workers had become so disillusioned that they voted, over the opposition of the entire officialdom, to withdraw from participation in the class collaboration scheme. These were Social-Democratic workmen, not Communists. And do you not know, Brother Lever, that in addition to the usual capitalist influences in our unions today, there is also developing a definite Fascist tendency among the higher officials? You should know these things, and you should also know that by endorsing the Johnston scheme you are indirectly supporting every influence in American trade unionism that would destroy our organizations as the Italian and German trade unions are being destroyed.

Running Away From the Fight

The masses of union members in the railroad and metal industries, where the collaboration schemes are being pushed, are just beginning to take stock after terrible defeats in struggle against the bosses. They are tired and discouraged. They are sick of the old tactics and leadership that brought disaster, and they demand a change. Progressives and revolutionaries have been receiving great audiences, explaining the program of amalgamation, industrial unionism, militant leadership, political action through a Labor Party, and all the measures that alone can lead forward from defeat toward victory. More than half the membership of the railroad unions have demanded amalgamation as the result of this great campaign.

But the officials are sabotaging amalgamation. They are cleverly endeavoring to turn the weariness and disillusionment of the masses into the channels of class collaboration. They sing the siren songs of "industrial peace," under a scheme where the workers will get all they want without fighting for it. Of course the workers do not want to fight if they can obtain their demands otherwise. And a few of them, even such intelligent men as Brother Lever, fall under the influence of the collaboration opium. They run away from the fight, not realizing that they are preparing for themselves, and for the whole labor movement, a struggle a thousand times more bitter when the working class finally awakens to find itself betrayed and helpless in the hands of the capitalists.

Expulsions Blocked in Machinists

By Andrew Overgaard

THE policy of waging war upon the left wing in defiance of Union laws, seems to have been semi-officially adopted by the President of the International Association of Machinists. The first battle was fought at Toledo, Ohio, early in April, where, as a result, reaction was whipped in its efforts to expel the militants, who, however, were fined and disfranchised for one year—though this penalty will be fought strongly on appeal.

It is an uncomfortable fact—for the reactionaries—that Communists and the left wingers generally are the best and most active union men. This was true in Toledo Local 105, I. A. of M., and, because of that, the membership, at the election on December 9th, 1923, overwhelmingly elected T. U. E. L. militants as Local officials and to important committees.

But the reactionary machine would not abide by rank and file control of the union when it dislodged them from the pleasant job of following President Johnston's policy of delivering workers of the highest quality at the lowest price to the bosses. The reactionaries, including Organizer Griffith, the ousted officials, V. S. Gauthier, Wm. F. Rogge, A. F. Konrad, and the Business Agent H. G. Ebright, who kept his job by the skin of his teeth, conspired together and secretly sent out a letter on January 7th, to members they thought they could confuse and control.

Reactionaries Call Secret Meeting

This letter is sufficient to show the plot against rank and file rule. It flattered the Brother who received it with fine words about him being a "dependable member," but urged secrecy—"Keep this letter to yourself, and bring the letter and envelope with you as no one will be admitted except those to whom this letter is addressed and it must be presented at the door for admittance." Union cards were not enough.

The next day after this secret meeting, the conspirators managed to carry a resolution by 48 to 38 to unseat all officers who are connected with the Workers Party or the T. U. E. L. The surprised militants were given only five minutes to state their case.

Later Gauthier, Ebright and Konrad, signed long and formal charges against Joseph Willnecker, Ralph M. Huff, Charles Stephenson, Clarence Buehler, J. F. Chapman, R. E. Cook, Walt Harris and Charles E. Weber, which alleged that these Brothers, known as the most loyal and active members, were members of the Workers Party

and the Trade Union Educational League, which organizations were charged as "antagonistic and dual" to the I. A. of M.

Before the Trial Committee, the writer, who acted as spokesman for the attacked members, proved out of the mouths of the accusers that they, who had signed the accusation which claimed the Workers Party and the T. U. E. L. were "dual," had not read the program of either organization and were even ignorant of the meaning of the word "dual."

"No Damned Appeal Goes Here"

Only by the most brazen disregard of evidence did the Trial Committee report against the accused Brothers to the Local. And then the machine was both illegal and indecent in jamming a guilty verdict through, at all costs. Motion to give the writer the floor as member of the I. A. of M. was ruled out, and an appeal from the chair was met with, "No damned appeal goes here!" Thus, by a vote of 59 to 46, seven good Brothers were fined \$50. and disfranchised for one year, although the machine did not dare to go so far as to expel them.

Monopolizing the floor and flagrantly ignoring all precedents and legality in both the A. F. of L. and I. A. of M., Gauthier attacked the Workers Party, especially on its stand for the Negro workers, thus showing a Ku Klux Klan influence working in that Local.

No explanation of what the League is was allowed. International Organizer Griffith admitted he had never read the League's program, while Ebright half-wittedly stated that he "believed in amalgamation but not in industrial unionism." But Brother Willnecker, when allowed the floor, spoke out boldly as a good militant and union man.

"You can separate us from the Local, but you cannot separate us from the working class," he said, "We have been, are and will continue to be loyal to the union. We will bring in unorganized workers to join, just as before. We stick with the union as all members should stick, because we know the union belongs, not to a few officials, but to the workers of the rank and file. When we stick to the union, we stick to the rank and file, whose eyes get open a little more every time officials persecute those who stand for progressive measures. As part of the education of the rank and file we shall appeal to the Executive Board and, if necessary, to the Convention. Soon or late, the rank and file will understand, we will be vindicated, and amalgamation and other progressive measures will be adopted."

Factory Labor in India

By Louis Zoobock

INDIA is now passing from an overbalanced agricultural community to a more normal distribution between agriculture and industry. The old system of village labor is being broken down; the factory system is gaining more and more ground; the industrial workers are banding together into powerful labor unions; the caste system is being wiped out; new social problems connected with this transition are appearing in an acute form. To understand this change, we must give a general description of these conditions; this will make it easier for us to follow future developments intelligently.

The Factory System

India is still, in the main, a land of agriculturists and more than 70% of the population are dependent on the soil for their livelihood. Nevertheless, a process of industrialization has gone steadily forward. And today, Calcutta and Bombay are great manufacturing centers of jute mills and cotton factories. Another considerable manufacturing center has developed at Cawnpore, with cotton, wool, and leather factories. In the central provinces, Nagpore is famous for its cotton mills. The province of Bihar and Orissa is the center of coal mining; it also embraces the most remarkable example of scientific industrialization in India in the works of the Tata Iron and Steel Company at Janishedpur, "where in what was a jungle 15 years ago a considerable city is springing up, which will produce over a million tons of steel a year."

The world war has acted as a great stimulus to the development of industry; during the war large profits were made, but so long as the war conditions continued there was little outlet for their profits; with the conclusion of hostilities a great rush to invest in new industrial ventures began. Thus, in nine months, April to December 1919, 634 new companies with an aggregate capital amounting to more than \$134,000,000 were registered in British India and Mysore. The magnitude of this development will be realized when it is pointed out that during the corresponding period of 1918 the number of companies registered was 158 with a capital of £4,500,000. During the year 1919-1920, 906 companies have been floated with an aggregate of £183,000,000 for every conceivable purpose.

The rapid spread of industries is further illustrated by the increase in the number of factories. In 1892, when the first statistics were taken 653 factories were found to exist in the country; in

1918 there were 3,318 factories working and liable for inspection under the factory acts; in 1921, the number of factories increased to 4,080 and a year later the figure reached 5,312.

These dry figures tell the story of India's industrial advance. Within the last 3 or 4 decades, the numerous factories that have sprung up throughout the country, offered opportunities for industrial activities to an increasingly large number of people. Thus, while in 1892 there were only 316,715 industrial workers in the country in 1922 the number reached 1,367,136. The figures do not include the coal-miners and the many millions of artisans engaged in the "cottage industries," such as hand loom weavers, potters and other village workers. If we include these, the total number of workers in all industrial establishments reaches the figure 17,500,000.

Labor Conditions

The conditions of work in the factories of India, though in many respects better than in the old industries, would be deemed intolerable in this country. They are characterized by long hours, low wages, the employment of women and children, etc.

In some of the newer factories, such matters as ventilation and dust prevention receives some attention; but on the whole, the sanitary conditions are primitive and objectionable; medical aid even in case of accident is often not available. The worst conditions exist in the seasonal industries. Many owners of factories, finding the season a good one, repair and use their electric light installations, "whereas in 1921, candles or oil lamps were used."

The problem of dust removal remains unsolved in many industrial districts. Cotton ginneries can be recognized by their unhealthy appearance; "ten hours daily in the dust-laden atmosphere quickly affects the eyes and throat; it is not unusual to find cotton ginneries almost speechless from dust at the end of the day."

The actual conditions under which the workers live are beyond description. In Bombay, 744,000 workingmen are tenanted in one-room houses; the size of the room usually being 8 feet by 10. As a result, a death rate of 60 per thousand prevails.

In a word, it can be stated that little is done for the comfort or convenience of the worker either inside or outside the factory; he is regarded as a human machine hired for so many hours a

day and he frequently receives less attention than the machines at which he works.

The employment of women and children is another evil of factory life in India. The laws until very recently were very lax. Before the middle of the year 1922, it was legal to employ children over 9 years as "half-timers" that is 7½ to 8 hours a day. As soon as they reached 14 they were employed as full timers; but even these conditions were grossly violated and "children are as a rule habitually worked during the whole running hour of the factory, not on the excuse that they are over 14, but in pure disregard of the law."

Even in mines, women and children are employed. Thus, according to the Labor Gazette (Bombay, Feb. 1924, p. 17) 71,466 women and 4,321 children were employed in 1921 in the coal mines of India.

Hours and Wages

In the beginning of the Indian factory system the time of work extended from dawn to dusk. The competition among the mill owners had brought a condition in which there seemed no limit to the hours likely to be worked. The workers never saw their homes in daylight, they were the victims of the greedy factory owners. When, in August 1905, the mill owners held their annual meeting Sir Henry Procter reproached them saying: "to swell your profits you are ready to sink all feeling of humanity and to sweat your mill hands to any extent."

Against these conditions the workers, though not organized, began to protest; demonstrations were staged against mills working excessive hours.

And as a result, a factory labor committee was appointed by the government to investigate existing conditions.

In 1908, the Committee report admitted that "in textile factories excessive hours are frequently

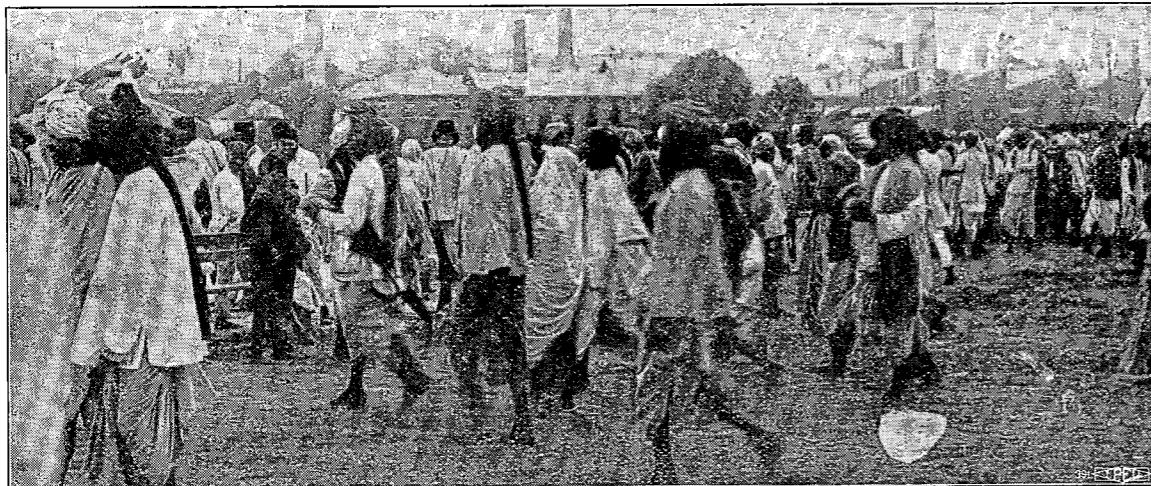
worked; in cotton mills, in all jute mills, weavers are employed for excessive hours." It made mention of 17 and 18 hours a day in factories and of 20 to 22 hours in rice and flour mills; and that in many factories, it is a general custom to require the operative to come to the mills on Sundays and clean their machines, a task consuming from 3 to 5 hours.

In 1911, an act was passed establishing a maximum working day of 12 hours for men, 11 hours for women and 6 hours for children. By children are meant minors between the ages of 9 and 14. These regulations, however, applied only to textile mills and factories employing 50 people or more. Workers in smaller textile establishments as well as all other classes of industrial workers were not protected against such exploitation.

The agitation for shorter labor hours continued; in Bombay since the mill strike of January 1920, the 60 hour week prevailed; in 1922 a new factory act was passed which fixed the working week for all adult labor at 60 hours per week and 11 per day. Those for children were fixed at 6 per day and no child may work continuously longer than 4 hours without a rest period. The minimum age at which children may be employed was raised from 9 to 12, and the age at which children may be required to work a 60 hour week was raised from 14 to 15.

A new mining law was also passed which limited the hours of labor in mines to 60 a week above ground and to 54 a week below ground. When, in 1923 a demand was put out to forbid the employment of women in mines, the government committee replied "that time must be given to employers to replace the 90,000 women who are working at present in the mines."

Thus we see that the hours of labor which prevail in the factories, and mines of India are un-



MASS PICKETING OF STRIKING TEXTILE WORKERS IN INDIA

usually long; the workers under these conditions have neither leisure for recreation nor time for sufficient rest.

Wages

The wages of the Indian workers are miserably low. An official census of wages was taken in 1911. The unskilled city workers' wage averaged 5 to 10 cents. Among skilled workers there was greater variety. Masons were paid 12 to 16 cents, and in Calcutta carpenters earned 32 cents. Wages in other provinces were approximately the same.

A table of wages paid in 8 industries prior to the war, gives an average daily wage of 17 cents.

Since 1914, wages have increased in all industries; but all these increases which looked generous on paper, had very little influence in easing the hard lot of the factory hand. Thus, while there was an average 90% increase in wages, the workers were badly hit by the unprecedented rise in prices; and, as a result, the "real wages," were only 14% above the 1914 level.

It should be noted, that the low wages are in no wise due to lack of prosperity in the various industries; we find that the average dividend of the individual cotton companies for 1919 was 40%; that the average for 1920 was 70%, that one company had just declared a dividend of 365%; that another has declared a dividend of 425% (*Common Sense*, London, April 9, 1921, p. 31), and that only very recently some of the coal companies declared dividends as high as 165% (see *Parliamentary Debates*, July 30, 1923).

These figures emphasize the ruthless exploitation of the Indian factory workers; their wages are so low that they can only exist by constant borrowing; unable to buy enough food, they suffer from malnutrition. One of the labor leaders of India has produced a striking comparison between mill workers and prisoners in India jails which shows that prisoners are better nourished than the factory workers. One manager of a big factory admitted, that "those accustomed to mill life regard it worse than jail life."

It is against these conditions that the Indian workers are banding together into labor unions. The first labor organization appeared in Bombay in 1890; this was the Bombay mill hands association, organized by Lockhande. Since that time, the agitation for labor unions was carried on openly and secretly. The year 1918 is another important date in the labor movement of India. In that year, B. P. Wadia organized the textile workers of 3 mills in Cooli, Madras. In 1921 Madras had 27 unions and a central labor union.

In spite of the opposition of the employers as well as of the government, the movement for labor

unions along industrial rather than craft lines spreads very rapidly. The unions are growing in numbers and in strength throughout the industrial regions of India. Thus, in Bombay Presidency there are 77 unions with a membership of 108,731; in Ahmedabad, there are 10 unions with 24,185 members, all well organized and financially strong. The railway workers are now united into one federation of railway unions, covering all India. The Indian Seamen's Union includes more than 10,000 members, etc. In addition to the trade unions proper, 450 peasant associations have been formed.

Labor Organizations and Strikes

The first Indian Trade Union Congress was held on October 3, 1920, attended by representatives of about 40 organizations. The question of organization dominated the sittings of the Congress.

A year later, in December 1921, the Trade Union Congress met again at Jharria; it was attended by an audience of about 20,000 and adopted resolutions for Swaraj (home rule) and Swadeshi (home manufacturers); "without which the workers could not be liberated from their present subjection and exploitation"; another Trade Union Congress was held in Calcutta in April 1922, which passed resolutions in favor of:

1) peaceful picketing; 2) the establishment of an 8 hour day; 3) a minimum rate of wages for various classes of workers.

With the introduction of Western methods of industrial development and Western machinery, labor troubles were bound to come. "Strikes are as common today in India as they are in England." There have been strikes not only in the big cotton mills and jute mills and other large manufacturing industries, but also among the postmen, and amongst railwaymen on state as well as on privately-owned lines, among tramcar drivers and conductors and even among policemen. During one period of five weeks at the end of 1920 some 36 strikes were reported in progress, affecting not only the big industrial centers but large parts of the country; in the Bombay Presidency alone 143 disputes occurred during 1922 which involved 181,723 workers.

In 1919 labor unrest was aggravated by the rising prices. Bombay was especially affected by the strikes, as a result of which the wages of the workers were increased 20%. The epidemic spread to Calcutta where "in consequence of threats of similar action," wages were raised 10%. The Calcutta jute mills workers obtained four increases of wages amounting to 50%. Railway employes on several of the great lines considered it necessary to suspend work on several occasions

in order to obtain an increase in wage. In May, the postmen of Calcutta struck; in November, some 15,000 men employed in the Cawnpore mills went on strike, maintaining that they were badly hit by the rise in prices and that their wages were insufficient for their subsistence. In December a conference of Bombay mill hands was held, when delegates from 75 mills were present. They put forward an ordered program of their demands. Among other things, they demanded a reduction in the hours of labor, an increase in the resting spell, compulsory education of their children, a minimum wage, etc.

In 1920, strikes increased in frequency. In February, 40,000 workers of the Tata Steel Works went on strike. They demanded a 50% increase in wages, a bonus on output, a month's annual leave with pay, etc. The strike lasted a month and resulted in an increase in wages of 25%. In May, 15,000 railway workers of the North Western Railway were out at Lahore. The causes were:

1) the dismissal of seven workmen for refusing to be transferred to another department, 2) recognition of the union.

The strike epidemic continued during the years 1921 and 1922. According to a report of the Trade Commissioner C. B. Spofford, there were 278 industrial disputes in British India in 1922 as compared with 400 during 1921. The number of workers involved totaled 435,434 as against 523,155 in 1921 and the number of working days lost 3,797,727 as against 6,637,862 in the previous

year. These strikes affected all industries, even municipal offices.

The strikes in India are characterized by their suddenness. "Lightning strikes without notice are of growing frequency. Some are short lived, others very obstinate, dragging on for weeks and months." The strikes are usually conducted along industrial lines; that means "that all the workers, skilled and unskilled, high grade and low grade, walk out together." And if the strikes are accompanied by violence, it is mainly due to the fact that the government, the agent of the employers, acts as a strike-breaker. The military is frequently sent to suppress strikes. Seditious Meeting Acts are passed and enforced in many districts in order to check the activities of labor organizations; and, finally, the circulation of labor papers is often forbidden (The "Workers Weekly," a socialist newspaper, has been suppressed. *Parliamentary Debates*, vol. 166, pages 7-8).

But in spite of all these obstacles, the labor movement of India has proven a force to be reckoned with. During the short period of its life, it has won for the workers better living conditions; it has brought about the solidarity of the Indian workers; but of still greater importance is the fact that the labor movement of India is wiping out the caste system. The workers of India, Hindus, Mohammedans, Bhuddists, Europeans—employees in all branches of industry, learn that they must stand together in their unions in order to win their battles against their exploiters.

McLachlan Released from Prison

By Tom Bell

RELLEASE from prison of Jim McLachlan, deposed secretary of District 26, U. M. of A., was secured after a campaign which lasted many months and drew into the fight the whole rank and file of the Canadian labor movement. McLachlan was sentenced to two years imprisonment last October, on a charge of "seditious libel." The evidence against him consisted of a letter which he had sent to all miners' local unions urging them to spread the fight against the "criminal government" that sent "drunken brutes" against the striking steel workers of Sydney and injured many men, women, and children.

That Jim McLachlan was deposed from his office and imprisoned by the active cooperation of the British Empire Steel Corporation (Besco), the Liberal Government of Nova Scotia, and the Lewis machine in the U. M. W. of A., is proved

by abundant evidence. It was at the request of the corporation that Lewis took action against the District. The Attorney General of the Province declared that Jim was guilty of sedition because he said: "To hell with the Dominion Coal Company." Wolvin, president of the corporation, sent a congratulatory telegram to the Attorney General when he heard that Jim had been sentenced to prison for two years.

The officialdom of the trade unions did not work for the release of McLachlan—Jim does not support the traitors of the Canadian Trades Congress headed by Tom Moore & Co. When forced to action by pressure from below, they said in their appeal to the Government, that he should be released because his continued imprisonment was exposing the "safe and sane" leaders in the labor movement to attack. The rank and file rallied to the aid of McLachlan's

defense because he was sent to prison for opposing the use of troops against workers on strike. The significance of the sympathetic strike of the miners with the steel workers lies in the fact that for the first time the workers opposed the use of Government forces against the working class. Jim McLachlan symbolizes this great fact to the workers of Canada.

McLachlan's return to the mining district was the signal for great demonstrations of the miners. As the train bearing him came to each of the stations, thousands of miners were gathered to cheer themselves hoarse. At Glace Bay other thousands stood from early morning in the pouring rain awaiting his arrival. In the speeches Jim gave on these occasions he showed that prison had not intimidated him. He was in doubt as to whether he was more glad at being released or at the overwhelming defeat just given to the Besco-Lewis contract in the referendum vote taken the day before he arrived. From his return he has urged the miners to keep up the struggle against the Besco-Lewis combination that is trying to strangle the miners.

Since the cancellation of their contract and the ousting of their officers the miners of Nova

Scotia have steadfastly refused to split from the U. M. W. of A. But the Lewis appointees have stuck like leeches to their jobs, refusing to get out in spite of repeated demands from the miners that they do so. McLachlan heads the movement of the miners to restore the autonomy of the District. If Lewis attempts to "reorganize" this District as he did Kansas he will be met again by miners who are determined not to permit any one to split their ranks.

Because of McLachlan's militant speeches to the miners and steel workers since his return, the capitalist press has been howling against him. In the Senate at Ottawa the question has been asked if the Government intends to allow him to remain at large. No wonder they hate McLachlan! They got a contract signed by the Lewis office-boys that was greatly to their advantage; but here is "this man" McLachlan, urging the miners who voted it down to prevent the corporation from putting it into effect.

The release of Jim McLachlan has restored to the miners of Nova Scotia their most militant leader. With him at their head they will not rest until the Lewis machine and the corporations, in combination against them, have been pried off the backs of the miners of the continent.



GERMAN WHITE GUARDS LEADING WORKERS TO PRISON (See Editorial)

St. Paul—June 17th

By James P. Cannon

A CITY and a date—St. Paul, June 17th—represent at the present time the central point around which all the forces of the awakening industrial workers and poor farmers are organizing. The great national farmer-labor convention called by the joint action of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, the Federated Farmer-Labor Party and practically all other existing bona fide farmer-labor organizations, will meet in St. Paul on June 17. Neither the city nor the date is accidental. They, as well as all the other facts about this convention, which distinguish it from the July 4th Convention of the C. P. P. A. at Cleveland, have reasons for their being which arise from class relations and the present stage of development of the class struggle.

The Northwest Politically Awake

It is in the Northwest, especially in Minnesota, that the masses of workers and farmers have made the greatest advancement in political life. Their political development has already reached the point of definite organization and a degree of success, even, in the elections. Practically the whole labor movement of Minnesota is participating in the affairs of the Farmer-Labor Party. More than that, the bulk of the trade unions have advanced to the point of leading in the organization of the Farmer-Labor Federation, an organization within the Farmer-Labor Party, which aims to put it on a definite foundation of workers' and farmers' economic organizations, and control it in this way. It is natural, therefore,—one might almost say inevitable—that the other sections of the American labor movement which are striving towards an independent party should turn towards St. Paul and look upon it as the logical center for the crystallization of the national movement. The date of the convention, before the Republican convention will be adjourned and before the Democratic convention will be convened, illustrates the determination to act there without regard to the decisions of these two conventions of the capitalist parties.

Those officials and leaders in the ranks of the labor and farmer movements who are trying to head off the sentiment among the rank and file workers for an independent party of their own, and steer it back into the old parties of the big capitalists; or, failing that, into a third party of the petty bourgeoisie, lost no time in opening

fire on the St. Paul convention. They turned against it just as naturally and automatically as the conscious and awakened workers and poor farmers turned towards it. The St. Paul convention and all its surroundings—the city, the date, the participants, the program and the determined spirit of it—stamp it unmistakably as a real and genuine convention of workers and farmers bent on organizing an independent political party on class lines. The ten-thousand-dollar-a-year labor leaders do not want such a party. That is why they are fighting the St. Paul convention.

The widespread revolt of the masses of workers and farmers against the Teapot Dome Government is taking a number of forms and showing various manifestations which can only be understood if they are analyzed from the standpoint of class relations and the class struggle. One question especially arises in the minds of many workers. It goes something like this: What is the difference between these two gatherings and what is the reason for the split between them? Why the devil don't they all get together into one convention? And why do I have to be in favor of one and not of both?

The answer to this question is that between the two conventions there are basic differences of composition, purpose, and viewpoint. The two conventions are not striving towards the same goal. That is the reason why they exist separately. An analysis of the makeup and actions of the two bodies makes this very clear.

C. P. P. A. Against Rank and File

The Conference for Progressive Political Action only talks vaguely about independent political action but, in practice, participates in and supports the capitalist parties. It is true that among many of the workers who have been following the C. P. P. A. there is a decided sentiment for a labor party but this sentiment does not exist among the leaders of the C. P. P. A. They play the part of "lightning rods." They pose as favoring independent action only as a concession to the sentiment of their followers, in order to catch it and direct it into the ground. Their "sympathy" for the idea of a labor party is a disguise to hide their actual allegiance to the capitalist parties. These "leaders" of labor cannot led a fight to form a working class party because they do not have a working class point

of view. They do not live like the workers and they do not think like the workers.

Moreover there will be no chance for the rank and file workers who want a labor party in spite of the officials to make a fight for it at the Cleveland Convention. It is a convention of leaders and officials. The rank and file is not welcome there. Local unions are not admitted. City central bodies have only one vote. Local organizations of farmers are not invited. The International Unions, which will be represented by their bureaucratic and reactionary officials, together with some national organizations of farmers, business men, liberals, and the traitor Socialist Party have drawn up a set of rules and apportioned the voting in the convention in such a way as to make it absolutely proof against rank and file interference with their plans. It is needless to add that the Workers Party is not invited to Cleveland. The Workers Party has been leading the fight for a real class party of workers and farmers, and it could not be expected that those who oppose this idea would invite it to their gathering. If the Workers Party were admitted to the Cleveland Convention, the game of the treacherous leaders would be brought out into the open and exposed. If Communists were in the convention they would press the labor traitors to the wall, and organize a fight against their treachery in the convention itself.

St. Paul of and for Real Workers

The St. Paul convention, on the other hand, is a convention of the rank and file. It is committed in advance to the program of putting up independent farmer-labor candidates in the coming election *regardless* of the decisions of either the Republican or Democratic Parties. The bodies which constituted the preliminary conferences and issued the call for the convention consisted of seven already existing farmer-labor parties including the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, to which last the Communists of the Workers Party are affiliated. The class idea was the dominant idea in the conference and the sentiment for welding the whole movement into one national farmer-labor party on June 17th is strong and growing among the participants in the arrangements for the convention. That both these factors will grow stronger there can be no doubt. The presence in the convention of the Communists, who stand squarely and fight aggressively for the organization of a national party and the domination in it of the class idea, is the best guarantee of this.

This St. Paul Convention holds out tremendous possibilities. If we succeed in our aims there and crystallize in one body the revolting elements of the workers and tenant and mortgaged farmers,

formulating a class program and establishing an aggressive leadership, the political revolt of the oppressed masses will move forward with giant strides. A successful convention at St. Paul on June 17th will mean that the workers as a distinct class, in alliance with the poor farmers, have stepped onto the political stage in America for the first time. Such an event will have a profound influence, not only upon America but upon the entire world.

We are not alone in this appraisal of the significance of June 17. The enemies of the independent working class political movement are alive to the dynamic possibilities of this convention in St. Paul. They have commenced to fire a tremendous volley of denunciation and misrepresentation against it. The capitalist press, and that part of the labor press which serves the capitalists, are fighting the St. Paul convention with all their power. Their aim is to defeat the rank and file movement for an independent class party, to steer the workers back into the capitalist parties, or into a third party dominated by the petty bourgeoisie. There is no mystery in the fact that they single out participation by the Communists in the June 17th convention for particular attack. The presence of the Communists—the driving force in the genuine labor party movement—assures that a real fight will be made for the formation of a national party on a class basis, dominated by the workers and poor farmers. This is what the capitalists and their labor agents fear the most. This is why they are making such a fight against the Communists in connection with this convention.

St. Paul Means Class Struggle

For the conscious and militant workers and tenant and mortgaged farmers, the fight for the St. Paul convention is the most important question on the order of the day. This convention, and the struggle for it, concentrates on one point, for the time being, the whole struggle of the rank and file of exploited labor against the capitalists, the capitalist government and the agents of the capitalists in the labor movement. It represents the beginning of the union between the workers of the cities and the farms—which is an indispensable prerequisite to the final victory. The size and strength of the St. Paul convention, and the extent to which the conscious class elements dominate and shape it, will be the best and most reliable measure of the political development of the exploited workers and farmers of America. The militant trade unionists have to realize all these facts and make the fight for the June 17th convention the biggest issue in the labor movement.

Defense of the 8-Hour Day in France

By G. Manguin

IN December 1923, the Unity General Confederation of Labor (C. G. T. U.) decided to organize a propaganda campaign to bring about an increase in wages. Since that time, the fluctuations in the exchange with the rise in the cost of living which this has occasioned, the vote carried in the Chamber of Deputies to increase all taxes 20 per cent, and the rise in the cost of travelling, did much more to make working men understand the campaign, than all the appeals and manifestations.

Everywhere the C. G. T. U. speakers received a warm welcome. Syndicates were formed, and it was seen that the working-men were again joining the organizations that they had abandoned as a sequel to the 1920 depression.

"Six Francs; No Partial Strikes"

The C. G. T. U., by putting forward the demand for a raise in wages of 6 francs per day for all categories of workers, was quite aware that it was bound to awaken restlessness amongst the working classes; they therefore recommended the workers not to enter into any partial strikes which would allow the employers, better organized than the workers, to beat the latter one after the other, thanks to their provisions for resistance against strikes.

The effervescence is evident above all in the metallurgic works which are particularly affected by fluctuations of the exchange; numerous strikes broke out, several of them spontaneously caused by refusal of the employers to grant the increases requested by the workers, others created by the employers in order to try to keep down a collective movement, knowing perfectly well that almost all partial strikes are doomed to failure.

Amongst the latter there should be mentioned the strikes in the Citroën firm.

There was a first strike on February 9, which took place spontaneously when a new system of organization of work styled the "Ford process or chain system" was introduced. The application of this system was to have as first consequence, a decrease in the wages. At the end of two days striking, an agreement was arrived at between the Management of the Citroën firm and the Strike Committee. The "chain system" continued to exist, but the wages remained what they were before the new working method came in, and the eight-hour day was guaranteed.

This was not to the liking of the "Committee des Forges" (The Steel Trust of France), which

did not wish to accept this workers' victory. A pressure was put on the Citroën Management, which, in order to produce a new movement that it could break up, tried to make their employes come to work on the Saturday following the strike, contrary to the engagement they had entered into with the Strike Committee. The workers did not agree to carry out this supplementary working day, and to the refusal of the workers, the firm replied by a lock-out. There were then 11,000 workers shut out who decided upon returning to work only when the following claims had been accepted:

1) Respect of the agreements come to at the time of the dispute of February 9th. 2) The respect and application of the social laws (eight hour day, hygiene, etc.). 3) Increase of wages according to the various categories as follows: Skilled workers of all categories, 10%; specialized workers, men and women, 20%; general workers, men and women, 25%. These demands for increases are applied to the basic rate of tool-sharpening and on the piece-rates, without bringing with them any reduction of the premiums in force. 4) Recognition of the Works Committee.

Shop Delegate Congress

The Seine Syndicate of metal-workers, men and women, finding itself up against a strike of this importance, together with another just begun against the firm of Panhard-Levassor, decided upon the calling of a congress of the works delegates in order to examine the situation created by these conflicts.

This congress was called for the 9th of March. The date was badly chosen as it was either too early or too late. Too late, because on March 9th, three weeks had passed since the Citroën strike began; too soon, for if the Citroën strike came to an end, there was no need for so much hurry in bringing the meeting together, and it would have been better to have made longer preparation so as to have obtained delegates from a greater number of works.

In reality, if the Citroën strike had not ended at the time the Congress assembled, it was dragging lamentably. Out of the 11,000 strikers, there remained only 2,000, the others having gone back to work. The failure of the strike was no longer in doubt and it hovered heavily on the atmosphere of the Congress.

This Congress brought together the delegates of 250 works representing the majority of the Parisian metallurgists. Two conceptions were in conflict; first that of the Syndicate Unitaire des Metaux de la Seine, supported by almost all of the delegates at the Congress, approving the demand of 6 francs increase per day, proposed by the C. G. T. U., and condemning the tactics of partial strikes; and, second, that of the autonomous syndicate of metal workers composed of a small group of anarcho-syndicalists claiming that the unique demand for all the workers is excellent in principle but unrealizable in fact, because the employers will never accept it. On the other hand, partial strike tactics would allow working class solidarity, according to this anarcho-syndicalist reasoning.

The Congress appointed a commission which was to call a second meeting to take place on March 30th.

It was not only in the Seine district that an effervescence became evident; in the Ardennes, in the Loire, in the North, everywhere firms were reported of which the workers were ready to go on strike.

The Metal Workers' Program

The day after the assembling of the Congress of the Seine district works, the National Committee of the Unity Federation of Metal-workers met, and after an examination of the national situation, adopted the following resolution;

"The National Committee of the Unity Federation of Metal-workers, after having scrupulously examined the situation in the metallurgic industry in France, reports that:

"The fall of the franc and the new taxes have deepened the misery of the workers, while the profits of employers increase from day to day."

"It warns the Metallurgic workers to be on guard against the slogan of the "Committee des Forges," viz, "No increase in wages without an increase in the output"

"It requests that all metallurgists reply to this offensive against the eight-hour day with the workers' slogans of 'No longer hours,' and 'Increase of 6 francs per day for all workers.'"

"Considering that the present situation can only become worse, the National Committee declares that the struggle to-day for the 6 francs, is only the forerunner of an incessant struggle which capitalism imposes on us and it proposes to all metallurgists the imperious duty of joining the syndical organization again and of disciplining themselves to its rulings."

"In face of the manoeuvres of the "Committee des Forges" which provokes partial conflicts in

order to beat the workers as small groups, the National Committee puts all the metal-workers on guard against sporadic movements, and asks them to concentrate their strength in order to enter into battle at the opportune moment."

"Believing that all factions of the labor movement are interested in the triumph of the proletariat in the struggle for wages, the National Committee asks that all the tendencies unite on these three specific points '*Six francs for everyone; Respect of the eight-hour day; No more partial strikes.*'"

"Being certain that it expresses the unanimous will of all the French metallurgists, the National Federal Committee asks all workers to prepare themselves for the struggle against the "Committee des Forges" with the coolness and discipline that are indispensable to the success of a fight of this importance."

At the present time new important centers threaten to go on strike. The militants of the Unity Federation visit the metallurgist centers throughout the country, and everywhere reigns an atmosphere of battle, a formidable battle, the stake of which is not only the increase in wages but the preservation of the eight-hour day.

The "Committee des Forges" says to the industrialists, "Don't increase your workers' wages, if they want to earn more let them work longer." The workers are thus compelled to have recourse either to such concerted action as will increase their wages, or to work longer hours in order to complete their wages that have been rendered insufficient by the increase in the cost of living.

Will the workers of the metallurgy who, during the dark hours of the war, were able to cause governments to give way, know how to recover the energy that is necessary to make the "Committee des Forges" give way, and by so doing, cause one of the strongest powers in Europe to retreat, one whose political influence makes itself felt everywhere?

BAKERS AND NIGHT WORK

A Review

"Night work in the bakeries must go!" Such is the purpose set by the author, Benzion Liber, M. D., and those workers in the Food Trades Section of the T. U. E. L., both A. F. of L. and independent, who are called into united action to put an end to such night work. This booklet is significant of more than the important task of ending the health destroying hours of bakery workers, because, in this task the T. U. E. L. has brought real unity.

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BRITISH LABOR BACKS MOONEY

THAT the deep revival of spirit among the British workers, which is carrying them onward to militant struggle against British capitalism in spite of the opposition of the officialdom, is causing them to reach out fraternally to help the militants of other lands, is indicated by the following resolution, received by the LABOR HERALD from D. Carmichael, Secretary of the London (England) Trades Council:

"This delegate meeting of the London Trades Council believes that the continued imprisonment of Tom Mooney is not justified, and is creating an anti-American spirit amongst British workers. It therefore urges the Governor of California to release this prisoner, and thereby assist in bringing about complete harmony between the peoples of Britain and the United States."

Capitalism is vindictive, and it will never release its fangs from Mooney and Billings until either overthrown or over-awed. While the former is gettably remote, the latter is perfectly possible. If it were not for reaction at the top of the American labor movement, and the consequent apathy and non-class-consciousness at the bottom, the trade union movement of this country would long ago have revolted against the atrocious sentences of Mooney and Billings. It should assist in awakening the trade unions of America to see British labor making the demands which our own labor movement should long ago have accomplished.

JOHNSON BILL BLOW AT LABOR

AMONG those measures designed, firstly, to select only docile workers to enter this country; second, to keep them terrorized and ticketed by fingerprinting and registration worse than criminals are treated after such workers arrive here and are toiling for American corporations; thirdly, to use these unorganizable immigrants to break down the American unions and reduce the living standard, is the Johnson Immigration Bill, now before the Senate after having passed the House.

Considering that this Bill is a dagger blow at the heart of unionism in this country, it is, of course, not surprising to find that Gompers, the Ku Klux Klan, the American Legion and all such gentry are working together to pass it.

Jingoes are fanning race hatred and concealing the Bill's real purpose with flaring headlines pretending that it is aimed only at the Japanese. This is pure deceit, just as is the wide-spread bunk that all these immigration bills are intended to keep "America for Americans" and keep out "cheap foreign labor." On the contrary it is to let in "cheap foreign labor." Every one of these bills is drawn, not to keep aliens out, but to let them in "selectively;" meaning to admit only those who will be afraid to join a union, or, having joined, will be too afraid of deportation to strike or be active in strikes.

Further, besides providing that prospective immigrants must prove to American consuls in the foreign lands that they are "desirable," these bills provide an opening for importation of contract labor regardless of the much touted "quota restrictions," through provisions such as the following:

The Secretary of Labor may, upon submission to him of satisfactory evidence that there is a continuing shortage of labor of a . . . class which has not been found unemployed . . . authorize contracts with the admission of alien labor . . . notwithstanding such aliens may exceed the quotas now admissible."

The foreign-born workers in the A. F. of L. should demand of Gompers why he wishes them fingerprinted and forced to register periodically with the police-power like the old Czarist passport system. And every union man should demand why Gompers wants to keep out workers who make good union men while admitting those who can be gagged and terrorized into being good strike-breakers. It is the duty of all unionists to demand both that Gompers explain and that the Johnson Bill be defeated.

UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF IN RUSSIA AND UNITED STATES

UNEMPLOYMENT in Russia has some striking differences from the same problem found in capitalist countries. These differences may be roughly calculated as three in number; first, the character of labor unemployed; second, the measures taken for relief; and, thirdly, and of profound importance, the difference in the reaction of unemployment upon the wage rates and standards of the employed workers.

Most remarkable it is that the number of workers employed in Russia has been growing at the same time the number of registered unemployed has also grown. This enigma is explained by the fact that at the same time state industries absorb more workers, petty bourgeois elements who tried to compete with such industry under the new economic policy have failed and become unemployed workers along with their brothers and some peasant elements who, being all unskilled, were the first to suffer when industry was shifted from "war communism" and put on a paying basis. The old bourgeoisie, now unskilled workers, make up the bulk.

Relief is effective—different than in capitalist countries—and consists of four forms: a) relief through public works and also by Labor Exchanges financing local production and organizing groups of unemployed to work there until place opens in their trade; b) the most important and extended appropriation for unemployed relief by social insurance of the government; c) relief in kind by way of directly given food from kitchens, sleeping quarters,

etc., with special relief for women and youth and nurseries for children of unemployed women; d) relief by the trade unions to members unemployed absorbing from three to fifteen per cent of the total income of the unions. Thus, in Russia, the unemployed receive real relief in marked contrast to capitalist nations,

But the basic difference marking off Russian unemployment from capitalist nations' unemployment is the fact that the presence of a considerable mass of unemployed workers has no harmful effect whatever on the wage scale of those employed. In no other country of the world will you see the phenomenon presented by Russia where, in spite of growing numbers unemployed, the wage rates are not only holding but are going steadily up!

The advantages to labor of the Workers' Republic are here reflected right into their menu. Increased production in industry quickly results in increased wages (real wages since we remind you that wages are paid in the "commodity ruble"), while such increase of production under capitalism results in lower wages. Russian industry has increased production, and as it has done so the wage rate has risen until now, on the average, Russian workers are receiving 85 per cent of pre-war standards. How different is the picture and the prospects of the relations of workers to production under capitalism!

A NEW LIEUTENANT FOR GOMPERS

WE shall never have a Labor Party in the United States," says Charles Edward Russell, writing in the *American Federationist*. The unbelievable depths to which this former luminary of the Socialist Party has sunk is crystallized in that statement and the place of its publication.

But Mr. Russell elaborates his infamy by adding that, "The American wage earner politically has needed no emancipation because there was nothing to be emancipated from." Happy workers of America! You are free, utterly and absolutely! Charles Edward Russell says so, and Mr. Gompers prints the statement officially.

Do you have troubles with injunctions when you go on strike? Are you terrorized in war time by espionage acts and in peace time by "syndicalist" gag laws? Do you find that capitalist courts declare boycotts and strikes illegal while lockouts and blacklists against you are legalized by the same courts? Do you find that, on the picket line, the cop and the militiaman help the scabs and the boss, reserving their billies and bayonets for you? Mere hallucinations! Mr. Russell and Mr. Gompers, speaking for you in the name of "Labor," say you are free politically. If so, why, indeed, should you have a Labor Party? But if this is not so . . . ?

Mr. Russell is a great discoverer. A few years ago, when busy as a muck-raker, he discovered—or so he tells us in the preface to his book entitled "Stories of the Great Railroads," that there existed "a condition incompatible with any assertion of a free press in America, and a state of espionage by corporations." Would Mr. Russell please point out in what particular there has been any change in such conditions which would justify his statement that we are now politically emancipated?

Further, on page 229 of the said book, he observed with some scorn the workings of our now vaunted political system: "Law? There was nothing but

law; and constitutions; and provisions; and orders; and amendments; and fresh statutes; and then more law; all aimed and shaped to regulate, restrict and control this monster (the railway corporations), and the monster never gave a hoot for all of them. Every step of its progress had been marked by the violation of some law, of some article of the holy constitution, and it strode calmly over all, never minding in the least."

If there were any lack of reasons—which there is not—for the formation of a Labor Party, this ventriloquist trick where capitalism, speaking through "Judy" Gompers asserts—"Labor does not need a Labor Party," answers through "Punch" Russell with a squeaky socialist assent—"I say, Judy, that's the way to do it"; this trick is enough to convince any honest worker that the sooner a real Labor Party is formed the better.

WHITE TERROR IN GERMANY

UNDER the Fascist-military dictatorship of General Von Seeckt, a wave of capitalist White Terror has swept over Germany since the desperate riotings of late autumn and early winter.

Disregarding the fact that the outbreaks were mostly spontaneous and unorganized expressions of workers driven to pillaging shops by unbearable hunger resulting from the decline of the mark, the frightened bourgeoisie has been most ruthless.

Mass trials of hunger rioters and a rigid suppression of every "right" of speech, press and assemblage has been the result.

In Glogau no less than 177 workers, partly women, were tried *en masse* and over 100 sentenced to prison, while others were fined. Twenty-seven proletarians, whom hunger had driven to acts of despair, were sentenced at Elberfeld to terms ranging from seven months to one year. At Dusseldorf, forty persons who had gathered to look at the wreckage left by the plunderings, were sentenced to prison for terms ranging from four months to one year for the crime of "being inquisitive."

Communists are, of course, picked out for the severest treatment. The bottomless pit of disgrace was reached by the Social-Democrats who often pointed out Communists to the police for arrest. In the open clash at Hamburg such arrest meant possible murder at the police station, with an official report of being killed "in action."

In Thuringia and Saxony Communists have been held without trial for six months; Saxon unions have been destroyed; papers suppressed and meetings forbidden. In the Hartz Mountain region police dispersed trade union meetings, murdering one man at Albertsroda, while women protesting against food prices were clubbed at Solingen in "American style."

French capitalism, closely co-operating with German capitalism against the workers, has jailed nearly one hundred Communists in the occupied zone for agitation among French troops.

Not merely hungry—but starving—the German workers, enslaved not only by their own capitalists but lashed by the Allied plunderers who suck "reparations" from the very veins of German children, need the unsparing aid of the world proletariat. Their cry of distress is finding answer through the efforts of the International Red Aid to render to the victims of world capitalism, the help of the world's workers.

THE INTERNATIONAL

FRANCE THE two general labor organizations in France, the reformist General Confederation of Labor (C. G. T.) and the revolutionary Unity General Confederation of Labor (C. G. T. U.), held their congresses almost simultaneously in the month of March. On the 16th and 17th the C. G. T. U. met, while the C. G. T. held its gathering on the 21st and 22nd. Coming at a moment of economic crisis, with the working class facing constantly rising prices while the employers attempt to break down the eight hour day, these two congresses dramatically pictured the contrasting principles, tactics, and programs of the reformists on the one hand and of the revolutionists on the other.

The program the C. G. T. developed in its congress was one of class collaboration, both politically and industrially. On the political field it stood for the subordination of labor to the capitalist "left bloc." On the industrial field it advocated the establishment of "economic councils," which should banish the class struggle from the workshops. The Labor Bureau of the League of Nations was the keystone of the reformist program, and its spirit was that of the "union sacree" or civil peace. No program of action whereby the workers should develop their own strength through their own organization was put forward. Reliance upon "social justice," the League of Nations, the capitalist "left bloc," were the characteristics of the congress of the C. G. T. under the leadership of Jouhaux.

The C. G. T. U. in its congress was an expression of clear revolutionary understanding and spirit. Without forgetting its final aims of the overthrow of French capitalism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, it set itself to formulate demands and methods of struggle necessary to meet the immediate needs of the impoverished French workers. The demands adopted were concentrated in that of "Six francs per day increase for every worker," and "Vigorous protection and enforcement of the eight hour day." The method of the struggle is characterized by the slogan, "No partial or sporadic strikes; all actions to be well organized and on broad industrial lines." The new organizational problem faced by the congress was the forms and functions of the Factory Councils. These were clearly differentiated from the organs of class collaboration proposed by the reformists; they are instruments of struggle against the exploiters and imposed by the organized power of the workers. They must draw into themselves all the workers irrespective of trade union membership. They are the connecting link between the unions and the unorganized masses.

The C. G. T. U., further carrying out its established policy of exerting every influence toward complete trade union unity, addressed itself to the C. G. T. reformist leaders as well as to its membership, appealing for that unity which is doubly necessary in the face of the impending struggle with the bosses.

The congress of the C. G. T. U. saw the liquidation of the anarcho-syndicalist opposition. This minority group had been threatening the unity of the Confederation, and proclaiming against the policies laid down by the Executive. In the congress

their tactics of sporadic strikes and "mouth revolution" generally, was completely discredited, so much so that on the final voting the congress was unanimous except for nine abstentions. The unification of all class conscious workers in France under the banner of the C. G. T. U. and the R. I. L. U. has been completed.

GERMANY THE 16th general congress of the German Metal Workers' Union (*Deutscher Metallarbeiter Verband*) was held in Kassel Feb. 17th to 23rd. This is the largest single labor union in the world, as well as the most highly developed in departmental organization. The congress was originally called for last September, being postponed on account of financial difficulties. The elections having taken place last August the composition of the gathering did not reflect the present relation of forces in the union, because as it stood, the strength of the left-wing (Communist) delegates was 35% of the whole.

Since last August the membership of the D. M. V. has declined from 1,600,000 to approximately 1,000,000. This has been caused by the financial crisis, the great unemployment, the capitalist offensive, but above all by the disillusionment of the masses in the reformist leadership and resentment against the policy of expulsions directed against the left-wing. It was the first convention of importance to take place since the establishment of the military dictatorship, and it was of great significance to the whole German labor movement in clarifying the issues placed before it by recent history.

The policy of the Social-Democratic majority was determined by one consideration: no struggle against the German capitalists and their state, but relentless struggle against the left, against the revolutionary opposition, by all means even including expulsions and splits. The Communists on the other hand proposed resolutions defining methods of combatting reduction of wages, mass unemployment, against the white terror, for enforcement of the eight hour day, means of stopping the mass withdrawals from the unions, and the other vital problems before the convention. But the Social-Democratic officialdom controlling the convention cast a solid block of votes against every resolution of the opposition, even that directed exclusively against the white terror in which even criticism of the reformists was left out. The only positive policy adopted was to threaten all revolutionary workers who do not submit to the policy of class collaboration with expulsion from the union.

In deciding their attitude to the International Metal Workers Congress which takes place in Vienna in June, 1924, the whole difference between the Amsterdam and the revolutionary tendencies appeared openly. Both Reiched, the chairman of the D. M. V., and Ilg, the chairman of the international union, spoke. They sang the old well-known song that the International was so powerless because "the others" were too weak and could not carry out their tasks. To the acceptance of the Russian Metal Workers' Union in the Berne international they attached the shameful condition that the Amsterdam international should be recognized, and the struggle against the Soviet state should be

taken up. The acceptance of the revolutionary organizations of metal workers which were split off by the Amsterdammers, such as the Revolutionary Metal Workers' Union of France and Czecho-Slovakia, were rejected on principle. In this way they have deliberately barred the way for the creation of a real international of metal workers.

ITALY THE Fascist government has issued an order requiring all public servants and employes of the state to withdraw from membership in any labor organization which holds policies hostile to the Fascisti. The Executive Council of the General Confederation of Labor (C. G. L.) meeting on Feb. 9th and 10th, adopted a declaration regarding this order, in which this reformist body cringed before Mussolini and besought his favors. The declaration states among other things, "The C. G. L. is not to be considered an organization hostile to the Constitution," and that "Its work has never been directed against the (Fascist) state."

GREAT BRITAIN ON March 21st, 17,000 tramway men of Greater London went on strike to force wage increases of eight shillings per week. They were soon joined by the busmen. The strike deprived almost all of London of local transportation. The Labor Government was "neutral" in this dispute as in others. But when the strike threatened to extend to the subway trains, Premier MacDonald stated in the House of Commons "The first step that would have to be taken was to issue a proclamation that a state of emergency existed" (Tory cheers). He further said this "Was for the purpose of giving ample protection to those in legal and proper occupations," or in other words preparation for systematic strike breaking. As a consequence the workers voted on April 1st to accept a compromise of six shillings added to the basic rates, and the strike was declared off, after the King had signed the proclamation declaring a "state of emergency" under the Emergency Powers Act, a law for breaking strikes adopted under Lloyd George.

In the meantime movements for wage increases that threatened to involve Great Britain in another series of large scale strikes are taking shape. In the mining industry 800,000 workers have given strike notice and negotiations have been broken off after the workers refused an offer of 12½% advance above the present minimum. In the building industry 720,000 workers are demanding a general advance of two pence per hour, while the industry is experiencing a multitude of sporadic local strikes. The engineering and ship building industry is facing the possibility of a general strike which is already under way in Southampton, for a general increase of three shillings per week. This dispute threatens to involve 600,000 men. More than 200,000 distributive workers are demanding an increase in wages. A wage movement in the textile industry affecting 50,000 workers is under way and may result in a strike at any time. The railway shop men are again putting forward claims for advances, the National Union of Railway Men demanding six shillings six pence per week advance for its members. Small local strikes engaging all classes of workers including insurance solicitors, farm laborers, teachers, carters, general laborers, builders, airplane workers, are occurring from day to day.

A very significant development is seen in the British Commonwealth Labor Conference which has been called to meet in London beginning August 18th, under the chairmanship of Ramsay MacDonald. Included in this conference will be the Australian Labor Party, Canadian Trades & Labor Congress, Canadian Labor Party, Indian Trade Unions, Newfoundland Fishermen's Union, New Zealand Labor Party, British Guiana Labor Unions, Rhodesian Labor Party, South African Labor Party, Cape Trade Union Federation, and the Transvaal Associated Trade Unions. The Amsterdam Trade Union International and the Second International will be represented by one delegate each. This conference will undoubtedly mark the establishment of a definite labor imperialism.

Considerable interest has been aroused throughout the trade union movement by the fact that the salary of the Lord Privy Seal, which was 2,000 pounds sterling before the Labor Party entered the Government, has been increased to 5,000 pounds sterling since Mr. Clynes occupied the office on behalf of Labor. It is being pleaded on behalf of Mr. Clynes that he has to work very hard and that while the former incumbent, a Liberal, was merely Lord Privy Seal, Mr. Clynes is also Leader of the House of Commons, which is a very, very arduous job. It is maintained that it would be very unfair indeed to deny Mr. Clynes the salary of \$20,000 per year for upholding these two very important titles.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

Of The Labor Herald, published monthly at Chicago, Ill., for April 1st, 1924.

State of Illinois, County of Cook, ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Earl R. Browder, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of the Labor Herald, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse side of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:
Publisher, The Trade Union Educational League, 1008 Rush St., Chicago, Ill.

Editor, Earl R. Browder, 1008 Rush St., Chicago, Ill.
Managing Editor, Earl R. Browder, 1008 Rush St., Chicago, Ill.
Business Manager, J. W. Johnstone, 1008 Rush St., Chicago, Ill.

2. That the owners are: The Trade Union Educational League, a voluntary association; Wm. Z. Foster, Sec'y-Treas.; J. W. Johnstone, Earl R. Browder, S. T. Hammersmark, Ben Gitlow, A. Obermeier, and Tim Buck, National Committee.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is (this information is required from daily publications only).

EARL R. BROWDER, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 25th day of March, 1924.

S. T. HAMMERSMARK.

(SEAL)

(My commission expires April 20, 1924.)

DOINGS AND MISDOINGS OF MONTH*(Continued from page 69)*

the Teapot-Domers in the manner of living to which they have been accustomed.

Mr. Mellon has been moved, profoundly moved, by some impolite congressman introducing a bill to tax estates. After laboring he brought forth the statement that, "The social necessity of breaking up large fortunes does not exist in this country."

Unfortunately for Mr. Mellon the census bureau of the government just issued the statistics of the country's wealth at the date of December 31, 1922, showing that while the total wealth of the nation has increased 72.2 per cent in the last ten years, the per capita wealth increased only 49.6 per cent, which proves not only a concentration of wealth into large fortunes, but also proves Mr. Mellon a prevaricator. As a side issue we must caution any one against pointing to this per capita increase as a sign of prosperity, because it is based on inflated financial values of things rather than an increase in the things themselves. Moreover, per capita is a thief and a liar, who fails to pay my grocer out of your bank account.

Mr. Mellon goes further. He says that any such remedy should "keep estate taxes as a reserve in times of national distress." Mr. Mellon and his pals are in no distress, hence, why such taxes? But the slow paralysis of industrial depression is creeping over all American production concurrently with an agricultural crisis that impoverishes millions of the farm population.

Capitalist newspapers are torn betwixt desire to plead that something be done to relieve the farmers to save the Republican party, and the general duty to lie blandly and say that things are lovely in the best of all possible worlds.

The collection of would-be economists who write the stuff in the *Chicago Tribune* under the name of "Scrutator," fished around until they brought forth the claim that the buying power of the farmer was 95 per cent of that of 1913, instead of 75 per cent as claimed by government statistics. Yet, in the same issue Professor Irving Fisher shows that the dollar has a purchasing power of 68.1 cents as compared to that of 1913. This proves that the nominal dollar of the farmer is worth 68.1 cents compared to 1913, and if he has 95 per cent of the number of dollars he then had he has 61.6 the buying power, or if 75 per cent, only 51 per cent of buying power compared to 1913.

No wonder that distress Mr. Mellon cannot see nor Mr. Coolidge hear, is sweeping the

country and demanding a political party of workers and farmers which will really fight to take the government away from Wall Street. And no wonder the newspapers are fighting desperately against such a party, the *Chicago Tribune* warning that, "A third party movement in the United States will go to the soviet doctrines as certainly as fate." And it fears lest the people may get over "accepting decisions in elections, for if they do not turn to tranquil amiability after reading the election returns the United States could not exist." So, there, after all, the *Tribune* is a pacifist!

Speaking of Pacifists

WE note that every capitalist hireling from Bill Burns to the editor of the *Sauk Center Dingbat* tried to sidetrack the Senate revelations of government rottenness by suddenly raising a hue and cry about the "peril of pacifism."

Rather inconsistently for a publication which has been campaigning for the total suppression of the constitutional right of people to bear arms, the *Chicago Tribune* has swelled up its columns with laudations of he-men among the rah-rah boys who are just thirsting to disembowel anybody the Teapot government points out as "the enemy."

Also, with a certain sagacity, the Trib calls attention to the loose talk against war now prevalent in the churches. It applauds Bishop Luther B. Wilson of the Methodist Episcopal Church who told the pacifists at the annual conference in New York City that the soldiers he saw in the war were "God's men, fighting on God's side." And when the ministers of the Presbyterian Church of the Chicago district unanimously voted an anti-war resolution, the Tribune asked them if they were willing to follow Christianity literally into giving up their property.

This isn't treating the men of God politely, asking them to practice what they preach; but we are compelled to make matters even worse. Not only would we make the class lines plain but we would ask the Chicago Congregational Ministers who, on April 14th passed a resolution "to engage at once with all its power in a campaign of education against war," to pursue the following plan of action or quit talking:

Considering that racial hatreds are being fanned to war fever between Japan and the United States over the excuse of "national honor" but in reality because of conflicting imperialist designs upon the exploitation of the Orient, are you willing to "engage at once with all your power in a campaign of education against war" with Japan among the armed forces, army and navy of this country?

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