

Fill the Empty Dinner Pail



Hunger Breeds Rebellion Starvation Fosters Lethargy

The German workers have passed from hunger to starvation. Capitalists in and out of Germany are interested in starving the workers from lethargy into humble and meek submission.

Workers and farmers of America are interested in feeding Germany's workers out of their present lethargy, into a condition which will make the fit to decide their own destiny.

The German workers ask **No Charity**. They ask help which will help them help themselves. It is in this spirit that we ask you to contribute and to pledge your support for the maintenance of the

American Soup Kitchen in Germany

How much is your spirit of International Solidarity worth in concrete terms? Are you willing to lay aside a definite weekly sum out of your weekly food allowance to help feed a German worker or member of his family? **Answer Quick! Are You Ready to Help?**

Fill the Empty Dinner Pail

Friends of Soviet Russia & Workers' Germany
32 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Enclosed find \$..... to help support the American Soup Kitchen in Germany which was opened by you on January 29, 1924. I pledge myself to meals at 10c each monthly for the maintenance of the Kitchen. Send me a Meal Coupon Book,

(Yes or no?)

Name

Address

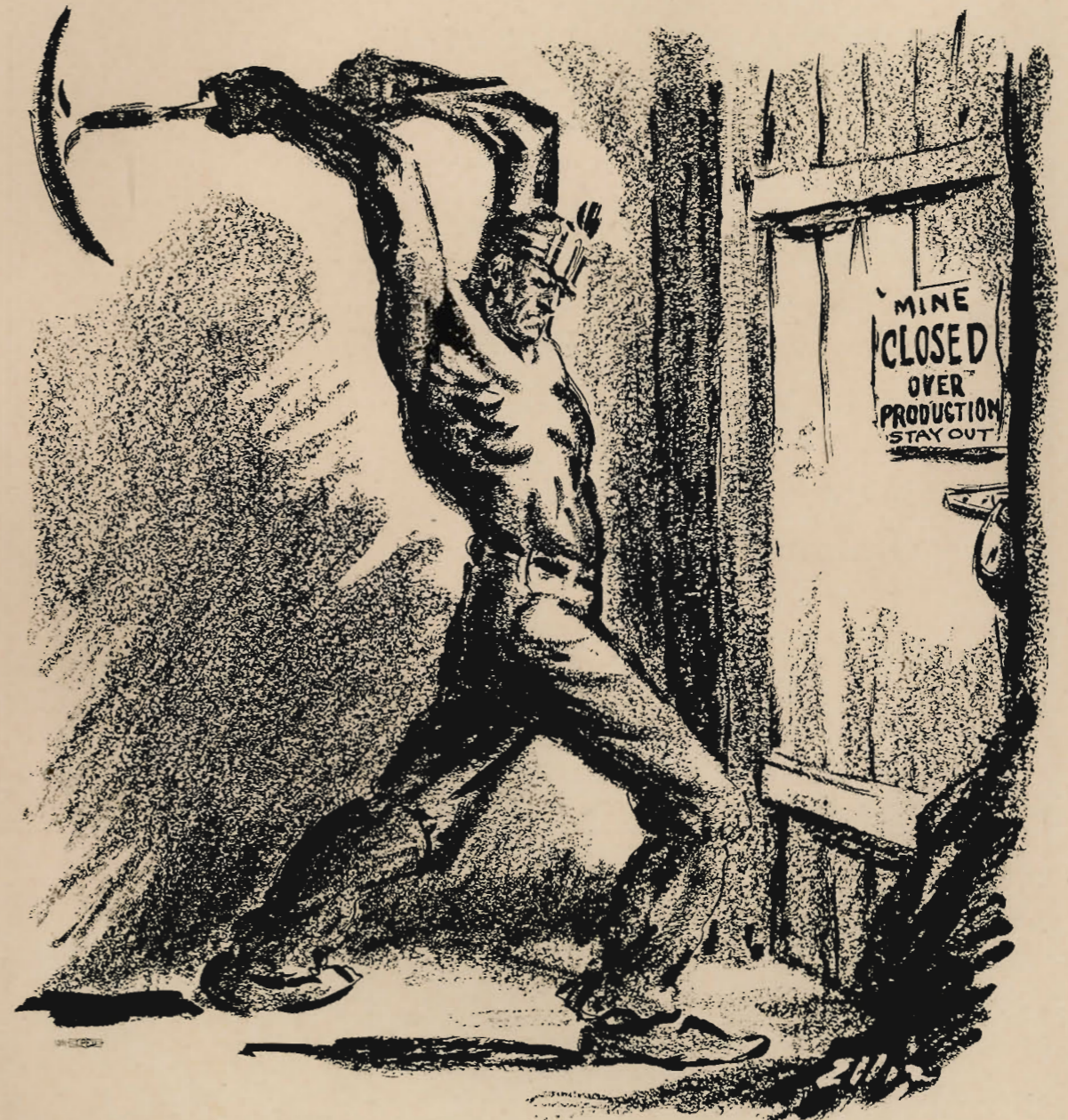
Trade or Profession

\$500 initial outlay and \$2,000 for February support of the American Soup Kitchen in Germany have already been cabled. A shipment of bacon and beans was also made.

COMMITTEE FOR INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' AID

THE LABOR HERALD

Official Organ of The Trade Union Educational League



MARCH 1924

99

15 CENTS

THE LABOR HERALD

Official Organ of The Trade Union Educational League



MARCH 1924

99

15 CENTS

Just What You Want

News not nonsense—Truth not trash—Facts not falsehoods
You can buy more paper but not more NEWS

THE DAILY WORKER

is the
National Labor Daily

and it is
Your dream realized

Get busy—see your neighbor—He will want

THE DAILY WORKER

and will be willing to pay for it if

You Ask Him to Subscribe

Tell your shop mates—The members of your Union about

THE DAILY WORKER

Every reader a subscriber—Every subscriber a booster
Make your T. U. E. L. work easier by getting the members of your union to

SUBSCRIBE NOW

FOR

THE DAILY WORKER

MILITANT FEARLESS POWERFUL BRILLIANT

The Organ of the Advancing Working-Class.

THE DAILY WORKER
1640 North Halsted Street,
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

Please find enclosed \$.....for.....mos.
Subscription to THE DAILY WORKER.

Name

Street City..... State.....

(Write plainly or print name and address)

SUBSCRIPTION RATES	
Country	
3 months	.....\$2.00
6 months	..... 3.50
12 months	..... 6.00
Chicago by Mail	
Per Year	.....\$8.00
6 months	..... 4.50
Canada	
Per Year	.....\$8.00
6 months	..... 4.50

Practical Economic Help
To
The Workers Republic
YOU can give through
The Russian-American Industrial Corporation



An intelligent and effective way to assist the Russian clothing workers build a new socialized industry.

First Dividend Paid to 5000 American Workers

\$10.00 makes you a shareholder
Subscriptions may be paid in \$1.00 installments
For more information address

"RAIC", Sidney Hillman, Pres.
Amalgamated Bank Bldg.
103 E. 14th St. New York City

HAIL March of the Workers

and other songs.
Fight and Sing to Workers Victory
68 pages

Words and Music; price\$1.00
Words Only25

Young Workers League of America
1009 No. State St. Chicago, Ill.

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



ALL LABOR BOOKS, PAMPHLETS AND PERIODICALS ALWAYS IN STOCK

Subscriptions Taken for
English and American Labor Papers

The Walden Book Shop

307 Plymouth Court Chicago, Ill.

MILITANTS

The Liberator

Is a Magazine After Your Own Heart

Its articles, stories, pictures, and poetry will add a flavor to your understanding of the change that is taking place in the world today.

Read the Liberator and You Will Know and Know that You Know!

Subscribe today and get your copy every month in the mails.

The Liberator, 1009 North State Street, Chicago, Ill.

Enclosed find \$2.00 for which send me The Liberator for one year.

Name

Address

City State.....

Read the Liberator!
Keep Alert! Keep Informed!

THE LABOR HERALD

Published monthly at 1008 Rush Street. Subscription price \$1.50 per year. The Trade Union Educational League, Publishers.
"Entered as second class matter March 23, 1922, at the postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879."

Vol. III.

MARCH, 1924

No. 1

The Miners' Convention

By Wm. Z. Foster

MORE than any other important recent gathering of Organized Labor, the convention of the United Mine Workers of America, held in Indianapolis, Jan. 22-Feb. 2nd, brought into sharp relief the various tendencies now manifesting themselves in the American labor movement. As emphasized by that convention, some of them were: the generally precarious condition of the union as against the employers, the complete intellectual bankruptcy and utter planlessness of the union bureaucracy, the profound discontent of the rank and file at the betrayal and mismanagement of the union, the desperate and unscrupulous efforts of the bureaucrats to maintain themselves in power even if thereby the union be destroyed, the disappearance of the Socialist Party as a factor in the labor movement, and the emergence of the Communists as the real leaders of the revolutionary and progressive forces among the organized workers. Militants will do well to study and take to heart the lessons of the Miners' Convention.

Manifestly the convention was bound to produce a deep and bitter struggle between the reactionary Lewis administration and the progressive forces among the rank and file. The immediate causes were legion. The policies of Lewis have proved a dismal failure. For several years past the union has been gradually slipping in the face of the rapid extension of the non-union territory, the great growth of unemployment, the increase in the militancy and power of the employers, and the ever-greater interference by the Government. This weakening of the union has caused a profound discontent among the coal diggers, which has been enormously increased by Lewis' ruthless repression of all efforts to establish progressive policies in the union, as evidenced by his crimes in Kansas, Nova Scotia, Pennsylvania and elsewhere. A big fight was certain.

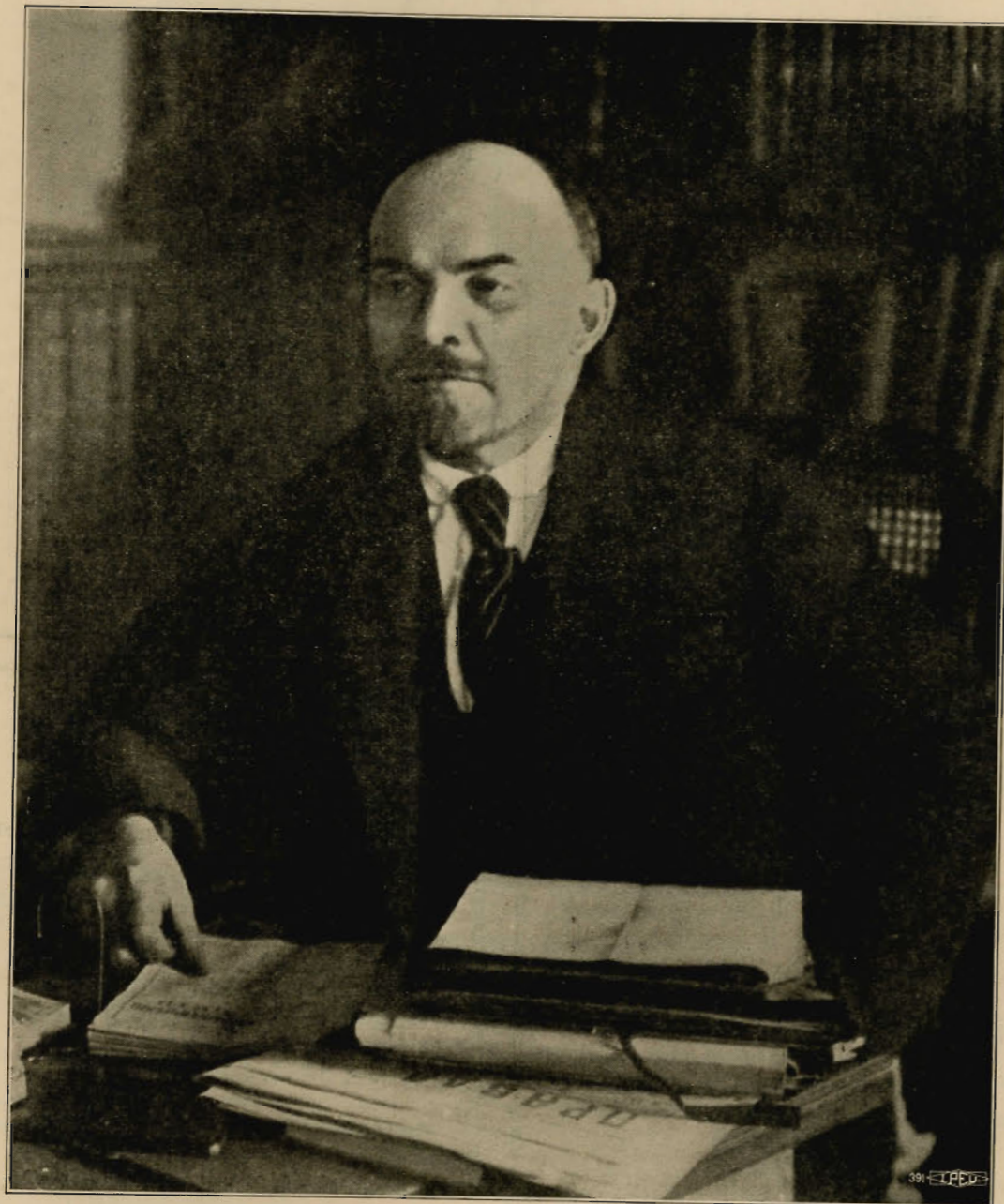
The Battle Begins

Hardly had the convention opened when Lewis started an offense against the progressive forces calculated to disorganize their

ranks and to catch them unprepared. On the second day of the convention he jammed through many of the most important matters that had to be dealt with. Such a course was unprecedented, for the custom has always been to dilly-dally along for several days and then speed up things at the finish. But, realizing the danger of the situation, Lewis seized time by the forelock and quickly cleared away many of the fighting points. This manoeuvre succeeded to some extent, because the militants, despite their best efforts, had not yet fully united themselves.

The first fight began on the report of Vice-President Murray, which bitterly condemned Thomas Myerscough and others connected with the Progressive Miners. A variety of charges were levelled against these militants, ranging from their being "reds" to being agents of the employers. Heavy resistance developed against Murray's report, however, and when the vote was taken it was clearly lost. But Lewis' declared it carried, nevertheless, thus giving the first indication of the arbitrary disregard of democratic procedure which was going to disgrace this convention throughout its sessions.

Following this first victory, Lewis quickly defeated several other progressive measures, with but little effective resistance from the militants. One of these was the demand for the recognition of Soviet Russia. The proposition adopted hypocritically conceded the Russian people the right of self-determination and then demanded that their government, before being recognized, must live up to its "honorable obligations," and also cease propaganda activities in this country. It was purely and simply the plan of Secretary of State Hughes. The once progressive Miners' Union, by such a resolution, becomes not only the defender of capitalism, but also the debt collector of Wall Street. Fast upon the heels of the disgraceful Russian resolution, came another equally bad on the matter of the Labor Party. It started out by endorsing the principle of a labor party and wound up by stabbing it to the heart. The key sentence was, "We realize that the formation of a labor party has passed the visionary stage and can



NIKOLAI LENIN
(Vladimir Ilyitch Ulianoff)
April 10, 1870—January 21, 1924

be made a reality, but in doing so we should not incur the enmity of those of the already well-defined political parties who are our friends." That is, the Labor Party may be admired as an ideal, but the Gompers' policy must be followed as a reality. No affiliation should be had with any party. After thus hamstringing the Labor Party movement in this country, the resolution ironically extended greetings to the British Labor Party for its great victory. Then came a whitewash of the administration for its cold-blooded betrayal of the miners in the Connellsville region in the great strike of 1922. For his treachery in that affair, Lewis was fulsomely praised by the resolution adopted.

The progressives were unable to stop this headlong offensive of Lewis. Many reasons conspired to make them helpless. For one thing they were not yet well organized—all the foregoing propositions having been adopted on the second day of the convention. Then they were demoralized somewhat by their defeat on Murray's report. In addition, it was almost impossible to tell what business was before the house. There were 700 resolutions to be acted upon. These were printed in book form but not distributed to the delegates until the Resolutions Committee actually began to report. This Committee would lump together 30 or 40 resolutions and submit a substitute for them all. The delegates had no copies of these substitutes but had to gather their contents as best they could from the official reading. Often this was purposely garbled so that the delegates could not hear what was actually before the house. All this made it almost impossible to tell what was going on. Moreover, the resolutions were so hypocritically framed that many of the delegates believed they were progressive in character. Finally, Lewis would jam them through, often ignoring a dozen or two delegates on the floor demanding the right to speak.

Nova Scotia Assassinated

On the crucial second day of the convention, Lewis put across a scathing denunciation of the Nova Scotia miners and an endorsement of his own treason against them. It was one of the most brutal things done in the whole convention. He accused the Nova Scotia miners of having unresistingly taken a 37% cut in wages, of working while the great 1922 strike was on, of repudiating a legitimate contract, and of conducting an unlawful strike. He also accused them of being affiliated with the R. I. L. U., although it is well-known that they withdrew affiliation on Lewis' demand a year ago. After firing this barrage of lies, he rushed the matter to a vote without any debate, ruthlessly denying even the Nova Scotia delegates the right to say a word in their own behalf. This

arbitrary action provoked great discontent among the delegates. The Progressive Miners promptly called a protest meeting of delegates, which was largely attended. The result was such an agitation, that two days later, the machine forces themselves had to reopen the Nova Scotia question. It provoked a full day of bitter debate, but finally the administration carried its point by the use of red hysteria and a flood of lies and misrepresentations.

The Nova Scotia question ended the disastrous second day of the convention, the only relieving feature of which was the adoption of meaningless endorsements of nationalization of mines and railroads, and of plans to organize the unorganized. For the rest of the week the convention simmered along with only an occasional struggle. Industrial unionism was mildly endorsed, likewise the release of political prisoners and the repeal of all anti-syndicalism laws. Both the Amsterdam and Moscow Internationals were condemned, and the question of a general strike in case of war was conveniently referred to the International Miners' Congress. A resolution was pushed through which stated, "We hereby express ourselves as being opposed to any organization which is in sympathy with the Fosterites, regardless of the name under which they may disguise themselves." A revolutionary delegate, Perkovich, was seated after a hard tussle with the machine. The miner delegates to the A. F. of L. Convention in their report made no reference to the expulsion of Wm. F. Dunne.

A Slashing Fight

It was characteristic of the convention that the fight for the broad political issues, such as the recognition of Soviet Russia, the organization of a labor party, etc., had to be made largely by the revolutionary elements. The rank and file of the delegates did not get much heated up over such questions, nor did they understand them clearly. But when it came to purely trade and union matters, their discontent and rebellion flared high. Especially was this so in the case of the effort on Tuesday of the second week to deprive Lewis of the appointive power. Under the present arrangement he appoints international organizers and other officials. Some 200 of these appointees are in the field. They form a tremendous machine to keep Lewis and his clique in power. A Progressive Miners' resolution proposed to make these officials elective. Lewis fought it bitterly. When the vote was taken by rising, it was so overwhelmingly against the administration report that Lewis dared not call it carried. So machine supporters demanded a roll call and secured it. This took place almost at the close of the session. The Lewis crowd, realizing that the adoption of the Progress-

sive resolution would destroy their machine, at least temporarily, wired all the officials in the surrounding coal fields to come in to help swing the convention. It was said that \$1,000.00 was spent for telegrams for this purpose. Incoming trains were packed with those who responded. When the roll call was completed, the administration announced the result as 2263 for and 2106 against, or a majority of 157 in favor of their proposition. The count of the Progressive Miners showed an administration majority of only 72. This close result proved that the machine proposal was lost, because hundreds of fraudulent votes had been cast by organizers not qualified to vote and by representatives of "blue sky" locals. Immediately the progressives challenged the validity of the roll call and demanded that a committee be appointed to weed out all the illegal votes. But this was arbitrarily ruled out of order.

In this great fight an important part was that the big Illinois delegation, casting about 900 votes, voted 10 to 1 against the administration, notwithstanding that President Farrington voted with Lewis. An interesting feature was the moving of the previous question by Del. Watt of Illinois. When the debate had run on a long while, Watt demanded the floor. Lewis gave it to him, believing that he would deliver a revolutionary speech that might be later used to prejudice the delegates. But Watts cleverly moved the previous question. This amazed Lewis, who cried out loudly that he was denied free speech. He had been holding back waiting to close the debate with one of his usual red-baiting speeches, but Watt beat him to it, to the amusement of the whole convention.

The Steam Roller

The big fight on the appointive power issue had the double effect of infusing the rebellious rank and file with courage to attack the machine, and of making Lewis proceed to still more desperate means to balk the will of the majority. The next real clash came upon the question of convention representation. As things now stand, a delegate may have as many as five votes. This plays directly and powerfully into the hands of the machine. The plan of the Progressive Miners was to limit each delegate to one vote. The committee reported non-concurrence. But when the *viva voce* vote was taken, the chorus of "No's" completely drowned out the "Yes's." Lewis brazenly called the report adopted, however. Then a division was called for, and about 600 voted for the report and 1200 against it. Lewis following out his desperate plan, declared the report carried. Bitter protests were raised and a roll call was demanded. It required 670 delegates to secure this. About 1000 stood up. But Lewis said

there were only 667, or 3 less than necessary. At this a storm of indignation broke out. It lasted the rest of the session, or from 3 till 5 o'clock. The delegates hissed and stormed and protested. They marched and sang and whistled. The whole floor of the convention was a sea of indignation, while Lewis and his gang held the elevated platform. It was impossible to call the convention to order for the rest of the day, but the machine, not to be outdone, inserted a lot of business in the minutes that was supposed to have been transacted while the turmoil lasted. The incident was a significant manifestation of the seething revolt against the autocracy and corruption of the Lewis administration.

Mr. Davis Speaks

The convention was undoubtedly the most reactionary held by the miners in 20 years. Its reactionary character was well illustrated in connection with the address delivered by James J. Davis, Secretary of Labor. This faker, in spite of a heavy adverse vote, was invited to speak before the convention. The Progressive Miners thereupon got out a circular condemning him for his activities against foreign-born workers and citing Samuel Gompers in denunciation of Davis. Also the *Daily Worker*, which enjoyed great popularity at the convention and was read by at least half of the delegates, exposed the nefarious Davis. But the latter, by dint of completely misrepresenting his registration of aliens plan, by playing up his trade union record, and with the militant help of the Lewis machine, managed to get by and to have a resolution adopted condemning the circular issued against him. The U. M. W. A. have certainly fallen upon evil days when a man who has been condemned even by the reactionary Gompers can come to their convention and get an indorsement.

The Ku Klux Klan

Another manifestation of reaction was the stand taken by the administration regarding the Ku Klux Klan. Although the reactionary Portland convention of the A. F. of L. had flatly condemned the hooded order, Lewis and his official cronies lent it aid and comfort. The constitution of the U. M. W. A. provides that no one can be a member of that organization who belongs to the I. W. W., One Big Union, W. I. I. U., or other specified bodies, including the Ku Klux Klan. Inasmuch as the Klan is strong in several mining districts (especially in Indiana where the union headquarters is located) a big demand arose to take it off the blacklist. Many resolutions to that effect were before the convention. Eager to kill two birds with one stone by at once obliging

(Continued on page 26)

Lenin

By Moissaye J. Olgin

AFTER all that has been written about Lenin's way of thinking and Lenin's ways with people, about his method of handling sociological data and his method of handling revolutionary affairs, about his leadership of an originally small faction and his leadership of a whole nation—something remains which does not yield to the analysis of a publicist, something which is the very essence of the man's personality and which awaits, perhaps, the great artist to make it immediately felt by those outside as Lenin himself was felt by those inside of his sphere of influence. This "something" is the true Lenin, the one and only individual character with its individual atmosphere, its unique magnetism, its secret of influence which cannot be dissected.

We may ever so often tell ourselves about Lenin's strength and Lenin's prophetic vision, about his single-track mind and his devotion to the revolution, about his cheerfulness amid crises and his all-embracing soul. Yet we must admit that we, Russian revolutionists, did not know Lenin before 1917. It is an absolutely new side of the man that revealed itself through the Soviet revolution—the most valuable reality of Lenin—his being the father of a nation. Little did the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks imagine, between 1903 and 1917, that a time would come when this scholarly theoretician of proletarian class-struggle would become the most beloved and respected man among the Russian masses, that this merciless analyst and formidable debater would enjoy the unreserved esteem of even his bitterest enemies. It is a new Lenin that the present writer found upon his return to Russia in 1920 after several years of absence—a man who seemed to be as much a part of the whole of Russia as if he had been in his leading role for ages; a natural ruler whose authority is taken with as much willingness and confidence as if no other state of affairs were imaginable.

Moreover, one loved Lenin. One spoke of him almost in the same way as the "good people" of the old-fashioned historians are supposed to have spoken of their beloved princes. He was a king in the hearts of the Russian workers—this man who so much hated pomp and ostentation that he seemed hiding from the masses even when in the maelstrom of an enthusiastic crowd. Something went out from the heart of Lenin to the heart of every Russian workman, peasant, student, something that was more than the authority vested in him by the All-Russian Soviet of Workmen's and Peasants' Delegates, more than the authority of

President of the People's Commissars of the first Soviet Republic in the world, something that had little to do with the doctrines of the Revolution and the prospects of the Third International, though Lenin himself was concerned *only* with the proletarian dictatorship of Russia and the future of the world revolution—something that was his very own, the emanation of his personality, that mysterious substance which appeals directly to large numbers of human beings. This truest "Leninism" is not completely explained by the fact that the man formulated a revolutionary program and advocated a course of action. Lenin was more. Lenin was rooted in the tenderest places of the human soul and imagination.

The above-mentioned activities, however, are not unessential to the understanding of Lenin, and here the facts and explanations are abundant. One thing seems to be little known abroad: Lenin's marvelous gift of scholarship, coupled with a staggering tenacity in acquiring knowledge. In 1889, a boy of 19, Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin-Ulianoff (born April 10, 1870) is relegated from the University of Kazan for his connections with the revolutionary group of the "People's Will" (*Narodnaya Volya*) and exiled to Samara. A year later he applied for admission to the University of Petersburg. Being rejected as "disloyal," he sets to work by himself and in the course of one year rushes through the entire curriculum of the Faculty of Jurisprudence. In 1891 he secured a University diploma as a full-fledged jurist. A similar feat was accomplished by him between 1907 and 1909. It was a time when Mach and Avenarius became the favorites of the Mensheviks and, in Lenin's opinion, threatened the integrity of the Social-Democratic conception. Lenin, hitherto absorbed chiefly in economic studies, goes to Paris, works in the national library for two years over philosophical problems and, in 1909, emerges with a large volume, "Materialism and Empyrocriticism: Critical Notes to a Reactionary Philosophy"—a work which is classed by specialists as decidedly not an amateur's production.

It is fair to say that Lenin was an encyclopedia of social sciences. His numerous articles on political events in the various countries, published during his premiership of Russia, reveal such a detailed and intimate knowledge of both facts and background as very few can claim. The fact is that never did he stop enriching his stock of knowledge. His intellectual veracity equalled only his creative impulse. Ever since that first volume on

Marxian economics, which appeared in 1895 and which was directed against the Russian variety of Bernsteinianism (revisionism), Lenin's writings kept abreast with the most urgent problems of the times. Whether the problem of capitalist development in Russia or the task of labor, whether the struggle between the revolutionary groups or the elections to the Dumas, whether the immediate demands of the revolution of 1905 or its ultimate goal, whether the question of "underground" movement or its "liquidation," whether the world war or the nature of the capitalist state—Lenin always appears in time with a large or small volume which, by the amount of discussion, opposition and irritation it provokes, can only be likened to an intellectual bomb-explosion.

All his writings, however, are absolutely unified in that they either remove intellectual barriers from the path of the revolution, or they tell how to make the revolution. The latter kind far outnumber the former. Lenin is no theorist in the sense of satisfying intellectual curiosity (Plekhanov was closer to this type); Lenin is motivated by impatience. He wishes to push the revolutionary movement just one step further than circumstances appear to warrant, yet he never demands things that cannot be reasonably carried out, given concerted effort. For a quarter of a century prior to 1917, he was the instigator of the revolutionary labor movement, the enemy of compromise, the acrid critic of acquiescence in apparently overpowering circumstances, the shrewdest uncoverer of subterfuge, the uncannily energetic leader showing the way of immediate action.

Lenin changes with the change of conditions, with the progress of history, yet he always remains the same,—*pushing one step ahead of the time*. In 1889 he breaks with the *Narodnaya Volya* which put all its revolutionary hope in the peasantry. In 1890 he forms the first militant labor organization within the borders of Russia (The "Union to Fight for the Liberation of the Working Class") while the other Marxists of that time still issued pamphlets from abroad. Between 1890 and 1895 he is, in the field of theory, combatting revisionism; in the practical labor movement, wiping out "economism" which meant to keep the attention of the workers riveted to economic problems only. The years of his Siberian exile (1895-1899) are spent in preparing the volume "Development of Capitalism in Russia," which dealt a mortal blow to the Narodniki who still maintained that Russia had no capitalism and, consequently, no prospect of a labor revolution. One or two other volumes appeared in the same years.

Between 1900 and 1905, while living abroad, Lenin's main line of activity is purging the Social-

Democratic Party from sluggishness and hammering out a unified revolutionary force. How one hated him for that famous book, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward," in which he criticized the lack of a trained and disciplined revolutionary force in Russia. But how one read it! What a stream of discussion his other book, "What to Do?" (1902) aroused in revolutionary circles! What to do was pointed out by Lenin with that directness and compelling logic which was like poison to opponents. One had to form groups of "revolutionists by profession," whose only task would be instigation and leadership in the revolutionary movement, Lenin said. In 1903 he splits the Social-Democratic Party in order to have a free hand in forming revolutionary ranks. "Bolshevism" becomes the name of his faction. In 1904-5 he is fiercely attacking combinations with the liberals of the Miliukov kind, as advocated by the Mensheviks. In 1906 he is for boycotting the First Duma on the ground that the revolution was still in progress. In 1907 he is for participation in the Duma in order to explode it from within. In 1905-6, he puts forth the slogan, "Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Peasantry," in 1907 he advocates the formation of "secret groups of three and five" to continue the revolution. In the black years between 1907 and 1912 he is engaged in fighting the "liquidators" who sought to adapt themselves to the Duma regime as final for a long time to come.

None is more bitterly opposed than Lenin to intellectual quietism, to shelving principles, to shapeless movements. He is vigorously combating the idea of a "labor congress" which its advocates planned to become a copy of the non-partisan British labor movement. At the same time he is strengthening and tightening the line of the secret organization. In 1911-14 he is the soul of the "underground" revolutionary organization which now bursts out in sporadic strikes and upheavals. In the world war he is a defeatist. In the international labor movement he is the initiator of the Zimmerwald conference (1916) which declared a war of the proletariat of every country against its government, in contradiction to the right-wing tactics of "domestic peace" (*Burgfrieden*) with the ruling classes. At that time he had already formulated a clear and detailed answer to the question, "What must a Socialist Party do should the Revolution in the midst of the world war place the state power in its hands?" ("Up Stream," collected articles, 1918). The answer was the program later carried out by the Soviet Revolution. In 1917, while the Mensheviks were rejoicing over the downfall of Czarism, he frames the slogan "All Power to the Soviets." In October, 1917, this slogan is materialized. In

1918 Lenin puts through the Brest-Litovsk peace against the opposition of his closest associates. In 1919 he advocates and practices nationalization of industries chiefly as a war measure. In 1921 he introduced the New Economic Policy as dictated by necessity of reconstruction. Each time he faces an enormous opposition, and each time he goes just one step ahead of what to others seems the most convenient for the present.

Is not this one of the secrets of his power?

There are many other secrets. The convincing simplicity of reasoning which reminds us of Socrates' dialogues and which irritates opponent to distraction. The constant appeal to practical and apparently feasible action. The seeming impartiality which makes people forget that human passions are behind one or the other proposal. The enormous serenity in the midst of the greatest turmoil. The fearlessness of a man who is the

least concerned about himself. The total absence of vanity, of showiness, of ostentation, which is the other side of respect-provoking earnestness in big as well as in small things. The mercilessness towards opponents and an almost tender consideration for political friends, mainly for the plain workmen and peasants. The patience with which defeats are taken, and the endurance with which new ways are found to lead out of a critical situation. The absolute optimism born out of an absolute faith in the ultimate victory of the working class the world over.

This is part of what made Lenin the revolutionary soul of Russia. His loss has bereaved Russia of the man who, like no one in history, penetrated into the affection of millions. His loss means the loss of a compass on a turbulent sea. The Russian revolutionary regime will not perish. It is too firmly established. Yet the loss of the greatest leader is a pain unendurable.

Doings and Misdoings of the Month

"Help" For the Farmers

WHILE recent years have seen ever increasing numbers of working farmers forced into bankruptcy, neither Mr. Coolidge nor his unlamented predecessor could spare an hour from the golf links to remedy the situation. But now that farmer bankruptcy is involving banks on a wide scale in agricultural states, now that Chambers of Commerce are sending out S. O. S. calls of financial shipwreck, Mr. Coolidge seizes pen and, after a mountain of labor, brings forth a "message to Congress."

So far as real aid to farmers is concerned, Coolidge's message reveals a political poverty somewhat like a former president's expression, who confronted by a panic, coined a happy phrase and called it merely a "psychological depression." Coolidge should engage Dr. Coue to give farmers his "day by day" treatment, as more effective than his five recommendations, none of which will help the dirt farmer, while all five directly or indirectly help the bankers, who, like insatiable leeches, have over-drained their victims' blood.

Coolidge's recommendations are: 1) Refunding of past due debts of the farmers. This will aid the banks directly in validating hopeless paper, while leaving the farmer with a permanent debt instead of the cold consolation of bankruptcy release. 2) Federal financial assistance to enable wheat farmers to diversify their crops. This would net the banks a neat sum in interest on loans through their hands; also it is a favorite idea of politicians who think pineapples can be raised in South Dakota. 3) Restoration of the

impaired capital of distressed banks. Aid for his poor "distressed banker" ought to cheer the farmer a lot! 4) Some private financial corporation to "assist in the reorganization of banks." Which means that big capital is invited to take over and pick the bones of the little-banker capital which died of gluttony. 5) Extension of the loaning power of the War Finance Corporation to last until next January. This is no visible help to the farmer, whose experience with the War Finance Corporation has been more enlightened than profitable—but it will surely help the bankers.

Capitalist politics has no better answer than these subterfuges. Only a party of farmers and workers, arising naturally from class needs, can produce a real program for the farmers.

Fascisti Felicitate Sam

Behind a large flat desk in an office in Rome sits Edmon Rossoni, former leader of the I. W. W. in New York, now head of the Fascist unions of Italy. He is rotund and affable. 'Yes,' he says, 'I know Mr. Gompers very well. You know we stand for the same thing as the American Federation of Labor—a fair day's wage for a fair day's work.'—From the *Nation*, by Paul Blanshard.

IN his interview with Rossoni, Mr. Blanshard brings out the fact that the crucial struggle in Italy has united the supposedly hostile forces of the yellow and reformist, right-wing socialists and labor leaders with the false revolutionists who lead the syndicalist "infantile left"—both now fighting against revolution. Hence it is not surprising that Rossoni, once editor of an I. W. W. paper in America, endorsed Gompers and with Gompers leads an international Fascist struggle

against Communists; a struggle that has reached the stage of expulsions in America and of murder in Italy.

"The old syndicalists have disappeared," says Blanshard, "some of them going to the Communists and some to the Fascisti." He adds that, "Three years ago the seizure of factories by workers led to wild prophecies." Blanshard makes nothing out of these paradoxes but "a picture puzzle."

But the Marxist understands such "puzzles" easily. Because the syndicalists reject the conception that the class struggle is political and confine their "direct action" to the industrial field alone, they acquiesced in the fatal decision to confine the great strike of three years ago to purely economic demands and did not go forward to destroy what they minimized as "the mere reflection of economic power"—the capitalist government. Not going forward they went backward. They lost control of the factories. They lost out to the Fascisti who were not hobbled with syndicalist illusions and who seized the government by force of arms—immediately turning its coercive powers against the workers. The syndicalists, ideologically bankrupt, had to make a choice; leaders like Rossoni went to the Fascisti and rank and file workers became convinced Communists.

While the yellow socialists led in betrayal of the Italian factory occupation, their social role is best illustrated in Germany where the social reformists outlawed the soviets of 1918, murdered the Spartacist workers and would not permit establishment of workers' dictatorship. This led them through their attempt to retain the capitalist, "democratic" form of government, into their present surrender to the Fascist dictatorship of Stinnes and Von Seeckt. Socialist Germany followed syndicalist Italy . . .

Postscript on the War

THE other day a democratic senator arose to remark that he was not surprised that Daugherty let oil criminals go unpunished, and that crooks among the Republicans could sell the White House without danger of Daugherty taking action.

Unfortunately Wilson's administration made 17,000 new millionaires as the greatest achievement of the war, and a Republican came back with the following list of high spots of what the Democrats did:

They spent \$20,000,000 for coke ovens that produced no coke; \$35,000,000 on picric acid plants that produced no acid; \$127,661,000 on terminals and docks at which no ship ever tied up; \$116,000,000 on poison gas plants that produced no gas and \$4,000,000,000 on ships which took no part in the war.

The horses surely were well cared for; because, for a total of 391,000 horses and mules there were provided 945,000 saddles, 1,000,000 sets of double harness, 1,148,000 horse covers, and even 195,000 branding irons. To be sure that horseless carriages had plenty of horse harness, \$21,000,000 was spent for ambulance harness when all ambulances were driven by automobile engines. The doughboy was not neglected on some things. For the 3,500,000 soldiers 41,000,000 pairs of shoes were bought, and what heavenly luxury they knew with 149,456,611 bread cans—or 42 bread cans for each soldier!

When one considers the oil graft and the war graft, one is forced to pay to capitalist politicians the same tribute paid by Winwood Reade to the Greek philosophers, whom, Reade remarked, were always "ready to defend their country or to defraud it."

On a Chicago Elevated Train

A MAN, rather poorly dressed and evidently a worker, sat on a Chicago "L" train reading a Hearst newspaper, when a second man similarly attired entered, sat down at the elbow of the first, and ostentatiously spread open the *Daily Worker*, imperceptibly edging it over until the first man began to eye, first the *Daily*, then its demonstrator.

Emboldened, the second man gestured toward the Hearst sheet and asked in a tone of unutterable disgust, "Do you really read that stuff?"

"Well," apologized the first man, "not usually. I was looking for something special." Then he listened while the *Daily Worker* booster read him the story of the American Legion breaking up a labor meeting at Wilksbarre, Pennsylvania. "Bad actors," the *Daily's* champion ended.

"Yes," agreed the first man; then, feeling his apology for reading a capitalist paper still insufficient, he added, "Going to speak at a meeting Sunday that the Legion may try to break up."

"What! You speak?" asked the other, astonished . . . "Who are you?"

"Oh, just a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party," the first man replied, "and I'm delighted to meet you and to see how you and others are plugging for the *Daily*." And then two good Communists "put her there" in perfect understanding.

Thus the *Daily Worker* is winning the proud support of every militant worker, and the example of the man with the *Daily* on the Chicago "L" must be followed by every live workman or woman. Carry a copy with you, and never let a fellow-worker escape without a sermon and a sample.

The White House of Prostitution

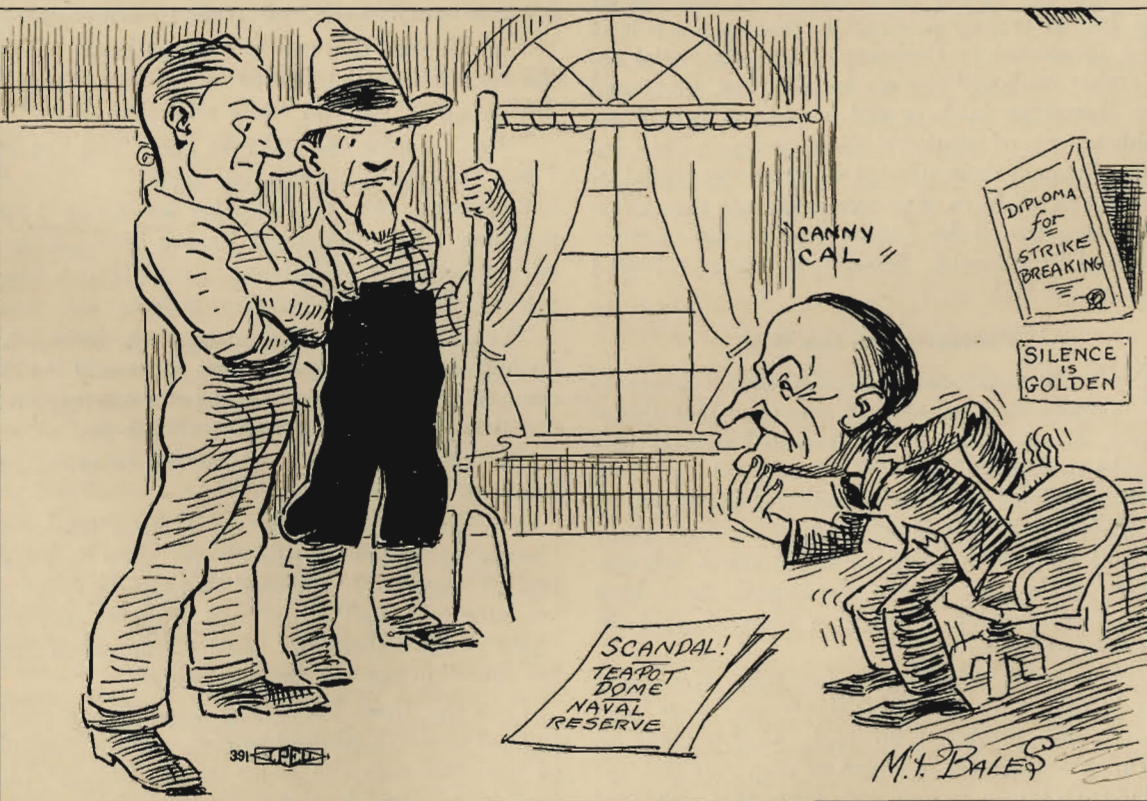
THE dictionary says petroleum is "a dark brown inflammable liquid which exists in the upper strata of the earth." Nothing connected with politics in that, is there? Yet just as Scott Nearing in "Oil and the Germs of War," and Francis Delaisi in "Oil—Its Influence on Politics," have shown all "democratic" governments to be playthings of oil corporations, so it has been proven in America since the tempest in the Teapot Dome has blown the upper strata of capitalist government into the Milky Way. The highest heads of both republican and democratic parties are revealed smeared with grease and graft.

H. F. Sinclair and E. L. Doheny are big oil men. Contrary to law, Harding transferred all naval oil reserves to the Interior Department shortly after his election. Things happened. Sinclair got Teapot Dome and Doheny got the California reserves on leases signed by Fall and Denby. Denby's assistant, Theodore Roosevelt gave silent approval. Archie Roosevelt, his brother, was "by chance" assistant to Sinclair.

Harding's whole cabinet had guilty knowledge of the deals. Hughes, too moral to recognize Russia, recognized Sinclair *de jure* and *de facto*. Daugherty gave "verbal and unofficial O. K." to the steals. Fall got \$100,000 from Doheny and

\$93,000 from Sinclair. What others got is still concealed, but Daugherty once said he wouldn't take a million for his job, many high officials who knew leases were going through cleaned up a pot of about \$30,000,000, while others shared in a slush fund of \$1,000,000 sent down to Washington from New York. "A close friend of Harding" drew \$200,000 of that fund without explaining where it went and for what.

Denby's head has been lopped off and Daugherty's may be next in the effort to save the republicans from disaster. Democrats were in high feather until Doheny peached on Gregory, attorney general under Wilson. Doheny added that McAdoo, Wilson's son-in-law, had McAdoodled him out of \$150,000 for services which McAdoo himself could not itemize, while Wilson's cabinet officers Lane and Garrison had likewise fattened purses, and George Creel, the sanctified hypocrite who published forged documents against Russia and who buncoed America into belief that it was a "war for democracy" had taken a cheap bribe of \$5,000. Like a vestal virgin caught in a bagnio, Mr. McAdoo protested his innocence to heaven and called for a medical examination. The doctors took his pulse, looked at his tongue, examined everything but his bank account and pronounced him pure and undefiled.



Farmer-Laborites to Coolidge:—"No wonder you made such a hit with your ability to keep your mouth shut—there are so many things to keep silent about."

Economics of Class Collaboration

By Earl R. Browder

"INTELLECTUAL poison for the workers" is the only judgment possible on the book, *The Control of Wages*, recently issued by the Workers' Education Bureau and written by Walton Hamilton and Stacy May. Cleverly written and avoiding much of the dry and humorless style usual in such books, the philosophy of class collaboration that it contains is all the more dangerous to the labor movement. It bears the same relation to trade union theory that the collaboration schemes of Wm. H. Johnston & Co. bear to trade union practice. It amounts in substance to an elaborate scheme of justification in the language of economic science for the prostitution of labor unionism to the function of efficiency auxiliaries to capitalism. The hope is held out, as bait upon the class collaboration hook, that by these means the labor unions may raise the prevailing standard of wages.

Production and Wages

The fundamental thesis of Hamilton and May is contained in the following words: "It will be well to remember that there are only two ways in which the material welfare of the laborer can be increased. One is at the expense of other groups in the community; the other is through an increase of the wealth out of which all income is paid. The first of these has very definite limits . . . If it is overdone . . . it defeats its own end. The second of these, an attempt to get more out of resources (through increased efficiency and technical improvements), has flexible limits." Throughout the book grave warnings of disaster and disappointment are given to those workers who would increase wages at the expense of property incomes, while the smooth broad road to comfort and affluence for all workers is described in proposals for increasing the product of industry. The class struggle is anathema; the key to wages is class collaboration. Such is the message of the Workers' Education Bureau and its text book on wages.

It is interesting to note the similarity between these theories and those which have brought disaster to the German labor movement. When, at the close of the war, German Labor had the opportunity to establish a real "control of wages" by means of militant class struggle and subordination of the capitalist class, it was lured away by the siren song of "First we must reestablish the forces of production." Under the leadership of the class collaborationists, the Social-Democratic Party and trade union officialdom, the German workers sub-

ordinated themselves to the task of repairing the capitalist system, increasing production, and improving the technique of industry. The present mass-starvation of the German working class is the direct outcome of this policy. Its effects in America can differ only in degree.

Some Disconcerting Facts

What is the answer of American experience to the question of whether increased production is a source of increased wages? Hamilton and May themselves give figures (Pp. 145-146) which belie the conclusions of their argument. Production increased in the United States from 1899 to 1920 by approximately 30% per capita; but during the same period real wages, instead of increasing by any part of the increased production, actually declined to an extent variously estimated at from 10% to 30%. It is hard to obtain any comfort for the class collaborationists from these stubborn facts.

What has American experience to say as to the effectiveness of improved industrial technique in raising wage rates? According to the theory of Hamilton and May, the most highly organized and mechanized industries should pay the highest wages. A casual comparison between wages in the steel industry, where organization and the machine process are developed to a high degree, with those in the building industry which, although rapidly undergoing the same transformation, is still, for various reasons, far behind steel, shows that the collaborationist theory is not supported by the existing facts. A Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, December, 1923, shows the average wage of workers in the steel industry, for one particular week, to be approximately \$5.00 per day; while the *Monthly Labour Review*, of the same Bureau, for December, 1923, shows the wage rates in the building trades for all the large cities, which together comprise the bulk of the building workers, to range from \$8.00 to \$13.00 per day. It is a matter of common knowledge that they enjoy infinitely better working conditions, have more control of their jobs, etc. The building trades workers have shorter hours and receive higher wages than do the workers in the steel industry. Improved technique has not been a source of increased wages.

The above facts and arguments are convincing testimony that increased production and development of technique have no tendency to increase wages. It might be argued with more plausibility that the opposite of the collaborationist theory is

true. Either statement of the case, however, ignores the fundamental factors that determine wages, both as discovered by theoretical analysis and direct observation. It is as incorrect for the workers to expect increased wages by increased output as it would be for them to go upon the opposite theory and attempt to limit production and prevent technical progress for the purpose of increasing wages.

Effects of Collaboration

Upon the labor movement the effect of the collaborationist theory is to undermine and destroy what measure of control the workers have over wages. A classical example of this is seen in the scheme of Wm. H. Johnston, President of the Machinists' Union, now being peddled to the railroad corporations of the country, by which the labor organizations are to abandon all struggle with the companies, become efficiency bureaus and make the employers love them. Two positive results are achieved by such surrender to class collaboration; (1) The employers are thus won to affectionate regard for the unions, because it saves them the trouble of creating company unions for the same purpose; (2) the reactionary officials of the unions avoid unpleasant struggles, preserve their easy jobs, and comfortable salaries, and become "respectable citizens."

But if these class collaboration theories, together with the vicious practices that naturally flow from them, serve the interests of the employing class and the union bureaucracy, their effect upon the working class is disastrous. Its fighting spirit, as well as its ability to put up an effective fight, are gradually and subtly undermined. The unions are transformed, step by step, into "production departments," and the authority of capitalist administration begins to reach over from the workshop into the union hall. Labor, as an independent power, fighting the encroachments of predatory capitalism and jealously protecting the interests of the workers, is eliminated from industry. Class collaboration is fatal to militant labor organization.

Not only does this pernicious doctrine sap the strength of the trade unions, but at the same time it increases the fighting power of the employers. How ridiculous it is to tell the workers that their wages are to be increased through improvements in the technique of production, when all about them they see that it is precisely the most highly mechanized industries that have eliminated all effective labor unionism and used the higher technique to intensify exploitation of the workers. The steel trust is a classical example, not to speak of the textile trust, the automobile combines, the rubber industry and others. Every advance in

the technique of industry is accompanied by concentration of capital, which is immediately translated into more militant and effective warfare upon the workers' organizations.

The Labor Market

A pitiful attempt to make class-collaboration policies appear to be sound in economic theory was made by Wm. H. Johnston, in his speech before a gathering of railroad executives in St. Louis last fall. His statement that "the idea underlying our service may be compared to the idea which underlies the engineering service extended to the railroads by large supply corporations which have contracts with these railroads to furnish, let us say, arch-brick, superheaters, stokers, or lubricating oil," is a clumsy attempt to hook his vicious scheme up with current notions of economics. It attempts to make class collaboration appear as good "selling tactics" on the labor market. But the argument fails as miserably as do the others.

"Wages are determined by the same law which regulates the price of any other commodity," said Marx (*Wage-Labor and Capital*, Kerr edition, p. 19). The principle is elaborately worked out in *Capital*, being a fundamental of the Marxian theory of value. "The price of a commodity is determined by its cost of production . . . which is the same thing as its determination by the duration of the labor required for its manufacture." In the case of the commodity "labor-power," the price (wage) is determined by the amount of labor required to produce (and reproduce) it. This is subject to variation from the barest subsistence, or less, to the comparative comfort of small sections of workers, according to the technical requirements of the labor-process, the immediate supply and demand, the general level of technology, etc., but above all according to the *organized social and industrial power of the workers* to withhold their labor-power from the market until they receive a certain standard of living.*

The only effective point of attack for the workers, in their efforts to control wages, is thus clearly seen to be their organized power, used in struggle with the employers. To attempt to find, in the examination of labor-power as a commodity, any justification for the Johnston scheme of increasing the productivity of labor-power, as a policy for the raising of wages, is absurd. To propose to increase the price of labor-power, by increasing its productivity, which in turn increases the available supply in relation to the demand of industry, while the control of the supply by its sellers is

* Workers desiring to go more fully into the Marxian theory of wages should read *Capital*, Vol. I, chap. XIX, XX, XXI, XXII, as well as chap. I, II, III, VI; and follow Index references to Wages through Vols. II and III.

weakened—such a proposition is a caricature of economic theory that scarcely requires refutation.

When the collaborationists point out that wage rates are generally higher in those countries with a highly-developed machine industry, than in countries where primitive methods prevail, they think they have scored a smashing argument that "labor can afford to lead in the popular drive for more production." No such conclusion is warranted by an examination of the matter. Higher wages in countries of machine production, as compared with countries of handicraft industry, have the same meaning, so far as wages and their control go, as the figures for equipment repairs and maintenance. Both items are higher in the one country than in the other, and for the same reason. Maintenance costs are higher for a steam-engine than for a hand-loom, and the labor-maintenance cost is higher for a steam engine operator than for a hand-loom operator. Neither has any necessary relation to the *volume* of production. Both are incidental to the technical requirements of the particular industry, and both decrease pro-

rata with the increase of production upon a given level of technical culture in the absence of compensating factors.

Class Struggle the Only Way

Control of wages is, indeed, a vital problem to the working class. But unfortunately there is no broad, well-lighted boulevard that leads the workers to that much-desired goal. It can be reached only by organization and struggle. All the attempts of the apostles of class-peace, class collaboration, and social reformism, to lead the workers away from the inevitable fight are, in result if not in intention, gross betrayals of the interests of the working class. Control of wages is to be obtained only through control of the whole process of production, which in turn calls for the control of government. Every specific wage is to be increased only by organization and struggle in the shops; the general wage is to be controlled only through the widest political organization and struggle of the whole working class. Class struggle, and not class collaboration, leads to the emancipation of the toiling masses.

The Trend Toward Unemployment

By Leland Olds

THE United States is winding up a period of temporary prosperity made possible by heavy capital expenditures and the paralysis of bankrupt Europe. Production in this country, on the downgrade since May, 1923, has fallen to a point lower than that reached on the up-grade a year ago. Industry has laid off over half a million men. A mild spring revival is likely, but this will not attain anything like the proportions of last year's activity and will be followed by another recession which will carry industrial activity still lower.

The domestic market for industrial products reached its peak last year. Wholesale trade has been declining and is considerably below the trend of past years. Department store sales show a similar failure to measure up to the trend of past years and their stocks on hand are above those of a year ago. The building industry and the railroads, representing the heaviest demand on the basic industries, will call for less industrial activity than they did in 1923.

The extent to which this will develop immediate pressure on American labor with all the familiar symptoms of widespread unemployment and wage reductions will depend in large measure upon four factors: (1) The extent to which the higher cost of production in America is balanced by the lower cost of credit, that is, the extent to which nations

like Japan can get loans on more favorable terms in the United States, such loans to be used to purchase the products of American industries. (2) The extent to which American capitalists can stimulate the need for such loans by inciting lesser nations to build armaments against each other. (3) The extent to which American capital can sell below cost in order to bankrupt competitors in foreign markets and by absorbing them establish a world monopoly. (4) The temporary stimulus of another grand war.

1923 Prosperity Slowly Fades

First evidence that these difficult times could not be much longer postponed appeared when the upward swing of business came to an unexpected halt in May, 1923, and industrial activity began to decline. Making every possible allowance for normal seasonal variations, production in the basic industries had fallen off 12½% by December or to a point 4% lower than in December 1922. The number of employes on the payrolls of manufacturing establishments had been reduced 5% by the first month of 1924.

The following table shows the course of production and employment in the United States during the past 14 months. The index number representing production is adjusted for seasonal variations.

Index Numbers of Production and Employment
(1919 equals 100%)

	Production in basic industries	Employ- ment
1922		
November	116%	97%
December	116	98
1923		
January	121	99
February	120	101
March	125	103
April	124	103
May	127	103
June	122	103
July	121	101
August	120	101
September	114	101
October	118	101
November	116	100
December	111	99

Large manufacturing states of the North, with the exception of those in which the automobile industry is predominant, report the heaviest layoffs. By January 6% of the factory workers in New York and 6½% of those in Illinois had been discharged. The number of employes on factory payrolls in Pennsylvania was reduced 5% between October and December. In all these states the number of applicants for jobs exceeds the jobs available by a wide margin. During January Illinois free employment agencies reported 20,000 applicants for whom only 10,000 jobs could be found.

Unemployment Hits Industries

Workers in shoe factories and textile mills were earliest hit by the lack of demand for full production. Part time employment and unemployment has been their lot for many months. In September the railroads began laying off maintenance workers. By the end of the year their forces had been reduced by more than 75,000. The number of full time jobs on the railroads have fallen by more than 5%. Late in the year the depression affected the jobs of employes in the metal industries, the automobile and the electrical manufacturing industries alone excepted. Railroad equipment concerns curtailed their activity drastically, Baldwin Locomotive reducing its force from 21,500 to 7,000 in the course of a few months.

It should, of course, be remarked that union coal miners in Illinois and Indiana have been given the biggest dose of part time and unemployment. Competition from non-union mines in an over-expanded industry has caused the closing of 140 mines in these two states while the remainder have operated only two or three days a week. While the American Railway Association reports 2,455 bituminous mines out of operation in the east or 44.2% of the mines in that territory shut down.

Attempts to decide whether this gradual recession in industry represents a long time trend or whether it is merely a seasonal reaction to be followed by even greater prosperity are at best subject to serious qualifications. Already the daily press is hailing with exaggerated optimism the scant indications of a spring revival. But certain important business barometers are saying quite distinctly that this revival will be neither complete nor long sustained and that world conditions will offer stiffer and stiffer resistance to industrial activity in this country.

Underlying the unexampled industrial spurt of 1923 were huge demands for supplies coming from two industries, building construction and the railroads. Let us consider the probable future demands of these two major influences.

Construction Work Shrinks

The normal growth of the country would call for about \$3,300,000,000 worth of building construction work a year. Construction for the two years 1922-1923 totaled approximately \$11,000,000,000, for the country was busy making good a building shortage estimated at \$8,084,985,000 developed during the war years. By January 1, 1924 this shortage had been reduced to about \$1,960,935,000. Using these figures the Copper & Brass Association figures that with building activity reduced by over 15% as compared with 1923 the year 1924 will completely wipe out this shortage. The F. W. Dodge Corporation predicts a decline of at least 10% in building activity. Of course during 1924 there will probably be plenty of employment for building trades mechanics but the demand for building materials will be reduced and this will affect the steel industry, the cement industry, railroad traffic, the lumber industry, etc.

Curtailement of railroad purchases is far more serious. Charts prepared by E. B. Leigh for the Railway Business Association indicate that heavy railway purchases precede and initiate general industrial revival and similarly that a sharp curtailment in railway purchases tends to precede and initiate general decline in industrial activity. The ups and downs of the employment and production curves of the iron and steel industry appear to follow the ups and downs of railway purchases throughout the period from 1906 to the present.

With this in mind it is significant that in spite of considerable talk about the necessity of spending billions on the railroads, actual orders have fallen very nearly flat. The National City Bank bulletin says "The outlook for expenditures by the railroads is not so promising as it was a year ago as the roads have placed their equipment in good order and have demonstrated that they have enough of it to handle any amount of traffic likely

to be offered in the coming year." Wall Street Journal says "Beyond the business already in sight, equipment makers do not expect any important buying of either cars or engines for the early months of the year. But it is likely that failing orders for new cars and engines they will receive considerable repair work which is profitable and forms an excellent stop gap over an otherwise slack period." This sounds extraordinarily like 1921 when the equipment companies took over repair work while the railroads laid off tens of thousands of their own repair mechanics.

The two big locomotive companies Baldwin and American are today operating at about 25% of capacity. Baldwin Locomotive started the year with only \$6,000,000 in unfilled orders as compared with \$42,000,000 a year ago and \$73,000,000 in April, 1923. American Locomotive has about \$12,000,000 in unfinished business on its books compared with \$49,000,000 in January, 1923 and \$63,000,000 in April. Altogether the locomotive builders of the country have at present orders for 376 engines as compared with orders for 1,783 a year ago.

Market Demands Below Normal

The following table shows at a glance the downward trend of demand for industrial activity. The course of unfilled orders for 8 commodities shown in the 3rd column includes steel, locomotives, pig iron, steel sheets, maple flooring, oak flooring, clay fire brick and face brick.

Fluctuations in Unfilled Orders (Average 1920 equals 100%)

	U. S. Steel Corp.	Loco- motives	Eight Com- modities
December 1922	67%	120%	75%
January 1923	69	135	85
February	72	168	93
March	74	175	101
April	72	167	95
May	69	163	87
June	64	148	77
July	59	131	68
August	54	113	60
September	50	89	58
October	46	71	54
November	44	52	53
December	44	29	*
January, 1924	48	28	*

* Not yet available

The recent rise in the unfilled orders on the books of the steel corporation is deceptive as it includes 150,000 tons ordered in previous months but for some reason not reported until the present. Unfilled orders on the books of the great corporation today amount to 4,798,429 tons or more than

2,000,000 below March 1923 and only about 700,000 tons above the lowest point reached during the depression. Unfilled orders during 1920 averaged over 10,000,000 tons. Unfilled orders for locomotives are lower than at any time since February 1922 while freight car orders are coming in at about a quarter the rate of a year ago.

The demand for goods for distribution to the ultimate consumer is also falling off although this tendency is more difficult to appraise and cannot be considered a definite swing until several more months have confirmed it. The New York Federal Reserve bank reports wholesale business in that district during December 5% below the level of December 1922. This important index of business is 9% below the bank's computed trend based on previous years. It represents a drop of 12% from the November figure. Sales of groceries, dry goods, shoes and men's clothes, all goods largely distributed to the wage earning class, fell sharply as compared with a year ago while the sale of diamonds went up 51% and the sale of women's coats and suits went up 35% showing that the coupon clipping classes were using their extra dividends to enlarge the demand for luxuries. In the Chicago district wholesale business was reported as below 1922 with stocks on hand higher than in the previous December.

Department store sales in the New York district show a similar decline of 4% below the trend of past years even when seasonal variations and price changes are taken into account. Stocks of commodities on hand were reported as 9% greater than in the same month of the previous year.

The amount of advertising carried in magazines and newspapers is also considered as an important indication of what business expects of the consumer. Both these indexes declined during December, magazine advertising to a level 7% below the trend and newspaper advertising to a level 10% below the trend.

Competition of Overexpanded Industries

But even with satisfactory consumption at home, full employment in nearly every industry has come to depend upon ability to capture foreign markets in competition with foreign producers. During the war the productive capacity of American industry was developed to such a point that the country must change from an exporter of agricultural products and raw materials to an exporter of finished manufactured products. A word about the excess productive capacity of three interdependent industries will show the significance of this over expansion in terms of future employment.

The bituminous coal industry has a capacity 200,000,000 tons a year in excess of present re-

quirements. To overcome present unemployment and part time activity in this industry a market must be found for nearly 40% of its possible production. Otherwise 200,000 miners must be laid off or 600,000 kept only partially employed.

The ingot capacity of the steel industry expanded from 37,000,000 tons to 54,484,000 tons a year between 1913 and 1922. During 1923 fourteen open hearth furnaces were erected adding 1,030,000 tons capacity and bringing the total capacity of the country to 55,514,000 tons. Compare with this the 1923 production of 43,226,955 and it appears that in a year of full industrial activity there is 12,000,000 tons steel capacity unused.

The machinery industry which takes the products of a coal and iron through to a finished product must export approximately 20% of its product to keep fully employed. According to W. H. Rastall, chief, machinery division, U. S. Department of Commerce, the latest figures show that on the average the 4,000 machinery manufacturing plants in this country export 17% of their product. This business is absolutely necessary to the welfare of these shops and to at least a million people.

Competition from Europe

It is in the attempt to maintain good activity in these backbone industries that foreign competition is already being felt. Latest reports show that French iron is being imported into this country and sold at \$22 to \$22.50 per ton in spite of the duty. This is just about what it is sold for at American furnaces today. But the report continues "Moreover Belgian and Luxemburg mills are selling structural shapes of steel here at about \$10 under American prices in spite of a duty of \$3 a ton." Official figures show that the book cost of producing a ton of pig iron in the district controlled by France (extending from Belgium to Lorraine and including the Ruhr and Saar valleys) is about \$10 a ton below the book cost of producing it in the United States. If such competition develops in the domestic market what will it be at the end of a long shipment to foreign markets. Perhaps this explains the recent Wall Street Journal note that Schwab of Bethlehem Steel is at present in Germany trying to make agreement with German manufacturers for export of unfinished products to the United States for completion and reshipment to South America, to take advantage of low German labor cost.

Recently Germany has received orders for 5 locomotives for the Indian railways underbidding English makers by 40%. An Italian firm has outbid the British on a contract for 30 locomotives for Egypt. American makers, whose costs are

slightly above those in England, also bid for these contracts and lost. These are merely signs of the way the wind is blowing.

Other industries, the shoe, the textile, the cement, the automobile, and the food products including meat packing must have foreign markets to maintain full employment. But they, too, are faced with competition from foreign manufacturers. And, in the case of Germany where foreign conquest inforces low wages and long hours as well as in India and China where men, women and children as young as six years work for a few cents a day which frequently runs to 16 hours, these foreign competitors are utilizing cheap labor.

Further Deflation in Prospect

A comparison worked out a year ago by John Hilton, Director, Division of Statistics, British Ministry of Labor, shows that for the same quantity of nourishment a machinist must work 2 hours in the United States, 3¼ hours in Great Britain, 6 hours in France, 6¾ hours in Belgium and 7¼ hours in Germany. In the case of the unskilled metal worker the contrast is not quite so sharp, the number of hours exchanged for the same quantity of food being 5¼ hours in the United States, 4½ hours in Great Britain, 7¾ hours in France, 8¾ hours in Belgium and 7¼ hours in Germany. Such figures show what the American worker is up against when foreign competition gets free of the present financial entanglements. And whereas before the war, except in Germany, higher development of mass production and automatic machinery gave the American worker a favorable differential, the war and its aftermath have tended to reduce if not to eliminate this difference.

Such aspects of the general employment situation are today uppermost in the minds of farsighted men who, in spite of all prosperity incantations see difficult times ahead. Further deflation of labor will doubtless be an order of business for American capitalism in the not distant future.

"ANISE" ON RUSSIA

"The First Time in History"—By Anna Louise Strong, with an introduction by Leon Trotsky. Boni and Liveright, \$2.00.

If you have suffered a "let-down" because Russia went "back to capitalism;" if you half-believe the claims of capitalists and anarchists that the "New Economic Policy" (NEP) is a dismal twilight marking the end of all hopes for the Russian workers—this book was written for you.

Two years of NEP in all parts of Russia, convincing and colorful, full of intimate stuff of life among ordinary workers. You see and hear the wheels go round in city and country, in mines, oil-fields, factories, in community house-keeping, finance and education. A book that blows away lies and doubts and misgivings, like a clean gale from the sea.

Jacob Dolla Writes From Prison

By John Dorsey

A TYPICAL American frame-up, possible in few other lands without some tremendous upheaval that would rock the whole country, goes almost without challenge in the United States. Except for the agitation of militants among the trade unions and the exposures published in THE LABOR HERALD during the last year, no one would know of Jacob Dolla, steel striker of 1919, member of the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers, now a prisoner in the State penitentiary at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, serving a term of from 12 to 17 years.

Who is Dolla and what did he do? A skilled steel worker of Hungarian birth, now 35 years old, with a wife and two babes, a home and a host of friends, Dolla lived at Lebanon, Pennsylvania, when, on April 7, 1919, Bethlehem Steel cut wages 25 per cent. Dolla went on strike, he led the picket lines, an active and popular union man. Dolla's leadership closed the steel mills of Lebanon. That is why Dolla was torn away from family and friends and lives today a living death in prison.

Angered by Dolla's picket lines, it seems that an *agent provocateur* named John Aldrige was sent into the union by the Steel Trust to provoke violence. In September 1919, an explosion was fixed up, evidently by Aldrige and the State Police "Cossacks," which blew a few boards off a porch of the house of a scab. Four men, named Mumford, Miller, Sohn and Dissinger were arrested, threatened with long terms, beaten and tortured until they agreed to testify that Dolla had stolen dynamite and made them use it.

Mumford, an ex-soldier then still suffering from open wounds of the war now says, "They beat me and tortured me continually until I could not stand it any longer. They struck me on my wounds. There was no truth in the story they forced me to testify to. So help me God, I nor Dolla never stole dynamite for the explosion."

But Dolla was arrested and tortured trying to make him "confess." Witnesses and even relatives were run away from the hearing. The only lawyers he could get sold him out and urged him to plead "guilty" and "get a light sentence." They got his wife to believe it best and to add her influence. Broken by torture, isolated from friends and trusting in promises made through lawyers and his deceived young wife, Dolla gave in and "signed some papers." Hidden in them was a confession that he had also blown up the house of one Witzman, yet there never was such a thing

happened! No such explosion! Yet Dolla got the longest part of a duplicated sentence for this crime that never happened!

By unprejudiced, material witnesses everyone who testified against Dolla has been proven a perjurer. The innocence of Dolla is established just as clearly as the guilt of Sergeant Campbell of the State Police in arranging the frame-up on Dolla. Yet Dolla writes from prison as follows:

"My pardon was refused upon false reports made to the Pardon Board by my persecutors. First that I stabbed somebody several years ago. I wrote to the former District Attorney and he gave me a clean bill of health. Someone wrote from Lebanon saying my own union adopted a resolution condemning me, but I received a letter from Brother M. F. Tighe saying such resolution was never adopted and whoever wrote such letter was agent for the Steel Co. Also, my persecutors notified the Pardon Board that they have other indictments against me, but Mr. Thompson searched the records and he can find no indictments. I don't believe they have any because I never done nothing wrong, but if they have they are fabricated to oppose my pardon with."

"The report of Aldrige the spy was sent by the Steel Co. lawyer, which says Aldrige saw me put a bomb under a big tree at the Camp Meeting grounds and it tore the tree out of its roots. I wrote my wife to go see Mr. John Hain who is owner of the grounds. He lives right there. I received a sworn affidavit from Mr. Hain saying that it is absolutely not true. He never saw or even heard of anything of the kind. Yet the Pardon Board believes such character as Aldrige."

"Another thing should be looked into. I was charged and sentenced from one to three years for dynamiting Karl Witzman's house, and from 5 to 7 years for attempt to kill him, yet everybody in the neighborhood knows nothing wrong was ever done to the house he lived in. After I was sent to prison Witzman confessed, saying his evidence was false, making his excuse of being drunk at the time he testified."

No more dastardly frame-up can be imagined, and every militant must, individually and through his union, din these facts into the ears of the Governor of Pennsylvania until his Pardon Board releases Jacob Dolla. Clinton Golden of the Philadelphia Machinists' District Council has done much to push the case. But a national protest is needed to arouse the indifferent politicians.

Labor in China

By Louis Zoobock

"CONSTANT capital, the means of production, considered from the standpoint of the creation of surplus value, only exists to absorb labor, and with every drop of labor a proportional quantity of surplus labor . . . The prolongation of the working day beyond the limits of the natural day into the night, only acts as a palliative. It quenches only in a slight degree the vampire thirst from the living blood of labor. To appropriate labor during all the 24 hours of the day is, therefore, the inherent tendency of capitalist production."—Marx—Capital, Vol. I, page 282.

CHINA is being rapidly industrialized. In this process her labor problem is assuming a new and more complex character. Only five years ago, we could have hardly spoken of the "labor situation" of China in the modern sense of the term. To-day, labor unions are replacing the old fashioned industrial guilds; strikes are occurring; the Chinese proletariat is awakening. It is beginning a conscious fight for its rightful place in society.

The first factories in China sprang up in the "treaty-ports" thru the investment and management of foreign capitalists. From the "treaty-ports," the factory system has penetrated to other parts of the country. And, as a result, cotton mills, flour mills, canneries, knitting mills, ship-building works, iron foundries, steel works, packing houses, tanneries, lace and hairnet factories, match factories, oil mills, railway shops, silk mills, smelting works, sugar factories, woolen mills, cement works . . . , etc. are some among the modern industrial plants now in operation.

Labor Conditions

The rapid spread and expansion of industries in China may be illustrated by some figures. The first modern cotton mill was established in China 1890; in 1891 there were two cotton mills with 65,000 spindles; in 1905, there were 1,000,000 spindles; and at the close of 1921, there were 92 cotton mills with 2,692,046 spindles in operation. Seventy-three of these mills were owned by the Chinese and employed 72,307 laborers. In 1920, the Chinese Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce reported, that "within the last two years have sprung up in the Yantze-Valley 53 factories, 26 electric plants, 18 transportation companies, 16 cotton mills, 16 agricultural enterprises; 15 commercial houses, 12 mining companies, 3 fisheries and 18 miscellaneous companies—aggregating a total investment of \$74,187,420." It is also reported that there are 445 glass factories in the country and that the number of engineering fac-

ories, flour mills, sugar mills, match factories, etc. is increasing.

The conditions of labor in the factories of China are unbearable. The wages, as we shall see, are very low; the hours of labor exceedingly long and beyond human endurance; there is no generally recognized rest day; there is complete absence of any social or factory legislation in the greater part of the country.

Such primary questions as sanitation, ventilation, lighting, etc. are very little cared for; and the health of the workers is ever menaced. In the match factories, yellow phosphorus is used exclusively and cases of "phossy jaw" are frequent. In the asbestos industry, writes an authority, "the beating out of fibre is performed by twanging stretched strings by hand in large rooms. The air is soon so thick with dust that it is difficult to see across the room. The men breathe through bits of sacking, the pores of which quickly choke with dust, making respiration extremely difficult."

Women and children are employed in many industries. The former make up a very large proportion of the working force in the silk and cotton factories. Thus, we find, that the workers in the silk factories of Shanghai numbering 60,000 are mostly women.

Child labor is the worst possible. Boys of 8 years of age are employed by the thousands in the various factories and mines. In 40 pongee silk factories in Chefoo, 25,000 boys and young men work 13 hours a day for wages averaging 6 cents each. In match factories, boys from 8 to 15 years old are employed, working from 4 o'clock in the morning to 8:30 in the evening with 15 minutes off for noon, seven days per week, receiving wages between 6 and 10 cents a day. Small girls likewise are employed in factories in countless numbers, many of them working as the boys, among machines unprovided with the most elementary safety devices, and accidents to them are by no means rare. The floor of the shop is often the only sleeping quarters provided for them.

Hours of Labor and Wages

Until very recently, the hours of labor in Chinese factories were as many as 14 to 17 a day. In the silk factories of Shanghai, the working day is 14½ hours; employees in iron foundries work from 13 to 18 hours a day, seven days a week; in match factories, the whistles blow at 5 o'clock in the morning summoning the workers to

their toil. In Hong-Kong, girls work in factories 96½ hours a week; and in the glass factories children work from 6 A. M. to 11 P. M. in unsanitary condition, exposed to fumes and high temperature. Such conditions lead to countless accidents of the worst kind, most of which occur at night or at the end of the day indicating fatigue as the chief cause.

The wages which the Chinese workers receive serve as the best illustrations of the "subsistence wage" doctrine. The Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce furnishes a great mass of data on this question. Thus, we find "that the maximum daily wage for men in 29 of the chief industries ranges from 41 cents to \$1.03, while the minimum ranges from 3 to 5 cents. For 221,000 women in the same industries the figures are: maximum wages from 5 to 85 cents a day, minimum from 2 to 35 cents" Other reports show similar conditions. In Shanghai, bricklayers receive 50 cents a day; masons from 50 to 80 cents; painters 50 to 70 cents a day, etc. In Hong-Kong, the wages are somewhat higher.

Labor Organizations and Strikes

These conditions, brought about by the "vampire thirst" of Chinese and foreign capitalists "for the living blood of labor" naturally, led to the formation of labor organizations.

The Chinese proletariat is banding together in defense of its interests. Labor unions are replacing the old labor guilds and the strike weapon is being used to enforce new demands.

The first labor organizations appeared in the South. The student agitation in the Spring of 1919 resulted in the formation of 26 unions. From the South, the movement spread to other parts of the country. In 1920 the mechanics union of Hong-Kong led a successful strike and this gave a fresh impulse and more than a hundred new unions sprang up in a few months. At present the workers of Hong-Kong are so well organized that they have succeeded in a large measure in gaining control of all labor. The number of unions in this city is said to be over 200, while in Canton it reaches 300.

In Shanghai, according to a report of the Chinese government Bureau of Economic information, there were 47 labor unions in 1922 many of which were organized during the summer of that year. Of the 112,000 workers employed in the 126 mills, factories and filatures, in the international settlement, 80,000 belong to trade unions. In addition there are 30,000 organized jinrikisha coolies, approximately 50,000 unionized shipping and river-side workers and about 5,000 in the chauffeurs union; many of the unions formed are largely made up of women.

The two best known labor leaders are Huang-Huanting and Hsieh Yien-po. The former is the head of the Federation of Labor, the latter is the leading figure of the Mutual Aid Society; this is an organization of a socialistic character, which issues several labor papers and provides facilities for cooperation among the unions.

The rapid adoption of Western Unionism in the industrial sections of China has resulted in numerous strikes in the past few years. In a period of nine months (1921-1922), there were 52 labor strikes in two cities of Kwantung, namely Canton and Chaochow. They affected more than 80 different lines of trades and resulted in an increase of wages of an average of 25 per cent; the total number of strikes in Shanghai and its environs in 1922 was 71, of which 48 occurred in the settlement itself. In Canton during 1921, a successful strike occurred in almost every important industry.

The Chinese possess an inherent capacity for combining; they prove one of the most cohesive people in the world when it comes to a strike or a boycott. This is proved by the manner in which the various strikes were conducted. The famous seamen's strike in Hong-Kong, conducted and organized by the Mutual Aid Society, may serve as the best example for workers of any country. During this strike each worker whether he belonged to the union or not received a subsidy ranging from 45 cents to \$1 a day; the Union succeeded in raising \$300,000 to sustain the strike. The mass at large responded heartily to the needs of the strikers and contributions came from all parts of the country. Finally, the workers of Hong-Kong called a sympathetic strike; all trades responded including even house servants and hotel employees; everything in the city was brought to a standstill and, as a result, the strike was won. In the strike of the carmen of Shanghai in March 1921, the workers marched out as a well disciplined army, and it only lasted four days. The printers strike in Canton, in December 1921, left the whole city without newspapers for three days and compelled the publishers and newspapermen to grant their employees a 40% increase in wages. The strike of the 10,000 building trade mechanics of Canton, in 1921, also resulted in a 40% increase in their pay. In brief, the labor movement in China, though young, has shown its strength. It was successful in at least 9/10 of the strikes, as a result of which wages were increased, hours of labor shortened, club rooms and evening schools for workers established, etc. It has succeeded in the task of arousing labor from passiveness to a conscious fight for its rightful position in Society; and it aims to accomplish the complete emancipation of the Chinese proletariat.

The Second Conference of the Needle Trades Workers

By I. L. Davidson

WHEN the Second Conference of the rank and file workers in the Needle Trades gathered at New York City on February 8-9, the delegates faced a situation based upon the realities of the struggle, only the theoretical plan for which was or could be laid when the First Conference gathered in the same city last May. After nine months of work in the field 87 delegates from ten cities of the United States and Canada came in to report, to reaffirm their adherence to programs adopted at the First Conference as fundamental, and to work out such tactics as are necessary to put these programs into effect.

Unity the Leading Issue

Two immediate issues of importance were, firstly, organization of the left wing in such manner that a closer co-operation of the militants in all organizations in the industry becomes a living thing making for unity of policy and unity of action; secondly, the organization of the left wing's work, a) to work for the adoption and practical application of the progressive union and trade policies of the T. U. E. L. and, b) to contest vigorously the expulsions, disfranchisements, sluggings and general official disruption of the union as carried on particularly in the I. L. G. W. and Furriers' against the T. U. E. L. militants. In the latter connection the fight against union-wrecking reactionary officials is to be carried to the floor of the next International convention by delegates from the rank and file.

There were many items on the agenda. Enough to last a less unified body weeks instead of days. First came the report of the National Committee upon past activities. This was quite comprehensive, but dwelt especially upon the brutal opposition raised to progressive policies in the I. L. G. W. and the Furriers' Union.

With the report of delegates this opposition was revealed in great detail. In Philadelphia, the reactionary officials have gone to such extremes that the I. L. G. W. is practically ruined. Re-organization by registration, with every member forced to sign a registration card pledging him or her to no connection with the left wing in any way whatsoever, either to belong to the T. U. E. L., to attend meetings, to go to dances given by the left wing groups or to sell tickets or subscriptions to *Freiheit* or THE LABOR HERALD, this is the tactic that has wrecked the I. L. G. W. in the "City of Brotherly Love." Locals of Dressmakers and Cloakmakers had to combine, and still so few workers would submit to Sigman's tyrannical

"registration" that one local office cannot maintain itself.

In Cleveland the organization drive stopped and the disorganization drive began with expulsions and disfranchisements. Likewise in Chicago, with some of the oldest and most devoted members of the I. L. G. W. expelled, disfranchised and cut off from making a living by being thrown out of the shops—this under cover of an "organization drive." Canada as a whole remains crippled by the International's insistence on placing an inefficient Vice-President similar to "Sheik" Perlstein in charge of organization work instead of allowing the rank and file initiative and support. The whole I. L. G. W. faces bitter struggles with the bosses while weakened and demoralized by treachery and disruption of officialdom.

The Furriers' Union in New York had its records of black-jacking and slugging reported by delegates. The power behind the sluggers is sufficiently illustrated by the report that when Kaufman of the Furriers got sick of the job he started he was forced on by the yellow "socialist" *Forwards* gang of Abe Cahan. In fact the slugging campaign may be called the "yellow terror." Even the Amalgamated in New York is affected by the *Forwards* gang, and the rank and file is reported in bitter opposition to ex-bosses who are favorites of Abe Cahan being appointed to high and responsible union positions.

Problems Identical in all Trades

The delegates from the Journeymen Tailors reported that the present Secretary, who was delegate to the Portland Convention of the A. F. of L. has been widely discredited by the revulsion of the rank and file to his vote to unseat W. F. Dunne. The militants among the Tailors are bending their efforts to elect Sillinsky as Secretary, since Sillinsky has been a consistent fighter for amalgamation, a labor party, and other progressive measures.

The Cap-Makers' problems center around organization of the unorganized, and this comes back to amalgamation as the only solution whereby such small international bodies can really organize the unorganized, since they have no capacity at present for extensive work. More and more the progress of application of left-wing progressive measures reverts to amalgamation as of primary practical importance. Especially is this seen when all trades from all cities get together. Conditions and problems are then found to be similar, even

identical, in all. And in all the big step is industrial unionism through amalgamation.

As predicted in the First Conference, the so-called "Needle Trades Alliance," which was invented by the reactionary officials of the unions to off-set the rank and file demand for unity by amalgamation, has failed to function. In fact it was not intended to function except to confuse the rank and file on amalgamation. But it has failed even there. In condemning the evasion of the demand for amalgamation by such ridiculous make-shifts, the Conference reaffirmed amalgamation as the industry's leading problem.

Taking heed of the practical obstacles in the organization of the workers of the needle trades, such as the percentage of production carried on in non-union shops, sweat-shops and out-of-town shops, the Conference re-indorsed the shop delegate system to draw the workers into union activities, and laid down the policy toward the great problem of organization of the unorganized as to be based, firstly, on unity in each trade by stopping expulsions and other official disruption; secondly, to unify the industry by amalgamation—and upon this basis to begin efficient and wide campaigns to organize the unorganized.

Charge of Dualism a Subterfuge

To accomplish unity in the separate trades by cessation of expulsions and "reorganization," a fight against the reactionary machine control in the next International convention is proposed. Rank and file delegates are not going to permit themselves to be disqualified and the membership will back them up in action. This is expected in spite of the fact that locals have been practically dissolved like the Czar dissolved the Duma when it went against his will.

At the Convention, which will take place in May, Sigman will be challenged to prove his contention that the T. U. E. L. is in any way dual in the face of his own admission made recently in Chicago where he stated:—"I know that the League is not a dual organization. But the purpose of the League members is to gain leadership little by little over the masses of workers. We are not going to permit it. We are going to do everything to keep the administration. We are not going to permit you to go to, or to work in, the convention." So calling the League a dual organization is exposed by Sigman himself as only a subterfuge.

Upon those trade questions which affect the very lives of the workers, the Conference shaped out a program that reflects the real interests of the workers, and which for that reason is in marked contrast to the boss-serving and class-collaborative measures advocated by the present

officials. Week work was set as an objective to attain in all trades as against piece work, with the standard to be the forty hour week, and a guaranteed number of weeks of employment to be given each worker in the season.

Trade Problems Squarely Met

The Conference voiced a sharp opposition to the speeding-up system the bosses are launching everywhere under guise of a so-called "Standard of Production." This is simply a name to cover up the insatiable desire of bosses to drive the workers faster and faster without limits until the shops resemble a mad-house full of frenzied workers trying to out-speed each other. It is known that the nervous strain on the worker's health is terrific under such speeding. As it is today, any tailor who works every week in the year for three years is reduced to a nervous wreck and must quit the trade or take a long rest. The Conference decided that the fundamental necessity of safeguarding the health and life of the workers demanded a check on the lust for profits, and against the so-called "Standard of Production" the left wing must propose the week-work system and a living wage.

The Conference endorsed the National Committee starting a Defense Council for financial relief and defense of those expelled, disfranchised, or otherwise discriminated against. Local branches in each needle trades center are to be organized to take care of this important phase of the League work.

The problem of unifying the leadership for co-ordination of activity throughout the industry on a national scale was settled by the election of a National Committee of 17 to be located in New York composed of five members from the I. L. G. W., five from the Amalgamated, three from the Furriers and one from the Journeymen Tailors. In addition, one member from each of sixteen needle trade centers throughout the country is to be elected by local groups. The Conference authorized the Chicago group to elect a sub-committee, under jurisdiction of the National Committee, to supervise activity in the Middle West and to function as headquarters for the militants in the needle trades.

While the First Conference was one devoted wholly to devising plans for action, this Second Conference faced the problems of action itself, the problems arising from struggle. The delegates adjourned with the expectation that the unification of the left wing movement and its beneficial effect on the organizations would record material successes for the workers before the next conference is held.

Situation in the Boot and Shoe Industry

By Michael T. Berry

I HAVE been requested to write this story on condition in the Boot and Shoe industry for THE LABOR HERALD. I readily accede to the request, that the workers in other industries may be enabled to mirror their own future if they persist in following the trail of Craft Unionism.

Once, and that within the memory of the writer, the shoeworkers were in the front ranks of the organized workers. It is no accident that from the ranks of the shoemakers came two signers of The Declaration of Independence, two Vice Presidents of the United States, and numerous lesser lights famous in the history of the country. But two generations of craft unionism with its ability to dig out the brains of its victims has changed all that and the workers in the industry that gave the Quaker Poet, Whittier to the world, and which he glorified in his verse, is now but a caricature of that former greatness. It is but a mob of 200,000 men and women for whom there are not over 100,000 jobs at the best. Some 70,000 of them are "organized" in more than a half dozen different craft organizations, each of these fighting all of the others for the crumbs in the shape of jobs that falls from the employers table. All of them are the victims of the labor displacement which the product of the United Shoe Machinery Co. is constantly introducing, with the consequent drop in wages which is the necessary result. The deplorable situation may justly be charged up to craft unionism and its training of the rank and file, which is bound to benumb and defeat the working class unless its rule is overthrown.

Three years ago the shoe workers of America felt, rather than knew, that what has been said above was true, and they started to bring about an Amalgamation of all the independent unions in the trade, some nine or ten of them, in fact all unions except the Boot & Shoeworkers Union, the A. F. of L. union was invited, and eight of them responded by sending delegates to Boston where two conventions were held. After several preliminary conferences held in Chicago, Rochester, N. Y., Lynn, Haverhill and other cities in the East, an "Amalgamation" was affected, or at least the rank and file thought so when the last convention adjourned.

Some one, at some time, coined an epigram which says "Inscrutable are the ways of Providence." I will coin another and say "tortuous are the ways of craft unionism," something that is being driven home to the rank and file every day since the adjournment of the last convention for

perfecting an Amalgamation which was October 1922.

The unions that participated in the Amalgamation conventions were, enumerated in the order of the size of their membership, the United Shoeworkers of America, the Shoeworkers Protective union (an organization that was and is largely confined to Haverhill and nearby towns), the Allied Shoeworkers Union of Lynn, a local affair, the Childrens Shoeworkers Union of N. Y., the Salem, Mass. Heelworkers, the Amalgamated Fitters of N. Y. the Salem Edgemakers, and locals from both Boston and Stoneham, Mass., the latter two members of the Allied Shoeworkers group.

"There is many a slip 'twix cup and lip." The shoeworkers attempt at Amalgamation was a case in point. No sooner had the October, o. last convention adjourned, than the "Medicine Men" of the employing class began to get busy to save their jobs which were going into the discard if Amalgamation prevailed. In doing so they were forced to work in the interest of the employers and continue the age-long fratricidal contest, born of craft unionism, and which has put crepe on the door knob of the shoeworkers for the past 15 or 20 years.

In the October convention, every delegate except one from New York, arose and pledged himself or herself to go back home and work for Amalgamation. They went back home alright, but they, in the case of the delegates from the shoeworkers protective union, and certain locals of the United Shoeworkers headed by officials of that body, refused "to come across" as per their pledge to the convention.

In the case of the United Shoeworkers, the officials went into court and by injunction and contempt proceedings sought to snuff out what ever little had been won for Amalgamation. Numerous actions which have not been terminated yet were brought for that purpose although Thomas F. Lynch, Gen. Sec.-Treas. in behalf of the G. E. B. sent a message to the first convention pledging the United to the Amalgamation.

Amalgamation started to function on Feb. 5, 1923, and from then until now it has had a stormy existence, beset on both the inside and the outside by foes who were ready to invoke heaven or hell to prevent one union in the industry if their job, which is their only concern, could be preserved and made perpetual. In the case of the Protective, they simply refused to come in, but they did not resort to court proceedings as did the United officials. So much for what has happened since

the shoeworkers started three years ago to get together.

All shoeworkers, union and non-union alike, have an uncanny dread of an organization that exists in our trade, and it is the largest and richest of them all, the Boot and Shoeworkers Union. This fear which the shoeworkers have for this organization is not without foundation in fact. In the years that have gone, ever since 1899, it has performed in a way that brands it as an auxiliary of the employing class. It was chased out of Lynn after a stormy battle with the Cutters some 22 years ago, and it is forced to play second part in the affections of the Haverhill workers which is the home of the Protective, which was built up as a result of dissatisfaction with the Boot and Shoeworkers way back in '99. Conditions in both Lynn and Haverhill where the wages are higher on the whole than in any other shoe centers, have been bad for the past year. The workers had high wages when they worked, but as the industry is in a terribly unorganized condition, the workers in these cities got little work with the consequent starvation that capitalism sees to it dogs the footsteps of the class un-conscious slaves, who because of their craft union training, have not yet perceived the cause of their misery or the way out.

The result has been that the workers of both Haverhill and Lynn, Protective and Amalgamated, have lost some of the conditions and wages that they hitherto enjoyed. The employers took advantage of this situation in Lynn to start a crusade for installing the Boot and Shoeworkers in this city, something that meant death to the Amalgamated, which outside of Lynn, has a small membership in New York and Brooklyn, and a few other small locals.

This has had the effect of waking up the Protective which has recently absorbed the remnants of the United that the Amalgamated failed to get when it started. The Protective group is next in size to the Boot and Shoeworkers, it has now got a membership of something like 20,000 members, the Amalgamated has about 12,000 and the A. F. of L. union, the Boot and Shoeworkers has something like 40,000. When the Lynn employ-

ers headed by the banks of the city started to bring in the Boot and Shoeworkers Union, the Protective interpreted this as an act that sooner or later, would mean the extinction of the Protective, thus leaving the Boot and Shoeworkers Union in undisputed possession of the organized workers, or the most of them in the entire country. As a result it at once began to understand the necessity for Amalgamation and as a result there is a movement now in full swing between the Protective, and Amalgamated to at once complete the work that was begun some three years ago. It is a noteworthy fact that this latest attempt which was initiated by the rank and file of the Protective, starts by that group electing a rank and file committee, no officials or salaried officers to be allowed, and it demands that each local of the Amalgamated do likewise, this joint committee to work out the ways and means for an Amalgamation.

Later, when this plan has got further on its way and it will be possible to appraise it at its correct value we will write the next chapter of the attempt of the shoeworkers to secure Amalgamation. But whether it succeeds now or later one thing is sure, there must be *One Union of the Shoe and Leather Industry*. We are fighting a united foe, we cannot win split up into divided groups, and the inexorable law which necessity dictates on pain of extinction will see to it that these workers will be drawn together. We are brothers in misery. We must be brothers in victory.

RUSSIA NEEDS SKILLED WORKERS FOR KUSBAS

The Chicago Group Kusbas, which is organizing workers to fill this need, meets the 2nd and 4th Sundays of each month, 3 P. M., at Labor Lyceum, 2733 Hirsch Blvd., Chicago.

All workers interested in this project are welcome. For information write **Kusbas, Room 307, 166 W. Washington Street, Chicago.**

Bill Dunne's Speech at Portland

In response to the hundreds of calls for this speech in a more permanent form, the Trade Union Educational League has published it as a pamphlet. It is the most effective kind of educational work to distribute this widely among union men. Every live-wire will want to read it and pass it on. It should receive the widest circulation throughout the country.

16 pages, paper cover.
5c per copy, single copies.
3½c per copy, bundles of 50 or more.

THE TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE

1008 Rush Street

Chicago, Illinois

Lenin's Writings Now in English

By Harrison George

IF MARXISM is a guide to action, Leninism is a guide to Marx, as Lenin unearthed Marx, who had been buried by social reformists and saved him from futility to the consternation of these reformists, of the anarchists and of the beneficiary of their theories—the bourgeoisie.

The bulk of Lenin's writings are not for agitation of non-radical workers so much as for clarification of the concepts and direction in action of those who claim to be revolutionists. Not dreary stretches of agitational sentimentalism, nor pointless wanderings in abstractions, but merciless dissection of humbuggery and cowardice within the movement, objective precision in analysis of every social factor—and a call to action. They are particularly prescribed for those who think they already possess enough revolutionary knowledge.

All too few have been those works of Lenin available in English. Among them and outstanding is "The State and Revolution." In it Lenin proves that the State arose after the non-class tribal society, in which the ruling force was the armed population, and arose because in a society embracing antagonistic classes, an armed population would lead to continuous conflict. Therefore, the State appeared as a special body of armed men and forces standing above the population to keep order. Revolutionary conflicts show how each class forms its own body of armed men (Red Guards or Fascists) trying to become the State.

The proletariat uses *its* State, not to continue but to suppress class exploitation. Socialization of production, the lower form of Communism, takes place under dictatorship of workers organized as the ruling class. An historical era of transition ensues, and the higher Communism evolves gradually from, firstly, a material basis of technical progress eliminating distinction between brain and manual labor and, secondly, creation of the ethical conception of voluntary co-operation. Classes and class conflicts receding, their product the State withers away.

In "Kautsky the Renegade" Lenin shows how the yellow socialist leaders of the Second International emasculated Marx, made him appear as a liberal, and tried to justify their position as political lackeys to the bourgeoisie by representing that Marxism embraced "pure democracy," their opportunism and their limitation of political action to timid parliamentarism, instead of Marx's inclusion of strikes, demonstrations and civil war.

The above book and "Left Communism—An Infantile Disorder" are complementary to each other and auxiliary to Lenin's book on the State, since together they disprove, firstly, the yellow socialist parliamentarians' cowardice and dirty politics and secondly, the impractical, utopian futility of anarchism and syndicalism. By comparison with both, Lenin elaborates and explains the successful tactics of the Russian Communists as being based upon Marxian objective analysis. "Anarchism is often a kind of punishment for the opportunist sins of the working class movement," says Lenin. He explodes the anarchist veneration of "the masses" as leaders of revolution, the syndicalist rejection of a revolutionary party, their silly cry against "leaders" and discipline, the paradoxical position of those "leftists" who refuse to participate in *revolutionary* parliamentarism or to work within reactionary unions (Bolsheviks did both) and yet prattle of their regard of and dependence upon "the masses." "Left Communism—An Infantile Disorder" should be in the hands of every I. W. W. as an antidote to its confusion and demoralization.

In "Imperialism, the Final Stage of Capitalism," Lenin analyzes the evolution of capitalism (not from feudalism, every radical knows that!) within itself, showing how, from a beginning of competitive production, which brought technical advance and cheap commodities, monopolist capitalism—imperialism—has evolved. This reverses effects of capitalist control, suffocates technical advance, extracts arbitrary monopoly prices, weds industry to banks and banks to great financial groups. These groups divide the world among themselves and compel revolution or the alternative annihilation of millions.

Also in English are "The Great Initiative" showing the birth of true Communist labor conceptions in the "Communist Saturdays" of Russia; a brochure on "The Elections to the Constituent Assembly" showing how the Bolsheviks calculated the hour for proclaiming revolution; and, in addition, Lenin's half of the 400 pages of "The Proletarian Revolution in Russia," a priceless collection of articles written by Lenin and Trotsky in the course of revolution showing their leadership. Most of Lenin's works are yet untranslated. They are mentioned elsewhere in this issue by M. J. Olgin and in an announcement by the Workers Party of a Memorial Fund to issue a Lenin Library of his complete works.

The St. Louis Conference of the C. P. P. A.

By James P. Cannon

THE Conference for Progressive Political Action which met in St. Louis on February 12th failed to declare in favor of any candidate for the presidential nomination on the Republican or Democratic tickets and called another conference to meet in Cleveland on July 4th. There was much talk in St. Louis of the formation of a new party at the Cleveland conference. This has given rise to the hope in some sections of the genuine farmer-labor movement that these case-hardened agents of the capitalist parties had really mended their ways and intend now to break their old-time political connections and become a part of the mighty current of the farmer-labor movement. But those who know the leaders of the C. P. P. A. will require more proof of their conversion to the cause of independent political action than this single action. Their long record of betrayal cannot be blotted out by one gesture towards a Farmer-Labor Party. Let us take a straight look at this St. Louis Conference and at the men who dominated it and see what their action really means.

The St. Louis Conference was controlled by the railroad unions whose leaders up to now have been ardent supporters of McAdoo. The purpose of this group of imitators of the political policy of Gompers for the past months has been to organize the support of that section of the labor movement which they control behind the candidacy of Doheny's \$250,000 lawyer. At the time of the St. Louis meeting, McAdoo was so badly splattered with the oil that was spilled out of the Teapot that his henchmen in the Conference for Progressive Political Action did not dare to endorse him. The main characteristic of this aggregation is hesitation and plain yellowness. Under the circumstances, they did what anyone who knows their record would expect of them; that is, they decided to play for time and wait for a tip from the capitalists whose interests they serve in the labor movement.

Those who saw in the action of the St. Louis Conference, a guarantee that a new party is to be launched at the July 4th Conference under the leadership of the railroad union officials, and who even went so far as to suggest that the rank and file conference called for May 30th at St. Paul should be called off in favor of the July Conference in Cleveland of the C. P. P. A., did not have to wait long for their disillusionment. Less than a week had gone by when it became apparent that the backers of McAdoo in the Democratic Party had decided that a quarter of

a million dollars of Doheny's money was too small an item to disqualify him as a Democratic candidate. That part of the C. P. P. A. which consists of the railroad union leaders (far and away the main part of it) needed only this much encouragement to swing into line. At the meeting of McAdoo supporters from all over the country held in Chicago on February 18th, the following resolution was presented by leaders of the sixteen standard railroad unions:

WHEREAS, the propriety of Mr. William G. McAdoo's actions in connection with certain oil interests have been questioned and his availability as a candidate for President of the United States is now under consideration, and

WHEREAS, careful inquiry has failed to indicate that Mr. McAdoo has done anything improper or immoral,

THEREFORE, be it Resolved that we, as representatives of Railroad Labor assert our belief that his availability as a candidate has not been impaired and that there is no valid reason why any fair minded person should oppose Mr. McAdoo's nomination on account of the allegations made regarding his association as attorney for the Oil Company.

REPRESENTING LABOR:

Signed: Timothy Shea, E. J. Ross, Thomas Clohessy, Frank M. Burns, J. A. Sylvester, J. A. Franklin, J. G. Luhrsen, E. J. Manion, E. H. Fitzgerald, Martin F. Ryan, T. H. Fljozdel, L. S. Sheppard, A. O. Wharton, James J. Forester, B. M. Jewell, Timothy Healy.

This will be sad news for those followers of the labor party idea who have begun to develop the habit of looking for leadership of this great rank and file movement to those who have consistently sabotaged and betrayed it. But to the careful observer of the political movement the action of the leaders of the C. P. P. A. in returning to the support of their oil-smeared candidate is no occasion for surprise. Those who know their record have no right to expect anything from them except the double-cross for labor. The Workers Party, which from the very first refused to trust the leaders of the C. P. P. A. to take a single step towards the formation of a labor party unless they were driven to it by the rank and file, gave another evidence of its good political judgment by immediately explaining the real significance of the St. Louis conference and warning the farmer-labor movement against putting any faith in it.

The real hope for a mass party of the workers and exploited farmers in the 1924 campaign, lies in the rank and file movement which is crystallizing around the call for the St. Paul Convention on May 30th. Let those who want a Farmer-Labor Party turn their attention there,

and work now with redoubled energy to make the May 30th conference a great representative gathering of revolting workers and farmers.

The leaders of the C. P. P. A. will never lead a real movement for a Farmer-Labor Party. They will not take a single step in that direction, unless they are driven to it by the organized pressure of the rank and file. Those who talk about abandoning the May 30th convention in favor of the July Conference of the C. P. P. A. on the grounds that this will facilitate the forming of a bigger party there, are simply proposing to eliminate from the field the one mighty factor which might compel the July Conference to take decisive action. The real movement for a Farmer-Labor Party comes from below, from the rank and file. At the May 30th Conference this rank and file movement will be united into a compact national body, ready for a national fight

THE MINERS' CONVENTION

(Continued from page 5)

their friends the Klansmen and by smashing their enemies the "reds," the administration committee proposed that the ban be lifted from the Klan and that a general clause be introduced forbidding membership in all organizations hostile to the American principles of government. If adopted, the latter clause could then be used against the Workers' Party and all other revolutionary bodies. Immediately the committee reported, the progressives fired into its recommendation. And they did this so effectively that the report was overwhelmingly defeated and the constitution left to stand as before. It was such a clean cut victory for the Progressive Miners that not even Lewis, with all his autocratic methods, could rob them of it.

Wages, Hours, Agreements

The report of the scale committee brought out the weakness of the Miners' Union and the utter bankruptcy of the ruling bureaucracy. In his report, President Lewis himself indicated the seriousness of the situation when he said: "Notwithstanding the fact that early figures of 1923 production reveal the fact that some 545,000,000 tons of bituminous coal were produced, it is safe to say that the industry worked on an average of not to exceed one-half time. This is a startling situation and indicates that the bituminous industry has investment, man power, development, equipment, and an adequate car supply for approximately 1,000,000,000 tons. Such a situation is unsound from every moral and economic standpoint and constitutes a crying need for adjust-

If all the forces standing for a class party of workers and exploited farmers will throw their strength into the May 30th convention the body thus formed can turn to the July Conference of the C. P. P. A. with the ultimatum: either join forces with us for a farmer-labor ticket or we will go alone.

A successful convention on May 30th at St. Paul is a certain guarantee that a Farmer-Labor Party will be in the field for the 1924 election, either by its independent action or by its pressure upon the July Conference. The failure of the May 30th Convention, or its postponement or abandonment would open the door wide for a colossal betrayal of the whole movement by the double-crossing agents of the capitalist parties who will control the Cleveland Conference. The action of the C. P. P. A. at the St. Louis Conference is not an argument against the May 30th convention but a new argument for it.

ment." What Lewis might have added is that about half of bituminous production comes from non-union mines, which ruins the bargaining power of the U. M. W. A.

To offset this critical situation, Lewis' scale committee proposed nothing but a policy of retreat. This amounted to referring the whole matter of wages and hours to the committee with instructions to get the best agreement possible on the basis of no reduction in wages. Henceforth, the aim shall be to have the contract in the Central Competitive District, which determines conditions in all union fields, run four years instead of one. This was a clear admission of weakness; an effort to secure by long-term agreement what the union it too weak to take by yearly struggles. The Progressives tried to amend the report to include a specific demand for the six hour day, but their amendments were ruled out of order. The report was finally adopted in the face of heavy opposition, and the U. M. W. A. took another long step backward.

Howat Betrayed Again

All through the convention, as the resentment against the administration became more openly expressed and better organized, it grew more and more manifest that the supreme struggle between the forces of progress and reaction would come over the case of Alexander Howat. Lewis knew that in this matter he would be confronted with a hostile majority so huge that he could not possibly ignore it and continue the convention. Nor could he club it into submission even with the 150 blackjacks which his supporters were said to have purchased at local stores when the fight grew hot.

All he could do was to clear up all other business and, postponing the Howat case to the very last, adjourn the convention in the face of the turmoil that was bound to ensue upon the announcement of a decision against Howat. So he maneuvered to this end, fencing off all efforts to bring up Howat's case, and completing all other matters.

Finally, when absolutely everything else had been disposed of, the Grievance Committee reported. It had two important matters in hand, the cases of Thomas Myerscough and Alexander Howat. Myerscough's was railroaded quickly by referring it back to the International Executive Board, which means to the graveyard. Then came Howat's. It was handled almost as stupidly. The Grievance Committee simply reported that the matter had been taken care of in previous conventions so was not properly before this one. A roar of indignation went up at this cold-blooded assassination of Howat. Denying Howat the floor, Lewis put the report to a vote. It was lost overwhelmingly, but Lewis declared it adopted. He ignored all demands for a roll call, and in the midst of pandemonium declared the convention adjourned. Thus was added another disgraceful chapter to this famous case, the most shameful in the history of the world's labor movement.

To Impeach Lewis

But the Progressive Miners were not caught napping. They had figured out exactly what Lewis would do and were fully prepared for it. During the day they had issued a circular to the delegates warning them not to be stampeded but to keep their seats until Howat had secured a fair count. And as soon as Lewis adjourned the convention, they called it to order again. The great mass of the delegates were still in the hall. Howat addressed them. The assembled body of delegates, who, according to the registration taken, totalled 1187, or a substantial majority of the convention, endorsed his demand for reinstatement. They then adopted a resolution demanding the impeachment of Lewis for violating the constitution on several specific points, both by the autocratic manner he had disregarded the majority in the convention and by his refusal to give Howat a fair trial according to the laws of the union. A resolution was also adopted demanding the immediate nationalization of the mines, the six hour day, and the five day week, immediate unemployment relief from the coal operators, and a delegation to Congress to demand the passage of these laws.

To impeach Lewis will require the calling of a special convention. Five districts are entitled to call one. The aim of the Progressives is to get

five such districts to demand a convention. Thus the Howat case takes a new and still more important turn. It will finally be the undoing of Lewis. All that is necessary is to register the overwhelming rank and file sentiment for Howat. This must eventually happen. Howat will prove to be the Nemesis of Lewis and Lewisism.

Significance of the Situation

One of the most important lessons to be drawn from this historic convention is that in the Miners' Union, as in all unions in the American labor movement, the task of leading the progressive forces devolves entirely upon the revolutionaries organized in the Trade Union Educational League and the Progressive Miners' International Committee. Outside of these organized left-wingers there is absolutely no other group that has anything whatever of a progressive character to offer. The time was when the U. M. W. A. was practically a Socialist union, most of its prominent officials being at the same time active members of the Socialist Party. But now the S. P. is as dead as a door nail in the Miners' Union. Not a trace of it as an organization was to be seen at the Indianapolis convention. And practically all of its old-time militants have either sold out to the corrupt machine or have quit the organization in disgust. Thus an unparalleled opportunity for progressive leadership lies before the left-wing. It has no competition whatever in this respect.

Although much has already been done to consolidate the rebellious rank and file miners under the leadership of the left-wing, still the surface has hardly been touched. At the recent convention the revolt was lumbering and blind. On the larger political issues, the revolutionaries lacked the control to swing behind them the masses of delegates. Likewise upon the finer parliamentary manoeuvres these masses could not be made to follow. It was only on the big burning trade issues, when the fight was plain and simple, that they were able to wield even a fraction of their power. In the two years that will ensue before the next convention this condition must be remedied. The revolutionary militants must secure such definite leadership of the masses of miners that they will be able to carry them through the sustained and disciplined fight, both in the convention and elsewhere, necessary to defeat the Lewis machine. This can be done and it will be done. The revolt against Lewisism is at hand. All that is necessary is to organize and direct it. If this is not done promptly and effectively, the Miners' Union will be menaced with destruction.

THE LABOR HERALD

A Militant, Constructive Monthly
Trade Union Magazine

Official Organ of the
Trade Union Educational League
EARL R. BROWDER, EDITOR

Subscription price, \$1.50 per year

Published at
1008 Rush Street
CHICAGO, ILL.

Member of The Federated Press

Make checks payable to
The Trade Union Educational League

AN INTERNATIONAL LEADER

ON another page is given an intimate picture of Nikolai Lenin as the leader of the Russian Revolution. That was one of the parts that Lenin played in history. He earned the unquestioned leadership of the Russian masses, their complete confidence, their unquestioning loyalty. But it is Lenin as the international leader of the world's working class who is mourned in every land.

It is hard to realize how the mind of Lenin reached out over the world and became, as the expression of the international proletarian revolution, a powerful force in every land. It is still more difficult to grasp how thoroughly his keen common sense and deep understanding entered into the intimate life of the most obscure groups of revolutionary workers everywhere. The touch of Lenin is upon every revolutionist today, some contribution that Lenin made is part of every revolutionary mind, in one way or another Lenin is directing the struggles of the working class in every land, city, and shop, through his conscious and unconscious disciples.

Lenin is dead. But while he lived he so completely assimilated the spirit and knowledge of the international revolution, he unified and organized it so well, that Leninism lives with a flaming energy that terrifies the exploiters of the world and gives hope and inspiration to the workers everywhere.

THE TEMPEST

TEAPOT DOME has produced a storm that has wrecked several small craft, the individual political fortunes of the men in high office, caught with oil on their fingers acquired in a manner slightly outside the formal rules of the game. It even threatens the Government (using the term in the British sense of "administration") and has caused wide-spread distrust of the men in charge of affairs. Teapot Dome will doubtless furnish much of the oratory of a heated presidential campaign this year.

It is worthy of note, however, that the issues of Teapot Dome are not issues that involve anything fundamental to the working class. What is all the shooting about, anyway? People are not excited about the pilfering of vast riches; they are excited because Fall received \$100,000 for the job. If Fall had been a scab upon his fellow-robbers of the public wealth, and had done the deed without pay, it would have been perfectly respectable, the theft would have been sanctified

by every court, pulpit, and newspaper in the land. The issues of Teapot Dome are issues of "corrupt" politicians versus "honest" politicians. But all of them follow the same general policies. All are against the working class in all but the mildest of reforms. Which ever win the workers are still the losers.

It is well that the workers occasionally obtain a glimpse of the rottenness generated within the capitalist system. It encourages them to begin thinking about changing the whole system. That is the only real good that can come out of Teapot Dome, the stimulus to revolutionary thinking among the workers, and the determination to establish a working class government that will eliminate not only corruption, but also the legalized thievery that goes on every day without any public scandal. Fall, Doheny & Co. will be forgotten, and their corruption will be found as harmful as the "honest" policies of their successors—no more and no less so far as concerns the workers.

RECRUITS FOR COLLABORATION

ANOTHER recruit for Wm. H. Johnston's scheme for turning the railroad unions more completely over to the corporations is the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, one of the Big Four transportation unions, headed by the notorious Lee. In the official journal of that organization for February appears an editorial that out-Johnstons Johnston himself, quotes approvingly from *Railway Age*, organ of the employers, and denounces all policies not approved by the companies.

Cringing subservience could hardly go farther than does the *Railroad Trainman* when, after long quotation from the employers' paper in denunciation of railroad nationalization, it says: "The *Railway Age* is telling what is exactly the truth. Instead of the organizations paying much, if any, attention to co-operation the majority of them whether their men are in accord or not, are actively engaged in doing their utmost to take the railways away from their owners and have them owned and operated by the Government. It is not exactly fair to expect that the railway companies are going to consider any co-operative proposition seriously so long as this pronounced feeling of opposition is so greatly in evidence." In other words, even the vague talk of the Plumb Plan is anathema to these reactionary "labor leaders," who are more capitalistic than the capitalist politicians.

Thus the recruiting for the armies of collaboration goes merrily on, and one by one the official bodies of the important labor organizations pledge themselves to "company unionism" in its worst form. The whole labor movement is facing in this movement for class collaboration the deepest crisis of its history. At the price of destruction it must curb this movement, and reinstate the unions as organs of struggle against the capitalist class.

THE TACTICS THAT FAILED

NEWS from Toledo indicates that certain officials of the Machinists' Union are aping the tactic of "Sheik" Perlstein of the Garment Workers, in removing elected officers of the local unions on account of their opinions. Organizer Gauthier, the latest convert of the "Sheik," officiated in the meeting which, after several hours of oratory directed against members of the Trade Union Educational League, cut off debate to 5 minutes each for three of those attacked, and by a vote of 48 to 38 adopted a motion to deny them the right to hold office. As in all similar manoeuvres, the

meeting was packed, through careful preparation, with members who had not attended for 12 to 18 months.

Tactics of this nature are very bad for the union, weakening it and discouraging the active workers, breaking down the confidence of the membership in officials who so abuse their power. But by this time the reactionaries should realize that the tactic has failed as a weapon to head off the growing radicalism of the rank and file. Every such arbitrary exercise of official position to defeat the normal operation of the union results in new recruits to the left wing. Gauthier will, if he continues in the footsteps of "Sheik" Perlstein, build up a powerful left-wing movement in the Machinists' Unions that he visits.

SAME OLD BUNK

NO one can quicker find excuses for inaction than a trade union bureaucrat. Today our officials have a deathly fear of conventions. Conventions have been swept by an epidemic of demands for amalgamation, for a Labor Party, for recognition of Russia, and various other demands. So the order of the day among our "leaders" is to postpone all rank and file gatherings if possible. Another demonstration of this is had in the Brotherhood Railway Carmen of Amercia, where the executives are pleading with the members, now voting on whether a convention shall be called, to postpone it a year, and are threatening an assessment of \$3. per member if the convention is called.

Of course, it is not true that the Railway Carmen cannot afford to have a convention. It is not necessary to spend a half million dollars, as was done in 1921, nor even a quarter million, as is suggested as the cost this year. Such huge figures are the result of extravagance, developed and encouraged by an officialdom which uses it to demoralize the delegates to win their votes, and to discourage the membership from voting conventions very often. The high cost of conventions is entirely unnecessary, and the membership should put a stop to it.

Conventions are more than ever necessary, at this time when the entire labor movement is in the midst of a severe crisis. For the same reason that the officials want postponement the rank and file should overwhelmingly demand that the convention be held. If the carmen of the country are awake to their needs they will vote "yes" on the referendum "Shall the Grand Lodge convene this year."

POSTPONING THE DEPRESSION

WITHOUT doubt the United States is facing a deep-going industrial crisis. Analysis of the fundamental economic facts can lead to no other conclusion. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that the full effects of this crisis are necessarily to be felt immediately. New developments indicate that an upward trend has interrupted the developing crisis. A tremendous effort is being made by the controlling financial interests to postpone the crash until after the presidential election is over. It would be rash to prophesy that these efforts may not be successful.

Outstanding items that point to postponement of the period of crisis, unemployment, and mass misery for the workers, are to be seen in the plan to extend the Ford plants to the tune of \$150,000,000 during 1924; in the recently published figures of employment in Detroit, center of the automobile industry, which show the highest number of workers employed in that city's his-

tory; in the record of building permits issued Feb. 9, by S. W. Straus & Co. of Chicago, which shows that permits for January are \$233,348,079., a gain of 10% over the same month last year.

That this development will greatly stimulate the whole industrial system there is no doubt. To the extent that the program is carried out its effect is to buoy up the depressed production of commodities of more general consumption, to relieve the threatening unemployment, to check the wage-slashing campaign that has been under way, and to relieve the financial pressure upon the middle class that promised radical political upheavals and splitting of the Democratic and Republican parties.

The favorite time for the controlling financial interests to enter upon the process of "deflation" is right after election. Everyone remembers the great unemployment of 1921, just after the election of Harding, when the crisis was consciously intensified to make the "open shop" drive more effective. The present crisis may be influenced in the opposite way, may be retarded for a time to relieve the pressure that threatens to demoralize the political forces of the twin Parties of capitalism.

It would seem that the postponement is what we may expect. It will not mean real relief, and it will intensify the crisis later on. But the immediate effect will assist the capitalist parties, through judicious use of their "liberal" and "progressive" wings, in their energetic attempts to again corral the necessary majorities in the coming national election. When the workers and farmers have been properly checkmated politically, then the full force of the industrial crisis will be released upon the shoulders of the industrial workers as that of the agricultural crisis has already fallen upon the farmers. In the meantime the capitalists hope to have continued their political monopoly for another four years. More than ever the developments call for the formation of a class Party of the toiling masses in the coming elections, a Party that will raise the issues clean and clear, and lay a sound foundation for the coming struggle for power between the exploiters and the toiling masses.

"JUSTICE" IN MASSACHUSETTS

OUTSTANDING Features of the *Sacco-Vanzetti Case* is the title of a new pamphlet issued by the New England Civil Liberties Committee of 16 Carver Street, Boston 11, Massachusetts.

This pamphlet is packed with recently developed facts regarding the detailed proofs of our comrades' innocence, as well as colorful narratives of their personalities and home lives.

The author, Elizabeth Glendower Evans, makes a warm, human document out of the wealth of material she offers, and the facts are given as to the vicious frame-up by Department of Justice criminals to help in putting away Sacco and Vanzetti because of their activity in behalf of Salsedo, who leaped—or was thrown—to his death from the window of the Department's third degree office in New York. For these reasons it is readable and worth while. Yet militants will work for Sacco and Vanzetti, not because they are fine fellows and earn our sympathies by misfortune, but because they are workers whose lives are at stake by reason of a capitalist government persecuting them for their activities.

THE INTERNATIONAL

GREAT BRITAIN COMING just at the moment MacDonald assumed the Premiership on behalf of the Labor Party, the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, numbering 60,000 members, struck throughout Great Britain tying up all rail transport. The strike began Jan. 21st, and ended on the 29th. Dissatisfaction with the award of the National Wages Board caused the struggle, which was ended by concessions from the Railroad Companies granting many points in working conditions and wages and protecting the strikers against discrimination. The strike, however, involved also the relations between the Engineers and Firemen on the one hand and the National Union of Railwaymen on the other, as well as the whole question of the Labor Party attitude towards strikes.

The dispute originated in 1922 when the Companies asked for alterations in the national agreement in force since the great strike of September, 1919. The three railway unions opposed the changes which were then abandoned until the middle of 1923, when the Companies again brought them forward. The unions again opposed the demands, but as the Companies were insistent, the case went to the Central Wages Board, established under the Railway Act of 1921. When no agreement was possible in that body, the case went to the National Wages Board. After a six days hearing in November, where the Engineers and Firemen and the Clerks made counter demands, the National Wages Board announced its findings which drastically cut wages for all classes. The awards of the Wages Board are not binding but the Companies accepted them in advance. The National Union of Railwaymen held a special delegate meeting which accepted them by a vote of 59 to 20. The Railway Clerks Association also accepted the award. But the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and Firemen refused, and after negotiations had failed, a strike was called on Jan. 21st.

A curious reversal of the position of the Amalgamated Society and the N. U. R. was a feature of the struggle. Hitherto the N. U. R., which is an industrial union and desires to unite the other two organizations into a complete industrial body, has been the leader in the active struggle against the railroad companies. On the other hand, the Amalgamated Society has held aloof relying more upon its strategic position in the industry, and following a conservative policy. In the present struggle, however, it was the conservative Amalgamated Society that made the militant fight and finally forced a compromise. The N. U. R. bitterly assailed the strikers in a public manifesto, calling upon its members to stay at work and help to break the strike.

Thomas, who signed the above manifesto, is a member of the Labor Cabinet, and his attitude toward the strike was largely the official Labor Party view. The Trade Union Congress General Council was brought into the dispute in the capacity of mediators and claimed much credit for the settlement. The N. U. R. issued a statement declaring that the terms of settlement could have been obtained at any time without a strike. Bromley, Secretary of the Amalgamated Society, claimed a great victory, emphasizing that the strike had gone far towards stopping the drive for wage reductions. Another feature of the curious relation of forces within the labor movement, and the various attitudes toward the strike, is illustrated by the *Daily Herald*, organ of

the British labor movement, which carried not only the conflicting manifestoes of the unions, the pronouncements of the labor government, and advertisements for the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, but also large display advertisements inserted by the railroad companies, stating the employers' case against the strikers.

ITALY THE following is the text of the decision of the Executive Committee of the Communist International condemning the Italian Communist Deputy, Bombacci, which led to his resignation:

"The Executive Committee after taking cognizance of the integral text of the speech of Bombacci in Parliament, completely supports the Italian Communist Party which has disavowed the anti-Communist attitude of Bombacci. One cannot aid the Russian and world revolution by doubtful and contemptible parliamentary maneuvers. The Executive Committee of the Communist International calls to order Bombacci who, after his speech promising international Communism, believes he can raise himself against the decisions of the Central Committee by making an interior party question a scandal in the bourgeois press. Let all Communists (deputies and others) realize that the Communist International will not tolerate deviations from the policies established by our International Congresses."

GERMANY FOLLOWING its betrayal of the left-Socialist-Communist government of Saxony, the Social Democratic Party has completed its treasonable work by establishing a coalition government in that state with the capitalist parties. This was in strict violation of the mandate laid down at the Congress of the Saxony section of the Party. Knowing the temper of the Saxony Socialists, the Party heads of Berlin did not consult them or the Central Committee regarding the proposed coalition but pushed it through upon their own responsibility. At a congress just held the delegates overwhelmingly censured their representatives in Parliament for setting up the coalition government with the capitalists. The revolt is spreading in the Party. In the local elections being held, a strong drift to the left is manifest. This presages the powerful left tendency which will surely develop throughout the entire country when the general elections to the Reichstag are held in the near future. Undoubtedly in these approaching elections the old Social Democracy will suffer a great diminishment in its power and influence and the Communist Party will receive most important accessions in strength.

The struggle between the revolutionary opposition and the bureaucratic reformist leadership of the German trade union movement constantly takes on a sharper tone. The bone of contention at this time is the conference of the opposition at Weimar. The policy of the unions is to expel all locals and other bodies that venture to endorse the program laid down at that historic conference. This war against the left is being directed by the heads of the German Federation of Trade Unions. In a recent meeting the attitude to be assumed towards the Communists was made a special order of business. It denounced the proposition of a

special convention, as proposed by the Conference of Weimar, and outlined instead a fight all along the line against those who support Weimar. The Conference decided that all local unions and other organizations that take the position of the Weimar Conference shall be expelled from their respective national bodies. Every effort is being made to sabotage the special national convention which the left-wingers are calling inasmuch as the regular heads of the unions refuse to call such a convention upon application of the rank and file. Undoubtedly, with the backing of the trade union leaders, the military officials will undertake to suppress the proposed special convention.

FRANCE THE bitter quarrel between the Communists and Anarcho-Syndicalists has produced a shocking tragedy. At a meeting held on Jan. 11th, by the Communist Party, to protest against the occupation of the Ruhr, a riot developed between the two factions which resulted in the death of two workers and the wounding of many more. The meeting was held in the big hall in Rue Grange-aux-Belles. There were about 3,000 people present. Among these were noticeable a little knot of 30 or 40 Anarcho-Syndicalists. As soon as the meeting began these started to give vent to their disapproval of the proceedings. The first speaker was Marthe Bigot, a discharged teacher. The first speech was interrupted by a violent demonstration, accompanied by the throwing of stones and other missiles. The Communists succeeded in quieting this and Marcel Cachin was also able to continue his speech. When Treint took the platform, he was greeted with a fresh outburst. Suddenly shots were fired from the group of disrupters in the direction of the speaker's platform. Immediately pandemonium broke loose and a fusillade of shooting took place. A dozen workers fell wounded. A panic seized the audience and a general rush was made for the exits. Many people were crushed in the stampede. Later on two of those who were shot died in the hospital. This deplorable incident has created a profound impression in the labor movement. It serves to still further intensify the hatred and bitterness between the two factions. Before it occurred the tension was great enough. Now it has almost reached the breaking point. The danger of a new split in the labor movement has been greatly enhanced by it. The C. G. T. U. has issued the following statement about the incident:

"With the pretext of the unfortunate events which happened on Jan. 11th, in the course of a meeting organized by the Communist Federation of the Seine, a group of militants, speaking in the name of an organized minority, have projected the slogan of a split in the ranks of the C. G. T. U. Without wishing to attach more importance than is necessary to these manifestations, the Executive Commission and the Bureau of the C. G. T. U. find it necessary to put all the unions on guard against this new attempt to divide the workers.

This campaign, of which the initiative comes from the Anarchist groups, has for its clearly avowed purpose the creation of a third C. G. T. destined to become affiliated to the Anarcho-Syndicalist International of Berlin. This project, the origin of which dates back to 1921, has never been abandoned by the Anarcho-Syndicalists who had already tried to bring the C. G. T. U. in this road before the Congress of Saint-Etienne and who did not hesitate to provoke a split in the Dutch organizations to satisfy their desire. The struggle which they have

carried on with extreme violence in the midst of our organization has been inspired simply by this desire, in spite of the most urgent needs of the French proletariat and the C. G. T. U. In spite of all the menaces of secession in spite of the polemics and the violence exercised against the Confederal majority, the Executive Commission and the Bureau, pursuing their task with firmness, have preserved an attitude of calmness and dignity.

The militants who until this time have remained faithful to our class organization, will have difficulty in discovering the real character of these latest maneuvers to divide the workers, of which the events in the Grange-aux-Belles are not the cause but merely the pretext. The reformist chiefs who, systematically, have refused all co-operation with the C. G. T. U. in view of re-establishing unity, and who have always proclaimed that the latter was not possible except by the exclusion of the militants and unions sympathetic to the Red International, openly stimulate the minority of the C. G. T. U. in its work of division, while the bourgeois press applauds the same. The Executive Commission and the Confederal Bureau condemn this attempt at division which can only profit the bourgeoisie and which can only be carried out by the latter's conscious or unconscious agents. Faithful executors of the Congress' decisions, the Executive Commission and the Confederal Bureau, repudiate all the accusations brought against them by those who, speaking in the name of the so-called 'Minority Committee,' are manifestly prisoners of an Anarchist sect and of its Journal, by the aid of which they are now organizing under the name of autonomy the splitting of the C. G. T. U..

The Confederal majority is certain that the active militants of the unions will know how to draw the proper lessons from such a policy, and to maintain a united front against the enemy. This thought will incite them to react vigorously against the splitting policy, against the violence introduced into the midst of the C. G. T. U., and to unite themselves more closely than ever around the Confederal majority, and finally to work in all the cells of the trade union organization with faith and vigilance on the plan of the revolutionary and trade demands. The Executive Commission and the Confederal Bureau do not share the responsibility for the continual excitations to violence which the minority has rendered itself guilty of by word and in writing before, during, and after the National Committee meeting of July and the Congress of Bourges. They proclaim that they will know how to take all measures in order that no injury may be done to the C. G. T. U., to its moral influence and its organic structure. They demand that all militants assist them in this effort. They are certain that the unionists and militants, who, although in discord with the principles and tactics of the majority of Bourges, have still remained revolutionaries, will not follow for long those who seek the disorganization of the C. G. T. U. In the face of the capitalist offensive launched against the revolutionary organizations and against the basic demands of the workers, a new split would be a crime against the proletariat."

A LENIN LIBRARY

10 Volumes of Lenin's Works

- 1—Imperialism, The Final Stage of Capitalism
- 2—The Agrarian Question in America
- 3—The Struggle against the Second International
- 4—The Working Class and the Farmers
- 5—"Leftism"—An Infantile Malady of Communism
- 6—The Suppressed Peoples and the Social Revolution
- 7—State and Revolution
- 8—The Organization of the Revolution
- 9—The Shaping of Bolshevism
- 10—Marx and Marxism

**S e v e n
N e v e r
P u b l i s h e d
i n E n g l i s h**

**Three exist
only in in-
complete
editions.**

SPREAD

100,000 Copies of Lenin's Works

Without a knowledge of Leninism it is impossible to understand the Russian Revolution or the Communist movement of the world.

The Lenin Library will publish, for the first time in English, a collection of Lenin's works which will make Leninism understandable to the general public. Each volume will have an explanatory preface and notes. Library edited by John Pepper.

Lenin Memorial Fund

If you are interested in spreading Leninism you must help immediately. We need \$2,500 to begin this big undertaking. What part of this are you willing to contribute? Send it in at once!

LENIN MEMORIAL FUND
Workers Party of America
1009 N. State St., Chicago, Ill.

Find enclosed \$..... my contribution toward the Lenin Memorial Fund to get the Lenin Library started at once. I want to help spread 100,000 copies of Lenin's works.

I also enclose \$..... for my subscription to the Lenin Library to be paid in installments.

Name

Address

Subscribe

Ten volumes, \$7.50

Uniform cloth bound, good paper, handy edition. \$7.50 the set, to subscribers only. Subscriptions must be paid in advance. But can also be made in three installments if YOU SEND IT AT ONCE!

Most Remarkable Offer Ever Made!

for

One Month Only

To Give League Branches, Workers Party Branches and Live Wire Literature Sellers Everywhere a Chance to Make a Start On a Literature Fund, the T. U. E. L. Cuts the Price on Bundle Orders of Books to Below Cost of Material During March!

\$8.00 Value For \$3

Including

No. of Books	Title	Regular Prices	
		Wholesale	Retail
10 Copies	"The Railroaders' Next Step" Foster's Study of Unionism in the Railroad Industry	\$1.50	\$2.50
5 Copies	"Bankruptcy of the American Labor Movement" Foster's Analysis of Labor's Weakness, Its Cause and Its Cure .....	.75	1.25
15 Copies	"Amalgamation," by Jay Fox. Outlines by Industry the Plan For Building Industrial Unions.....	1.50	2.25
5 Copies	"Struggle of the Trade Unions Against Fascism"—Andreas Nin. The International Danger to all Labor Organizations—Important .....	.50	75
25 Copies	"Wm. F. Dunne's Speech at the A. F. of L. Convention, Portland, 1923" The Communist Challenge to Reactionary Leadership of Organized Labor .....	.87	1.25
These 60 booklets—2,280 pages, Usual Price		\$5.12	\$8.00

**During the Month of March \$3.00
We Offer All This For**

Mail check or money order by March 31st and say—"Send your Special March Literature Offer."

Now Ready

Bound Volumes of The Labor Herald

Volume 2, March 1923 to February 1924 Inclusive

\$3.00 — Postpaid

Handsomely Bound in Cloth. Completely Indexed Both by Author and by Subject. Has 388 pages Numbered Consecutively. Contains Photographs, Cartoons, Artistic Covers, and 146 Signed Articles Written by 74 of the Best Writers

An Indispensable Text-Book

Information and Analysis of the World of Labor for the Year

Only a small number are available. Send orders early.

Trade Union Educational League

1008 Rush Street.

Chicago, Ill.