

LABOR UNITY

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Tasks Facing Organized Labor and the A. F. of L. Convention

By EARL BROWDER

IN a few days the Convention of the American Federation of Labor will be in session in Los Angeles. A most serious situation faces the labor movement; the closing period of industrial expansion has, for the first time in history, been accompanied not by a growth of the trade unions but instead by a serious loss of membership. At the same time, unemployment has grown and become a chronic accompaniment, not of industrial crisis, but of industrial prosperity. More than ever the basic industries are without even the semblance of labor organization, except the coal leadership. Company unionism is being cut to pieces by the employers with the aid of the Lewis misleadership. Company unionism is growing apace, and its principles are being smuggled even into the trade unions themselves. Truly it is a time for serious stock-taking, for overhauling the policies and programs of the labor movement, and for a new course to be laid down. The coming period of wage-slashing and union-smashing cannot be met by the policy of conciliation.

Official Leaders Will Ignore the Issues

Unfortunately we have no reason to expect the A. F. of L. Convention to rise to the serious situation. We know these so-called leaders who control the high offices, and who select themselves as delegates to the Convention. They are interested first in drawing their high salaries; in becoming financiers thru banks and insurance companies, in their own private investments which they make under the advice of the capitalist "friends"; in advancing their fortunes in the Republican and Democratic Parties; in anything and everything except the building of a strong, militant labor movement which will raise wages, shorten

hours, and improve conditions of labor. We cannot even hope that these gentlemen will do other than what they have been doing in the past.

Rank and File Must Face the Problems

But the workers who are thinking seriously about the problems of their trade union movement must, themselves, begin the stock-taking process, themselves begin to develop in their own minds, among their fellows, in their local unions and city central bodies, the understanding of what must be done, to bring the labor unions from defeat and demoralization into a new period of advance and victories.

A few problems, and the necessary way to solve them, ought to be apparent to the majority of union men today. They are:

1. The employers are beginning to slash wages, and this campaign will soon be quite general. They will be successful unless the trade.
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Lewis Machine in District Seven Uses Injunction Against Insurgents

By F. J. O'CONNOR

AS an aftermath of the long, bitter fight waged by the opposition forces in district No. 7, United Mine Workers of America, against the reactionary District and International leadership, the struggle now has entered a new phase, with the Lewis machine obtaining a sweeping court injunction against the insurgent leadership.

The struggle of the opposition in District No. 7, commenced shortly prior to the Tamaqua district convention some two years ago, when a struggle was waged by the opposition elements against the extravagant expense accounts and misleadership of the district organization by the supporters of Lewis who counted themselves into office. The election was contested also at that time, but the Lewis elements had the majority of the convention (as is usually the case, when blue sky delegates swamp conventions) and this struggle of the opposition for clean elections and better lead-

ership was lost. The opposition held their forces intact and continued the struggle. During the last International election, these oppositional elements supported the candidacy of John Brophy, and succeeded in developing in this little district quite a progressive movement behind the "Save the Union" slate and program.

The present struggle commenced upon the return of the delegates from the International convention held last January in Indianapolis, when the delegates reported to their locals the actual happenings at the convention. The district leaders, together with several International "organizers" sent in by Lewis to handle this situation, began framing up on the leaders of the opposition movement, as is charged by many of the opposition. These delegates initiated a fight against the rule of the Lewis incompetents in District No. 7, and utilized the transactions of the International convention as a basis for

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Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota

By HENRY G. TEIGAN,

Secretary, State Central Committee, Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota

THE Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota is an organization of real power. It is a political movement of farmers and workers operating on the political field under its own name and with no attempt to disguise its purpose.

Political parties are in all instances the political expression of certain economic interests. With the development of new economic interests, new political parties have invariably arisen. The Republican and Democratic parties arose when economic conditions required it.

Thomas Jefferson, third president of the United States, is usually credited with being the creator of

the Democratic party. Those who joined with Jefferson in the organization of the Democrat party were for the most part believers in political democracy. Moreover, they represented the farmers and the small business people of that time.

But, strange as it may seem, the Democratic party was then, as it continued to be for 60 years thereafter, also the champion of the slave-holding class of the South. Here the party of the small town business men and the farmers of the north joined hands with the most conservative ruling element in the country.

Workers "Belong" to the Democratic Party

A somewhat similar condition prevails in the Democratic party

today. The wage workers of the industrial centers in the east "belong" to the Democratic party while the dominant economic element of the reactionary South is the chief influence in the party. This peculiar coalition cannot long continue.

The Republican party came into existence, as most folks know, because of the opposition of the growing business interests of the North to the existence of chattel slavery in the South. The large business interests in the free states were reinforced by the enemies of slavery who opposed its existence and extension on grounds other than economic. It may be said, though, that the principal element responsible for the creation of the Republican party was the growing manufacturing interests of the North.

Republican Party the Political Expression of Big Business

The Republican party is today the most perfect political expression of big business. There is no such anomalous condition existing in the Republican party as is the case with the Democratic party. The Republican party is quite consistently the political vehicle of the banking, railroad and manufacturing interests of the United States.

The Farmer-Labor party has an economic basis for its existence. The party didn't come into being purely as the result of some liberal minded folks' whims. The Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota was organized by the farmers and workers of the state in order that each of these elements might obtain for themselves a larger proportion of the products of their toil.

The Farmer-Labor Party Belongs to the Farmers and Workers

The story of the Non-partisan League is the story of the beginning of the Farmer-Labor party of

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T. U. E. L. Call for Third National Conference

THE labor movement is in a deep crisis. It is on the retreat before the attacks of the employers. Never was its morale so low. Never was its leadership so corrupt and reactionary. Never was the need so urgent for the honest, progressive elements in the unions to combine in order to infuse the labor movement with a fighting spirit, to draw together its weakened forces, and to develop an offensive against the insatiable capitalist class.

American capitalists, in furtherance of their tremendous drive for world domination, have a most pressing need for a docile working class for workers who can be used as pawns in their vast imperialistic profit-grabbing schemes. Hence, they are carrying on a strenuous, many-phased offensive to confuse, disorganize, and exploit the workers. Specific aims of this offensive are to cut production costs by slashing wages and speeding up the workers, to smash or devitalize the unions, to enchain the workers to the cap-

italist political parties, to enmesh the workers in the rapidly growing militarism and war plans, and to crush out all progressive and revolutionary spirit among the workers.

Labor Leaders Are Helping the Employers

The trade union leaders, instead of rallying the workers to resist this dangerous attack, have, surrendered to it. Worse, they are actually helping the employers to reduce the workers' standards of life and employment, to weaken their industrial and political organizations, and to confuse their understanding. They are demonstrating themselves to be what they are in fact, lieutenants of the employers in the ranks of the workers.

The reactionary union officials do nothing to equip the workers to fight for better conditions and against impending wage cuts. Basing themselves on a thin fringe of skilled workers, they do nothing to

organize the unorganized masses of semi-skilled and unskilled workers. They refuse to amalgamate the obsolete craft unions into modern industrial unions. They reject every semblance of a militant wage policy, even though the employers cut the unions to pieces as they are now destroying the United Mine Workers.

The heads of the unions have become auxiliaries of the employers to speed up the workers in industry. They are rapidly abandoning the strike in theory and practice and are cultivating among the workers the dangerous illusion that the way for the toilers to improve conditions is by "co-operation" with (i. e., surrender to) the employers. Their Baltimore and Ohio Plan, new wage policy, and similar schemes, come from the brains of capitalistic industrial efficiency engineers. They redound entirely to the benefit of the employers and

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Struggle in Ladies Garment Union is Reaching Climax—By Rose Wortis

TEN months ago, in the midst of a strike that was on the verge of a vicious settlement, the bureaucracy of the I. L. G. W. U. expelled the Left Wing Joint Board, representing about 75% of the entire membership, and brought about an internal war in the Union—a war which has not only destroyed the improvements gained during the recent strike of 1926 but has completely wiped out the standards gained by the workers thru many years of struggle. Because the union had just gone thru a long and bitter strike, Sigman had hoped that the workers would be unable to offer resistance to his attempt to force his leadership on the cloak and dressmakers.

In the course of this struggle the Sigman administration has revealed itself before the workers in all its ugliness. The methods employed in this attempt to crush the revolt of the workers can find no parallel in the history of the American labor movement. The injunction, hitherto considered a weapon in the hands of the employers, was freely made use of by the Sigman machine. Sigman had the hearty support of the Jewish Daily Forward, the entire reactionary trade union-bureaucracy, the bosses, the police, the courts and the judges. With the aid of hired thugs he established a reign of terror in the Union and in the garment district, which is the scene of bloody encounters daily.

And in spite of all this terrorism, in spite of all these forces that are lined up with Sigman, he has up to this day failed to establish his control in the industry. He has succeeded in but one respect, namely, to reduce the industry to a complete state of chaos which has even surpassed the conditions that prevailed in 1919 prior to the existence of an organized union in the trade. It is becoming evident to everyone in close touch with the situation that the plans of both the Sigman machine and the employers have failed to materialize. After many months of complete deadlock between the Right and Left Wing forces the situation has reached a turning point which is decidedly in favor of the Left Wing. We will here briefly state and analyze the following forces that are unmistakably driving the Sigman machine to its ultimate collapse:

1. The Employers

The plan to expel the Left Wing administration was decided upon jointly with the bosses, who had gone thru the appalling experience of dealing with the Left Wing administration which had insisted on forcing union conditions and had mobilized the workers in an open struggle in order to secure improvements in their standards. Having been promised by Sigman that with their aid the Left Wing would be annihilated within a short time, the bosses readily gave their support to the Right administration in its efforts to crush the militant spirit of the cloak and dressmakers.

The ten months struggle, however, has convinced the employers that the Left Wing administration which has the support of the masses cannot be broken by a combination of union bureaucrats with the bosses. The advantages they had hoped for by supporting Sigman were counteracted by the demoralization in the industry which has reached a point where cut-throat competition, resulting from the chaotic conditions, has created such a state of uncertainty in the market that it is absolutely impossible to standardize the trade. No matter how big a reduction in wages the legitimate manufacturers could effect, no matter to what extent they would increase the working hours of their employees, the bosses are not in a position to compete with

the overwhelming number of open shops that spring up like mushrooms overnight. The legitimate employers, who were among the first to give their support to Sigman, are now beginning to see that they have unleashed a powerful demon that threatens to destroy them together with the Union.

Already the more responsible factors in the industry are beginning to give serious consideration to these problems, as indicated by the recent conference, called by the Impartial Chairman Ingersoll, where the legitimate employers of the Industrial Council openly stated that they are threatened with complete destruction unless some radical steps are taken to stem the growth of the open shop menace. This economic factor will undoubtedly play an important role in the outcome of the struggle.

2. The Registered Workers

It is common knowledge that Sigman is completely discredited amongst the great mass of the cloak and dressmakers and that the present Left Wing movement is but the outgrowth of many previous rank and file revolts against the Right Wing leadership of the I. L. G. W. U. and its policies. However, the coercive methods employed by Sigman to force his domination and the economic pressure immediately after the strike has compelled many workers in sympathy with the Left Wing to submit and register with Sigman's dual union. They did not realize at the time that in giving their support to Sigman (even though unwillingly) they would not be able to save themselves from the destructive effects of the internal war.

Now these masses who have registered with Sigman so as to avoid losing their jobs realize that their support of Sigman made possible the present break-down in union standards and conditions. These workers are beginning to revolt against the low wages, long hours and complete collapse of union standards and are seeking methods by which to force a termination of the present war. The Shop Chairmen's Council and the Independent Committee For Peace are but crude

expressions of that desire on the part of the workers to once more unite the Union.

3. The Split Within the Bureaucratic Machine

In the first few months of this internal conflict all the reactionary forces within the "machine", backed by the Forward, united in the effort to crush the Left Wing movement. Now that Sigman has failed to accomplish this defeat, the conflicting forces within the "machine" are beginning to assert themselves demanding more power to their respective cliques.

Breslau, who was driven out of the Union during the Left Wing victory of 1926, is once more on the scene and is receiving the silent support of the Forward, which is unofficially backing him as against Sigman because the latter has been unable to "deliver the goods".

The Centrist elements, who supported Sigman because of their opposition to the Left and the Extreme Right, are now placed in a position where they have to make their choice between giving over the Union to the Breslau machine where they would be completely eliminated, or saving whatever remnants they can by making peace with the Left Wing.

4. The Joint Board, Backed by the Great Mass of the Workers

The fighting against overwhelming forces, surrounded on all sides by the hostility from the official labor movement, the capitalist press, the State machinery and the bosses, the Joint Board has retained the confidence of the workers and has been able to maintain its position. Now, on the tenth month of this bitter struggle, it is generally admitted by all factors directly involved in this conflict that the workers will never accept the leadership of the reactionary clique, the ership of the reactionary clique, that there is no possibility for restoring order in the industry, no possibility for maintaining the Union without the participation of the Left Wing elements.

These outstanding factors, as outlined above, indicate that the struggle is coming to a head and

that the deadlock, which existed for the past few months, will be terminated.

There are two possibilities in sight for the culmination of the struggle:

1. That the workers, who had been accustomed to higher standards and have ideologically outgrown the sweat-shop system, realizing that the present breakdown of union conditions at first considered but a temporary state threatens to become permanent, will revolt in mass against this new yoke of slavery and drive out the reactionary clique. In that event they will line up with the Joint Board in its efforts to restore union conditions and rebuild the Union.

2. That the pressure from the employers and workers, and the scramble for power within the ranks of the bureaucracy, together with the new offensive of the Left Wing, will compel either one of the groups to seek peace with the Joint Board so as to retain some hold in the Union.

These possibilities are slowly shaping themselves. How soon they will crystallize into definite action will depend on the force of the new offensive which was launched by the Joint Board with the Madison Square Garden demonstration on Saturday, September 10th.

Whatever the outcome of this struggle may be, the needle trade workers have contributed an invaluable page to the history of the American labor movement. During this period of blackest reaction, when the most powerful unions (such as the Miners'), led by the bureaucracy of the A. F. of L., are being destroyed without any sign of resistance, the bitter struggle of the needle trade workers against company unionism carried on over a period of ten months is a beacon light to guide the betrayed and misled workers in other trades to new struggles against the capitalist class of this country and their labor lieutenants of the trade union movement.

Wages and American Prosperity—By Earl Browder

SURELY America is prosperous. Producing the greatest stream of commodities the world has ever seen—increasing the productivity per worker at a marvelous rate (estimated at 50% in the past five years), piling up accumulated profits that place America in the position of financial ruler of the world. But this prosperity benefits only the capitalists, to a lesser extent the middle classes, and slightly a few specially-favored workers in strategic places. The mass of the workers in America find their standard of living constantly declining.

Recent investigations of the U. S. Dept. of Labor furnish further proofs of this fact. No one, I am sure, will suspect that the Dept. of Labor has any wish to stir up discontent. It is, on the contrary, inclined to make conditions look better than they really are. Yet the investigations into wages in the steel and textile industries tells the story of constantly falling wages.

Low Wages in Steel and Textiles.
In 1920, the average full-time weekly earnings in the steel industry, including the highest-paid as well as common labor, was \$45.65. In 1924 the figure had dropped to \$35.22, and in 1926 to \$34.41. The loss from 1920 to 1926 was 24.6 per cent.

During the same period the productivity of labor increased by approximately 50% in the steel industry.

In the woolen and worsted goods industry, the drop in average wages from 1920 to 1926 was 24.8 per cent.

The cotton goods manufacturing industry shows an even greater decrease in wages, the drop being 31.7 per cent between 1920 and 1926.

Another picture of how the workers are sharing American prosperity is to be seen in a recent report of the Women's Bureau, Dept. of Labor, on "Women's Employment in Vegetable Canned in Delaware". Conditions of white and Negro women were compared, showing the Negro women are exploited doubly. One-third of the white women, and three-fourths of the Negro women received less than \$7 per week.

No Living Wage for Railroad Workers

It is a popular superstition that railroad workers earn a living wage. But more than 200,000 track laborers average \$17 per week. (See Monthly Labor Review, Aug., 1927). In the lumber industry, one district averages \$10.48 per week, while the whole country brings the average only to \$17.77. Other figures given show that millions of adult workers must be living on an income of \$10 to \$15 per week.

According to the figures of the same Dept. of Labor, the minimum wage necessary to maintain a family of five in decent conditions is around \$40 per week.

In addition to the declining wages the working class feels the effects of "prosperity" in America in increasing unemployment. Although production is increasing phenomenally compared to former years, the number of workers in industry is decreasing. Even the capitalists are remarking that unemployment is of a chronic nature; in the midst of the greatest prosperity ever known, is the characteristic of the United States today.

Workers Must Be Prepared for Struggle Against the Bosses

Facing such conditions as these, the American Federation of Labor, meeting in convention in Los Angeles, will doubtless hear again from Green, Wolf, Frey and others, how the "social wage" is being achieved by them for the working class, by means of the B. & O. Plan, expelling the left wing, setting up "labor" banks in partnership with capitalists, sabotaging the efforts of the unorganized and unskilled workers, and proclaiming and practicing peace and collaboration with the employing class, even in the carrying out of its wage-cutting, exploitation-intensifying campaign.

Now, more than ever, when even this "prosperity" is giving way to industrial depression at least for a time, it is necessary to awaken the workers, in and out of the trade unions, to the necessity of organization for struggle against the employers.

Farmer-Labor Party

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the state. In the old Nonpartisan league, led so ably by A. C. Townley, the battle was for improved marketing methods and facilities for the farmers. The leaguers advocated state-owned flour mills, terminal elevators and packing houses; a tonnage tax on iron ore; exemption of farming improvements from taxation, and a rural credit bank operated at cost for farmers.

In Minnesota the Nonpartisan leaguers found that it was necessary to join hands with the workers of the cities. They did so and attempted to battle their common enemy by making use of the old Nonpartisan method of capturing the machinery of one or the other of the two old parties. In 1918 and again in 1920 the leaguers and labor tried to capture the Republican nominations in the primary. In both instances their efforts failed.

Farmers and Workers Sall Under Own Banner in Minnesota

Finally the logical, practical method of combining the farmers and workers under their own banner was decided upon. The leaders of both elements said in substance: "Let's be done with the unholy method of attempting to be Republicans. Let's be done with deception."

Although the leaguers and labor had attempted to capture the Republican nominations at the primaries in 1918 and 1920, it is, nevertheless, true that in both years the same elements entered the field at the general election with an independent slate of candidates.

Farmer-Labor Party Has Met Bitter Opposition

The Farmer-Labor party has not succeeded as yet in electing its candidate to the governorship. The forces of privilege have not taken any chances of allowing the farmers and workers to capture the chief executive office of the state by default. At each election the Republican nominees have been well financed and campaigns of slander and misrepresentation have been carried on against the nominees of the Farmer-Labor forces. In 1918 the issues presented by the Farmer-Labor candidates were answered by the Republicans with the charge that "you are pro-Germans, disloyalists and traitors." In 1920 the same issues presented by the candidates of the farmers and workers were answered: "You are Socialists. You want to establish a Russian dictatorship. You are enemies of the home and advocates of free love." Continuing along this line the Republicans advised the people to go to the polls and "smash Socialism."

Not all the people were fooled by this false political propaganda of the candidates of big business, but enough of them were led astray to accomplish the defeat of the candidates of the Farmer-Labor party.

Tide Turned in 1922

In 1922 it was apparent that a propaganda of deception would not be so successful as it had been in previous years. Moreover the Republicans were somewhat divided in their allegiance to the candidates of their party. Thus it was that a campaign on issues was conducted with a greater success than had been the case in 1918 and 1920. As a result the Farmer-Labor party succeeded in electing Henrik Shipstead United States senator, and Rued Westfall and O. J. Kvate to the house of representatives.

In the off year of 1923, it will be recalled that Magnus Johnson, real dirt farmer of Kimball, Minn., overwhelmingly defeated Governor J. A. O. Brauns, Republican nominee for the United States senatorship, in the special election to elect a successor to Senator Knute Nelson, who had died in office.

Chicago Street Carmen Must Fight for their Demands

By A PROGRESSIVE

WITH demands pending by the rank and file members of the Chicago Street Carmen's and Elevated Employees' Union for wage increases of 15c per hour, for a guaranteed insurance policy per man, for improvements in working conditions, and with the traction companies still simultaneously pressing for further consolidation and gobbling up of the whole city transport system, and striving for complete control of the political life of the city, the officials of the Street Carmen's Union are coming out ever more frankly as the servants of the companies. They scorn demands made by the labor movement of the city for municipal ownership of the transportation system but make splendid pleas for company, shielding themselves behind the phrase of contract with the employees.

Meanwhile, the companies are reciprocating the favors by helping the officials stifle all voices of protest within the union by promptly eliminating the protestants from their jobs.

Open Support to the Companies

Recently this line of policy pursued by the officials of co-operation and service to the bosses became very clear. On July 27th the Chicago Federation of Labor passed a resolution unanimously condemning the proposed traction legislation advanced by the Insull interests, protesting the granting of any further franchise by the city and demanding municipal ownership of the transportation system. Shortly thereafter the officials of the Street Carmen's and Elevated Employees' Unions submitted a letter to the Chicago Federation of Labor showing themselves as the real supporters of the companies and in reality completely disregarding the interests of the men.

In part this letter set forth as follows:

"Frankly, as the representatives of more than 20,000 of these union employees, we are tired of being confronted with charges of bad faith by the representatives of these companies as expressed in the hostile attitude of this central body in this and other similar resolutions. We believe the spirit of these resolutions a wrong policy and, when properly analyzed, an anti-union policy that has a tendency to promote bad feeling instead of good will between these companies and their union employees."

Further on the letter comes out more in defense of the companies by saying: "The electric railway industry had its 'barons' in the past and may have some of them now, the same as all other big industries, but the average of the

electric railway executives of today are fighting to overcome the sins of their predecessors and earnestly striving to operate on a legitimate business basis."

"The fact that the street car employees are now not receiving an adequate wage and that in the past outright wage reductions have taken place is politely placed as responsibilities not upon the companies but upon 'present unreasonable restrictions that surround the operation of the local traction lines'." The letter further sets forth the fact (which is true) that the Chicago Motor Coach Co., which also controls the Yellow Cab, is distinctly an anti-union institution and on that basis asks that the labor movement should rather support the street car companies which maintained contracts with its employees. "Trade unionism," says the letter, "as we understand it, should certainly assure a feeling of amity for employers who co-operate with the employees on a bona fide trade union basis, and that is the situation with the Chicago traction companies."

The officials of the trade union take the attitude that if unionism means co-operation it cannot be one-sided; in other words, it must be co-operation with the bosses.

This is about one of the worst examples of pleading for a corporation. More is involved in these statements than seems to appear on the surface.

Progressives in the Union

Suppressed

Simultaneously with pursuing this line of policy, the union officials also made sure that those elements within the union who took the leadership in protesting such policy, demanding that the union carry on a militant fight for the just demands of the men were not only kept out of the union meetings by force, but also suspended from the union.

The Chicago traction system is practically owned and controlled by the powerful Insull interests. In the past the system has been operating under a city franchise. At present, it is co-operating under a day to day franchise which is to expire by about December 1st.

Insull Interests Striving for Monopoly

During the last session of the Illinois legislature bills were submitted by the Insull interests for so-called enabling legislation for the Chicago transportation system providing for the building of subways, cost of removal and re-location of present lines to be borne by the city, providing for an indeterminate franchise and providing for a complete consolidation of the transportation system, including consoli-

dation with the bus lines operated by the Yellow Cab Co. If the designs of the Insull interests had been carried out, and they are sure to again be pressed to the fore, a gigantic monopoly would be established, a formidable foe of trade unionism. It will provide a complete monopoly of fare rates, of conditions of the employees, with dangers that the company unionism of the Yellow Cab Co. would ultimately become the recognized system.

While the officials of the Street Carmen's Union are now pleading for support of the transportation companies as against the Yellow Cab Co. these proposals made by the Insull interests point out very clearly that there will be no hesitation whatever in complete co-operation within this consolidated combine against the union. In 1922 a reduction of wages of the Street Carmen and Elevated Employees was imposed; subsequent upon hearings conducted before the Illinois Commerce Commission of which Frank L. Smith was the chairman. The part played by the Insull interests in these wage reductions were revealed in the Illinois Slush Fund exposure showing the tremendous sums made available by Insull for the election of Frank L. Smith as U. S. Senator from the state of Illinois. The same revelations further brought out the sums made available by the Insull interests for the Republican Thompson-Crowe-Barratt-Brundage clique, which is now in control of the city administration, placed there with Insull money.

Wage Demands Side-tracked

The desire of the Insull interests have become the predominant ones within city politics. Officials of the Street Carmen's Union through the line of policy pursued have become an integral part of this combine, and while the demands of the street Carmen and the Elevated Employees for wage increases and improved working conditions were supposed to have been referred for arbitration, nothing further is heard about the matter. The men do not know what their fate is going to be.

Evidently that little matter of granting a further franchise is first to be disposed of. This consolidation scheme are meanwhile to be further advanced and the men will find their demands ignored unless they themselves put up a militant fight for action.

The sentiment of the men has been made clear in the tremendous turnout to the recent union meetings and in support given to the militants who were suspended because of their protest against the deals made by the officials and because

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The campaigns in 1922 and 1923 are so recent that no explanation of these is necessary, other than to say that the presidential contest of 1924 accomplished the defeat of the Farmer-Labor slate. As in 1896, during the Bryan free silver campaign, the big interests of the country intimidated the workers and the small town business men, by giving them notice that unless their candidate for president came out victorious on election day, there would ensue a period of panics, unemployment and hard times. The voters weakened under the threat and gave Calvin Coolidge their votes. And in giving their votes to Coolidge they also gave their votes to the Republican state and congressional nominees.

Democrats of Minnesota Off the Map

Notwithstanding this unfair method of conducting campaigns against the Farmer-Labor candidates, the Farmer-Labor party has continued to grow. In the short

period of eight years of existence in this state the Farmer-Labor party has accomplished the complete elimination of the Democratic party as an opposition force in the state. At the election on Nov. 2 1924, the Farmer-Labor nominee for governor polled more than seven times as many votes as were cast for the Democratic candidate for that office.

The Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota is a public ownership party. It advocates public ownership of all public utilities. It stands for the exemption of farm improvements from taxation and it demands for the workers and urban dweller the ultimate elimination of taxes on all personal effects.

Tonnage and Royalty Taxes—Work of Farmer-Labor Party

The Farmer-Labor party is responsible for the enactment of laws taxing the exploiters of our iron ore. These taxes on net profits and royalties, have brought into the state treasury of Minnesota, an

amount approximating \$23,000,000 during the last six years.

The rural credit bureau which was established a few years ago is another of the propositions demanded by the Farmer-Laborites which the old partysites found it necessary to yield to. The service that the rural credits bureau has rendered is difficult to estimate, though it is safe to say it has been the means of saving hundreds of thousands of dollars in interest money to the farmers who have been forced to borrow money on their farms.

The Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota will be in the fight in 1928 with a full slate of candidates. These candidates will be indorsed at a convention representing the farmers and workers of the state. The party will expect every indorsee to show undivided fidelity to the party, to the other indorsees on the ticket and to the party's platform and principles during the campaign, and a faithful performance to the cause in office, if successful at the polls.

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AN EMPTY THREAT OR WORSE

THE Executive Council of the A. F. of L. has at last deigned to take notice of the struggle of the bituminous miners. At its September meeting the Council has discovered that miners and their families have been evicted from their homes and that the police power of the state and county authorities has been used to intimidate and terrorize the union miners.

It might have been expected that having discovered the miners in their sixth month of struggle the Council would rush plans to arouse the entire labor movement to the need of coming to the assistance and providing badly needed relief for the strikers and their families. But nothing of the kind. No intimation has come from the A. F. of L. leaders to show that they intend to do anything about raising relief for the miners. They are merely slinging phrases about "rendering assistance" to the miners "to protect them in their homes and to preserve their constitutional and economic rights".

But even in this they are offering only empty words—or something which is worse than empty words.

There is nothing new or surprising in the violation of "the constitutional and economic rights" of the miners. The use of injunctions, local and state police, and, if need be, of the national militia against strikers has featured practically every mass struggle of the workers in this country. The progressive workers, however, would welcome any sign which would show that the leaders of the A. F. of L. are able to draw the necessary conclusions from this violation of the rights of labor.

But they propose the same old policy of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies". The Executive Council, according to Mr. Green, "will consider the formulation of plans by which it can arouse the workers of Pennsylvania to use their political power"—not to create a party of their own—but "in behalf of their friends and in opposition to their enemies". If there could be any doubt as to what Green means they should be laid at rest by his declaration in his Labor Day sermon that "the non-partisan political policy of the A. F. of L. should be religiously observed. Third party movements will prevent the election of friends of labor and the people".

There is significance in this singling out of Pennsylvania for a special campaign for the A. F. of L. policy. There has always been a strong sentiment for a Labor Party among the workers of this state, particularly among the miners of western Pennsylvania. A skeleton Labor Party has been in existence in Pennsylvania for a number of years, and has been prevented from becoming a functioning party mainly by the opposition of the A. F. of L. officialdom. Apparently the Executive Council is afraid that the experiences of the miners in the present struggle might cause the workers of Pennsylvania to once for all break with the capitalist parties and to put the Labor Party on the map. They are therefore getting ready for a special effort, not to mobilize organized labor in support of the min-

ers, but to restrain the workers of Pennsylvania from deserting the Republican and Democratic parties and building a party of labor.

The A. F. of L. leaders are on the job—in behalf of the parties of Wall Street.

The progressive and militant workers of Pennsylvania should forestall the tools of Wall Street and immediately initiate an energetic campaign, utilizing the experiences of the miners to infuse vitality into the Labor Party and to transform it into an active, functioning political party to defend the interests of labor.

WALL STREET'S AMBASSADOR TO MEXICO

THE appointment of Dwight Morrow, a partner in the firm of Morgan & Co., as U. S. ambassador to Mexico, should serve as a warning and challenge to American labor. That any appointee of the Coolidge administration would really have served as a Wall Street ambassador does not make the Morrow appointment less significant.

It is an open avowal that the foreign policy of the U. S.—just as its internal economic and political life—is completely dominated by Wall Street. It is a declaration on the part of the financial magnates, the masters of this country, that they can dispense with all camouflage and disregard and treat with contempt all opposition to their rule.

What this may mean for the relations between this country and Mexico is shown by the past record of the Coolidge and previous Washington administrations. It is no secret that Wall Street aims at the complete subjugation of Mexico, and its policies, more than once brought the two countries to the verge of war.

American labor must be made aware of this ever present danger. Devalitized as the labor movement has become through the class collaboration policies of its official leadership, it is the only power that could rally all the oppressed for effective resistance to Wall Street. The progressive and militant workers must redouble their efforts to awaken American labor to the need of a class struggle policy in all its organized activities and to mobilize the forces of labor for a mass political party of its own that could challenge the imperialist policies and domination of Wall Street.

"VOLUNTARY" ARBITRATION OF LABOR-CAPITAL CONFLICTS

ORGANIZED labor should be warned against the possibility of legislation for "voluntary" arbitration of its disputes with the employers.

A news article by Lawrence Sullivan, of the International News Service, reports that "the American Federation of Labor and the American Bar Association (1) have joined hands in an effort to work out a national code for the peaceful settlement of labor disputes". The A. F. of L. is represented by Green, Frey and Victor Olander, while the committee of the Bar Association includes its retiring president, former Governor Whitman of New York.

According to Sullivan, "a partial report from the committee to the 50th annual convention of the (Bar) association declares that 'substantial progress' has been made in the preliminary discussions. It is planned to confer with employers and workers throughout the country, to discuss the involved questions of law and policy on which an effective legislative program might be reared."

Organized labor has always rightly opposed arbitration and looked upon it as a menace to the right to strike. All its ex-

periences with arbitration have only strengthened this opposition. And the experience of the railroad workers with the Watson-Parker law is additional proof of the correctness of this attitude.

The Machinists' Journal, which along with the officials of the railway unions helped to secure the passage of the Watson-Parker law, in an editorial in the September issue declares: "So far as having proved beneficial to any class of railroad employees, except perhaps the transportation men, the Railway Labor Act (the Watson-Parker law) is a dead letter.

The shopmen have been unable to obtain any relief whatever. The Maintenance of Way Employees have fared no better than the shopmen."

With the press and other avenues for molding so-called public opinion dominated by the employing interests, voluntary arbitration laws can be defied by the employers but make arbitration virtually compulsory as far as labor is concerned. Organized labor should watch Green and the other A. F. of L. leaders and prevent them from bartering away the right to strike for the doubtful blessings which the railroad workers, after an experience of less than two years, are looking for ways to get rid of.

ALL-CHINA LABOR FEDERATION LEAD STRUGGLE AGAINST REACTION

THE declaration of Mme. Sun Yat Sen against the betrayal of the Chinese revolution by the Wuhan Government, issued by her on occasion of her resignation from that body, has been taken by the Chinese labor movement as the point of rallying the Chinese working masses against the reaction. Following are declarations made by labor and revolutionary bodies:

All-China Labor Federation: "In her declaration Mme. Sun has clearly pointed out to us the impending crisis in the revolutionary movement in China, and the aim we must set for our future activities. As representatives of the 2,800,000 organized laborers of China, we heartily endorse her declaration and pledge our support to it."

Hupei General Labor Union: "Her declaration has given us great comfort and increased our courage to carry on the struggle."

Wuhan Textile Workers' Union: "Although we, the laboring masses of China, have been deserted by many revolutionary leaders, we still have a true and loyal leader in the person of Mme. Sun Yat Sen. We feel there is still light in the future of the revolution when we read her statement. We shall continue our fight under her leadership."

Wharf Coolies Union: "The revolutionary leaders have gradually turned away from the Three Peoples Principles and the three big policies of our Tsung Li (Sun Yat Sen). They have daily more and more departed from the masses and are daily coming closer to a military despotism. Mme. Sun was much disappointed and so she resigned. We are determined to support her declaration in order to preserve the true substance of the revolutionary movement."

Wuchang City Kuomintang: "We believe that if our late Tsungli were yet alive, he would, in the present circumstances, have given us the same instructions that Mme. Sun Yat Sen has given us in her lengthy statement of July 14th."

Wuchang District Kuomintang, Sixth Section: "The Kuomintang, which has a long and glorious history, has now gone astray. It has the tendency of deserting the revolutionary masses. This has caused disappointment among the masses. But from her declaration, we know that Spong Ching-ling (Mme. Sun Yat Sen) is a real follower of Dr. Sun Yat Sen. Let us unite together and support her."

MINERS STRIKE

Green Evades Issues of Miners' Lockout

By A. JAKIRA

ACCORDING to newspaper reports the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor considered the serious coal situation in Central and Western Pennsylvania. The Council decided to "use its political power" to stop the brutal strike-breaking activities of the coal and iron police.

Not going at this time into an analysis of the action of the AFL on the question of the coal and iron police and evictions, one cannot ignore the fact that the main question, the question of relief for the locked out miners, was left unsolved.

Relief Needed

The miners of the bituminous fields find themselves in the midst of the sixth month of forced idleness. There can be no question that these men need financial assistance. Numerous resolutions were sent by the miners to the International and District officers asking that an assessment be levied on all miners who still remain at work and that the money thus raised should go for relief purposes only. Numerous requests for relief are coming in daily to the Miners Relief Conference of Western Pennsylvania from local unions and even from some organizers. Resolutions were sent to the Executive Council of the AFL asking to assess the entire membership for the miners relief.

The International Executive Board of the UMWA recently decided to levy an assessment of two

dollars per month per member for the months of September and October. The Miners Relief Conference of Western Pennsylvania is providing the men with some relief. But all this cannot satisfy the needs of the tens of thousands of the locked out miners and their families.

Miners' Struggle Concerns All Labor

The attack on the miners union is a concern of the entire labor movement, and not of the miners alone. The entire working class must place the question of miners relief as the first on the order of the day. The progressive elements in the UMWA must assist in every way possible in the collection of the assessment levied by the International Board of the UMWA and should put pressure to bear upon the officials to use the assessment for nothing else but relief. Relief Committees should be organized everywhere, and the funds collected should be rushed to the Miners Relief Conference of Western Pennsylvania. The miners and all members of the AFL should continue to insist that the Executive Council of the Federation take favorable action on the question of relief by levying an assessment on all the local unions and by issuing an appeal for relief to all workers, both organized and unorganized.

In this way the miners who were forced into idleness by the coal companies will be in a better position to continue their heroic struggle to a victorious end.

Lewis Machine in District Seven

(Continued from page 1)

their struggle. Around this issue, and the issue of the International officers steamrolling the convention, disfranchising delegates, slugging and framing them, increasing of the officers' salaries, discrimination against the foreign-born miners by constitutionally providing that alien miners cannot hold office, coupled with the gross mismanagement of the affairs of District No. 7, the struggle centered.

Mistakes of the Opposition

The opposition elements made several serious mistakes in the course of their struggle against the reactionaries. Several of these are: their position taken against the "check-off", their position for arbitration, their position against the assessment levied by the International union recently, a "dues strike", etc. These mistakes have left an opening for the reactionaries to interpret the opposition movement as being tinged with company influence. Another mistake was in allowing to come to the forefront in their leadership an element strong in their demands for a split from the United Mine Workers and the establishment of a dual district. It was a decided victory for the more clear-headed elements that this proposal was defeated and the tactic adopted of waging a militant struggle within the U. M. W. A.

The opposition forces issued many printed bulletins, and among them a pamphlet. The character of this material is not of the best, as no definite program is advanced, the effort is at least noteworthy in their challenge to the reactionary disruptive leadership of the district. The struggle centered principally around Local Union 5516, Silver Brook, Pa. This local took the lead in the fight and soon surrounded itself with many other, large locals which rallied to the support of Local Union 5516. Local Unions throughout the district began adopting

resolutions supporting the stand of 5516. The official family then intensified their struggle against the opposition, by circulating official documents to the local unions, routing organizers throughout the district to smash the opposition, but never daring to accept the challenge of the opposition to publicly debate the issues involved. President Matvey refused pointblank to attend any meeting of 5516, when requested to attend and explain his stand taken on the "rate sheet" question, wherein the opposition charges, Matvey attempted to discredit the Grievance Committee of 5516.

The situation became so serious, insofar as Lewis is concerned, that he sent post haste into the district Mr. John Wilkinson, union disrupter par excellence. Wilkinson is former President of the Oklahoma district of U. M. W. A. and since the dissolution of the district under his mismanagement has been granting the payroll as an international organizer—no one can tell, however, what he organizes.

Membership Supports Insurgents

The opposition answered every statement made by the officers. The opposition challenged them to debate, but the officers refused. Whenever the officialdom issued a public statement, then leaflets, the opposition retaliated by leaflets. The membership gradually lined up behind the insurgent movement. The tactic of the opposition in demanding a special district convention was a correct tactic. Many locals began demanding a convention. The officialdom got scared and "revoked" the charter of Local 5516, "reorganized" the local, gave a charter, seal, supplies, etc., to a handful of their benighted, and attempted to compel the 800 members of the local to pay their initiation over again and promise to be good boys. This the local refused to do, but continued to operate as a local union, waging a fight to get into

Organized Labor Must Support the Miners

By JACK O'HARE

AFTER six months of struggle in the bituminous fields, the Miners' lockout-strike is no nearer to a settlement than on its first day. The operators are growing desperate in their efforts to evict miners and import strikebreakers. They see in the future a fair coal market and recognize that they will not be in a position to participate when the demand for coal comes. And so with the coming of winter months, the coal operators are whetting their fangs and preying with renewed attacks on the miners' union with the intentions of smashing the miners' union and making this bituminous strike the last great upheaval in the coal industry for sometime to come. It is rather a siege than a strike, and in many of its phases an unspeakably tragic affair.

Illinois Operators Threaten Open Shop

Word comes from Illinois, that the coal operators there have decided to break of negotiations with the miners union and to deal directly with the 75,000 miners in the state by offering them a wage reduction of about 30 per cent. J. D. Lumagli, coal operator who controls over twenty large mines in Illinois and speaking in the name of the Illinois Coal Operators' Association, said: "The time has come to deal directly with the men."

For many months the Illinois operators have been flooding the state with tons of propaganda and quietly building barbed-wire fences around their mines. This frantic desire of the Illinois operators to misrepresent the miners union and their other methods of warfare is simply in line with the policy adopted by the organized capital of the coal operators, to smash the union and operate the mines on some "company union" plan.

Pittsburgh District on War Footing

In Western Pennsylvania, the strike is taking on a more vicious

form. The Pittsburgh Coal Company, the leader in the fight to break the Jacksonville agreement, has been joined by the two largest steel companies in the Pittsburgh district, the Carnegie Company, a subsidiary of the United Steel Company, and the Mesta Coal Company, coal subsidiary of the Jones & Laughlin Steel Co. The whole Pittsburgh coal region has become known as the "Machine Gun Coal Mining" area. Machine guns, tear bombs and pistols in the hands of gunmen and thugs dressed in the uniform of state police are being relied upon to intimidate miners and their families into accepting the complete rule of the coal operators, which is that of an industrial tyrant.

In Cheswick, on August 22nd, five thousand striking miners gathered together for the purpose of expressing their protest against the killing of Sacco-Vanzetti. The evidence submitted by those that were present at this meeting, proves that over seventy-five drunken state police for no cause whatsoever fell upon these striking miners with tear-bombs and clubs, beating everyone they were able to lay their hands on. Even the state highway was covered with beaten-down and clubbed miners.

Throughout the Pittsburgh region eviction of striking miners from their homes is the order of the day, rent payments are not taken, instead the company goes into court and there secures an attachment writ for the sale of the miners' furniture and then sells the furniture at public auction. Jailing and beating of strike pickets is a daily occurrence in this region. In one mining camp over eighty miners wives have been arrested since the strike began.

Anti-Picketing Injunction in Ohio

In Ohio, the operators in their attempt to smash the union have

(Continued on page 7)

the UMWA again, where they belong.

The situation continued thus for some three months, when the sentiment of the membership throughout the district was developing more favorably toward the expelled and became so widespread that the only method whereby the officials could check it was to attempt driving the "outlaw" local out of business.

Reactionaries Get Injunction

The district applied for an injunction to wipe out the local, claiming that the local was on a "dues strike" and owed the district union thousands of dollars, asking the court to stop the opposition from issuing leaflets, writing, speaking, "they" or "any one in their behalf", against the officers. The injunction is of such a sweeping and blinket character that the opposition are wondering if they will be allowed to breathe. This action of the reactionary officers is sufficient to convince any worker how corrupt and far gone they are. Instead of conducting a mighty struggle against injunctions, which are used by the bosses against the workers in every dispute of any consequence, they also get injunctions against their own members. The opposition elements, who have readily corrected their past mistakes and henceforth will fight on the basis of a program, will struggle first and foremost against the use of injunctions, and will make the injunction issue a question of district importance.

Demands of the Opposition

At the present time, with the situation quite unclear, the following demands are presented by the opposition as their program: (1)

against the use of injunctions; (2) democratization of UMWA, freedom of speech and opening the columns of U. M. W. Journal and "The Anthracite Miner", and a demand to eliminate the practice of making these organs personal property of the officials, to be used against opponents; (3) for the check-off system; (4) struggle against arbitration; (5) for a special convention of District 7; (6) for the election of district and international organizers, and that these "organizers pay some attention to the unorganized regions and let the organized territory alone"; (7) organization of the unorganized region, for a national strike, no separate wage agreements, relief to the soft coal miners, a militant strike policy, reinstatement of expelled opposition members, a demand on the officers for no discrimination against the foreign-born members of the UMWA and for their right to hold office; (8) for clean elections, and conventions where the rank and file will have a voice, etc.

International Sec.-Treas. Thomas Kennedy has his office here. He, together with the District Board and the squad of field workers and organizers from the International and District union, constitute the force which the poorly organized opposition face.

It is a distinct left wing victory that the union in District No. 7 is today intact. It was the left wingers who struggled against the theory of a dual district. About 16 or more large locals are supporting the opposition, and it was the thought that these locals could organize a "new" district. The element whose policy it is to "clean out" the corrupt officials and save the union, has

British Labor Officialdom Makes Its Peace With British Imperialism

By William F. Dunne

THE Edinburgh conference of the British Trade Union Congress marked the continued drive to the right of the official leadership which, confronted by rising militancy of the working-class and growing reaction on the part of the imperialists has made its choice between support of Britain's crumbling empire, with all that implies, and leading the labor movement in struggle against it.

The official British labor leadership has chosen the empire as against the interests of the masses.

The open break with the labor movement of the Soviet Union at Edinburgh, marked by withdrawal from the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Unity Committee, organized to unify the international labor movement and for struggle against imperialist war, cannot be considered apart from:

(1.) The breaking of relations with the Soviet Union by the Baldwin government following the barbarous raid on the headquarters of the Russian Trade Mission; and—

2.) The policy followed previously by the official leadership since the incident of the forged Zinoviev letter which the cowardice and imperialist conceptions of the MacDonald leadership allowed the Tories to use successfully as a weapon to defeat the parliamentary campaign of the Labor Party.

Betrayal of the Miners

Altho the government had given every sign that it would resist with all its power the efforts of the Miners Federation to better the conditions of its members, altho it had thrown repeated challenges to the whole labor movement, the official leadership made no preparations whatever for the general strike. The strike took place against the opposition of the official leadership.

When it occurred the officialdom devoted all its energy to demoralizing and betraying the strike.

When the miners continued their struggle in spite of the sabotage of the officialdom, when the strike went on for months after the official leadership had refused to issue a call for an embargo on coal, when even relief was hampered and the \$5,000,000 sent by the Russian unions

was practically the only substantial contribution to the miners, officialdom contemplated calmly the disruption of the Miners Federation—the backbone of the labor movement in Britain.

Having smashed the miners' strike, the government turned its attention to the rest of the labor movement. It enacted the Trade Union Bill, a fascist measure which outlaws any effective strike—local or general.

Fail to Lead the Masses Against Anti-Union Act

Again the official leadership refused to mobilize the labor movement altho all admit that effective legal action is no longer possible for the unions. Even the parliamentary struggle was lukewarm and half-hearted—and for a very good reason.

The Trade Union Act is directed straight at the militant section of the labor movement which the official leadership fears and hates just as much as do the Tories, for the left wing-fights British imperialism on all fronts.

Just as for the Tories, for the official leadership of the labor movement, the Soviet Union and its unions, 9,000,000 strong, building a socialist society, aiding the colonial peoples, who are winning their freedom from British imperialism, represent the greatest danger to their privileged position.

They are willing to allow the British labor movement to be made impotent if in the process the left wing can be smashed. They know that smashing of the National Minority Movement, with the Communists its central driving force, means security for false leaders and for the empire—for a time at least.

The Baldwin government-breaks relations with the Soviet Union and tries to organize a holy war against it, drawing in all European nations. The official labor leadership follows in its footsteps, breaks relations with the Anglo-Russian Union Committee and echoes the denunciations of the Tories.

The so-called "left" officials, Hicks etc., play the same role they did in the general strike and the miners strike—they accept the policy of the right wing, even act-

ually take the lead in some instances.

Do Not Express Sentiments of Rank and File

To accept the action of the official leadership at Edinburgh as expressing the will of the British workers would be folly. The miners' delegation could not be swung for the official policy, and the T. U. C. leadership, because of fear of the masses, had to pass a Resolution expressing friendship for the Soviet Union and opposition to war against it. The Amalgamated Engineering Union was also against the break.

The official leaders explained their emulation of the Tory government by "loud complaints relative to the 'interference' of the Russian unions in British labor affairs and by denunciation of the British Communists: \$5,000,000 for coal strike relief constitutes the 'interference' by Russian unions—interference which the rank and file welcomed and which they will remember for ever with the deepest gratitude.

Another evidence that the break with the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee does not express the sentiment of the masses is the tremendous support which the Workers Delegation to the Soviet Union is receiving. The Sunday Worker for August 28 said:

"Nothing in recent months, in the Labor Movement, has created so much interest as the proposed Workers Delegation to Russia to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Soviet Republic."

The Sunday Worker continues: "The delegation . . . must be chosen by and represent the workers in the Trade Unions, Labor Party and the Co-operative Movement. To that end a central committee has been formed. It already embraces such well-known representatives as George Hicks, President of the Trade Union Congress, A. J. Cook, A. Tomkins, Ben Tillet, Harry Pollitt, W. H. Hutchinson, Alex. Gossip, R. B. Walker, Tom Mann. . . ."

We have emphasized the official title of George Hicks, since his acceptance of this position is further evidence of the mass pressure for the maintenance of fraternal relations with the Soviet Union.

Masses Rallying to Left Wing

Finally, the Battersea Conference of the National Minority Movement held shortly before the Trade Union Congress, was attended by 700 delegates representing approximately a million organized workers—principally in heavy industry, coal mining, metal, etc.

The influence of this conference on the Trade Union Congress was sufficient to secure condemnation of Margaret Bondfield, Frank Hodges and A. E. Holmes for signing the Blanesburgh report (endorsing efficiency unionism, etc. in line with the policy of the Federation of British Industries) and to show to the British working class that there is a powerful and growing opposition to the imperialist policy of the official leadership.

The open reaction of this leadership and the progressive decay of British industry and trade, confronting the workers with the necessity of either organizing for the seizure of power or surrendering to the bosses, is rallying the rank and file to the immediate program of the National Minority Movement unanimously endorsed by the Battersea Conference:

"100 per cent trade unionism, formation of workshop committees, strengthening of the Trades Councils, affiliation of the local trades councils and the National Unemployed Workers Councils to the Trade Union Congress with representation on the General Council. The General Council to be elected at each congress by the delegates present; industrial unionism, a United Trade Union International at the General Council to take the initiative thru the Anglo-Russian Advisory Committee, organization of a Workers Defense Corps, the building of National Minority groups in every industry, equal pay, opportunities and organization, and equal trade union rights for women workers, formation of Women's Trade Union Guilds, formation of Minority Groups within the co-operatives to secure a working alliance with the trade union movement."

Wall Street Preparing Wage Slashing Campaign

By Earl Browder

THE labor movement must awaken to the threatening wage-cutting campaign being prepared by American employers. In spite of the fact that the past few years have produced the greatest profits in all history, in spite of the 50% increase in productive power of labor, the employers are openly and cynically declaring that the time for wage cuts has come. The Magazine of Wall Street states the case in the following words:

"The time appears to be near when the pressure of the demand for profits will force managers to consider ways and means of taking a slice off wages to make up the deficit of profits."

(Issue of September 10th). This organ of big business sees the economic problem of American industry thus: Profits, which have been for years the highest ever known, must be kept up or the capitalists will be discouraged and close their factories; there are two ways of keeping profits up—one being to further increase productivity, the other being to cut wages. It points out that either way means to reduce the total amount paid to labor as wages. Further increase of productivity means a great increase in unemployment; and further it means dislocation between available markets and potential production even greater.

that employers will be forced by the laws of capitalist production to now take the course of drastic wage cuts.

A. F. of L. Failed to Utilize Prosperity Period

The American labor movement must take this threat in all seriousness. There is no doubt that the wage-slashing campaign has already begun on a large scale. And it must be pointed out that the trade unions have been poorly prepared to resist, during the passing period of prosperity. Instead of using this period to organize the unorganized, to entrench the labor unions, to increase the fighting spirit of the membership, to amalgamate and unify the scattered unions—instead of these necessary measures, the A. F. of L. leadership has been losing members, sabotaging the organization of the unorganized, breaking down union control, replacing fighting spirit by class-collaboration schemes, B. & O. Plans, labor banks, etc., and further intensifying the division between crafts. Green, Wolf & Co. have been actually assisting the employers to prepare for the wage-cutting campaign now upon us.

Consider, for example, the "new wage theory", the so-called social wage by which these "leaders" cover up their surrender to the employers. While they put forth this high sounding buncombe, what has been actually going on has been an un-

dermining of the trade unions, and an actual reduction of the amount paid to labor in wages. Between 1919 and 1926, while the productivity of labor was increasing by about 50%, wages of all workers in 25 leading industries declined from an average of \$80 per week to an average of \$27.29 (figures of National Industrial Conference Board, an employers organization).

Bosses' Answer to Workers-Employers Co-operation

The Magazine of Wall Street says: "So long as demand kept pace with the results of increased productivity there was neither necessity nor virtue in wage reductions". (But in spite of this, wages were reduced greatly). "But if demand slackens greatly that very productivity necessitates sharp curtailments (of wages)". This is the answer of the employers to the Green-Wall theory that collaboration will increase the "social wage" proportionate to the increase in productivity. "Profits have been secured", says the MWS, "not by taking them out of the employed, but out of the unemployed." "The degree of unemployment during the present period of prosperity has probably been greater than has been suspected. To maintain profits the engineers have brought on a reduction of employment. Thus profits have been maintained by reducing the length of the payroll." But now the time has come, it says

for cutting deeply into wage rates themselves.

The miners have for months been feeling the lash of this policy upon their backs. The textile workers, the automobile workers, the rubber workers, the chemical workers, all are gradually being put under the pressure. Building workers are threatened with a "deflation". Soon the campaign will be general. What is going to be done to resist?

Workers Need Fighting Policy

To continue longer to follow the Green-Wall-Lewis policy of begging for "co-operation" of the employers, while they are crushing the unions and slashing the wages, will mean the defeat of trade unions in America for a whole period of years. Already the time for adequate preparation has passed, lost by the collaborationist silliness of our "leaders" (1), and the working class faces wholesale wage cuts without a program of struggle. But better late than never! Everywhere throughout the labor movement, the membership must be awakened to the necessity to fight. If the trade unions are to live and grow, they must begin now by putting up a bitter struggle against every attempt to cut wages. In every city, in every industry, in every local union, the slogan must be raised:

NOT A PENNY OFF OF WAGES! STRIKE AGAINST WAGE CUTS!

.. F. of L. Convention

(Continued from page 4)

nions put up a real fight. No talk of conciliation or class-peace will put the employers, but only the power of the unions to strike.

2. The governmental powers are all on the side of the employers, and the political power of Labor has been reduced to nothing by the "leaders" delivering it into the hands of the capitalist parties.

3. The trade unions are weaker and more divided than for many years past. They have been corrupted by institutions like the B. & O. Plan, and by their leaders joining the boss organizations (Woll in the Civic Federation, etc.). Even those federation activities built up among the craft unions in the past are being broken down (the splitting up of the railroad union alliances, the various local splits in the building trades, etc.). Even the pretense of organizing the unorganized workers in the basic industries has become an apparent bluff.

The Way to Strengthen Organized Labor

A few of the necessary policies to remedy the situation, which must be put forward everywhere, in every local union, are:

1. Demand immediate wage increases of all classes of labor; prepare to strike to enforce them. Meet every reduction of wages by a strike movement.

2. Force every union leader to withdraw from capitalist political parties. Begin to build up the political power of labor by establishing a Labor Party, in every city, then in every state, and finally on a national scale.

3. Withdraw from participation in such employers' schemes as the B. & O. Plan. Cut labor banks loose from trade unions, and cut them loose from the capitalist financial institutions; make them real co-operative institutions, serving the needs of the members and really controlled by the members. Demand the expulsion of every union leader who joins the Civic Federation and other such anti-labor organizations.

4. Begin to draw the craft preparation for a real unification, by the amalgamation of these craft unions along industrial lines, into great, powerful industrial unions.

5. Most important of all, begin a real organized, large-scale, scientific campaign to organize the unorganized workers, especially in the basic industries. The non-union coal fields must be organized at once. The steel workers must be brought in a body into an industrial union covering the entire industry. The 900,000 textile workers must be brought into one great textile workers union. The automobile workers must be organized. The rubber and chemical workers must be assisted to build up a great union.

Progressives Must Take the Lead

Here are great tasks for American Labor. Every proposal in this list can be accepted by every honest, progressive union man. The overwhelming majority of trade unionists would agree with almost every point, if the program were presented to them. Why, then, will none of these things even be discussed in the Los Angeles Convention of the A. F. of L.?

The main reason is because the progressive workers have allowed themselves to be intimidated into silence, or they have become apathetic under the rule of reaction. If the union men who already know the necessity of this program would join their efforts together, in a great campaign to rally the labor movement for a forward movement, and fearlessly propose this program and fight for it in the local unions, city central bodies, and union conventions, this program would shortly bring the active support of the working class, in and out of the unions.

The Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

By A CANADIAN

The havoc worked by trade union capitalism and class collaboration in the trade union movement of Canada, was sharply reflected in every session of the Forty-third annual convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada that was held in Edmonton, Alberta, during the week commencing August 22nd. Every proposal for organizational change or for the adoption of a more aggressive working-class policy was rolled out in real A. F. of L. style, all suggestions of militancy rigidly eliminated from such resolutions as could not be entirely rejected, and everything was subordinated to the task of making the A. F. of L. acceptable to the capitalist class.

Owing to the geographical location—and partly to lack of interest among the workers—this year's convention was comparatively small; there being only 188 delegates actually present. At least a hundred of these were rank and file delegates, however, a fact which makes the reactionary nature of the convention very significant indeed of the dangerous illusions beginning to take root among the better sections of the Canadian workers.

Resolutions—But No Action

A multitude of resolutions were adopted of course, principally innocuous ones of the perennial type; asking for legislation to regulate paint spraying machinery, for "fair" wages on government contracts, etc. The only resolutions dealing with matters of fundamental importance to the working class, were those introduced by progressive locals, which were mostly killed in the resolutions committee. The principal demands embodied in these resolutions were for: Organization of the unorganized 70% of the workers in Canadian industry; initiation of a general movement for the five-day and forty-hour week and wage increases; Dominion-wide agitation to arouse the workers to the seriousness of the present situation in connection with picketing, which is illegal according to a recent ruling of the Supreme Court of Canada, repudiation of the B. & O. Plan on the Canadian National Railways, amalgamation of the two trade union centers in Canada, i. e., the Trade and Labor Congress of Canada, and The All-Canadian Congress of Labor, International trade union unity, recognition of the U. S. S. R., defence of the Chinese Revolution, etc.

Reassuring Canadian Capitalism

An idea of the attitude of the dominant reaction, may be gathered from the action taken on a resolution urging initiation of an aggressive struggle for the five-day week. This resolution, after pointing out in the preamble that it is a matter of statistical record that

What is now needed is a reawakening of the progressive union men everywhere, their unification on a common plan of activity to establish such a program in every union.

Watch the activity of the A. F. of L. Convention and let the results convince you again, that all future progress in America depends upon the progressives getting together and launching a great fight. The reactionaries now on top will never solve a single problem of labor; they will only fight against all efforts to meet these problems. A re-birth of the progressive movement in America, a solid combination of all the progressive and revolutionary trade unionists, with a real campaign of practical work, is the paramount necessity of the working class today. The Los Angeles Convention serves at least the good purpose of again emphasizing this supreme need.

the average Canadian worker works less than five days per week; with continually increasing insecurity of employment, while wage agreements are still negotiated on the basis of an assumed five and a half or six-day week (a notable case in point being the Railway Shopmen), went on to demand that the Congress initiate a struggle for the five-day, forty-hour week, with no reductions in weekly wages.

Such an elementary demand as this caused the bureaucracy to complain bitterly of "diabolically worded resolutions". And the remarkable recommendation of the committee was for adoption of the preamble (which justified the resolve), but rejection of the mandatory part of the resolution, and its substitution by a fatuous paragraph endorsing the principle of the five-day week.

The same action was taken with various other resolutions of a progressive nature. Preambles containing data which render militant action absolutely essential, were adopted. But the resolves which logically flowed from such preambles would be swept aside, and some pitifully meaningless substitute adopted in its place. From the viewpoint of the bureaucracy, which in Canada is much more intimately connected with the government than is the case in the States, this is pretty slick.

The Two Faces of Fakerdom

In Canada as in the United States, the Fat Boys have two faces. A. Y. M. C. A. secretary's face for the boss, and the face-attitude of a Chicago gangster for the rank and file.

In the discussion of the B. & O. Plan and its baneful effects upon the shopmen on the Canadian National Railways, the gangster's face came out in sharp profile. Not a single argument was advanced by any official of the shopmen's organizations in defence of the B. & O. Plan or the criminal betrayal of the interests of the shopmen, but the air of the convention hall was literally blue with denunciation and vilification of the Communists and progressives both in the convention and in the unions. There was no tampering with such questions as this, the vital issues under debate were all ignored and the resolutions buried a mile deep under avalanches of the choice abuse of which the fakerdom is so completely master.

And yet there was one singular—and encouraging—feature to these debates. At no time were they able even with the most desperate efforts, to rally the least demonstration against the "Lefts". The supreme effort to achieve this, was led by McCutcheon, Canadian Vice President of the Boiler-makers, an ex-radical and a one time alleged

supporter of the T. U. E. L. Mac is working overtime these days to demonstrate his loyalty to reaction, and he launched the particular attack under cover of a charge against Tim Buck of organizing a rank and file strike among the miners of Alberta. Everything was well prepared, and the convention was treated to a veritable fireworks display in which the lefts and all unbelievers, were figuratively eaten alive by Mac and his mediocre following. But lo, and behold, the only impression created was that the lefts are becoming more and more influential among the rank and file.

A Shameful Episode

One of the most shameful actions of the convention was in connection with a resolution which called for: 1) withdrawal of all imperialist forces from China, 2) abrogation of all unequal treaties, 3) recognition and treatment on terms of equality of Nationalist China by the Western powers.

In spite of the fact that a resolution almost identical with this was endorsed in the 1925 convention, a contemptible substitute was adopted, demanding the cessation of all foreign interference in Chinese affairs. Thus lumping the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia, the allies of the workers and peasants of China, along with the butchers and shlyokos of Imperialism. It was a shameful demonstration of servility to capitalism, and of hostility to the only workers and peasants republic.

Bill Green as Advertiser

The delegate from the British Trade Union Congress clearly reflected the ascendancy of reaction in that body, although his address of greeting was beyond comparison with that from Bill Green. Green's greetings consisted principally of glorification of the growing strength of Wall Street and the spread of American imperialism, and of advertising the "Union Labor Life Insurance Company". Two paragraphs were, however, devoted to recognition of the fact that production in the United States is now 50% higher than in 1919, while the number of workers is 7% less. Bill did not propose to do anything about it, however.

The ruling administration, i. e., Tom Moore, President, F. M. Draper, Secretary-Treasurer, and Simpson, Tilton, and Foster, Vice Presidents, were re-elected although Percy Bengough, a machinist from Vancouver, ran Foster very close, 108 votes to Foster's 110. This was the only fact that the administration received throughout the convention. With the exception of a small group of left-wingers, the delegates were perfectly under control, and Canadian capitalism can rest easy behind its hirelings for another year.

Labor Must Support the Miners

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imported scabs and encountering determined resistance from the union miners, have secured an injunction from a Federal judge prohibiting foreign-born miners from picketing the mines. The judge also threatened to institute deportation proceedings against any foreign-born miner arrested for violating the injunction.

In this connection the miners will recall that at the last international convention the Lewis machine forced thru an amendment to the constitution of the U. M. W. prohibiting foreign-born miners from holding office in the miners union. This clause in the constitution does not help to combat the vicious injunction against picketing.

Organized Labor Must Support the Miners

No body of men in the history of the American labor movement ever

endured more grimly the hunger and privation of a prolonged labor strike. Yet in this great and tragic struggle neither Green nor Lewis have done a single thing in the way of relief to the striking miners. The loyal mass of strikers have suffered hunger-pangs and already bitter cries for bread and relief are heard from many districts. President Green is still talking and making war on the progressives in the A. F. of L., but as yet has done nothing to help the miners in their struggle.

Organized workers everywhere must take up this issue. The miners are fighting a hard, long fight to save their union and maintain their present meager wage, and the question of national relief for the striking miners should become the paramount issue everywhere in the organized labor movement of this country.

T. U. E. L. Conference Call

(Continued from page 1)

are fatal to the organization and standards of the workers.

Surrender to Company "Unionism"

The employers strive to establish company unionism among their workers. Instead of combating this movement by an active struggle to establish vigorous trade unions, the union leaders capitulate to it. Their policy amounts to company unionizing the trade unions, to making the trade unions so subservient to the employers, through class collaboration "union-management co-operation" no fight policies, that the employers will discard their own company unions and accept the degenerated trade unions. The Watson-Parker railroad law, adopted with full support of the union leaders, went far towards company unionizing the railroad unions, with its no-strike, compulsory arbitration provisions.

The employers, through their vast publicity systems, spread illusions that American workers are prosperous, that they can, out of their meagre savings, actually buy the industries, and that therefore all talk of struggle against the employers is out of the question. The trade union leaders are in full step with this insidious propaganda. Through their trade union capitalism (labor banks, labor investment corporations, trade union life insurance companies, etc.), they propagate and organize around these destructive illusions. The disastrous consequences of this whole system were dramatically illustrated by the collapse of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' financial institutions in an atmosphere of corruption and graft almost without parallel in this country, many millions of the workers' money, being wasted and stolen and the entire organization undermined.

Accept Policies of American Imperialism

The trade union leaders accept as their own the general political program, domestic and foreign, of the imperialist employers. Like the bosses, they are bitterly opposed to the workers breaking from the two capitalist parties and forming a labor party. Going cheek by jowl with the American Legion, they greet with enthusiastic approval every plan for militarizing the workers. They are saturated with imperialism. The foreign policy of the U. S. government is also the policy of the A. F. of L. leaders. Their Pan-American Federation of Labor is only an instrument of the American imperialism to subjugate the peoples of Latin America. Their maneuvers in connection with the Amsterdam International are part of the strategy of the employers to enslave Europe. They support the world capitalist attempts to crush

Chicago Carmen

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of their demands for decent working conditions for the rank and file members. These have become two important points for the membership to solve: (1) The establishment of living working conditions, (2) The right of expression of the membership, of criticism of wrong policies, and a definite end to be made to the traitorous scheming support of the bosses in disregard of the interests of the men.

Militancy is necessary to carry this through to a successful conclusion. The officers who are tools of the corporation must necessarily be relegated to the rear and the next natural step for the men would be to fight for municipal ownership of the city, with the workers employed participating in the management guaranteeing constant improvement conditions for the workers.

the Chinese revolution and to overthrow the Soviet Republic.

In order to break all resistance to their program of demoralizing and subjugating the workers, the capitalists have long carried on a campaign of militant persecution against the most active and advanced elements in the labor movement. In this their most loyal and effective allies are the trade union leaders. To kill the fighting spirit of the unions and to maintain themselves in power they are increasingly stealing elections, packing conventions, and generally suppressing union democracy. They expel from the unions and blacklist from the industries, often with open assistance of the employers and police, those active workers who stimulate the workers to fight against their exploiters. This shameful policy, ruinous to the unions, reached its high point in the expulsion of 60,000 workers in the New York needle trades, the splitting of their unions, and the betrayal of their strikes.

Disastrous Effect on the Labor Movement

The general result of all these wrong policies of the trade union leadership is the present weak and emasculated state of the labor movement. The employers' plans to exploit the workers to the limit and break up their organizations succeeded. The past years have recorded defeat after defeat for the unions. The many millions of workers in the basic and key industries remain unorganized. Even in a period of prosperity the trade union leadership has been unable, because unwilling, to unite them. Even the existing unions are being undermined. The whole structure of railroad unionism has been shattered: The miners union is being gradually torn to pieces. The needle trades organizations have been split by traitorous leaders. As a political factor the trade union movement amounts to practically nothing.

The class collaboration policy of the bureaucracy has proved itself utterly unable to develop an effective movement for the workers. It simply means more and more yielding before the onslaughts of the employers. The A. F. of L. becomes less and less capable of defending the interests of the workers, less and less a factor in their lives. The Los Angeles convention registers one more year of failure by the bureaucracy. The whole labor movement is plunged into the deepest crisis in its career.

A Program to Fit the Needs of Labor

Drastic remedial measures are required at once. The labor movement must be renovated from top to bottom. The program of the Trade Union Educational League points the way to the development of a militant and progressive labor movement. The alternative to this program is continued defeat for the unions and the development of a still deeper crisis than the present one. Summarized, the general T. U. E. L. policy proposes:

1. Build the Unions

- Organize the unorganized masses, including the unskilled, negroes, women, and youth.
- Amalgamate the craft unions into industrial unions.
- Cleanse the unions of their present corrupt and reactionary leadership.
- Establish union democracy and reduce extravagant official salaries.

2. Form a Labor Party

- Break the poisonous alliance of the union leaders with capitalist politicians and organize the workers into a party of their own.
- Develop a legislative program based on the burning demands of the workers and make

A Valuable Book

THE AMERICANIZATION OF LABOR, by Robert W. Dunn, 272 pages, \$1.90, cloth bound, published by the International Publishers.

DURING the past dozen years American employers, striving towards their desired goal of a docile and unorganized working class, speeded in production to the last limit of endurance, have been developing a whole series of institutions, all part of one general pattern, to destroy the class ideology of the workers, to break up their economic and political organizations, and to drive them ever faster in industry. These developments are grouped around the central movements for the open shop, company unionism, welfare systems, etc. etc.

Shows Up Strategy of the Employers

It is imperative that the workers, in order to fight this menace, should be thoroughly acquainted with all its ramifications and implications. An important contribution to this essential study is Robert W. Dunn's new book, "The Americanization of Labor". It throws a flood of light into the dark and treacherous strategy of the employers to still further enslave the workers. It does on a general scale what these valuable booklets, "Company Unions", by R. W. Dunn, and "The Labor Spy", by Sidney Howard, did in more specialized fields.

Mr. Dunn's new book gives a wealth of information on the employers' organizations and their campaigns against the workers. Concretely it outlines the "American Plan", the Open Shop movement, the extent and character of the employers' organizations, and their methods of direct struggles against the workers with strike-breaking, blacklist, under-cover men, "yellow

dog" contract, the courts, the police, etc.

But perhaps the most valuable sections of the book are those under the head of "Bread and Circus" dealing with company unionism, employee stock ownership, insurance and pensions, personnel and welfare systems, etc. Here is a close-up, documented study of these developments which is a contribution to the all too scanty literature on the subject.

The Effects on the Labor Movement

Mr. Dunn furnishes a mountain of evidence to show the deleterious effects upon the labor movement of all these employer movements, which he sums up as the "Americanization" of labor. It would have been well, however, for him to point out the role of the trade union leadership, how they yield to these employer movements and co-operate with the bosses to enforce them among the workers, to the end that there is a strong tendency to company unionize the trade unions. More stress could have been laid on the vital question of the speed up in industry, how this fits in with the world plans of American imperialism and how the trade union leaders, with their B. & O. plans, new wage policies, etc., are facilitating the speeding up of the workers. The role of the state as the agency of the employers should also have been brought out more clearly.

Mr. Dunn's book is one that should be read by all militants, by all those workers eager to secure concrete facts of what the employers are actually doing to confuse, demoralize and exploit the toiling masses. It supplies a vast fund of data for the student and the agitator to use in the general assault upon capitalism and all its works.

—W. Z. FOSTER.

this the center of election campaigns.

3. Against Class Collaboration

- Initiate an aggressive policy against wage cuts, for wage increases, and to shorten the work day.
- Discard the B. & O. Plan and all similar "union-management corporation" schemes of speeding the workers in industry.
- Reject trade union capitalism and separate the labor banks and other financial institutions from the unions.

4. Against Imperialism and the War Danger

- Expose the predatory role of American imperialism, combat all forms of militarism, and arouse the workers to the growing war danger.
- Defend the Chinese and Russian revolutions against the attacks of world capitalism.
- Affiliate with the workers of other countries for joint defense of our common interests and to establish world trade union unity.

The T. U. E. L. program leads the way to the building of a powerful working class industrial and political movement. It covers the most vital needs of the labor movement. It provides the means for turning the present disastrous rout of the organized workers into a victorious offensive. Storm clouds are approaching; signs of an industrial depression multiply. The unions, weak as they are, with their present reactionary leadership, are in increasing danger. The alternative to the T. U. E. L. program is for them to go from one disastrous defeat to another.

For Militant, Effective Trade Unions

The T. U. E. L. is not affiliated to any political party. It advocates the labor party as the first big step of the masses into political action, and it supports all industrial and

political organizations of the workers which are fighting against capitalism. Its ranks are open to all workers willing to struggle for a better and more militant labor movement. Nor is the T. U. E. L. a dual union. It works with the existing mass organizations, A. F. of L. and independents, and seeks to unite them into one general movement.

To advance its program and to unite the constructive forces in the labor movement, the T. U. E. L. will hold its third general conference in New York, December 3-4. All progressive and left wing labor union groups are invited to send delegates upon the following basis: national industrial groups, 2 delegates; local general groups, 5 delegates; local union groups, 2 delegates; miscellaneous groups, 2 delegates.

The time is here when the progressive and left wing forces in the labor movement must more firmly unite for the building and functioning of the trade unions. The rank and file of workers, both in and out of the trade unions, are full of discontent. They are bitterly exploited. The average wage for adult workers in the United States is less than \$30.00 per week. The industries are full of worker resistance to the employers. The difficulty is that this is not organized, nor will it be organized under the present misleadership in the unions. The constructive, militant forces in the movement must organize in order to push forward trade unionism generally and to bring the workers into successful struggle against their employers. The coming T. U. E. L. conference offers the means to develop such organization. The conference will mark a milestone in the history of American labor. Every militant worker should be there.

Trade Union Educational League,
—Wm. Z. Foster, Secretary.