

The convention of the official Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota was held in St. Cloud on the 15th. In the convention were all the Minnesota groups that had participated in the previous conventions with the addition of the official machine dominated by State Chairman Pike. It was felt by the delegates from the Farmer-Labor Federation that an endorsement of the June 17 convention by this body would be a desirable thing but that the success of the farmer-labor party movement did not depend upon it since the Federation itself with its hundreds of working-class organizations was its real basis. The left wing wanted the farmer-labor convention to support the movement and beyond all else to issue no separate call for a convention at some other time. The reactionaries, consisting of the old Non-partisan League officialdom had joined with Chairman Pike to prevent endorsement and Pike showed their intention to continue their disruptive tactics by trying to force a discredited league official on the convention as temporary chairman.

Unity Saved by Left Wing

The attempt was defeated because the left wingers were on guard. Had it been successful there might have been a different story to tell but this defeat discouraged the disrupters to such an extent that when William Mahoney, reporting for the resolution committee, moved the adoption of the recommendation for endorsement of the June 17 convention, its program and basis of representation, it was adopted unanimously although a little group of disgruntled delegates did not vote at all. Mahoney's advocacy of a class basis for the Farmer-Labor Party got more applause than his mention of LaFollette.

No more remarkable series of conferences have ever been held in the history of the labor movement. They were remarkable not only because of their historic character and their evidence that great masses of workers and farmers are moving rapidly toward class political organization but because of the part played by the left wing led by the Workers (Communist) Party of America.

It is generally admitted in Minnesota that only for the efficient organizational work of the left wing, their brilliant strategy and devotion to the working class, the reactionaries would have succeeded in wrecking the entire class farmer-labor party movement and betraying it to the middle class and capitalist elements.

The left wing not only out-guessed the reactionaries and showed a clear understanding of every phase of the movement but by organizational ability and parliamentary skill was able to forestall all attempts to sabotage the work.

The complete unity that prevails in the farmer-labor movement of Minnesota and the Northwest is peculiarly the achievement of the left wing. It was accomplished in spite of what appeared to be insurmountable obstacles and it is a living refutation of the reactionary claim that the attitude of the rank and file of the workers and farmers is accurately represented by officials who differ in no wise from the agents of the capitalist class.

Onward to June 17th

The Minnesota conferences and the results thereof demonstrate with crystalline clearness the fact that millions of workers and farmers of America are ready to discard forever all adherence to the fraudulent doctrine of identity of interest between exploiter and exploited; that they are preparing to build a gigantic mass movement directed against capitalist industry and capitalist government and that an officialdom which opposes instead of leading the movement will be thrown on the scrap heap.

June 17 will be a great occasion for the workers and farmers of America. On this date the discontent of the working masses will be given organized political expression and because the movement is so vast and menaces capitalism so much the left wing of the labor and farmer organizations must redouble their efforts to prevent the strenuous attempts to check its meeting with success.

The Workers (Communist) Party of America, the Federated Farmer-Labor Party and all the left wing elements organized around them, have won their spurs in the Minnesota conferences. The experience and prestige gained there are of immense value and with renewed organizational efforts constitute the best guarantee to the working class of America that June 17 will see arise a powerful class political organization drawing its strength from the economic organizations with which the workers and farmers wage the daily war against capitalism and its tyrannies.

Are you helping to extend the circulation of THE LABOR HERALD? If you believe in amalgamation, recognition of Soviet Russia, organization of the unorganized workers, and the labor party, there is no better means to establish these burning issues. Subscriptions are easily secured with a little systematic effort. Bundle orders sell readily in all union meetings. Can we expect your co-operation?

Ladies' Garment Workers In Struggle

By I. L. Davidson

IN their participation in the Chicago strike of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the members expelled last summer for their educational work in behalf of amalgamation and the labor party have once and for all killed the hypocritical charge of dual unionism. They are serving on strike committees, walking the picket line, going to jail and serving the strike in every way. Once again they have demonstrated their complete devotion to the union and also the complete confidence in which they are held by the membership.

On Feb. 22nd, when it had finally been decided that the action of the employers in refusing to negotiate a new agreement made a strike necessary, the expelled members sent the following letter to the union:

Joint Board of the I. L. G. W. U.
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:—

In view of the impending strike action in the Ladies' garment industry, we, the undersigned expelled members of the I. L. G. W. U., wish to state again our determination to do everything in our power to make the cause of the workers victorious over the employers, and to this end we again declare our willingness to undertake whatever tasks the organization may assign to us.

We state, at the same time, that the action which will do most to solidify and encourage the members of the union, and render the best fight possible, will be the complete reinstatement of the expelled members in full rights within the union.

When this communication came before the Joint Board that body demonstrated its understanding of the falsity of all charges against the expelled members, as well as their value as practical workers in the union, by accepting the proffered services. On Feb. 27th, when the strike began, the expelled members were all at their posts at strike headquarters, and have served steadily since then in some of the most important work. Dora Lipschutz, one of the expelled, is secretary for the strike committee at the downtown headquarters.

Injunctions and Police Brutality

The clothing employers quickly called in their allies in the city and county government, particularly the police and the courts. Judge Dennis Sullivan, a notorious enemy of labor, issued injunctions covering most of the shops effected by the strike involving about 3,500 workers. Large squads of police and hordes of private gunmen were thrown into the battle. Arrests of pickets have been daily occurrences, more than 350 men and women being taken from the picket line and

hauled to jail in the police wagon. Among these have been the expelled members.

Police brutality is increasing in the strike as this is written. The employers seem determined to teach the workers the lesson that the present government in all its phases is a bosses' government. Sophie Altschuler, one of the left-wingers and an active militant, was beaten up by policeman No. 3181 so badly as to be confined in bed for some time. Dozens of other girls have felt the policemen's fists and clubs and bear their marks. After being subjected to official violence, they have all been thrown into jail. Nine of them have been convicted of violating the Sullivan injunction, and one, Florence Corn, has already been sentenced to 30 days in the county jail.

The Department of Labor is reported to have sent Benjamin Marshman, a "Federal conciliator," to attempt arbitration. He is supposed to have approached the employers but they refused all intervention. They are evidently counting upon the disruption of the officialdom for the past eight months having weakened the union so much that they can treat it with contempt. Marshman was evidently sent only for use if the employers needed him, however, because he never approached the union.

Support from the Chicago Federation of Labor was requested at the meeting on March 2nd. The Federation appointed a Committee of Fifteen to mobilize the forces of the labor movement behind the striking girls. This Committee has been calling upon the City Hall politicians in an attempt to convince them that the police should be more gentle. Such efforts have not accomplished much as yet, for the police have intensified their rough tactics rather than otherwise.

Mass Picketing to Defy Injunction

On March 14th, the beginnings were made of an application of mass picketing when 100 union men and women from other trades marched in a body to the strike zone to join the union pickets. The effect of this was to put even more energy into the strikers, and at the meeting of the Chicago Federation on the 16th the demand was made that the C. F. of L. itself endorse and organize mass picketing, both as a demonstration of the solidarity of the whole labor movement with the garment workers and as one of the most effective weapons of the strike itself.

Del. Johnstone of the Painters' Union pointed out that the injunction is threatening the very life

of the labor movement. He showed that if the Chicago Federation were to allow the garment workers' strike to be strangled by this legal weapon, that the rest of the labor movement could expect the same treatment. This is a fact recognized by the whole American Federation of Labor for many years. Johnstone quoted the declaration of the 1916 Convention of the A. F. of L. at Baltimore:

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

The Daily Worker in the Strike

As usual in strikes, the capitalist press has been carrying propaganda for the employers, discouraging the strikers and charging them with all sorts of crimes. Not a single capitalist daily has mentioned the police brutality or explained the reasons for the strike. The garment workers, however, have suddenly awakened to the fact that they are no longer dependent upon the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Daily News*, or the Hearst papers. For the first time in years Chicago has a daily paper that carries the workers' own story of the struggle—*The Daily Worker*. At every strike meeting and on the picket line, as well as into the homes of the garment workers generally, *The Daily Worker* has carried the message of the union and reported every day all the important events of the battle. Even the hostile union officials have been forced to admit the tremendous effectiveness of *The Daily Worker* in making this a real strike, and to call upon it for assistance which has been immediately forthcoming. There is no doubt but that the new working class daily has proven its value to the Chicago labor movement in this strike.

The Trade Union Educational League has been throwing its full influence into support of the striking garment workers. It has been mobilizing its members to distribute *The Daily Worker* at the various meetings, in cooperation with the Young Workers' League and the Workers' Party. It is preparing to furnish groups of its members for mass picketing as soon as the Chicago Federation of Labor gives its approval and calls for this move against the injunction. While exerting every effort to strengthen the union and help win the strike, it has not for one moment forgotten those expelled members who were victimized because in time of peace they pointed out the only means by which the union could effectively prepare for war. The attitude of the League is well

expressed in a statement issued during the strike which read as follows:

The exposure of States Attorney Crowe as an agent of the clothing employers to crush the Garment Workers' Union, it but another proof of the policies advocated by the Trade Union Educational League. With all the Employers' Associations united against them, using in addition to private thugs and gunmen the officials of the Government, the garment workers should more than ever realize the need of amalgamation of all needle trades unions into one powerful organization, and the political unity of all labor into a great Labor Party. Those same members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, associated with the T. U. E. L., who were expelled for propaganda within the union for amalgamation and a Labor Party, are now proving by their sterling services to the strike, that they can fight for the smallest needs of the workers as well as for these larger needs of industrial unionism and political solidarity which are now more than ever the crying necessity. Workers, the Trade Union Educational League calls upon you to support the strike, and at the same time to unite your union more closely by reinstating the expelled members.

League Goes Into Action

That the T. U. E. L. is willing to give more than formal support and lip-service to the struggle of the garment workers was proven by the manner in which the Chicago Local League militants followed up the above statement with action. Regardless of what trade they follow they joined in the organization of support of the union pickets with volunteers from other unions. This sharing in the daily battle by League members and their stand on the picket lines with the girl strikers, defying with them blizzards, police, and injunctions, going to jail in solidarity with them, has raised a great demand that the C. F. of L. committee of 15 should organize mass picketing in the name of the entire Chicago labor movement.

While the struggle against the employers is thus going on in Chicago, the militants in the I. L. G. W. U. have not for one moment forgotten the necessity for those large policies advocated by the Trade Union Educational League, which are more than ever necessary for the needle trades unions if they are to live and grow. Above all they have not forgotten the necessity of securing again the right to carry on educational activity which has been denied to them by their officials. The expelled members in Chicago have appealed their case to the Sixteenth Biennial Convention, which meets in Boston early in May. The elections of delegates for this Convention are now going on and every militant garment worker should be exerting all possible influence to see that only those are elected who are pledged to restore working class democracy within the union.

What's Happening In Germany

By Wm. Z. Foster

THE great task now being performed by the German working masses is the breaking of fetters placed upon them by the yellow Social-Democratic Party in its 50 years of leadership. Or, to use another figure, they are hacking at the last dike protecting the capitalist system, the pseudo-revolutionary organization of Kautsky, Crispian, Noske, and Ebert. Once this is cut through, and the cutting is now far advanced, a great flood of proletarian revolution will be loosed and the final assault upon German capitalism will begin.

In the past 10 years the Social-Democratic Party and its closely related trade unions have given a whole series of demonstrations of their pro-capitalistic character and utter inability to protect the interests of the working class. They have completely betrayed the masses into the hands of the exploiters and have ruined themselves in the process. The capitalists, having used them to their hearts' content, have now cast them aside like squeezed out lemons.

The Great War Betrayal

Before the war the Social-Democrats of Germany made a great parade of their anti-war spirit. Time after time tremendous demonstrations were held on the streets and in the parks of German cities to protest against war, in which hundreds of thousands of Party members and trade unionists held up their hands or carried banners to show their opposition to the organized slaughter of workers on behalf of imperialistic capitalists. In the various national and international conventions the Social-Democrats followed out the same policy. In high voice they declared that they were willing to use "every method within their power" to prevent war, even though they did skillfully avoid endorsing the proposition of the declaration of an international general strike by the workers simultaneously with the declaration of war by the capitalist governments.

But when the great war crisis came in August, 1914, they turned tail upon all their fine revolutionary protestations. They lined up solidly behind the imperial government. They flatly repudiated the proposition of a general strike on an international scale by the workers and committed their fate along with that of the capitalists of Germany. They acted as recruiting sergeants de luxe for the Kaiser. They swept millions of German workers into the bloody slaughter. They broke the international solidarity of the working

class and made all effective opposition to the war impossible. Nor were their political brethren of the other countries long in following suit. All through the terrific struggle the German Socialists lent themselves to every measure calculated to defend German capitalism from the working class and from the rival capitalists of other countries. For this gigantic work of Judas, their Party and unions were petted and pampered and the leaders flattered with attentions from the capitalists.

Betraying the Revolution

When at last, in November, 1918, the German working class, goaded on to desperation by the defeat in the war, rose up en masse and overthrew the government, took charge of the army and navy and otherwise placed themselves in control of society, the Social-Democratic Party remained on hand to continue its work of betrayal. The Socialist leaders had no faith that the workers, then controlling the country through their Soviets, could organize society anew upon a revolutionary basis. They could not conceive of a social order independent of capitalist control. So they proceeded to sell out the revolution and to turn society back to its erstwhile masters.

This betrayal, the worst that working class history with all its record of false and treasonable leadership can show, was carried out deliberately and systematically. The first great move in the process was when the trade union representatives, under the leadership of Karl Legien, sat down with the industrial representatives, headed by Hugo Stinnes, right in the midst of the November revolution, and drafted a trade union agreement which practically established the terms upon which the revolution was to be killed. In return for permitting the capitalists to rob the German workers, the trade unions were granted the right to organize in all the industries, the establishment of the universal eight hour day, the organization of shop committees, and other industrial and political reforms. For this mess of pottage the Socialists bartered away the German revolution. With their Eberts, Scheidemanns, and Noskes they proceeded to turn back to the capitalists the government, the army, the navy, the industries and everything else of value that the workers had gained in the November revolution. And when the Communists, led by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, dared to protest, they were shot down in thousands. For this further treacherous betrayal of the German workers,