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LABOR UNITY

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July, 1928

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**MINERS
ORGANIZE
A FIGHTING UNION!**

WORKERS CONTROL NEWS

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**MINERS
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Ohio Militia behind a machine gun which they have just been firing to stop the miners mass picketing. One of the things Labor Unity fights against. We call on workers to organize a Labor Party and oppose this use of the state power.

LABOR UNITY

Official Organ of the
TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE

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MINERS' LEADERS IN MC DONALD, PA.
Left to right: Joe Krokraz, White, Teofil Sowizral (Vice Pres. Local 3365, Tom Baird.

Miners Want a New Union

By THOMAS MYERSCOUGH

(Recently elected secretary-treasurer of district five, United Mine Workers of America at the special convention which ousted the Fagan machine and elected a progressive slate. Myerscough was the provisional secretary of the National Conference June 12 which issued the call for a National Convention to form a new miners' union.)

AS the critical situation in the bituminous strike fields brought about by the ruinous policies of the John L. Lewis officialdom looms as a spectre before the eyes of the miners of America, and thousands of individuals and whole blocks of local unions are being expelled and their relief cut off because they demand that these policies be changed, progressive miners everywhere are convinced that it would be a disastrous mistake to cling to the United Mine Workers of America any longer as the union of the miners.

Executive officers from newly reorganized districts and leaders of progressive movements in the unorganized field and other states where the rank and file has not yet taken over the local union machinery, have issued a call for a National Convention to extricate the miners from the death clutch of the Lewis machine, and build a new union. September 9 to the 16 is the time set for this task.

George Voyzey, Luke Coffey and Dan Slinger, progressive officers of the Illinois district, Charles Pryor of Indiana, Robert Matusek, Frank Sepich and Andy Plechady of Ohio, Charles Close of West Virginia, S. T. Wakefield of Kansas, Charles Allander of Colorado, Tom Rodgers, Steve Simons and Killinger of Portage Pa., John Watt, Pat Toohey, Anthony Minerich, Vincent Kemenevich, Fred Siders, Isaac Munsey and Freeman Thompson, all known to the rank and file for many years as militant fighters, and Milton Chicka of the recently organized Westmoreland County Miners Union, are among those who participated in the



THREE OF SIX ARRESTED IN ST. CLAIRSVILLE, OHIO.
Albert Bitker, Robert Sivert, Chas. Huggard. Jailed for picketing; their families came to see them and were also jailed. Sivert was a delegate to the Save-the-Union Conference.

National Conference June 12 at Pittsburgh and signed the call for the Convention which will organize the new union.

From K. of L. Days

"I left the Knights of Labor to help build the United Mine Workers, of America," S. T. Wakefield white haired representative from Kansas said. "It was an honest fight, and we built a real union. In Kansas today, we have only the remnants of that union left. The Lewis crowd strangled it. I can't go to the unorganized miners and ask them to join a union headed by a man who betrayed them time after time. But I give you my guarantee, those boys will be among the front rank fighters for the new union. Kansas will go solid with the new miners' union!"

Lewis The Destroyer

A scathing indictment of ruinous policies, failure to carry out tasks such as organization of the unorganized miners, corruptions and dastardly betrayals from Lewis and his official family have found voice in a mighty denunciation of the misleaders who slowly disipated the strength of the once powerful union, in the call issued by this conference of progressives, for a convention which will build a new union.

"The U. M. W. A. was built by rank and file miners through a whole generation of struggle," the call declares. "Its history is full of heroic efforts of the miners to build it into a real union in the face of starvation, suffering, bloody assaults from company gunmen, organized attacks by the police, troops, injunctions and all-too-often betrayals by the union's

official leaders. Nor were these struggles without success. With unbreakable solidarity and unconquerable fighting spirit, the miners slowly built up the union. Gradually the organization extended its influence into almost every coal district and it brought about far-reaching improvements in the conditions of the miners. Powerful, progressive and militant, it stood at the head of the whole trade union movement."

U. M. W. Practically Ruined

But since the reactionary Lewis clique took control, the call points out, progress has stopped and the organization slowly disintegrated. Membership dwindled; four years ago it controlled 70% of bituminous coal mining, and today 20½ still under union control is being filched away by the onslaught of the operators.

"The U. M. W. A. is practically ruined," the indictment continues, "When Lewis took hold of it only a few years ago, it was a flourishing, growing, fighting union. Now it is a wreck. Lewis' reactionary policies have broken it and disorganized the miners in the face of the enemy."

The situation in the Anthracite region where a five year contract foisted upon the miners by the Lewis clique served as an excuse to divide the soft coal workers from the hard coal workers and narrow down the fighting front when it was imperative that the strike be spread to national proportions in order to tie up production and demand a national agreement, was also carefully analyzed at the Conference, and summarized in the call.

No Separate Anthracite Union

"Beware of those false leaders who advocate the formation of a separate union of the hard coal miners," is the warning to the Anthracite miners. "Stand solidly with the bituminous miners for the new union. Only such a union can abolish the contractor evil and do away with the arbitration-conciliation swindle."

Lewis' regime is characterized as the "worst that ever cursed any body of organized miners in the world's labor history". The policies which have practically turned the U. M. W. A. into a company union and which were responsible for the formation of the Save-the-Union Committee by rank and file miners to fight these policies, are specified one by one.

Alliances With Coal Operators

Conference delegates pointed out that the Lewis leaders function as tools and agents of the coal oper-

ators. Very frequently they go directly from union offices into the employ of the operators. Like Frank Farrington, they are often on the payroll of union and employers at the same time. "It is this alliance with the operators which is the source of the reactionary policies that have wrecked the union," the call declares.

Soon after the Conference, a sub-district convention called by the progressive officers of district five in Harwick, Pa., was blocked by the reactionary officials by calling in state troopers, and deputy sheriffs. Even the company squire was waiting in the union hall before the delegates began to arrive. But the delegates quietly went to New Kensington, some miles away, held their convention, and endorsed the call for the new union.

Refuse To Organize Unorganized

"To unite the great masses of unorganized miners is a life and death problem with us," the progressives declared. Lewis' stubborn refusal to solve this problem, and his sabotage of every attempt on the part of the rank and file to accomplish this task themselves, was bitterly denounced.

When 1,125 delegates at the National Miners Conference April 1st called upon the coal diggers in the unorganized field to join the strike, the Lewis officialdom sabotaged. In 1922, Lewis signed agreements leaving out coal diggers of the unorganized who had struck in Pennsylvania faithfully with their union brothers, forcing them to return to open shop mines. "Lewis' policy is to surrender the unorganized districts to the operators. As a result, the power of the union has steadily weakened until now the whole organization is in a state of collapse," the indictment continues.

Will Organize Unorganized

Inviting the unorganized miners to hold conferences and elect delegates to the National Convention Sept. 9, the call declares, "Lewis and his corrupt agents have betrayed you time and again. But the new Miners' Union will recognize as its first task the organization of the unorganized and will undertake this job with all possible vigor."

Lewis' consistent strike-smashing activities were felt in Kansas, Colorado and Nova Scotia as well as in the unorganized field. The method of handling the present bituminous strike, too, falls in line with this policy. The systematic splitting up of the fighting ranks through the signing of separate agreements for some mines while others

owned by the same operators were still striking or being operated on an open-shop basis, helped divide the miners against themselves. The policy consistently demanded by the rank and file was the extension of the fighting front to include all miners, with one national agreement as the objective.

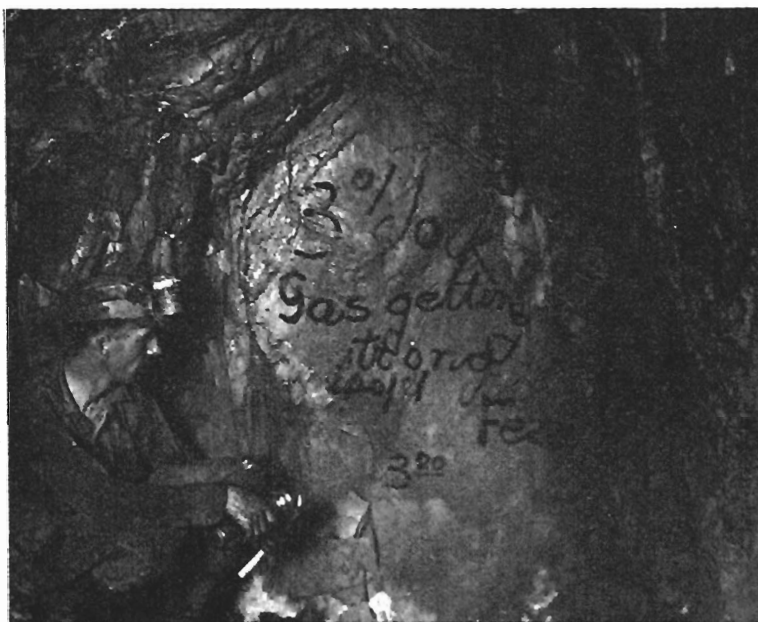
"In a situation imperatively demanding a national strike, Lewis fought desperately against all efforts to spread the strike," the call points out. "He split the miners' union into bits, isolating the strikers in the key districts of Pennsylvania and Ohio and making the union an easy victim for the open shop operators. His whole strike policy has been a crime against the miners."

Fake senate investigations, reliance upon and cooperation with corrupt politicians, and especially Lewis' collaboration with the operators to drive 200,000 coal diggers out of the mining industry to swell the great army of unemployed which has already gone beyond the 4,000,000 mark, are sharply exposed. A six hour work day, five day week is the demand made by the rank and file to meet the heavy unemployment problem. A strong fighting union with an honest leadership rather than lick-spittles of the bosses, and a Labor Party to drive out the corrupt politicians and substitute workers' representatives, are the demands of the progressives.

Glorious History

When Lewis took control of the union, it was among the most militant and progressive in the entire labor movement. The labor party, organization of

(Continued on page 26)



DANGERS OF MINE WORK

Where suffering victims wrote on the wall for those who came after to read.

Henry Corbishley Gives an Interview

By GERRY ALLARD

ALONG the shores of the mighty Mississippi, situated on a high rocky mountainous area, the gray, dismal walls of the Southern Illinois Penitentiary are visible. As we approached the prisons we noted that the fortress is well watched by an army of guards. We entered the prison through its heavy cast steel doors, we were swallowed in an institution that holds in subjection some 1,900 prisoners.

Among those that are confined in this dungeon of isolation are all shades and descriptions of so-called social outcasts. Criminals, burglars, thieves, rapers, murderers, counterfeits, as well as class war victims. All men

that originate from the lower class of society. The Harry Sinclairs, Daughertys, Denbys, Falls and other plunderers of the American public are not in this institution; it was erected for the benefit of the proletariat whose standard of life did not permit them a safe and human stage of living. The conditions that caused them to be here are in the social order of exploitation, misery, oppression, and brutality, the capitalist system.

Among the inmates of this prison are three militant, class conscious miners that had fought for the preservation of a militant union and for the ousting of all corrupted, treacherous misleaders of their union as the first step to establish a healthy organization to cope with all economic and political conditions that afflicted the miners in their industry. Henry Corbishley, the leader of the Illinois rank and file miners for years, occupies the limelight in this respect.

We anticipated the return of the warden for several minutes and the question of whether or not we were going to see our comrade seemed very problematical by the manner that the officials were



A GROUP OF ZEIGLER PRISONERS — LEFT WING MINERS IN JAIL.
Front row: left to right: Simich, Steve Meanovich. Back row: Henry Corbishley and Moleski.

acting. After much waiting we finally were permitted to see Corbishley, with a limit of time, particularly fixed for reasons unknown.

The form of Corbishley was visible as we approached with great pleasure in seeing him once more; a tight and friendly hand shake responded to us. The blue eyes of his were steeled as before. His face, with determined set jaws, was the same as ever and a slight gray streak of hair was becoming visible. He asked about his children; his babies he had not seen for a long time. His little wife, Grace, was also asked about. We assured him that they were getting along fine and that they were being taken care of by many comrades, brothers and sympathizers.

Corbishley showed much interest concerning the miners' struggle. He spoke at length on the great fight that they were making and gave us many suggestions that were very instructive. He seemed to yearn more because he was not able to assist in the gigantic fight that his brothers were making on the outside. He spoke with hopes that we were doing all

(Continued on Page 19)



AT THE MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROPAGANDA COMMITTEE ON MARINE TRANSPORT
 Front Row Left to Right: German rep., Geo. Hardy of England, French rep., Achcanoff, U. S. S. R.; French, Italian, Danish Mexican representatives, Dumay of France, Second Row: Bullatsil, U. S. S. R.; Britov, U. S. S. R.; Interpreter, Italian, rep Others Secretaries of Seaman's Clubs in U. S. S. R.

The Marine Transport Industry and Its Unorganized Workers*

By GEORGE MINK

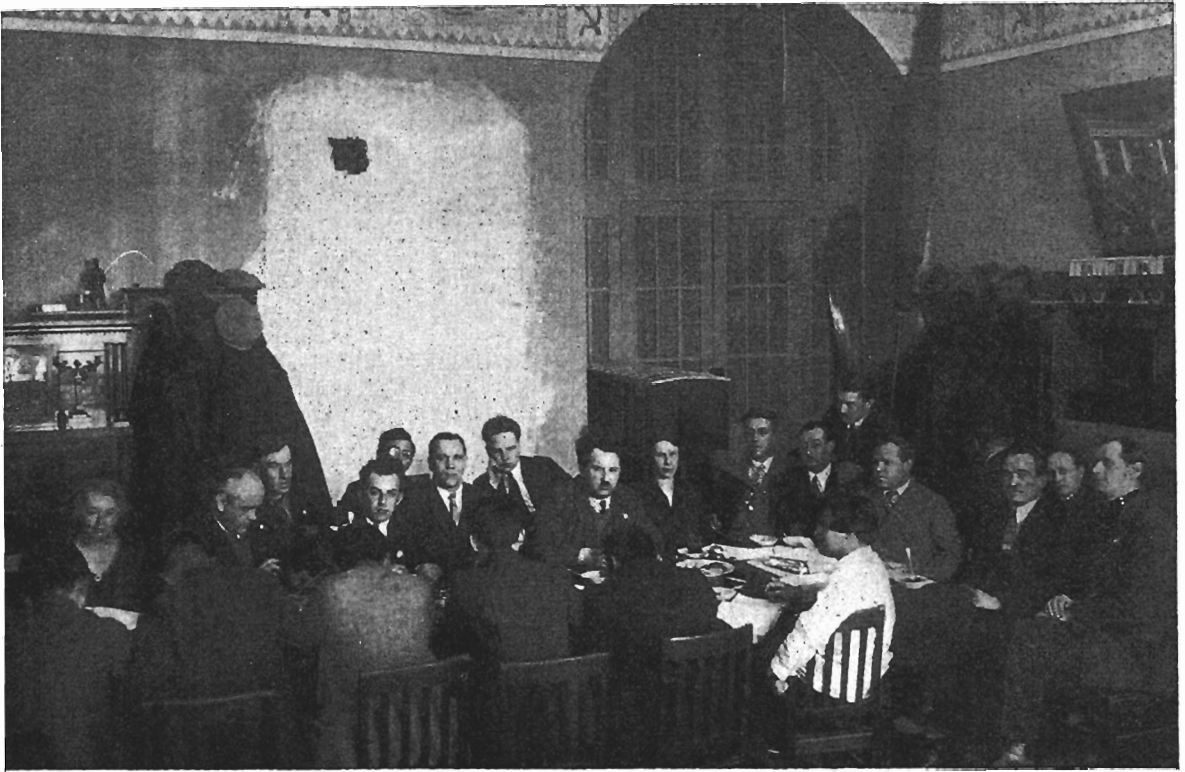
Member of the Secretariat of the International Propaganda Committee on Transport, of the R.I.L.U.

THE marine transport industry in the United States before the war was almost entirely confined to coastwise shipping which meant also that American marine workers were engaged only in coastwise shipping. With the rise of the United States to its present position of an imperialist power, the shipping industry went through a transformation. Twenty percent of the world's shipping is now carried in American bottoms. This equals 55% of the British shipping. It is but natural that the rise of American imperialism increases its necessity for a big merchant fleet and it seeks to liberate itself from dependence on shipping owned by other imperialist powers, particularly Great Britain, against whom it is also building great war fleets to secure its interests in the world's markets.

The marine industry more than any other reflects the rise of American capitalism into its present imperialist role. And because of this, the workers in the merchant fleet and those in the uniform of the war navy are of growing importance and we are in need of much more extensive activity among them than heretofore.

The condition of the workers in the marine industry has been severely affected by the contradictions of capitalist interests, in relation to it. On the one hand we have the conscious imperialist bourgeoisie who seek at almost any cost to develop merchant fleet independent of Great Britain, and on the other hand the business man class as a whole which wishes to take advantage of cheaper freight rates given it by foreign shipping.

*This article is based on a report delivered to the I.P.C., Apr. 5, 1928



SECRETARIAT OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROPAGANDA COMMITTEE

Left to right: Interpreter, Walter of Germany, Shuesmith of Canada, Geo Mink of U. S. A., Interpreter, Danish member, Foss of Norway, French member, Interpreter, Dumay of France, Bulgarian member, Bulatsil of U. S. S. R.; Achcanoff general secretary of the I. P. C., Britov of U. S. S. R. This side of the table with backs turned are Chinese delegates whose faces are concealed because of the risks they run on return to China.

The contradiction between these two interests causes a crisis in the development of the industry which is now being overcome.

During the war the Government was utilized to create at a rapid pace a huge fleet to carry the war traffic. At the close of the war this new shipping could not stand the competition and hundreds of these new merchant ships were lying idle in the United States harbors and rivers. And they were either bought for a song by the companies or had to be junked for scrap iron.

It is during this period that the conditions established on the ships for the workers under the Seamen's Act were completely smashed and the International Seamen's Union, an A.F. of L. organization, which during the war was an integral part of the war machinery, went completely to pieces.

The United States government, which during the war had to make certain concessions to the seamen, was later more interested in its policy against unions and co-operated in smashing up the workers' organization the same as it did in other strategic industries.

The contradictions in the interests of the American business men are however being overcome by using the state taxation system to pay the deficit between the freight rates of the United States and foreign

shipping, by intense rationalization and by the reduction of the living standards of the workers.

Worse For Seamen

The conditions of the American seamen, particularly in international shipping, are now in many respects worse than those of the British.

One of the outstanding characteristics of the American merchant marine is that the most of it has been built during the war by the state at the expense of the tax-payers, and that its further expense and maintenance is still being covered to a very large extent from the same source. The peculiarity of this phenomena is that while the bourgeoisie in the United States advocates and practices private ownership of all industry including public service such as telegraphs and telephones, etc. in the shipping industry this procedure is not profitable to its interest. And we therefore have a form of nationalization, the bulk of ships even today being owned by the United States Shipping Board which exploits the workers employed even more effectively and ruthlessly than on foreign ships, through its remarkable centralized maintenance and effective blacklist against anyone who dares to raise his voice in the interest of the workers.

Now we come to the question as to what type of workers we have to deal with in this particular industry. About 30% of the seamen are natives and about 10% are of foreign extraction, but have become citizens of the United States. This leaves us 60% foreign citizens. We can however safely say that about 70% of the crews of the American ships speak and understand English.

Although there has been a considerable turnover amongst the force due to the worsening of conditions after the war still there are quite a number of men that have seen better days and were members of the International Seamen's Union. Among the non-citizens there is quite an element that were members of unions in their respective countries, and have even heard something about Socialism. On the whole we know that there is considerable sentiment among the men for organization. This more advanced element can be utilized for the purpose. There has also been considerable I.W.W. propoganda spread among the seamen. While the memory of this is somewhat distant, some traces of it remain and can be used by us constructively.

No Organization

There is at present no organization among the seamen, particularly in deep sea shipping, the I.S.U. having discredited itself completely and continually offering its services to the shipping interests to cooperate with them for more efficient exploitation. This union is in its content and policy offering to take the place of a company union.

The marine transport union of the I.W.W., which at the time of crisis in the shipping industry in the United States was an expression of rebellion against the treachery of the bureaucracy of the International Seamen's Union, was not able to hold the masses of seamen because of its impracticable and Anarcho-syndicalist policy and having been penetrated by spies who were even among its leadership, has discredited itself to such an extent that it cannot be considered a factor of importance; its membership now does not exceed 500 in number.

At the present time, although there are here and there some remnants of former organizations, the industry must be considered as a whole amongst the unorganized industries.

Because of conditions the problem of seamen's clubs in the United States is different from any other country; but there is a seamen's club in the port of New York.

As can be seen from the foregoing the task in the U.S.A. consists in the main in organizing the seamen into a union. It is not with so much the question of contact between organized sailors as the question

HELP CHINESE UNIONS!

The Red International of Labor Unions has called upon the I.U.E.L. to call a conference of labor organizations in July to create Special Committees of aid to the Chinese Proletariat. I.U.E.L. groups will soon receive directions for organizing these committees and a two weeks' intensive campaign to help the trade unions of China. The 10,000,000 members of the unions of China are undergoing terrific persecution at present, and are being executed in barbarous and horrible ways; about 25,000 trade unionists have been killed this year for the "crime" of agitating for the rights of Labor.

In many places the unions have been rendered entirely illegal, in others reactionary, labor-hating leaders have been placed in power by the military rulers, and pretend to lead the unions, in others still, right wing or fascist organizations have been created by the militarists, and an attempt is made to compel the workers to join them. The foreign imperialists applaud the persecution, and demand more death sentences for the workers.

Labor all over the world will protest the persecution, demand withdrawal of foreign troops from China, expose the treacherous role of the Kuomintang, and raise money for the unions of China.

primarily of organization itself.

The I.P.C. Conference and the R.I.L.U. will lay down the clear line of policy in this respect if any real results are to be achieved in this work.

I need not stress the point that we can only organize the seamen independently and not through the A.F. of L. If we carry on a militant policy to organize the unorganized we will be able to win over most of honest I.W.W. members still remaining in the industry.

I believe I have pointed out the growing importance of the work in the Marine Transport industry of the U.S.A. which should correspond with the growing role of American imperialism. American capitalism must place upon its means of communication by sea transport its special dependence. However all seamen know that in all industries, even in the imperialist stage of production, the marine transport industry is the most international of all industries, and at this stage of imperialist rivalry for markets and preparations for another imperialist war, which we must strive to transfer into a class war, against capitalism, very much depends upon the efficiency of our international organization.

Most of the world's deep sea shipping touches U.S. ports; on the other hand the sailors on the American ships can be effectively reached through our contact in other ports the world over and skillfully organized propoganda and organization on an international scale can be of great help to us not only by raising the class consciousness of the American seamen but in getting them into a powerful industrial union.

Because of the very character of our industry and its specific strategical importance the I.P.C. of the M.T.W. must be built up into the most powerful section of the R.I.L.U.

Railroad Progressives Move Forward

By H. E. KAYE

THE third conference of the International Railroad Amalgamation Movement, held in Chicago on June second and third, marks a turning point in the railroad industry. Six years have passed since the disastrous 1922 strike of the shopmen. These six years have witnessed the almost utter disintegration of the shop crafts. Due to the reactionary policy of the union officials in refusing to take effective action toward uniting the railroad unions into a powerful, aggressive industrial organization of all railroad workers, many of the shop crafts are but mere skeletons of their former membership. Company unions have sprouted up on sixty-four railroads. Unemployment is taking its heavy toll. Approximately 250,000 railroad workers have been laid off since 1923, the result of the ever-increasing use of machine technique, speed-ups and so-called efficiency methods. The present leaders of the railroad unions, with a few rare exceptions, are absolutely incapable of coping with the situation, which is rapidly reducing the railroad unions to mere appendages of the railroad companies, little more effective in fighting for the interests of the rank and file than are the many company unions. The vast mass of railroad workers are still unorganized, but 750,000 out of the approximately 1,800,000 being in the present unions.

Class-collaboration agreements like the B. & O. Plan, instead of a fighting policy for increased wages and shorter hours; labor banking and insurance schemes instead of efficient organization of the unorganized; dismal arbitration failures such as the C. & O. shopmen's case and that of the workers on the K. C. M. & O., instead of a militant, smashing drive of the united railroad unions all along the line; are, as far as the present leadership of the railroad unions are concerned, the only methods they are able to offer the rank and file for withstanding the onslaughts of the railroad companies.

Crumbs Now And Then

Regardless of the few sops handed out to some of the unions under the operation of the Watson-Parker Law, such as the recent decision of the railroad companies in the Western Firemen's and Trainmen's case, not to carry their opposition to the United States Supreme Court, but to abide by the decision of the United States Circuit Court of appeals upholding the Western Wage Award, continued support of this act is hamstringing the railroad unions. By it the railroad unions are being drugged into a policy of almost absolute surrender to the railroad companies. The action of the Western Railroad Managers

in abiding by this decision was a well-thought-out policy of instilling new life into the Railway Labor Act, a new injection of the deadly serum of "legalism" into the minds of the railroad rank and file.

The railroad workers on the job were getting sick of the long drawn-out negotiations, the numerous delays, the whittling down of their demands to the bare bone. Sentiment for a fighting policy of railroad unionism among the rank and file was increasing rapidly. Sensing all this, and exercising far greater foresight than the railroad union leadership, the Western railroads accepted the decision of the award and for the present headed off the growing militancy of the rank and file. They are not yet quite ready for a break with the railroad unions. But troublous times are ahead. The reactionary union officialdom do not see the growing clouds on the railroad horizon. But the railroad managers do. So also do increasing numbers of the rank and file. And the delegates attending the recent Chicago conference are among the advance guard of that rank and file.

A Rank And File Conference

The entire conference was one of action. Delegates came to the conference from such far points as Tacoma, Washington and Edmonton, Canada. With a few exceptions they were of the rank and file workers direct from the job. They smacked of the industry. There were no fat paunches there. Faces lined by toil, they determinedly set down a line for aggressive, fighting railroad unionism. And they did a good job. Taking full note of the present conditions in the industry, of the past years of bitter disillusionment and defeat, they hammered out a fighting program that will within a year or two result in the greatest mass movement of the railroad rank and file that the country has ever seen. And out of this mass movement will come the powerful industrial union of railroad workers that has been the dream of railroad militants for the past forty years.

The entire keynote of the conference was the problem for the effective organization of the one million railroad workers still unorganized. Point one of the Program, to "Organize The Unorganized," is the basic task confronting the rank and file. Once get the 1,000,000 unorganized railroad workers back into the unions and it will have the most powerful effect in injecting new life, not only into the present railroad unions, but into the entire American labor movement. It will be a gigantic step forward and will result in the absolute defeat of company unionism. But this step forward cannot be undertaken through the cor-

rupt leadership at present heading the unions. Point two of the Program, to "Oust The Reactionary Leaders," lays down the basis for cleansing the railroad unions of their present mis-leaders. This dead timber must be cut out, root and branch. A fighting leadership is an absolute necessity.

For Real Struggle

In point three, "For An Aggressive Union Policy," is laid the basis for a complete break with the no-fight policy of the reactionary leadership. Powerful mass action of the rank and file instead of cringing acceptance of the decisions of "neutral" arbitrators under the provisions of the Watson-Parker Law, must be the order of the day. Under such powerful mass action of the rank and file the entire poisonous mixture of never-ending arbitration, union-management co-operation, the proposed establishment of the "flexible work-day, speed-ups and efficiency programs of the companies will wither away. Fighting unionism and no surrender must be the slogan for action.

One of the greatest menaces confronting the railroad workers today is the ever-increasing development of machine technique in the industry. Innumerable labor-saving devices and better machine methods in the shops, the use of auxiliary locomotives or train boosters resulting in the hauling of longer trains, roller-bearing equipment, heavier loading capacities through the use of the new "Dalman" trucks, automatic engine cab signalling and control, central dispatching control systems, car retarders in the classification yards, are but a few of the many improvements in railroad operation of the last few years. This has resulted in the displacement of 250,000 workers since 1923 and many more thousands are slated for layoffs in the near future as further machine methods are devised. It is utterly impossible within the scope of this article to adequately cover the hundreds of instances of such improved machine methods in the railroad industry. They are here to stay and will press down on the rank and file more heavily in the future with their threat of unemployment and starvation. They must be controlled. And the means for such control is laid down in point four of the Program, "For A Six Hour Day". The Third Conference of the Railroad Amalgamation Movement demands the six hour day for all railroad workers with general wage increases and calls upon all railroad workers to support this demand. The establishment of the six hour day will be a means of re-absorbing into the industry the hundreds of thousands of railroad workers now in the ranks of the unemployed who at present compete for the jobs of those employed which factor keeps wages down. The winning of the six hour day with substantial increases in the wages of the poorer paid classes of railroad

labor is the next great task to be accomplished.

But the accomplishment of these great tasks cannot be brought about by the present separation policy of the railroad union leadership. While we see on the one hand ever greater consolidations and mergers of the different railroad systems into gigantic combines, as witness the recent ten billion dollar merger of the New York Central, the Pennsylvania, the B. & O. and the Nickel-Plate-Erie, on the other the railroad unions are stagnating in the old system of craft-unionism which dates back to the competitive state of the railroad industry of over forty years ago.

Thinking only of their own "pie-cards" and of defending the interests of some of the more skilled trades at the expense of the great masses of unskilled or semi-skilled, the reactionary leadership stubbornly oppose every effort to amalgamate the railroad unions. **Amalgamation must be brought about in spite of them!** In the great amalgamation drive following the 1922 strike the overwhelming majority of railroad workers were for one union in the railroad industry. Point five of the Program, "Amalgamate The Railroad Unions," indicates the necessary steps to be taken for the building of one powerful union for the entire industry.

Amalgamation Grows In Favor

Already, in widely separated parts of the country, spontaneous movements for the closer co-operation of the present railroad crafts have arisen. Witness the joint action of the unions on the Pere Marquette last year; the action of the Tri-State Union Meeting of the B. of L. F. & E. at El Paso, Texas, in April, 1927; the demand of the joint meeting of Engineers and Firemen at Altoona, Pa., last August to amalgamate those two Brotherhoods; the proposed Federation of all Railroad Trades as put forward by the St. Louis meeting of the Railroad Clerks; the recent joint action of the six brotherhoods on the Boston and Maine in fighting a ten per-cent reduction of the wages of the B. & M. clerks: all straws in the wind indicating the temper of the rank and file if given even half a chance. Giving due recognition to the admirable spirit of the railroad workers concerned in these widely separated instances, the Third Conference of the International Railroad Amalgamation Movement has advanced an effective plan of action for the organization of Joint Railroad Councils in every railroad center the country over. What has already been done by the railroad workers on the Pere Marquette and the Boston & Maine can be extended to the farthest confines of the industry. The unions must be pulled together. The million unorganized railroad workers must be brought into them. New blood, new life, pulsating energy will be the result.

Due to space limitations, it is possible in this article

to but briefly sketch the all inclusive program of the International Railroad Amalgamation Movement. The outline of action drafted by the recent conference together with its implications could not be adequately covered in a hundred articles of this extent. From time to time will appear articles on the various phases of the movement as the occasion requires.

Every railroad worker who reads this article should immediately get in touch with O. H. Wangerin, Secretary-Treasurer of The International Railroad Amalgamation Committee, Room 8, 702 East 63rd St., Chicago, Ill., for further information regarding the organization of the joint councils, or, still better, subscribe to the militant paper of the movement, "The Railroad Amalgamation advocate." However, in closing this article, we can do no better than to quote from the last page of the Program:

PULL THE UNIONS TOGETHER

Organize Joint Railroad Councils In All R. R. Centers

In order to carry out the above program the Third Conference of the International Railroad Amalgamation Committee went on record calling upon its supporters throughout the railway industry to immediately initiate the formation of JOINT RAILROAD COUNCILS in all railroad centers.

The purpose of these Councils is to bring about closer

co-operation of the railroad workers of the various trades, to organize the unorganized, to further the work of amalgamating the unions, eliminate company unionism, to resist wage cuts or lengthening of hours, and to generally consolidate and strengthen trade unionism on the railroads.

The JOINT RAILROAD COUNCILS shall be made up of representatives from local unions, also from shops, round-houses, yards, offices and other work places. Representatives shall also be drawn in from unorganized roads. Every effort must be made to build a mass support of the organized and unorganized railroad workers around these JOINT RAILROAD COUNCILS.

The Councils shall at once begin intensive campaigns for the organization of the unorganized in their respective localities on the basis of the above program. It will be the major task of these Councils to stimulate and direct these organization campaigns and to carry into effect the general program of re-organizing and building railroad unionism adopted by the Conference.

Railroad Militants! Have your local lodges take steps immediately to organize a Joint Council at your railroad point. Call a meeting of representatives of all trades, or as many as possible, to start the formation of your Council. Elect the necessary temporary officers and committees, set a regular meeting date, get delegates from all organizations and places of work in your district, and begin functioning on the basis of the above program.

The I. A. of M. and the Unorganized

By A MACHINIST

IN the leading editorial in the February issue of the Machinists Journal under the title "A Perplexing Problem", is an account of the inability of the officials of the International Association of Machinists, as well as of the American Federation of Labor as a whole, to organize the unorganized in the big industries in the United States. Particular stress is laid on the problem of organizing the machinists on the railroads. The first paragraph of the editorial reads:

"One of the most perplexing problems confronting the American Labor Movement is how to organize the several millions of unorganized workers on this continent. This is also a matter of grave concern to our own Organization, one to which our officers have devoted unlimited time, thought and energy in an endeavor to discover some effective means whereby the unorganized machinists might be awakened to a realization that only by collective action, through the Trade Union movement can they expect to improve their social standing. Every conceivable plan has been tried. Organizing drives, open meetings, individual approach, house-to-house canvas and other methods have failed to produce the desired results."

This is a bald confession of their incompetence as leaders and organizers of the workers. After openly admitting that they stand completely helpless before the task confronting them, the balance of the editorial is devoted to a vain effort to hide their shortcomings and cover up their "inability to make a greater

progress in organizing the machinists." In order to do this they dig up various reasons and excuses, such as the "apathy and indifference" of the workers, the "company unions", the "opposition" of the big employers to organized labor, etc., not one of which is valid.

Who Is Backward?

There is a reason however, why the tens of thousands of machinists who have been affiliated to the I. A. of M. during the past twenty years have allowed their membership in the organization to lapse, and there is also a reason why the hundreds of thousands of our tradesmen in the big industries and on the railroads are not organized at the present time. This fact can be attributed to nothing other than the nineteenth century organization methods still in vogue and the reactionary policies by which the I. A. of M. has been machine-controlled and dominated during the past ten years.

To make this clear and to understand the real cause of present disorganization as far as the railroad machinists are concerned, it is only necessary to recall a bit of recent history showing the struggle between the reactionary officials and progressive membership in this industry.

Prior to 1911 agreements were negotiated on the railroads by the individual crafts. The loss of the strikes of the machinists on the L. & N., the Santa Fe and the near defeat on the Missouri Pacific, (but for the Boil-

ermakers, Blacksmiths and other shop crafts coming to our rescue) made it plain to the railroad shopmen that some other method of organization was necessary if we were to cope with the situation and attain the desired results.

Out of these struggles sprang the movement for system federation composed of nine crafts. The militant element in the unions were not slow to see the great advantage of this new form of organization. This was also seen by the railway companies. Mr. Parks, formerly general manager of the Illinois Central, stated that if realized it would have many times the power of the individual crafts.

Selfish Disunity

But these progressive sentiments of the membership were not shared by the officials of the unions. They saw in this move the first step leading to a complete consolidation of the railway trades which threatened their fat salaried positions and they immediately began a systematic opposition to it. The old question of jurisdiction of work was held before the membership, petty craft jealousies and prejudices were revived, and a number of other smoke screens raised, behind which the officials hid in their attempt to kill the federation movement, which finally cost Jim O'Connell, then International President of the Machinists, his job.

In 1913 the walkout of the men of the Illinois Central and Harriman lines took place. The strikers were defeated only after one of the most bitterly fought struggles in the history of the railway industry in America. With the proper support of their Grand Lodge officials the strike could have been won.

This series of strikes, although the immediate demands of the workers were not gained in each instance had far-reaching effects upon the future development of the shopmen's unions. The idea of federation swept over the entire industry. The companies were compelled to recognize and deal with these system organizations, wage increases and improved conditions were granted, and the railroad shopmen enjoyed privileges unknown previously.

By rank and file pressure and despite the official opposition, the system federation movement continued to develop and finally culminated in the formation of the Railway Employees Department at Kansas City in 1912. The R. E. D. realized its full strength during the period of the war. Its superiority over the old form of organization was demonstrated on a number of occasions and the idea of a general federation of all railway trades was rapidly gaining ground. Instance of this was the wonderful solidarity displayed by the joint movements of the shopmen in 1919 and by the switchmen in 1920, both of which were betrayed by the union officials. The officials set upon a determined campaign to crush the growing unity of railroad labor by expulsions of militants from the different unions, so that when the strike of the shopmen occurred in 1922 they had succeeded in breaking the fighting spirit of the workers.

These betrayals were continued during the 1922 strike by slavish submission to the infamous Daugherty injunction, by entering into separate agreements with the companies thereby splitting the ranks of the strikers and turning victory into defeat, opposition to

amalgamation, the introduction of the Baltimore & Ohio Union-Management Cooperation Plan, their secret alignment with Atterbury of the Pennsylvania and other anti-union railroad executives to put over the Watson-Parker Law, and in general retreating from the advanced position taken by the railroad workers immediately following the war.

Taking The Heart Out

Herein lies the real cause for the so-called "apathy and indifference towards organization displayed by thousands of machinists." They have become thoroughly disillusioned with the present reactionary leadership, their standpat policies and the antiquated craft unions. The workers, organized and unorganized realize that only by amalgamation and joint action of all trades can they made progress. What the unorganized machinists want is a new deal all around, and if the officials of the I. A. of M. would give heed to this, the job of organizing them would be a simple one.

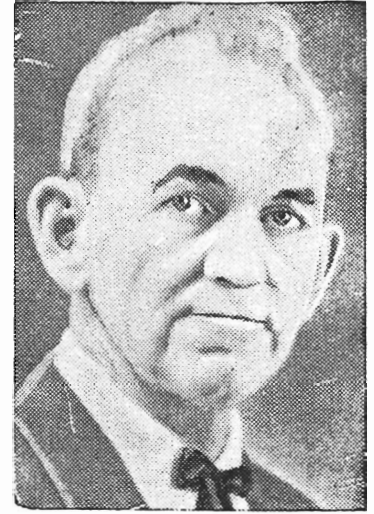
The Machinists Journal winds up with the following pathetic cry to the membership to come to their assistance:

"We have had reverses it is true, but we never admit defeat. We are going to organize the machinists on this continent if it is humanly possible to do so. Our progress in this direction will be more rapid if each member will put his shoulder to the wheel and help.

"Our 'Every Member Get a Member' campaign continues. The slogan is a good one. Make it your own and determine to make good. We can by persistent effort overcome the apathy and indifference of those who, without fear of losing their jobs, could join with us. This is our first big task. Let's go to it."

The I. A. of M. membership fully realize that the job of organizing the machinists is one that they must undertake, if it is to be done by any one. However, to clear away the obstructions standing in the road and to regain the confidence of the unorganized, a few things will first have to be done: a progressive union policy, free speech and rank and file control must be established in the organization; the expulsion of the militants must be stopped and those expelled reinstated; the officials of the I. A. of M. must be made to carry out the principles in its preamble to amalgamate the unions on the railroads and in the metal industry into industrial organizations; and it must join with all other kindred trades in a united campaign to organize the workers in these industries. Finally, the incompetents now in office must be replaced in the next union election by officers with sufficient ability and leadership to handle the problem of organization.

These are the big tasks confronting the membership of the I. A. of M. which must be accomplished at the coming convention in September. The "perplexing problem" of organizing the unorganized will then be largely solved and our union will again grow in numbers and resume its place in the forefront of organized labor in America which it formerly enjoyed, and not until then.



To the left, Warren K. Billings. Center, Tom Mooney as he looked in the days when he led the car strikers of Frisco and gained the bosses' hatred. Right, Mooney, wracked and emaciated by twelve years of imprisonment.

New Evidence in the Mooney Case

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY

THE recent death of Alfred H. Spink, a sports writer, brought to light fresh proof on the monstrous frame-up that was perpetrated on Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings now serving life terms in California penitentiaries for the San Francisco preparedness explosion which caused the loss of several lives on July 22, 1916.

Spink signed an affidavit which furnishes additional evidence, if only circumstantial, of Mooney's innocence of the crime for which he and Billings have spent nearly twelve years behind the gray walls of San Quentin and Folsom prisons.

This affidavit was sworn to in Chicago in 1927 but Spink requested that the document be withheld from publication until after his death.

Briefly, the story is that the San Francisco explosion was the work of German Imperial plotters, with some of whom Spink was acquainted. He lived in Oakland, California, as a neighbour of a former German consul in the Marshall Islands, who was compelled to leave there because of the hostility of the Japanese. This Imperial consul, Mertz by name, on friendly terms with the Spink family, appeared also to be in close touch with the Kaiser's agents who were engaged in obstructing the transportation of war supplies from this country to the allies before the United States entered the war.

That Mertz expected the preparedness day explosion, was indicated by the warning he gave the Spink family to stay away from San Francisco on July 22nd. "Several days before the preparedness

day parade" the affidavit reads "my wife told me that something awful was going to happen in San Francisco. She said that Mrs. Mertz had told her that Mr. Mertz was exceedingly anxious to get away from Oakland before the occurrence for the reason that he did not want to be implicated in any violent actions of any kind."

Concealed Many Years

After the explosion and the arrest and conviction of Tom Mooney, Spink intended to go to the prosecuting attorney and declare his belief in Mooney's innocence based on his knowledge of the movements of Consul Mertz. He was dissuaded from this purpose by his wife who feared that any revelations he might make would implicate the Mertz family.

Spink wound up his story with the statement, "I am firmly convinced that the preparedness day explosion was the work of the parties to whom I refer in this statement, who had the mistaken idea that they were helping Germany by committing acts of violence in this country."

The Spink affidavit was not necessary to prove Mooney's innocence. It tops a mountain of evidence gathered during and after his trial that shows beyond the shadow of a doubt that Mooney was the victim of the labor-hating employers of California who took advantage of the explosion to get a militant labor organizer out of the way.

Here is the story of the Mooney frame-up in brief: While a preparedness parade, organized by the

war mongers for the purpose of working up sentiment for participation in the European carnage, was marching through the principal street of San Francisco, a dynamite bomb was exploded, killing ten persons and maiming between thirty and fifty. A few days later, Thomas J. Mooney, his wife, Warren K. Billings, Edward J. Nolan and Israel Weinberg were arrested and charged with the murder.

Billings, the first to be tried, was convicted of murder in the first degree by professional jurymen and sentenced to life imprisonment. Mooney's turn was next. He was found guilty by a fixed jury on February 9, 1927, and sentenced to be hanged on May 17, 1917.

Then began one of the greatest mass movements in labor history to save a condemned labor leader from execution.

Despite the indifference of the official labor leaders the workers throughout the country rallied to Mooney's defense. Monster mass meetings were held, a national defense conference met in Chicago and thousands of Illinois miners struck for one day as a demonstration against his threatened execution in defiance of the opposition of their district officials.

Russian Workers Save Life

The Mooney case first attracted international attention when Russian workers paraded before the American embassy in Saint Petersburg, now Leningrad, carrying placards calling for the release of "Muni." Afterwards President Wilson sent a special investigator to California to probe the Mooney case and his report was to the effect that Mooney was the victim of a conspiracy. Commutation of the death sentence on Mooney to life imprisonment followed the investigator's report.

For years after he stepped into Saint Quentin Mooney's relatives expected that influential friends



ISRAEL WEINBERG UNDERGOING THE "THIRD DEGREE"

would succeed in inducing successive occupants of the governor's executive chair to give him his freedom. But this hope was vain. Mooney is now firmly convinced that only the collective efforts of the masses will open the prison gates for him.

During a recent visit to San Quentin, James P. Cannon, executive secretary of the International Labor Defense, brought out a message from Mooney which appeals through the I.L.D. to the American working class to raise their voices in his behalf and bring about the liberation of himself and Warren Billings.

Relies On Workers

"Our hope is in a new protest movement" he said. "Every possible legal and technical move has been made to prove our innocence and our right to unconditional pardon but without success. The years go by until nearly twelve years have elapsed, and still we are held in prison for a crime of which the world knows we are not guilty. Our crime was loyalty to the workers. Now, let the workers speak again in our behalf. I have confidence that our friends will find the way to make the appeal heard throughout the world."

The Present Situation in New Bedford

By ALBERT WEISBORD

The New Bedford Strike is now eleven weeks old. There is not a break in the ranks. The 56 mills employing approximately 26,000 workers are closed tight. The strike is 100% effective.

Not only is the strike 100% effective but the ranks of the workers are actually growing stronger. This is shown in the following ways:

1. Growth of the picket lines. Whereas before we found hundreds, now thousands at times mass before the mills.

2. Better spirit at the mass meetings. More cheering and singing.

3. A more substantial organization has been built up—the New Bedford Textile Workers Union—with due stamps and regular union forms. Thus against the old small union of the A. F. T. O. taking in only the few skilled workers, there is a new union—the New Bedford Textile Workers Union—for the great mass of workers.

4. A stronger strike committee has been built up, and far greater discipline and union understanding established.

5. New demands have been put up. The demands now are as follows:

1. Abolition of the 10% wage cut.
2. 20% increase in wages over the old scale.
3. 40-hour 5-day week.
4. Abolition of the speed-up.
5. Equal pay for equal work
6. No discrimination against union members.
7. Recognition of the union.

6. The left wing leadership has grown in influence. More and more honest workers belong to the American Federation of Textile Operatives come on our

picket lines, come to our mass meetings and join our union.

7. Strata of workers hitherto not reached by us are being brought into the struggle more and more.

8. Relief work is now better managed than before.

Against this upward swing of the strike, the reformists have strongly mobilized: (1) The A. F. T. O. officials joined the A. F. of L. so that both sets of reactionary officials could combine against the new union affiliated to the National Textile Mill Committees. (2) The Socialist Party has actively and vigorously allied itself with these misleaders of the United Textile Workers and does all in its power to crush the left wing.

In the meantime the spirit of the New Bedford strike is steadily spreading and affecting other places. In Fall River especially the workers are growing very restive because: (1) Fall River is near New Bedford. (2) The same conditions prevail there as in New Bedford. (3) The Fall River Workers also received a 10% wage cut. (4) The workers are of the same nationalities and closely bound to the workers in New Bedford. (5) Many mills in Fall River are doing scab work for the New Bedford mills.

The National Textile Mill Committees has already opened up an office in Fall River and has sent in organizers. Many workers have already joined the Fall River unit. Every indication is that the workers in Fall River will also begin to fight actively under the slogans put out by the Left Wing: Fight Wage Cuts and Support the New Bedford Strike. If this happens, then watch the textile workers.

TEXTILE NEWS : : :

Edited By ALBERT WEISBORD

Reports of the Textile International Committee of Propaganda and Action

What Did the Revolutionary Textile Workers International Conference Decide?

AFTER three days of intensive work the Textile Workers International Conference closed on April 13 in Moscow.

The Conference noted that the crisis observed in the trade union life of the textile workers of the capitalist countries was directly due to the opportunist activities of the reformist trade union bureaucrats. Many workers have lost confidence altogether in the trade unions and are simply leaving the organizations, others, disgusted with the leaders are increasingly coming to the conclusion that the only correct methods of struggling are those advocated by the Red International of Labor Unions. These workers do not leave the trade unions, but are organizing a left wing opposition movement

directed against the tactics of the traditional leaders. Facts and figures show conclusively that while workers are leaving the trade unions, left wing influence is gaining ground. Thus, during the last five years the membership of the reformist textile workers unions has been reduced almost by half.

On the other hand the growth of revolutionary feelings among the textile workers has been especially marked in England and Germany of late. Dissatisfied with the fact that textile workers' rates have been lowered—even according to the official statistics of the British Government—by no less than 40% during the last few years, the British employers are now conducting an unremitting campaign to get a further 12½% wage-cut introduced, and to lengthen hours from 48 to 52½ hours per week. Instead of organizing resist-

ance to this insolent campaign the trade union leaders commenced negotiations with the manufacturers on "peace in industry," knowing full well that such peace would mean the complete capitulation of the workers. The action of the trade union bureaucrats caused widespread indignation among the textile workers and, as a result, negotiations between the leaders and the manufacturers were suspended.

At the last trade union elections in Germany, the revolutionary textile workers gained a brilliant victory in Berlin and Langensalza, there they got control of the local trade union sections.

Despite these facts the reformist Textile Workers International does not wish to hear anything at all about a united working-class front. The Central Committee of the Union of Soviet Republics Textile Workers Union has time and again proposed to the International that a single industrial international be formed to which both the Amsterdam unions and the unions affiliated to the R.I.L.U. as well as the so-called "independent" unions would be affiliated. But, headed by Tom Shaw, the leaders of the International have positively turned down these proposals.

In view of the present ruinous activities of the reformists the Conference firmly upheld the view that while continuing its unremitting struggle to unite textile workers throughout the world in one international, the Textile Workers' International Propaganda Committee, which down to the present time has carried out its work mainly on propaganda lines, must now become an organizing and leading centre of the revolutionary textile workers. The I.P.C. has accordingly been renamed "The Textile Workers International Committee for Action and Propaganda".

The question of unity was taken up by the Conference as follows: It is not sufficient to get all the organized textile workers embraced by a single International; attention must be concentrated to set up connections with the basic mass of textile workers, who are still unorganized, by getting these masses lined up in the trade unions. It must be borne in mind that an average 90% of the textile workers in capitalist countries are unorganized. It is hardly necessary therefore to demonstrate the truth of the decision of the Conference, that the basic problem of reinforcing the unity of the workers is to develop an active campaign to line up the masses of textile workers in the unions.

The Conference dwelt especially on the question of the impending struggle of the British textile workers. Indeed, if the British manufacturers are able to cut the rates and lengthen hours, a similar move will be made by the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries. Hence the Conference put forward several practical decisions regarding the strike tactics of the textile workers, so that in the impending struggles the representatives of the Revolutionary Wing shall be able to act effectively as organizers and leaders of the struggling masses.

The Conference, furthermore, adopted a decision on strengthening organizational connections with the textile workers of Asia and America and also with the workers in the textile trades of South America. Here the conference took cognizance of the fact that the international bourgeoisie increasingly desires to invest its capital in textile enterprises in those countries having a large surplus of cheap labor. The Conference likewise

mapped out several practical measures to enhance the activities of the apparatus of the International Committee of Action and Propaganda, both as regards organization and propaganda.

Fifteen members were elected to the International Committee of Action and Propaganda, representing the textile workers revolutionary trade union movement in the following countries: U.S.S.R., France, Czecho-Slovakia, Germany, Poland, England, Italy, U. S. A., China and Japan.

Comrade Buyanov was elected secretary of the Textile Workers' International Committee for action and Propaganda by the Conference.

Eighth All U.S.S.R. Congress Of Textile Workers Union (April 3-13, 1928)

The Eighth All U.S.S.R. Congress of the Textile Workers Union was opened at a time when the textile industry had become greatly developed and a considerable section of it had been renewed by capital repairs, new installations and new construction.

In 1917, 1,265 millions of metres of cotton goods were produced. In 1920 the production was 126 million metres; 1922-23, 667 million metres; 1926-27, 2,378 million metres. During 1927-28, 2,521 million metres is to be produced, while in accordance with the five year plan, 4,300 million metres is to be produced during the production year of 1931-32. In 1920 15 million metres of woollens and semi-woolen goods were produced; 1926-27, 85 million metres. Flax goods in 1920 comprised 27 million metres; 1926-27 194 million metres.

The increased output reflects the extension of the industry itself and a growth of the number of workers employed.

More Workers Are Employed

In 1922 the textile workers' union had 369,600 members, of whom many were out of employment. At the present time (according to returns for January 1, 1928) the union has 847,000 members.

During the last few years the position of the Textile Workers has improved appreciably, although their position is still behind that observed in other branches of industry. Wages throughout the textile industry have overtopped the pre-war level by an average of 32%.

Throughout the last period trade union activities were conducted so as to transfer all the burden of this work to the departments and the locals, where all the work of the members is carried out. The contingent of active trade union workers has grown considerably and this is reflected in the part they are taking in trade union work today.

Cultural activities catering for trade union members also have been improved. A whole series of short term courses were carried out, long term courses were likewise organized while a medium and higher type of schools for the trade union movement were organized to create an active contingent of workers in this field. The construction of new workers' clubs has also been commenced. Of great significance in the work of raising the cultural and political level of textile workers is the "Textile Workers Voice," a daily paper now, which is receiving wide circulation among the textile workers.

LABOR MUST NOT LET THE HEROIC COAL MINERS BE STARVED OUT

By BARBARA RAND

FAMINE is sweeping the eastern Ohio strike fields. Thousands of coal diggers, their wives and children, who defied the Ohio National Guard machine guns, the deputy sheriff's tear gas bombs, the clubs and rifles of company hired thugs, and strike breaking injunctions from the courts, are facing slow starvation. Scores of miners' women-folk who were tricked into 72 hours confinement in the St. Clairsville jail on the pretext of "visiting" their arrested leaders, are living through dire hunger. Pernicious anaemia is widespread among the children, disease is alarmingly acute.

At first it was only the coal operators, police and courts who openly fought the strikers. Relief checks were distributed by the Lewis officialdom periodically, but rapidly dwindled in volume when the progressive complexion of the rank and file became apparent.

Even the Ohio National Guard made a gesture of raising and distributing milk for the children of strikers from headquarters which boasted more ammunition than food; at the same time they showered bullets upon their parents on the picket lines.

The National Miners Relief Committee, organized by progressive miners as the Pennsylvania Ohio Miners Relief Committee and later

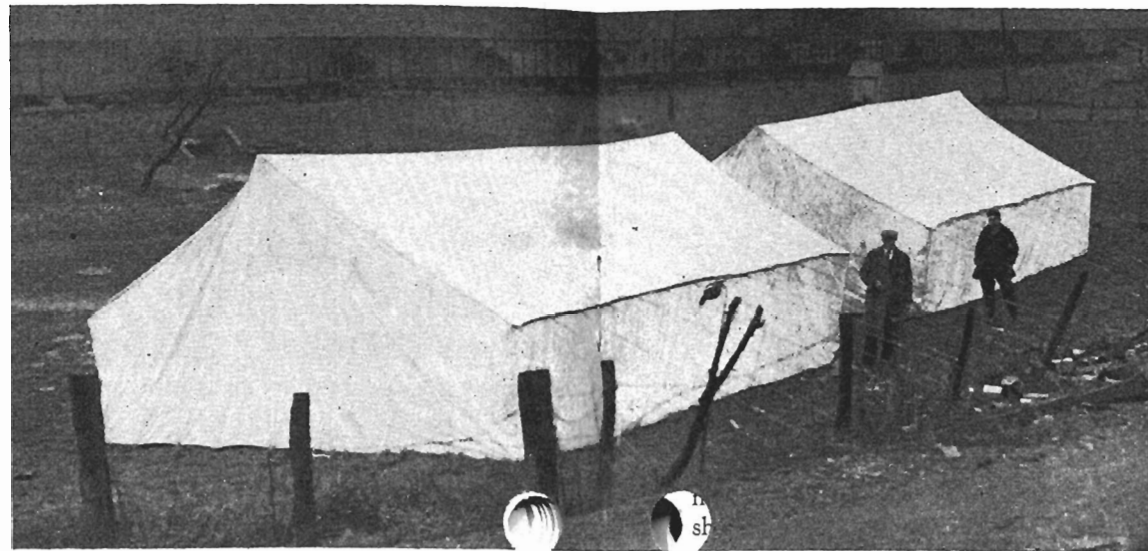
spread into a national organization, sent Ohio its share of food and clothing contributed by workers throughout the country and other truck loads to Penn. camps. But soon the Lewis clique, alarmed by the support demonstrated at the National Save-the-Union Conference where 1,125 delegates declared their determination to oust the union-destroying and strike-wrecking officialdom, ordered the immediate expulsion of every miner who attended the great conference.

The militant fighters of eastern Ohio, like their union brothers throughout the country, defied the international officialdom and supported the progressives they had elected to represent them. Then Lewis arbitrarily expelled whole locals, cut off their relief and bribed those who supported the machine with generous relief checks. All of eastern Ohio, and much other territory, was left to starve.

"The bosses are trying to starve us into going back to work," said Frank Sepich, militant strike leader, "and Lewis is helping them by cutting off our beans!"

Convinced that Lewis and his official family were destroying their organization and directly functioning as strikebreakers, the rank and file, under the leadership of the Save-the-Union Committee, called a convention in Bellaire to oust the traitors. Oral Daugherty, president of a sub-district in the opposite end of the state, openly advocated surrender of the strike. Various business men's organizations pledged their support to Daugherty. Because he stated publicly what other Lewis officials were advocating not so openly, the machine was forced to expel Daugherty from the Union.

A strong offensive to discredit the progressive movement in the eyes of the



SIXTY-THREE MINERS LIVE IN THESE TWO TENTS, AVELLA, PA.

Lewis refused to give lumber for barracks when these miners were evicted because this is a progressive local.

rank and file was waged by the Indianapolis office. Nevertheless 43 of the 45 locals in subdistrict 7 were officially represented at the convention, and by unanimous vote ousted the old officers and elected Robert Matusek president, Frank Sepich vice president and Andy Plechady secretary—all progressive coal diggers who had led the fight there.

The miners of eastern Ohio are solidly behind the movement for a new



A GROUP OF EVICTED MINERS' CHILDREN

No race prejudice here, white and Negroes both evicted. These strikers children need relief

miners' union to replace the old corrupt shell that was once the powerful United Mine Workers of America.

The Ohio National Guard soon ceased even to make a pretense of distributing relief. The miners declare that the Guardsmen tell their committee that the clothing stored in a warehouse is being saved for "possible flood disasters". Following the example of the union machine, Governor Donahey announced that the Ohio National Guard would also discontinue its relief activity. But the Guard still continues to "preserve order" with the aid of tear gas bombs and rifles whenever the strikers appear on picket line.

This reorganized sub district, like every other district affected by the strike and Lewis' betrayals, is suffering extreme hunger.

The miners there are laying the ground work for building a new miners' union in the face of a great offensive from operators, police, the old corrupt officialdom—and hunger.

The National Miners Relief Committee, an organization of rank and file miners, alone, is straining its resources to keep eastern Ohio and every other striking community from being wiped out by famine. A 100,000 pound shipment of groceries was sent into eastern Ohio last week from the relief headquarters at 611 Penn Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa., and distributed among

thousands of hungry fighters. More food must be rushed in—and quickly—to save them from being starved into submission.

Doctors, medicines, defense for arrested strikers—and especially food—these are the demands made upon the National Miners Relief Committee daily. Alfred Wagenknecht, relief director, is mobilizing the 150 relief committees functioning in most of the large centers in the United States and those in Canada, for a National Miners Relief Week from June 25 to July 1st. Miners are visiting unions and other labor organizations and telling them about the struggle in the strike fields and their fight for a new miners' union which will organize and protect the interests of the great masses of workers in the mining industry. Workers everywhere must hurry to the defense of these fighting miners of Ohio and Pennsylvania to save them from starvation. Food, clothing and money is needed by National Miners' Relief Committee, 611 Penn. Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.



AN EVICTION AT HARMARVILLE, PA. These miners have been thrown out of company houses shown behind them.

LABOR MUST NOT LET THE HEROIC

By BARBARA RAND

FAMINE is sweeping the eastern Ohio strike fields. Thousands of coal diggers, their wives and children, who defied the Ohio National Guard machine guns, the deputy sheriff's tear gas bombs, the clubs and rifles of company hired thugs, and strike breaking injunctions from the courts, are facing slow starvation. Scores of miners' women-folk who were tricked into 72 hours confinement in the St. Clairsville jail on the pretext of "visiting" their arrested leaders, are living through dire hunger. Pernicious anaemia is widespread among the children, disease is alarmingly acute.

At first it was only the coal operators, police and courts who openly fought the strikers. Relief checks were distributed by the Lewis officialdom periodically, but rapidly dwindled in volume when the progressive complexion of the rank and file be-



RELIEF HEADQUARTERS AT MIDLAND, PA.
First tent erected by Relief Committee in unorganized fields.

spread into a national organization, sent Ohio its share of food and clothing contributed by workers throughout the country and other truck loads to Penn. camps.

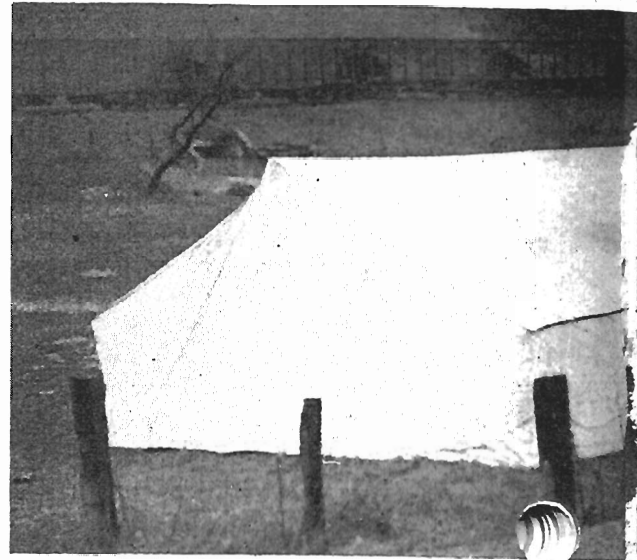
But soon the Lewis clique, alarmed by the support demonstrated at the National Save-the-Union Conference where 1,125 delegates declared their determination to oust the union-destroying and strike-wrecking officialdom, ordered the immediate expulsion of every miner who attended the great conference.

The militant fighters of eastern Ohio, like their union brothers throughout the country, defied the international officialdom and supported the progressives they had elected to represent them. Then Lewis arbitrarily expelled whole locals, cut off their relief and bribed those who supported the machine with generous relief checks. All of eastern Ohio, and much other territory, was left to starve.

"The bosses are trying to starve us into going back to work," said Frank Sepich, militant strike leader, "and Lewis is helping them by cutting off our beans!"

Convinced that Lewis and his official family were destroying their organization and directly functioning as strikebreakers, the rank and file, under the leadership of the Save-the-Union Committee, called a convention in Bellaire to oust the traitors. Oral Daugherty, president of a sub-district in the opposite end of the state, openly advocated surrender of the strike. Various business men's organizations pledged their support to Daugherty. Because he stated publicly what other Lewis officials were advocating not so openly, the machine was forced to expel Daugherty from the Union.

A strong offensive to discredit the progressive movement in the eyes of the



SIXTY-THREE MINERS LIVE IN
Lewis refused to give lumber for barracks when these min-

came ap-
parent. Ev-
en the
Ohio Na-
tional
Guard
made a
gesture of
raising and

distributing milk for the children of strikers from headquarters which boasted more ammunition than food; at the same time they showered bullets upon their parents on the picket lines.

The National Miners Relief Committee, organized by progressive miners as the Pennsylvania Ohio Miners Relief Committee and later

rank and file was waged by the Indian the 45 locals in subdistrict 7 were off-
tion, and by unanimous vote ousted the
Matusek president, Frank Sepich vice-
tary—all progressive coal diggers who
The miners of eastern Ohio are solid



A GROUP OF EVICTED M
No race prejudice here, white and Negroes both evic-

COAL MINERS BE STARVED OUT



THESE TWO TENTS, AVELLA, PA.
Miners were evicted because this is a progressive local.

apolis office. Nevertheless 43 of
cially represented at the conven-
e old officers and elected Robert
resident and Andy Plechady secre-
ad led the fight there.
y behind the movement for a new



MINERS' CHILDREN
d. These strikers children need relief

miners' union to replace the old corrupt shell that was once the powerful United Mine Workers of America.

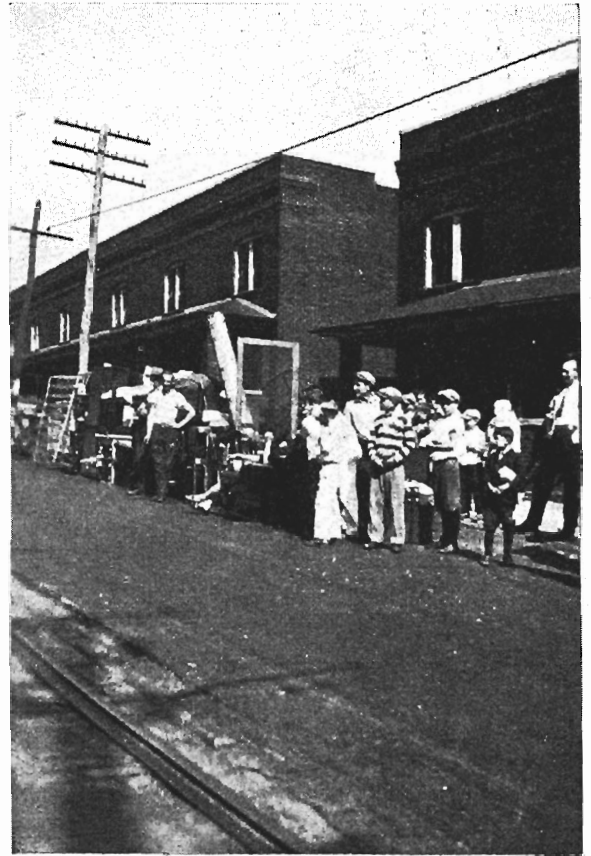
The Ohio National Guard soon ceased even to make a pretense of distributing relief. The miners declare that the Guardsmen tell their committee that the clothing stored in a warehouse is being saved for "possible flood disasters". Following the example of the union machine, Governor Donahey announced that the Ohio National Guard would also discontinue its relief activity. But the Guard still continues to "preserve order" with the aid of tear gas bombs and rifles whenever the strikers appear on picket line.

This re-
o r g a n i z e d
sub district,
like every
other dis-
trict affect-
ed by the
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Lewis' be-
trayals, is
s u f f e r i n g
e x t r e m e
h u n g e r .

The miners there are laying the ground work for building a new miners' union in the face of a great offensive from operators, police, the old corrupt officialdom—and hunger.

The National Miners Relief Committee, an organization of rank and file miners, alone, is straining its resources to keep eastern Ohio and every other striking community from being wiped out by famine. A 100,000 pound shipment of groceries was sent into eastern Ohio last week from the relief headquarters at 611 Penn Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa., and distributed among thousands of hungry fighters. More food must be rushed in—and quickly—to save them from being starved into submission.

Doctors, medicines, defense for arrested strikers—and especially food—these are the demands made upon the National Miners Relief Committee daily. Alfred Wagenknecht, relief director, is mobilizing the 150 relief committees functioning in most of the large centers in the United States and those in Canada, for a National Miners Relief Week from June 25 to July 1st. Miners are visiting unions and other labor organizations and telling them about the struggle in the strike fields and their fight for a new miners' union which will organize and protect the interests of the great masses of workers in the mining industry. Workers everywhere must hurry to the defense of these fighting miners of Ohio and Pennsylvania to save them from starvation. Food, clothing and money is needed by National Miners' Relief Committee, 611 Penn. Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.



AN EVICTION AT HARMARVILLE, PA.
These miners have been thrown out of company houses
shown behind them.

ONE LAW FOR THE RICH

By HENRY GEO. WEISS



ALL night the snow had fallen, the wind blowing it in great drifts and Denver on this particular day, a week before Christmas, lay under a cover of white. Joe West came down the back stairs at an ungodly early hour in the morning—six o'clock to be exact. Ethel was coming home on the 7:04 train and he had to meet her at the station. It was with difficulty that he backed

the car out of the garage, the Cadillac touring. "You had better take the sedan in the morning," aunt Hetty had warned; but he had an idea that the motor under the hood of the "cad" was much better than that possessed by the Packard. This was a belief based on nothing but faith, like the Fundamentalist concept of God and religion, as he knew nothing at all about mechanics, and less again about automobile engines and their relative merits. On the front seat lay the leaflet the shabby looking chap had shoved into his hand the night before. Above some smaller reading matter was printed in large capitals the following: IS THERE ONE LAW FOR THE RICH AND ANOTHER FOR THE POOR? He hastily crumpled the leaflet and threw it to the floor of the garage. It wouldn't do for Ethel to see that. She'd know he'd been to another "Bolshevik" meeting and bawl him out. Serve him right, too, for that matter, but Dan Webster was a good scout, even if he had gone nuts on Marx, and he'd be damned if he was going to throw over a friend because they hollered about it at home. Besides he got a kick out of those meetings. Of course the guys who spoke there were all wrong, though pretty damn plausible. Now this latest stuff, one law for the rich and another for the poor, that was all bunk, of course. He was rich, wasn't he? and hadn't they soaked him a ten-spot last week for speeding? You bet they had! Still and all.....

The car ploughed through the deep snow. In some places the wind had blown the streets almost bare; in others it had piled drifts four to six feet deep. On Colorado Boulevard, however, the car

company had sent a sweeper over the rails and it was possible, by following the tracks, skirting City Park, to get down town without much difficulty, except when he had to turn out for a street car or another automobile. It was bitterly cold. The heavy coat with its great fur collar felt gratefully warm to his neck and his burrowing chin. Just like Ethel, he thought with annoyed affection, coming home at such an unearthly hour. Could've taken a morning train as well as an evening one. Oh, well, he'd be tickled to hug the kid and they'd have a huge breakfast at the Savoy before going home.

* * *

At Larimer street there was a crowd. In the ghostly glimmer of street lights and the paling sky of the east, he saw a number of policemen herding a nondescript bunch of men. One policeman was turning all traffic back to a cross street and down Sixteenth. Joe West stared from uniformed keepers of law and order to sullen-eyed workers milling about. It was possible for him to look along Larimer street, towards Eighteenth, and he saw cheap hotels and lodging-rooms disgorging a protesting flood of humanity,—shabby men and youths mostly in scant clothes, without overcoats, shoes down at the heels. Men, uniformed and otherwise, were driving these unfortunates ahead of them, in some cases swinging clubs and cuffing. "Come on now, move on you—"

"I say, officer," asked Joe, "what's the matter here?"

"Only rounding up the bums and the migratories," said the officer touching his cap.

"But what for?"

"To shovel the streets, sir. Lazy devils don't wanta work, some of 'em, see? But it's that or jail." He spat in the snow.

One of the men on the side-walk was shouting: "I tell you I'm no vag. Ain't I got a right to loaf if I want? Ain't I got a hundred and fifty dollars in the bank? Besides I won't work for two dollars when it oughta be four! I won't!"

A blue-jowled sergeant regarded him without heat. "Take your choice, a shovel or the hoosegow."

"But I ain't a vag. I ain't —"

"Ah shut up," said another cop, "or I'll push your face in."

The watcher from the car shuddered. Why they couldn't make men who had money to pay their way work like that! There must be something wrong some where.

"I say officer," he began; but the officer waved his hand before he could finish the sentence. "It's all right for you, sir, drive right through."

So there was nothing to do but to let out the clutch and go on.

"Look at the dude, will yer," yelled one of the workers. "You don't see him being yanked out and set to work, do yer!"

No, thought Joe, no, you don't. He parked the car inside the Mizpah gate and went into the station. The train was on time, and in the flurry of greeting Ethel he forgot, for a moment, the incident. How pretty and desirable she looked in her warm fur coat and hat. "Miss me, old thing?" she asked, and he kissed her again, unmindful of the staring, smiling people. It wasn't until Ethel said, "Br-r-r, it's cold," that he again thought of the men on the corner, shivering, shaking.

"Why look, Joe," said Ethel as they turned up Seventeenth St., "look at all those men and the cops. What's the matter?"

"They're men from those rooming houses," he said. "The cops are making them shovel the streets."

"But what are they yelling about?"

"I guess some of them don't want to work. But they have to or go to jail."

"And a good thing for them, too. Imagine being so lazy!"

"You don't understand," he said. "Lots of those men had money. The cops had no more right to make them work than they had to make me."

"Don't be silly!"

"But it's true. I'm not working, am I? I'll bet those fellows back there did more hard labor this year than I've done. But the cops didn't yank me out of this car and say 'take a shovel or go to jail.'"

"The idea! The police aren't paid to go around dragging people out of automobiles!"

"Evidently not. Nor out of swell apartment houses either. Think of all the loafers we know who are living off their dads' or their dividends and never work from one year's end to another. You don't catch the police disturbing them!"

"For heaven's sake, Joe!" implored Ethel. "Here I am not five minutes home after being away a month, and you start this stuff. Please, won't you quit it and let me have some peace? Please! And let us go right home, will you? I don't feel like eating at a restaurant." After a few minutes of silence she said viciously: "This comes of your running around with that Dan Webster. He's crazy, and you're getting that way!"

* * *

Joe said nothing. All the way up Seventeenth street he could see the Car company trucks distributing shovels to men in thin coats and low shoes. They were blowing on their hands, poor devils, and hadn't eaten any breakfast yet. He knew they hadn't eaten yet. It was tragical. Couldn't Ethel see the horror

of it? But she was lying back with closed eyes and a martyred look. He threw the gear into high and stepped on the gas. At the garage she got out of the car and went into the house without a word. He felt like a beast who had mistreated her. And yet what had he done? What...

As he stepped from the car, he

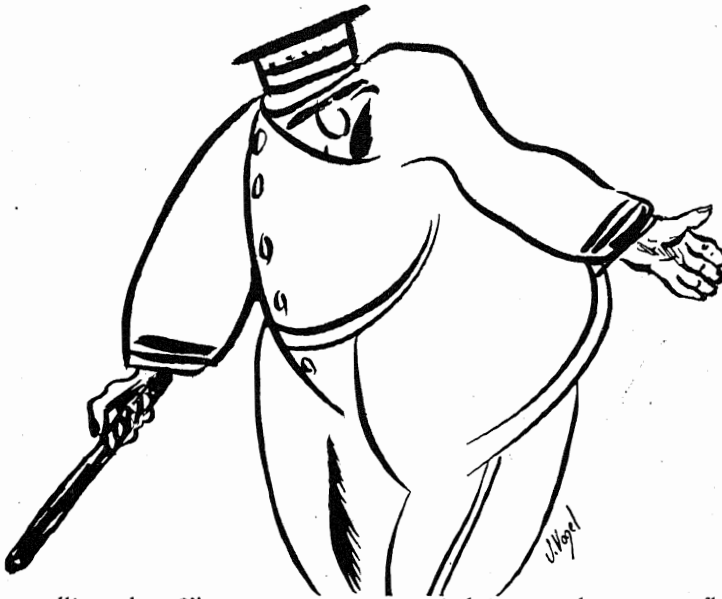
saw it lying on the cement floor of the garage, the leaflet he had thrown away. By some quirk of circumstance, it had straightened out almost flat, and the printed matter was upwards. Almost cynically the big caps demanded: IS THERE ONE LAW FOR THE RICH AND ANOTHER FOR THE POOR?

HENRY CORBISHLY GRANTS AN INTERVIEW

(Continued from page 4)

ler miner's liberation. He knew that the spirit in which he had fought was spreading throughout the country with greater impetus day by day.

Yes, the spirit of Corbishly and his colleagues is today manifesting itself through the great National Conference of April 1st, at Pittsburgh; the many District Conventions, the Sub-District Conventions, the National Conference which has just called a National Convention, and onward to victory for the upbuilding of a powerful movement





THE PROBLEMS FACING Working Class Women Today

By OLGA GOLD

(Member of Executive Committee of New York Federation of Working Women)

OLGA GOLD

WITH the growth of Imperialism and the invention of labor saving machinery, a change takes place in the economic life of the working class.

Conquest and exploitation is the function of a capitalist system. Its purpose is to increase the wealth of the idlers and to increase the poverty and misery of the laboring masses. In a system where the life of the masses has to depend on the will of the few, (the oppressors) obviously the introduction of machinery with its simplification of the technique of production is not with intention to improve the material living conditions of laboring masses, securing shorter hours and higher wages, as in the U. S. S. R. where the workers, the producers are the rulers. All improvements in the U.S.S.R. are for the betterment of the masses where they receive full value for their work and not for parasite bosses who do nothing useful. In a profit system, machinery is used as a means to exploit the workers more, to compel the worker to accept less for the value of his production.

Not only is machinery used in a profit system as a factor to replace thousands of workers because it lessens the number of hours it takes to produce, but also the capitalists have discovered that woman is much cheaper and more willing labor. Statements below (from the Fall River and New Jersey Commissions' report) indicate why the bosses are delighted to have women toil.

Fall River—"We never employ men when we can get women who can do their work just as well; this is done not only on account of the reduced expenses, but because they cause less trouble by striking".

New Jersey—"Woman and Child Labor is much lower priced than that of men. Women never agitate, they merely scrimp and bear."

This proves clearly and plainly why the bosses prefer women and child labor to men.

Poverty, miserable exploitation, the meager earnings of the men, the daily struggle for bread, forces the women into industry; mothers are compelled to

leave their little ones and to work in factories, mills or shops to support them. According to a report of the labor commission in 1920, there are 8,500,000 women wage earners in the U.S.A. of whom 2,000,000 are married. Without hesitation we may state that at present at least from ten to eleven million are working for maintenance. In a number of important manufacturing industries women predominate. The industries in which a great number of women are employed are the most oppressed and unorganized, such as the textile, canning, candy, paper-box, certain sections of the needle industry, etc. The employers are taking full advantage of the backwardness of development of women and seek to oppress and exploit them more and more. They make repeated attempts to cut wages, and to increase the hours, as for example in the textile industry, where about 50% to 60% of the workers are women.

The following table, shows some of the important industries in which women are employed and the extent to which they are members of the trade unions.

Trade	No. of women employed	No. in trade unions	
		1920	— 1924
Textile	471,466	40,500	20,000
Needle Trade	368,506	172,700	122,461
Food Workers	93,140	5,400	850
Machinists and Foundry (Iron and Steel)	72,180	500	150
Leather Boots & Shoes	89,396	38,100	9,553
Sheet metal diamond workers and metal polishers.	70,395		128
Cigar and tobacco	97,822	13,200	3,140
Telephone, telegraph, commercial, railroad and electrical	196,171	13,800	3,300
Street Railway	211,651		1,000
Retail clerks	556,651	2,900	2,000
Domestic and personal services, hotel emp and laundry workers	1,935,510	11,600	9,000

A research investigation shows that the average wage worker produces between \$4,000 or \$5,000 worth of wealth a year. Their wages average \$800 to \$1,000 per year.

Today women are not only a reserve army to the bosses, to keep the wages down and to break the union (where one exists), to increase unemployment and become strikebreakers in times of struggle between workers and oppressors. But in the preparation for the next war, and during war, we must realize that women will not only be pressed into production for war purposes, but they will be called upon to take a direct part, to take the gun and to murder fellow workers of other nations, who are victims as we are of the sinister powers of the "Wall Streets" of the imperialist nations, who ring the bell for war.

We, the working women, must open our eyes consciously in regard to our role in the new world war, especially in America, the most powerful capitalist country, which by its technical development, determined the issue of the last world war, and which will play a leading part in the coming war.

Patriotic Groups

Today the capitalists are not only mobilizing and training the men and the youth, but they have reached the stage where they are mobilizing and training the women for military service. For instance, the Lotte Swiard organization in Finland, has 45,000 women members, who are being trained for military service in the army during the war. The Lotte Swiard was created in the year 1918, the time when the Finnish bourgeoisie with the aid of the invading imperialist forces drowned the revolutionary movement of the Finnish working class in blood. In Latvia, military defense organizations include special women's corps. In Poland, the Anti-Bolshevik League have attached to them the national women's organizations and many other womens' organizations. The French military law in the Chamber during the latter part of 1927, reads as follows: "In time of war, all Frenchmen and those under French administration (no discrimination against allies getting killed, O. G.) regardless of age or sex, and all legal organizations must take part in the defense of the country or in the maintenance of its material and moral life." Also it is not an accident that in America, the capitalists are systematically applying all sorts of schemes to capture and to mobilize the working women through such agencies as the National Women's Party.

As an example, the Daughters of the American Revolution, which is one of the most reactionary women's organizations, was recently exposed as maintaining a blacklist of prominent men and women

some of whom cannot be considered even as "progressives" to prevent them from addressing any section of their organization. These "liberals" had merely expressed their dissatisfaction with the imperialistic policy of the State Department. Now, what is facing the real class-conscious leaders of the toiling masses who do not merely limit themselves to resolutions and criticisms, but actually organize and mobilize the workers?

Are we working women not ashamed of the fact that bourgeoisie women are more consciously and energetically defending their own class interests?

Heroic Miners' Wives

An article written today, pertaining to working women, can not however, be considered complete, without saying a word or two about the heroic women in the mine fields. These women, who suffer hunger, eviction and cold, and witness the slow dying of their little ones, and yet have shown by their deeds, unyielding militancy and devotion to their class. These courageous women act as a spur of inspiration to the awakening of working women.

Sisters, your struggle is our struggle. We are confronted with the same enemy. In the richest city of the world, we are confronted with hundreds of thousands of workers looking for work and shelter. We are engaged in a fight with such elements of labor betrayers as Sigman, Woll, McGrady, Beckerman who are backed by Tammany Hall and The Forward. We, the class-conscious working women will help you, not only morally but financially as well. Our slogan is "Every working woman join a relief committee for miners' relief," "Working Women, build militant labor unions, Working Women organize in a mighty campaign to defeat the Wall Street war and for the defense of the Soviet Union, the Bulwark of the International Proletariat."

MINERS SEND REGRETS

The following cablegram has been received by the Trade Union Educational League from the International Committee for Propaganda and Action of the Revolutionary Miners:

"MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.—We express the deepest regret over the death of Comrade Haywood, revolutionary leader of the American metal miners. The present heroic struggle of the American coal miners proves the militant spirit of Big Bill lives and will finally conquer our class enemies."

The 4th World Congress of the Red International

By JACK JOHNSTONE

Chairman American delegation Fourth R.I.L.U. Congress, Member of General Council R.I.L.U.

THE state of world capitalism at the opening of the fourth Red International of Labor Unions congress held in Moscow, in March and April can be briefly summarized as follows: the sharpening of capitalist contradiction marked by the strained relations between rival imperialist nations, and classes within these nations, and the continuation, upon a new basis, of the crisis in capitalist economy, emphasizing the decaying process of world capitalism, its endeavor to re-divide the world for the establishment of new markets, new spheres of influence, increasing imperialist rivalry developing in its course the creation of great armaments, new military alignments and open preparations for new imperialist wars.

The growing financial and economic power and aggressiveness of American imperialism; the progressive decay and consequent weakening of resistance of Great Britain which has been since the world war losing a dominant world position in capitalist economy; the coming forward with colonial claims by the German bourgeoisie; the sharp struggles of other imperialist nations for their "share" of the world markets; the tremendous increase in the concentration of capital; great industrial mergers which more and more openly subordinate the machinery of the government to their use, do not tend to overcome capitalist contradictions but on the contrary develop these contradictions to a more acute stage.

A World Fight

Whatever success has been achieved in capitalist stabilization has been accomplished at the expense of the working class, and world capitalism is again attempting to overcome the sharpening of these contradictions at the expense of the working class. The sham character of capitalist stabilization is rudely exposed by the continued growth of socialist economy in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. No better illustration can be given than the effects upon the working class the world over of the rationalization of industry. In the Soviet Union this means increases in living standards with the objective of a general seven hour day which has actually gone into effect in some industries; in the capitalist world it means wage-cuts, lengthening of the work day, and the progressive growth of that gaunt spectre of unemployment.

The similarity of the stages in the employers' offensive against the workers, though in different countries different stages have been reached, the Congress

declares indicates the necessity of closer relations between workers' movements in the various countries. The expulsion policy of union bureaucrats in all countries shows that they do not have the workers with them, and cannot rely on Democratic forms. A clear cut division is more evident, workers on one side, and capitalists, their governments, the socialist party leaders, on the other. The employer side is as yet the better organized, has won most of the big fights recently, and is forcing through laws to make strikes illegal in many countries. The result is wage cuts, and longer hours, and lower standards of living for workers.*

The fusion of Amsterdam with capitalism finds the socialist trade union bureaucrats, allied with the Greens and Wolls, the Purcells and Hechs, with the Thomases and MacDonalds, all of them, for peace in industry and struggle against the left wing. Their power is not the power of leaders whom the workers follow ideologically, for the left wing to base its struggle upon this false conception would be wrong. If they were entrenched as the ideological leaders of the workers, they would not have to adopt an expulsion policy and reign of terror against the workers. This fascist policy has the same base as Mussolini's reign of terror. Democracy no longer can be used to serve their purpose; the workers no longer support them. The power of the Socialist and trade union bureaucracy, on a world scale, lies in the fact that they have the support of the capitalist governments, and as capitalism declines so will they be more and more depended upon to betray, in a greater scale than before, the cause of the workers.

The differences that rock the Amsterdam International and likewise its political reflection, the 2nd International, is not a difference over working class policy, or the strengthening of strike struggles. The differences that appear and are so bitter, are exactly those same differences that exist between the imperialist countries they represent. That is why they cannot even agree where the headquarters of the I.F.T.U. shall be.

While the world situation since the last congress of the R.I.L.U. (1924) can be characterized by the intensification of the capitalist offensive against the workers in all countries, (imperialist, colonial and

*Note—The points in this paragraph are developed in the thesis of the Congress, now running serially in Labor Unity. Some of the points above are in the first installment, of which single copies can be had free by writing to Labor Unity and enclosing 4 cents postage.

semi-colonial), by the swing of the social-democrats and trade-union bureaucracy further to the right, the break-down of the Anglo-Russian committee for trade union unity caused by the treachery of the Purcell reformists, the degeneracy of the Kuomintang from its revolutionary nationalist program to that of accepting the imperialist program and becoming an integral part of the Chinese counter-revolutionary forces; the drive of American imperialism to strengthening its world power, toward smashing Latin-American opposition, (in Europe, the Dawes plan, etc.); the partial success of world imperialism in the formation of a united capitalist front to encircle the Soviet Union with an economic and financial boycott (America, France, England and now Germany has joined these forces) is simply a beginning of a more militant military intervention. World imperialism, trying to reach an agreement the basis of which is to act unitedly in a war against the U.S.S.R. is the most important feature of the present period.

New Proletarian Armies

On the other side of the picture, we see new proletarian forces come into being, new working classes appearing (India, China and other countries) which a few years ago were purely agrarian; in America, the industrialization of the South, which is beginning to break down the agrarian base of the negro workers, causing an important move in the direction of working-class hegemony; new and virile movements coming into being in the colonial and semi-colonial countries; the creation of the Pan-Pacific secretariat, the Latin-American secretariat, the necessity of forming five main groups of countries: 1. Central-European group; 2. Balkan countries and Hungary; 3. Latin countries, the Philippines, the Near East, and the whole of Africa, (within the R.I.L.U.); the swing to the left of the masses in imperialist countries, England, France, Germany, U.S.A., making possible a more direct application of policy and open struggle against trade union and social-democratic bureaucrats. The growing strength of the Russian trade unions, the important part they play in the building of Socialist economy, their splendid support of the British general strike, the growing sympathetic support of the rank-and-file of the trade unions for U.S.S.R.: all are indications of the developing ideological power of the R.I.L.U.

The swing of the workers to the left in its highest form is shown in the clarification of the movement upon a world scale: in China, the birth of a Communist Party and an R.I.L.U. section that was born under fire; in India, the last remnants of pacifist illusions being swept aside for militant revolutionary struggle; the crystallization of trade union forces of

Latin-America into concrete organization; the growing ideological and organizational strength of the Pan-Pacific workers; the polling of over 1,000,000 Communist votes in France in the last election and 3½ million in Germany; the growing ideological leadership of the German Communists in the present strike of metal workers, drawing large sections of Social Democratic Workers under their leadership; in America, a definite swing of the workers to the left (miners', textile, boot and shoe strikers, etc.), under the leadership of the left wing, while the capitalist offensive is a force driving the workers to the left. The real driving force for revolutionary activity is the growing power of the Soviet Union. Many other points could be mentioned to show that the world's workers are now fighting upon a higher political plane with a clearer understanding of the objective of world imperialism.

Self Criticism

The congress was severe in its criticism not only of itself as an international, but of its various sections.

This criticism has been taken up by the enemies of the workers the world over, but the adherents of the R.I.L.U. must learn to answer these critics of self-criticism and tear off their hypocritical mask behind which further betrayals of the workers are being planned.

In America we have now entered a new period where employers call for greater and cheaper mass production in order to compete in the world market. This new period finds expression in the present deepening industrial crisis so that even now the opening up of seasonal work, has not caused to be disturbed to any degree the serious unemployment situation. It begins with fresh and more militant onslaught on the living standards of the workers, this coupled with the surrender policy of the trade union bureaucracy finds the labor movement in a deep crisis and unable to meet this offensive in a well directed organized resistance.

Assorted Wage Cuts

Among the unorganized unskilled workers this attack takes the form of wide-spread wage cuts, not only direct wage cuts, but also in the form of speed-up, or as in Ford's plant, speed-up plus the laying off of old employees and the re-hiring of them at the minimum wage scale. Among the organized workers it has also taken the form of a direct attack to smash the unions, this finding its most militant expression in the miners' lock-out. It is true that in certain sections of skilled workers no direct wage cuts have taken place, American capitalism still being in the position to bribe, through the granting of a privileged position, sections of skilled workers, but the

characteristic of the period is a general offensive against the workers, in which the government is participating by the wide-spread use of injunctions, court procedure, etc., and in which the trade union bureaucrats are co-operating with the employers in an effort to outlaw strikes by legislative action as illustrated by the Watson Parker law and the proposed Federal Anti-strike law. In the development of their class collaboration policy the trade union and socialist bureaucrats in co-operation with the employers and police, are conducting a war against the interest of the workers through means of expulsions, revocation of charters, gunmen terrorism and the typical American frame-up against the fighting militants. The slugging, the arrest and frame-up of the pickets and left-wing leaders in the miners' struggle, the drafting of the Boston police as a part of the credential committee to keep the left-wing out of the hand-picked, Zigman-Woll, "The Forward", "Ladies Garment Workers" convention in Boston are the latest expression of this unsavory alliance.

The growing industrial depression, the general offensive against the workers, the betrayal of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and the refusal to lead the workers in struggle, the increasing use of the state against the workers, all point to a sharpening of the class-struggle. It is therefore necessary for the left-wing to prepare its forces for more frequent and determining mass struggle. In this period of developing mass action the success of the workers in these struggles will depend upon the development of the T. U. E. L. as the leader and organizer of these struggles.

T.U.E.L. Policy

The capitalist offensive since the World War has reduced the base of the trade unions in America to that of mostly skilled and privileged workers; the U.M.W. of A. the only mass union left in a basic industry, is being systematically destroyed by the combined forces of the coal operators, the Lewis bureaucracy and the government. The swing of the trade union leaders to the right, the widening of the gap, ideologically as in living standards between the skilled and the unskilled workers, makes it impossible to depend upon either the leaders or the unions to organize and fight for the most exploited section of the working class, the unskilled, and any labor movement that leaves out of its focus this main and determining section of the working class, can be no longer used as a main base from which to conduct the struggles of the workers.

Having this in mind the T.U.E.L. while intensifying its activities in the existing trade unions, must focus its attention upon the unorganized unskilled workers, to rally the left wing forces to actually organize the workers in unorganized industries into new

unions. This period which points a sharpening of the class struggle, demands a higher form of unionism not only in structure but in policy. While it can be said that the capitalist of the United States will never again enjoy such a long period of prosperity as we have just left behind, it would be equally incorrect to say that the present crisis will not be overcome. American imperialism, the most powerful the world has ever produced, has yet a tremendous reserve force. It can and will overcome the present crisis. However, the extent that this will be done at the expense of the workers depends upon the left wing forces. The close of this period should be characterized by a thorough exposure of the trade union and Socialist bureaucracy as agents of the employers, by a halting of the offensive against the workers, the winning of substantial victories by the workers, the setting up of new and higher forms of unionism that can be used as added pressure to win the workers in the old unions away from the influence and for the overthrow of the labor bureaucracy, and the establishment of a militant leadership.

Changed Emphasis

The sharp criticism directed at the left-wing in the U. S. A. by the fourth congress of the R.I.L.U. was intended to focus their attention on this new emphasis on the building of new unions, the propagation of which has always been a part of the T.U.E.L. program. But this does not mean a desertion of the old unions, or an endorsement of the dual union philosophy of the I.W.W. The left-wing will work in the old unions and the I.W.W. wherever they have a mass following and try to unify the workers in these organizations to the support of the T.U.E.L. program of action.

The vital and immediate task of the T.U.E.L. and the left wing in general is to become the organization leading the struggles to organize the unorganized, especially in mining, steel, oil, automobile, rubber, textile, chemicals, marine transport and lumber industries. Of course this is a big order, one that will test the strength and leadership of the left-wing. In all these industries definite plans of work must be drawn up and carried out around programs of concrete and immediate demands.

The Extra-Oppressed

Another point of main importance considered by the congress was the need of organizing the Negro workers, and to fight against all discrimination against the Negroes upon a world scale. In America this problem has as yet merely been a talking point, definite action must be taken by the left wing. There are two fronts in the war against the Negro, the race and the class struggle, both fronts must be fought on

simultaneously and the race problem connected with that of the class struggle. In the organizing of the unorganized the struggle of the Negro workers must be intensified against prejudice and in the organizing of new unions race equality must take place of race prejudice.

Rationalization of industry to a greater degree than ever is also utilizing women and youth in industry to reduce the standard of living of the working class as a whole. Unorganized and lacking experience they become at first an easy prey for the employers, on the other hand every strike brings out in broad relief the important part played by women and youth in the conduct and leadership of strikes.

In the drive to draw the American workers into left-wing activities, we must remember that the Negroes and the youth constitute the bulk of the native-born Americans and are among the most exploited workers in industry.

Many other major questions of world importance were discussed and programs of action drawn up, especially the struggle against Fascism, strike strategy, the struggle of the Penn-Ohio-Colorado miners; the

British general strike, and the German metal workers' strike received major attention, also strengthening of the trade unions in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, and the connecting of these struggles with the program of action of the R.I.L.U. sections in the imperialist countries, the organizing of the unemployed and the demand for their maintenance. In connection with this the congress severely criticized its sections for their organizational weakness, their organization in almost every country was much weaker than their ideological strength.

Without doubt the 4th congress set a new and higher political level than that of previous congresses, expressing in its action the developing class consciousness of the world workers, the steady growth of revolutionary unionism in the colonial and semi-colonial peoples. That it is a movement of the youth is shown in the fact that over 70% of the delegates were between the ages of 20 and 39 years. This brief and inadequate digest of the congress will be supplemented by a written report and published by the T.U.E.L. in pamphlet form covering the main reports and programs of action adopted by the congress.

The Red International Program

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

IV. Leaders Move to Right, Masses to Left

AS far as the bourgeoisie is concerned, the successful offensive of the capitalists on the workers' standards of living is giving positive results in consequence of: (a) The actual assistance given by the reformist trade union machinery. (b) The possibility of utilizing the cheap labor of the colonies in place of the dear labor of the capitalist countries. (c) The weak organization of the workers—disruption and disunity of the trade unions. But these same causes are infecting the masses with new sentiments which find their expression in: (a) A growing lack of confidence in their leaders. (b) Attempts to take independent action against the capitalist offensive without and often against the reformist trade union leaders. (c) Growing sympathy with the U.S.S.R. (d) The formation of Friends of Russia Groups in many countries. (e) Greater interest in the labor movement of the colonies and in the Chinese labor movement in particular. (f) An increase in the influence of the R.I.L.U. affiliated organization. (g) A greater will on the part of the masses to resist the capitalist offensive.

This leftward drift of the masses which is evidenced in demonstrations at elections, in spontaneous and what are called "wild" strikes, is not entirely of a solid character. The various sections of the working class are moving to the left in various ways (away from conservative voting to the supporting of the reformists;

away from the support of the reformists towards the support of the Communists), this process taking a zig-zag, round-about way. Left wing but undeveloped sentiment, very strong in the reformist unions during the existence of the Anglo-Russian Committee which was also expressed in the setting up of unity groups, has at the present time taken fairly definite shape in a number of countries. The breaking of the Anglo-Russian Committee has brought about a process of political differentiation in the left wing of the Amsterdam International—certain of the left wingers, especially the leaders, have followed the General Council, while part have gone with the Russian Trade Union Council. On the other hand, the growing left sentiment in the masses inevitably faces each worker with the question of whom he is to go with—with Amsterdam or with Moscow. This has led to an increase in the ideological influence of the R.I.L.U. in all countries and to the R.I.L.U. supporters playing a greater part in all economical and political fights of the working class. But the ideological crystallization of the revolutionary wing of the labor movement has gone far ahead of its organizational consolidation of this influence over the masses. This discrepancy will have to be done away with at all costs and as speedily as possible. This leftward drift of the masses organized inside the reformist unions makes it imperative that we wage a more intensive and determined struggle to withdraw the trade union bu-

traucrats from their posts and to drive them out of the trade union movement as people who have completely linked up their fate with the bourgeois State and whose further leadership of the trade unions threatens their very existence.

V. Capitalist Rationalization and its Consequences

Aiming at decreasing the cost of production with a view to increasing competitive ability on the world markets, the capitalist rationalization now being carried out in all capitalist countries at the expense of the working class has already revealed all its negative features to a sufficient extent. Capitalist rationalization signifies the raising of capitalist profits, the increasing of the power of the capitalists at the expense of the working masses by: 1. Destroying the eight-hour working day and lengthening it to 10 and even 12 hours (Italy, Germany, etc.). 2. Throwing out of production considerable sections of the proletariat and consolidating the standing army of the unemployed. 3. Directly and indirectly cutting wages (Britain, Czecho-Slovakia, France, Italy, etc.). 4. Increasing to an exceptional extent the intensity of labor which is not compensated for by corresponding raising of the standard of living and improved working conditions (Germany, Japan,

U. S. A., etc.) 5. More rapidly wearing out, breaking down, and exhausting the worker's organism, thus increasing and spreading illness, leading to higher mortality, etc. 6. Greatly increasing the specific gravity in the factories of the unskilled workers and of women workers and the youth. 7. Making it easier to replace workers during disputes, owing to the influx of unskilled workers from the villages, etc. 8. Creating more obstacles to prevent the raising of the cultural level of the working masses.

Against all these evils connected with capitalist rationalization, it is essential to fight on the basis of concrete demands, namely: 1. For the 7-hour working day, or 2. for the retention of the eight-hour working day. 3. For higher wages. 4. Against overtime work. 5. For an annual fortnight's holiday as minimum on full average wages and for an annual month's holiday for workers in heavy and harmful occupations, as well as for young workers.

The struggle against all the evils resultant on capitalist rationalization will be all the more successful the larger the number of workers the R.I.L.U. supporters prove able to organize and the greater the activity the working masses develop in fighting the latest and most refined forms and methods of exploitation.

(To be continued)

Miners Want a New Union

(Continued from page 3)

all fields and the policy of one national agreement were supported by the rank and file representation at the first convention Lewis presided over when he assumed the presidency about ten years ago. As the years went by, and Lewis grasped the union machinery more firmly, these and other policies were flagrantly violated. The progressive spirit was choked. Conventions were packed, elections stolen, and the union was kept under his control by gangster methods. George Voyzey's votes in the 1924 election were stolen and then John Brophy's in 1926, and Lewis continued in office illegally.

"With its program of always retreating and with close support from coal operators," the call continues, "the Lewis gang has systematically warred against all militancy in the union, ruthlessly expelling the best fighters, among the miners, simply because they dared insist upon a progressive, fighting policy, a real defense of the miners' interests."

When the strike situation in the bituminous fields became more and more critical as a result of Lewis' ruinous policies, the rank and file decided to take matters into their own hands. The April 1, National Conference of over a thousand delegates met in Pittsburgh to analyze the union and strike situations, and draw up a program to save the union and win the strike. "Lewis must go", "Spread the strike", "One national agreement" and "Miners take control of your union" were among the leading slogans advocated. The strike in the unorganized field was called,

which later resulted in the formation of the Westmoreland County Miners Union. Delegates returned home to stimulate picket line activity in spite of the reactionary machines' disapproval, and organize district and sub-district conventions to take over the union machinery. Then the Lewis clique, thoroughly alarmed, declared all delegates expelled from the union. Where locals refused to comply, charters were revoked and relief cut off.

Illinois took the lead. A complete slate of progressives headed by George Voyzey as district president, Luke Coffey, vice president and Dan Slinger, secretary, was elected. The exorbitant salaries of officers were cut to \$7.50 a day, the Jacksonville scale of wages which the striking miners are now fighting to maintain. Salaries had been raised immediately before the strike. In discussing this aspect, the call declares, "The depths of the U. M. W. A. officials' corruption was clearly shown up at the last International Convention where Lewis and Murray used the packed delegations to raise their salaries to \$12,000 and \$9,000 yearly, although the union faced a life and death crisis. All through the long bitter months that the Pennsylvania and Ohio miners have been starving and striking on a dollar or two a week relief money, these false leaders drew their enormous salaries and lived on the fat of the land. From such venal, corrupt leaders, the miners can only expect treachery and defeat".

Ohio and Pennsylvania soon followed, and ousted

their reactionary officials and elected progressive leadership. Constitutions were revised. All appointive power was revoked, putting an end to "one man power". Here too, the salary was decreased to \$7.50 a day. No salaries would be paid during strikes, the conventions declared. Sub-district conventions followed. A convention is called to meet in Kansas. District 14, on July 1.

But soon it became apparent that the Lewis gang was hanging on to the union with a deadly grasp, and that it was impossible to overcome the obstacles of gangster control, election steals and terrorization to budge the corrupt Lewis machine and rebuild the U. M. W. A.

"Democracy is dead in the U. M. A.," the progressives point out in the call for the Sept Convention. The Lewis officials, tools of the operators and hoplessly reactionary, refuse themselves to undertake measures necessary to revive the union, and, with the help of the operators, block every effort of the rank and file to enforce the adoption of such policies. During the past two years, the masses of miners, in the Save-the-Union movement, have demanded and fought for the necessary changes in leadership and in policy.

Members Demand Control

"We have pointed out the deadly, ever deepening crisis of the union," it enumerates. "We have carried majorities in union election and conventions. We have held protest conferences in many districts, culminating in the great national conference of 1,125 delegates in Pittsburgh, April 1st. We have started direct campaigns to organize the unorganized in the U. M. W. A. We have tried to spread the present strike nationally so that it might be won."

This struggle failed to remove the Lewis clique who maintained their power with the help of the operators and gangster rule. "Our efforts to elect an honest leadership have been defeated by wholesale stealing of elections. Shameful packing of the union conventions with false delegates has stripped the convention of all rank and file expression. Our efforts to develop the U. M. W. A. into a fighting organization were resisted by expulsions from the union and blacklist from the industry."

Finally, under the leadership of the progressive officialdom of district five, Pennsylvania, representatives from all districts of the U. M. W. A. and the unorganized field were invited to this national conference in Pittsburgh June 12, which voted unanimously to call a National Convention to build a new miners' union. Progressive officers at recent conventions, and leading progressive miners from other districts came together.

"We must not surrender the rank and file organization in the U. M. W. A. to the Lewis machine,"

they said. "We must now all unite to unload these false leaders and to build a real miners' union. To depend further on the broken U. M. W. A. as our union, would be for us to sink deeper and deeper into open shop slavery. We must take the situation in hand ourselves and break the control of the Lewis gang.

"We must organize a new miners' union, one with an honest progressive leadership and a fighting policy. In this way alone can we organize the unorganized, resist wag cuts, bring about the 6 hour day and 5 day week, relieve unemployment, and establish a national agreement for all miners. Only a new union can shatter the control of the Lewis machine. Only with a new vigorous powerful union can we put a halt to the open shop drive of the operators and re-establish union conditions in the mining industry and prepare ourselves for the great struggles ahead in the industry."

Confronted with this new development, the machine officialdom is functioning more and more openly in harmony with the employers. District organizers are telling the miners to go back to work, pay their dues to the old union officialdom and "you can still be good union men." Even to the most near-sighted, this strike-breaking, corrupt, union-wrecking move is obvious.

The miners are convinced that open shopdom awaits them, with its starvation wages and inhuman working conditions unless they free themselves from the strangling clutch of the Lewis crowd and build a fighting union which will protect the interests of the workers and not the operators. The organization of the unorganized is recognized as a primary task.

"Workers of the whole labor movement," the miners are appealing in their call, "Support the National Miners' Convention. Our fight is your fight. Our struggle against the reactionary Lewis machine, which has wrecked our union, is part of your general fight against the whole corrupt A. F. of L. leadership, which has brought the entire labor movement into a deep crisis.

Relief Needed

"Support the Pennsylvania-Ohio strike. Send all relief contributions to the National Miners Relief Committee, 611 Penn. Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.

"Miners, stand together!" the call urges in conclusion. "Lewis and his whole corrupt machine must go. Build a new Miners' Union! Come to the National Miners' Convention."

Within the next three months this demand for militant action will be echoed and re-echoed in every local miners' union and every camp where there are unorganized coal diggers.

Correction: The Editor regrets that the picture on Page 2 of the June issue showing Negro and white pickets is not as stated a miners' but a textile photo. Labor Unity intends to be absolutely accurate in these matters but in this case was itself misinformed.



WAL HANNINGTON

THE BETRAYAL OF THE BRITISH METAL WORKERS

By WAL HANNINGTON

(General Secretary, Metal Workers' Section, National Minority Movement.)

This following comprehensive article written for LABOR UNITY on the situation in the British metal industry is by one prominent in the Amalgamated Engineering Union, and a well-known fighting leader of the Machinists. Hannington has also won fame as a National Organiser of the British unemployed organisation, and recently became nationally known in Britain as the leader of the Welsh Miners' March to London.

THE situation confronting the British Metalworkers is a complex and serious one. The whole question of the future: wages, hours and conditions, is in the balance. The relationship of forces of the employers and the unions is a subject for interesting enquiry; the multiplicity of unions and the inter-union friction call for drastic reorganisation; whilst the self-satisfied right wing leadership needs a serious operation of spring cleaning.

That the conditions of the British engineering workers are serious, can be seen by the low basic wage rates at present obtaining in the industry.

For a 47-hour week the wage for skilled worker is £3 2. 11d (\$15.28) in London, and £2 13. 6d (\$14.16) in the provinces; about 46% above 1914 rates, whilst the cost of living figure is according to Government statistics 66% above 1914 level. For labor classified as unskilled the wage rate is about 76% above 1914 rates, but even so, the actual cash received is only 40 shillings (\$9.60) per week on the average.

When considering the standard of living of the workers we must not forget the important question of unemployment. The British metal industry, like all the basic heavy industries, has been more affected by unemployment since 1920, than ever before in the history of British capitalism.

The total number of insured workers covering the whole industry of metal manufacture and engineering, iron and steel, electrical, vehicle construction and shipbuilding, is 2,152,410 for Great Britain and Northern Ireland. The number recorded as unemployed on February 20th, 1928, was 243,595, which is more than 10% of the insured workers in the industry.

Even these figures do not show the full volume of unemployment, because they are the figures covering only those persons who register as unemployed at the Labour Exchange. There are tens of thousands of workers no longer registering, because they are the victims of the Government's economy restrictions, and owing to a long period of unemployment have exhausted their right to benefit, or have been denied benefit on various other grounds.

Another factor which must also enter into our considerations is the question of workshop conditions. The speeding-up process is a special feature in the metal industry. It received its chief impetus during the war years of 1914-1918. Most of the old craft protection practices were completely sacrificed during that period on grounds of national emergency, and al-

though the government of that day made solemn pledges for their restoration after the war, of course no such pledge has been kept; and those trade union leaders who so patriotically assented to the sacrifice are revealed as fools, or rogues, probably both.

Greater Exploitation

An elementary knowledge of capitalist methods tells us that capitalism never willingly returns to old methods of production, when by a more intensive and scientific exploitation of the workers it has reached a stage of greater and cheaper production.

The sub-division of labor in tool rooms, as well as the production shops, is rapidly eliminating craft and skill. The metal worker is becoming more and more a slave to the machine, its operation determining his motions, and speeding up his actions. Yet we may have by no means reached the limit of this development. Schemes of capitalist rationalisation are looming ahead. It is clear that the new rationalisation policy of the employers will surpass anything heretofore attempted.

In considering the position of the employers it is necessary to remember the financial adventures of most of the leading companies during the war years and immediately after. Amalgamation of firms took place on a large scale and was carried out by means of reckless financial jugglery, in which reserves were used to buy up other concerns at inflated prices, in order to eliminate competitors. Money was raised from the banks at high interest, the watering of capital by issuing bonus shares became a common practice to cover up the enormous profits that were being made. The result is that the industry is heavily over-capitalised.

Coming to the question of the wage negotiations, in May 1924, the executives of the numerous engineering unions made application for a wage advance, due to the pressure from the rank and file who refused to remain quiet any longer under their bad conditions.

Forty-one Union Executives met the United Engineering & Allied Employers' Federation, of which Sir Allan Smith is president. There was no united demand by the unions, but five of them at the head of which was the A. E. U., had a demand for 20 shillings (\$4.80) increase per week. The other unions had varying demands down to \$1 per week. The division existing between the unions was fully exploited by Sir Allan Smith, who even chided the union executives on "not knowing what they did want".

During this period the metal workers' section of

the National Minority Movement was steadily building up its strength, and, in August, 1924, the First Congress of the National Minority Movement was held in London. At that Congress the following programme was endorsed by the Metalworkers' Section:

1. An increase in wages of 20 shillings per week to all grades, with an ultimate demand of £4. per week minimum wage.
2. A 44-hour working week.
3. The establishment of factory committees.
4. A campaign for 100% trade unionism.
5. Complete organisation of all women in the industry.
6. Control by the unions of all youths and apprentices.
7. The collaboration of all unions in the industry for united demands to the employers, and for united industrial action.
8. Amalgamation of all unions with the object of one union for all metal workers.
9. Affiliation of all unions to the International Metalworkers' Federation and full support to the request of the Russian Metalworkers' Union for admittance into this International.

This programme aroused considerable interest inside the unions, particularly the clause in article 7 calling for a Joint Negotiating Committee and a united demand. The result was that the union executives were compelled to set up a Joint National Negotiating Committee and to place a united demand for a 20 shillings increase before the employers.

The history of the negotiations which followed with the employers is enough to make all honest trade unionists weep. The unions stated a case to the employers, the employers replied. The unions again met the employers, who claimed that new questions were being raised which necessitated their careful consideration and reply, and so the tomfoolery went on for 3½ years. During the whole of this time the workers were getting impatient, dissatisfied and disgusted, so much so, that thousands were leaving the unions every month; until in June 1926 the membership of the Amalgamated Engineering Union had dropped roughly to 200,000, compared with 420,000 in 1920.

In reply to the union's demand for 20 shillings, the employers, towards the end of 1925, put forward counter-claims for an increased working week and reductions in night shift an overtime rates.

The refusal of the unions to accept these counter-claims led to the complete breaking off of negotiations in April 1926, when the employers presented an ultimatum to the unions declaring that any action for a wage increase in any district would be immediately met by a national lock-out by the employers. Two years of conciliation and pleading on the part of union executives brought no gains to the workers, but only a threat of a lock-out to which the union leaders were too cowardly to reply. Whenever there was any threat of a strike on the part of the workers it was smashed, not by the employers but by the leaders of the unions.

On May 19th, 1927, the unions again met the employers and this time completely threw overboard the original claim for 20 shillings. They asked for 5 shillings and then they asked for 2 shillings 6 pence but the employers would concede nothing but a 2 shilling advance with certain conditions. The conditions were

such that the unions replied to the employers in the following terms:

"We cannot accept this. In our opinion your proposal is calculated to create a division between the work people in various establishments."

The Metalworkers' Minority Movement conducted a campaign in the unions to try and force the executives to take up a line of struggle, but the leaders were determined not to fight and on June 14th, 1927, they again met the employers and completely surrendered by agreeing to submit to ballot vote the offer made by the employers. This offer meant only an increase of 2 shillings in the form of a bonus to 50% of the workers engaged in the industry over 21 years of age, and it bound the unions not to make any further efforts for improvement for a period of six months! This period expired at the end of January, 1928, and during that time the Metalworkers' Minority Movement conducted an energetic campaign to force the union leadership to take full advantage of the six months in preparation for a struggle to enforce the full claim of 20 shillings.

The union leaders refused to take any steps towards strengthening the workers' ranks. The six-months' period has now expired and the unions have again met the employers, this time with a request for 8 shillings per week increase. The employers postponed the conference.

It is clear that the unions are at present in a hopeless muddle, and undoubtedly will continue to be so until the right wing leadership has been cleared out of office.

One of the most important organisational problems before the metalworkers is the question today of the complete reorganisation of the unions, the elimination of the sectarianism created by the multiplicity of the unions, and the need for a single industrial union for all metal workers.

That this is very necessary can be gathered from the following figures:

There are 115 separate unions in the metal industry covering engineering, heavy iron, steel and shipbuilding. The total number of workers organised in these unions is roughly 678,000. 49 of these unions are affiliated to the Trades Union Congress and represent 600,000 organised workers. Most of the unions that are not affiliated to the Trades Union Congress have an exceedingly low membership, numbering only a few hundred in some cases.

That there are new attacks being prepared for the engineering workers may be seen by the recent statement made by the president of the Engineering Employers' Federation, Sir Alan Smith, who publicly declared:

"It is necessary in the interests of the industry that the employers' right in respect to managerial functions should be maintained, it is a cardinal principle of the present industrial system. The question of the right to employ non-unionists will continue to be a problem of very great difficulty indeed, and the tendency of the industry will make more acute the question of the replacement of skilled craftsmen by less skilledmen."

There is a keen struggle raging in the engineering industry between the right-wing leadership and the masses, rallied behind the banner of the militant Metalworkers' Minority Movement. We are confident that in the problems arising, affecting the engineering workers, the present leadership will find themselves unable to hold in check the insistent demand of the rank and file for struggle. In that struggle the real leadership will be seen in the National Metalworkers' Minority Movement.

A Brief Review of Events

Incidents Treated Elsewhere In This Issue Are Not Mentioned Here

Anti-Strike Law Again

On June 4 the American Bar Association released the report of its Committee on Commerce, boosting for the proposed anti-strike law on which it held open hearings in February of this year. The report follows the line developed at the hearings, insisting that an anti-strike law, suitably camouflaged to not arouse the resentment of the workers immediately, is welcome to business men, employers, and "labor leaders" of the type of Green, Lewis and Woll.

The report devotes a section to the opposition of Wm. Z. Foster, whom it characterizes as representative of "left wing" labor, and the only opponent to the plan appearing at the hearings.

It quotes from his book, "Misleaders of Labor" to show that the class collaboration labor leaders like Green cannot be grouped with him among the opponents of the no-strike bill.

The next step is consideration of the bill by congress, probably at the next session.

Cloak Committee of 500 In N. Y.

At a mass meeting of cloakmakers in New York City, June 13, an organization committee of 500 was formed, to lead in the re-organization of the union after the Sigman-Schlesinger betrayals, and the re-establishment of conditions in the industry.

Creation of a large local organization committee had already been decided upon by a meeting of the shop chairmen in New York.

Some strikes will be necessary against the shops which require their workers to register with Sigman.

A strike against the Shapiro shop and others is under way now. Thirty-five pickets have been arrested.

Some More Misleaders

Enforced resignations of three officials of the knee pants union is so far the only result of charges of widespread graft in Hillman and Beckerman official circles in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The plan of the graft ring, which it seems impossible could have functioned as smoothly as it did without the knowledge of the highest officials, was to permit the bosses to pay for keeping the shops unorganized, for allowing the use of machines in violation of the agreement, and for worsening conditions in the shops, for discharge of workers and for permission to cut wages. Some bosses kicked at being grafted on twice for the same "service".

"Weeping" John Walker Recognizes League of Nations

John H. Walker, president of the Illinois Federation of Labor has announced through the public press that he is going on a trip to Switzerland to attend a session of the League of Nations, and report on it to the October convention of the federation. Walker is politically a supporter of Lowden and Small. Who pays for the junket is not stated in his announcement, but presumably the workers of Illinois.

Passaic Sentences Reversed

Roger Baldwin, secretary of the Civil Liberties Union, and four Passaic textile strike pickets, John Butterworth, Leo Cabrizza, Basil Effsa, and Davis Nitkin, all convicted of unlawful assembly for a strike meeting held Oct. 6, 1924, have been ordered freed of charges. The decision is by the New Jersey Court of Errors and Appeals. The conviction and sentence of six months imprisonment and \$50 fine was by the Common Pleas Court, and sentence was upheld by the New Jersey Supreme Court.

Major Berry Outlaws Strikes

Under the latest national arbitration agreement, that between the Printing Pressmen's Union and the American Newspaper Publisher's Association, negotiated by Major Geo. L. Berry, president of the union by virtue of "rotten boroughs" and packed conventions, strikes are absolutely forbidden. There must be compulsory arbitration in all cases where the men are dissatisfied, and the men have to accept the results of arbitration. Berry boasts that he stands for "closer relations between pressmen and publishers" and hopes to run for vice president of the U. S. on the Democratic party ticket.

Anti-imperial July Fourth

July 4th is set aside by the Anti-imperialist League National Office, 39 Union Square, New York, for demonstrations in several large cities of the United States against imperialism, particularly the present invasion of Nicaragua. All interested in this work should get in touch with the League.

The Anti-imperialist League national office has received a letter dated May 20 from General A. C. Sandino, commander of the army of liberation fighting the U. S. marines in Nicaragua, which thanks the league for the last package of medical supplies just received, and refers to the demonstrations in U. S. against sending the marines to Nicaragua. The league is still collecting money for hospital supplies for the Nicaraguan soldiers, and funds may be sent to its offices, 39 Union Square, New York.

Pullman Porters Betrayed

Wm. Green, president of the A.F.I. has called off the Pullman Porters' strike, thus surrendering the last chances of the workers in this union, after they had been systematically weakened by a policy of arbitration and negotiation, isolation from the other railroad organizations and segregation in which the officials of the Pullman Porters followed in the trail of Green and the heads of the railroad brotherhoods. The left wing in the union has begun a sharp criticism of the tactics pursued by the union heads, which resulted in placing the union in its difficult position. It will require militant leadership and a change of tactics to save the union now.

International Labor Notes

Strike In Greece

A rigid censorship and official denials of almost everything that comes out of Greece in the way of news confuses the picture of what seems to have been an extraordinarily hard fought and determined strike, particularly in the tobacco industry centering around the city of Salonika. The tobacco workers' strike began in the middle of June, and spread to other industries until at one time reports spoke of a general strike. A political aspect was given by the reported mutiny of sailors of the Greek navy, when ordered to fire on the strikers. Fierce street battles took place between the strikers and gendarmes, with losses on both sides. These events were further complicated by the rising power in the government of Venizelous, the arch imperialist and agent of Great Britain, and by rumors of an attempted monarchist coup. The strike is still on, at the time we go to press.

Selling England's Wireless

A wild argument took place on May 21 in the British House of Commons over the plan of the Imperial Cable and Wireless Conference to sell the government postoffice cables and beam wireless stations to a merger of private firms which would be controlled by Marconi Wireless Telegraph Co. Baker, of the Postoffice Workers Union, opposing the extension of private control, pointed out that the name "Marconi" is associated with widespread scandals, bribery of government officials, etc.

British mine owners, despite the wage slash they have made, have improved their position in the international market scarcely at all. Their present production of 259 million tons is a little more than that of 1925, but is still less than the production of 1913, which was 287 million tons. The industry is still as disorganized, technique is still as bad and competitors are beating England as thoroughly as when wages were higher. Only by the most reckless and wasteful price cutting have the British owners succeeded in winning back a part of the 120 million tons they lost in foreign trade during the 1926 strike.

Their only program is further wage cuts. The right wing leaders: Shinwell, minister for mines in Macdonald's cabinet, and Strachy, editor of the "Miner" propose nationalization without workers' control, with full compensation and a yearly income of 16 million pounds to the owners.

COMPANY UNIONIZING JUGO SLAVS

The "Rules for Auxiliary Personnel on State Railways" issued last January by the Ministry for Ways and Communications of Jugo Slavia were drawn up by the government in co-operation with the National Federation of Railwaymen, practically a company union, using the check-rod. They follow the line of the labor laws of 1923.

The "Rules" provide that all workers are auxiliary for the first five years of their employment. Wages are set at from 44 cents to 90 cents a day, and are made to depend on the fluctuations of currency. Special work clothes, holidays and other privileges are abolished. The eight hour day is retained, nominally, but much latitude is allowed railway management to lengthen it, and no provision is made for increased

overtime pay. The workers are divided into many different categories with different rates of pay, to split their forces. Control of the distribution of insurance and compensation for accident is taken from the workers and given to the state and the employers.

Failure of the workers to join class unions is chiefly responsible for this enslavement and company unionization of the Jugo Slav railroad workers. Only five or six thousand out of 60,000 are organized, and these are divided into many small unions.—M. Kodrnia R. I. L. U.

Lewis Policies in Germany

The International Committee for Propaganda and Action of the Revolutionary Miners issues a circular letter on the occasion of the expulsion from the German Miners Union of a Left Wing Militant in which is related the adoption in Germany of the expulsion policy made infamous in America by the Bureaucracy of the United Mine Workers of America. The circular is in part as follows:

The German Miners' Union has expelled Gustav Sobbotka. At first, on January 25, last, he was accused of the fact that he had participated at a meeting of the Revolutionary Miners' International Committee for Propaganda and Action. On March 15 this accusation was changed and he was asked what he considered the German Miners' Union to be. Finally on April 4 he was expelled on the ground that he had been a responsible worker of the German Communist Party for long past.

What was the real reason for his expulsion? At the present time the miners' movement in Germany is livening up. Observing the stupendous profits reaped by the capitalists, and the ever increasing growth in the production of coal and its sale, the miners are now demanding wage increases. Unable to withstand the colossal strain that has resulted from capitalist rationalization, the miners are demanding shorter hours, which at the present time comprise on the average 8 hours per day underground, and frequently rising to 8½-9 hours underground.

The reformist trade union bureaucrats desire to prevent the miners from struggling for their interest. They desire to "behead" the opposition—the most militant section of the miners. Hence, Sobbotka has been expelled. The reformists, furthermore, are threatening to expel and are expelling several others of the opposition.

There is no doubt that the bottom will be kicked out of the plans of the trade union bureaucrats. But in order to assist the work of the opposition, the I.C.P. & A. appeals to all its affiliated revolutionary miners organizations to express their complete sympathy with the expelled comrades and condemn the criminal, disruptive activities of the reformist leaders of the German Miners' Union.

At the present time preparations are being made for the election of delegates to the Congress. The trade union bureaucrats wish to prevent the opposition elements from attending the Congress and to deprive them even of the possibility of criticising the activity of the reformist executive. Consequently they are now out to expel all the members of the opposition from the union.

EDITORIAL

"Unemployment and reduced earnings for the workers, increased prosperity for the owner. That is the American corporation record of the first quarter of 1928. It is emphasized by the Wall Street Journal report that 50 corporations made a combined net profit of \$200,400,105 in the three months ended March 31, a gain of \$16,176,289 or 8.7% over the same period 1927".

The Profit System

So says Leland Olds, statistician for the Federated Press, writing in a recent release. Big business was doing pretty well in the Spring of 1928. Now also from Federated Press, under the signature of Robert W. Dunu, we have a picture, in one big standardized industry, of the other side of the situation.

"While the style race in motor cars continues on the advertising pages and flashy new models are turned out by the automobile companies in frantic efforts to outsell competitors, what becomes of the steering gear assemblers, the sheet metal machine operators, the gear painters, the disc grinders—the skilled and unskilled machine minders of a hundred kinds who make up the industry's labor power?"

"They face the lay-offs and irregular employment running from gaps of a few hours to weeks and months."

Here we have an illustration of the classical phrase, "starvation in the midst of plenty": unemployment and profits, simultaneously. Only it is millions of workers who are unemployed, and it is a few, a mere handful of men who never work, who make their living by owning things, that get the profits. Goods in a competitive market exchange for other goods, including money, according to the amounts of socially necessary labor power that it takes to reproduce them. The effect of monopoly is to spike up the price of the monopolized goods, somewhat, at the expense of the non-monopolized. Great corporations regularly sell their goods at a little over value. In the face of great trusts American labor power more and more, because of its non-union (non-monopolized) condition in the labor market, tends to sell at its cost of living level, the wage that will keep the workers alive in sufficient numbers to do the work that there is to do. And the amount of work there is to do, because of continued improvement in technique, without any corresponding increase in the market, grows less and less. The inevitable result is unemployment, and a process leading, if carried out to its logical conclusion, to the actual killing off by starvation of the "surplus" workers.

The workers only possible tactics in this condition is through organization politically and economically, to enforce higher wages and shorter hours, thus providing themselves with more jobs, and making it possible for them to regularly get and consume a larger proportion of the goods they have produced. Any advance along this road will make things better for the workers. A complete solution of the unemployment problem depends on the working class being able to get in one form or another, the whole of the product of

its toil, which means in the final analysis, that the non-working, profit-taking stockholder must be eliminated altogether, and the workers own their own industries.

We call attention to the fact that the Labor Party of Pennsylvania has endorsed the nominees of the Workers' Party, Wm. Z. Foster, and Benj. Gitlow, for president and vice-president of the United States. Class conscious workers recognize that the Republican Party, representing big business, union smashing, injunctions, fake prosperity and imperialism, and the Democratic party, upholding exactly the same things with slightly different phraseology, are staging a sham fight, in which, whichever wins, the workers will certainly lose.

Workers who have come into contact with the Socialist Party leaders, actually allied with and in many cases leading the struggle of the right wing in the clothing trades, the New Bedford strike, and in the miners' union expelling workers who stand for militant unionism, leaders who resort to gang tactics against members by hiring thugs to beat up picketing workers in the needle trades, know the S. P. is not worthy of the support of workers in the election campaign any more than on the industrial field. Socialist claims that they represent the working class are contradicted by the deeds of Socialist union officials, judges, the Socialist administration in Reading which promises unlimited support of its police to employers during strikes, etc.

On the contrary, the Workers Party is the only genuine working class political party contending in the elections. Its platform and program stand for the abolition of capitalism, imperialism and exploitation. Its definite stand for the left wing and its fighting opposition to the reactionary bureaucracy is an outstanding fact that should rally the active support of every militant and left wing worker for its candidates. The demands of the Workers (Communist) Party for unemployment relief, organization of the unorganized, industrial unionism against company unionism, against government by injunction and all strike breaking practices of the capitalist government, in defense of the Negro workers, etc., are demands which all militant and left wing workers can whole-heartedly support and fight for. The two nominees of the party are workers and left wing unionists: Foster, a car worker and Gitlow a needle trades worker. They are fitting nominees not only for a party like the Workers (Communist) Party, but also for the left wing. Their record as strike leaders, and entire support of the left wing in industrial struggles, of militant unionism against the employers, of organization of labor on the industrial and political field proves this conclusively. The Workers Party has placed a ticket in the field in each of the large industrial states and part of the farmer states, and both national and state tickets afford the American worker his only chance in this election to vote for himself and not for his exploiters.

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THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

FEARS Wm. Z. FOSTER'S BOOK

MISLEADERS OF LABOR

The American Bar Association, in combination with Matthew Woll, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, and with the applause of the organs of big business, is rigging up a law to prevent strikes. In the report of the Bar Association's Standing Committee on Commerce, June 4, 1928, the story of the public hearings held in New York by the Bar Association, to drum up sentiment for its proposed anti-strike bill, it is stated that "The only witness who appeared in opposition... was Wm. Z. Foster". The Bar Association then, in its report, quotes from Foster's book "Misleaders of Labor" to show the basis of his objection, and states, in horror.

"The philosophy of Mr. Foster's movement is in direct conflict with the position of the officers of the American Federation of Labor, of whom Mr. Green is the head. On March 21, 1927, President Green said: 'It is my opinion that the so-called 'irrepressible conflict' which some economists claim exists between the employers and the employees can be terminated...' This Mr. Foster describes as categorically repudiating the class struggle, saying: 'The right wing leaders make no proposals to abolish or drastically change the present social order.'"

The Bar Association also quotes Green with approval, when he stated to the committee that "it is very fundamental with the American Federation to encourage stabilization through co-operation between labor organizations and employers' associations."

It will be seen that the American Bar Association finds in this book, "Misleaders of Labor" one of the chief obstacles to the selling out of American Labor by Green and Woll.

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