


# THE LABOR HERALD

Official Organ of The Trade Union Educational League



391 

AUGUST, 1924

 290

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# THE LABOR HERALD

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No. 6

## Doings and Misdoings of the Month

### Sammy Gets the Boot

WHILE one bunch of labor fakers were boosting LaFollette at Cleveland, another bunch of the same unions were in New York pledging the labor vote to McAdieu. LaFollette's advice that "progressives must deal honestly and openly" was somewhat modified by the necessity of "rewarding friends, punishing enemies" and selling out to the highest bidder.

Chief among the New York bunch was our moth-eaten Sammy, down-hearted from being shown the door, at the republican convention, but hopeful of the democrats. He wanted three things, to wit: A bartender for president; Berry, the labor-faker-legionaire-strike-breaker, for vice-president; and a "labor" plank.

As to the plank, the democrats by resolution agreed with Sam that "labor is not (or shouldn't be) a commodity." That's all. Sammy 'gan to weep, saying, "We cannot go on with disappointment after disappointment. I leave to your imagination where the great mass of people will go." But the democrats lacked imagination, and told Sam where to go.

Round two was a long round. The jackass, obstinately bracing all feet refused to be drenched by either veterinary. McAdoo twisted the brute's nose, trying to force him to swallow a can of oil, Smith twisted the brute's nose, trying to drench the critter with hundred proof Scotch. Gompers wanted Smith's bottle, but as the brotherhood fakers wanted McAdoo—he agreed to accept either. He got neither. Between the two doctors the beast died and Gompers couldn't speak to the soap-grease man who came around from the House of Morgan to haul off the body. Davis prosecuted the U. M. W. of A. in the Coronado Case. Sammy began to mix his drinks—getting desperate.

When the democrats, knowing that the coming unemployment and open shop drive makes labor fakers a drug on the market, chose to make friendly pretenses towards the farmers, and gave Bryan the candidacy Berry was bidding for, poor Sammy took his bed. The press states that he is "recuperating from a break-

down caused by overwork." It adds that the old faker is "progressing very nicely." So, this being the most progressive period in his life, who knows but he may "progress" as far as LaFollette? As far as Berger—and Debs? So *this* is non-partisan politics?

### On Shaking Hands with Murder

THE Gompers Gang, like Secretary Hughes, is against recognition of Soviet Russia. That would be, they say, "shaking hands with murder," "dealing with dictators," etc. But do you notice either Gompers or Hughes showing any heat over the Mussolini murder of Matteotti in Fascist Italy or the seizure of property and dictatorial power by the Bratiano brothers in monarchist Roumania? We venture to bet a hatful of newspaper clippings 'bout Bolshevik gold, that you do not.

The Teapot scandal, which had its sinister trail of blood and mysterious death leading to the highest councils of the republican party, has had a similar sanguinary echo in Italy. Giacomo Matteotti, a socialist representative in parliament was murdered during June by members of Mussolini's cabinet. His body was destroyed as some of them confessed, with the aid of the Italian police. The reason was that Matteotti had collected documentary evidence to prove the Fascist dictatorship was involved in the most brazen graft, among others the turning over by Corbino, the "Albert Fall" of Italy, of over 400 square miles of rich oil deposits in Emilia and Sicily to the Sinclair Oil Company.

This murder has shook Mussolini's power and Fascism in Italy is nearing its doom. Again it is proved that the dictatorship and force of Fascism will not endure because it supports an historically decadent class, while the dictatorship of the proletariat is enduring because it supports an historically necessary class against an historically useless and parasite class. Moral to the Mussolinis: In your murders of the workers you can only go so far.

The kind of Gompersians who head the Italian unions ordered a whole ten minute strike! Adding that any worker who did anything

more effective than "be silent for ten minutes would be expelled." History says to the workers—"Go as far as you like." Labor fakers say—"Strike for ten minutes—but don't do anything."

### "For My Bob Is a Jealous Bob"

**T**HE Conference for Progressive Political Action opened with prayer and closed with a resolution of thanks to the police. Not trusting to Jehovah, the police were solicited to be on hand, and between God and the cops no Communist was permitted on the convention floor. Plenty of republican and democrat politicians were let in, however, together with some hard-faced and fat-bellied \$10,000 a year "labor leaders," the socialists and even (O, shades of DeLeon!) the S. L. P.

The amazing servility the delegates showed the LaFollette dictatorship was equalled by the slavish way "flighty" Bob waited upon the democrats to nominate. His whole program was based upon saying just enough before the old parties nominated candidates to get all "progressives" to expect him to run, without committing himself so far that he could not refuse to run if the capitalist parties named him or some other fake radical. Then he had the gall to say, after this trick, that "the progressives must deal honestly and openly with the people."

LaFollette's refusal to go along with the St. Paul Farmer-Labor convention, was because that convention stood for a definite Farmer-Labor Party, not because he feared "Communist control." Any child knows that, if he had given the word, LaFollette delegates could have swamped the St. Paul convention and could have barred the Communists. That he shunned St. Paul because of "reds" is a lie, he shunned it because St. Paul meant a real class party. "Deal honestly and openly"—indeed! Now this Honest Dealer says he *may* form a party, after the election!"



Just as the Kaiser and King George speak of "my kingdom" and "my subjects" so the announced enemy of working class rule hands out his orders as to running mates, policy and program. His program is written in the first person singular—"I"—"my program"—"me"—etc. And this toothless Caesar, too decrepit to stand on his legs before an audience, is strong enough to smother the infant Farmer-Labor movement for a while.

But he could not strangle the vital force within it, the soul and sword of the working-class, the Workers Party! Confronted by LaFollette's betrayal, the National Farmer-Labor Party withdrew their candidates, and the Workers Party, on July 10, 1924, nominated Wm. Z. Foster for President and Benjamin Gitlow for Vice-President on a Communist program calling for the overthrow of capitalism, soviets of workers and farmers, proletarian dictatorship and an ultimate communal society.

### Have a LarFollette!

**A**FTER being twice unceremoniously spat upon and thrown down the front steps, it is hard, while picking oneself up, dusting one's trousers, finding one's hat and feeling one's bruises, to look dignified. It is particularly hard for a demeanor of dignified nonchalance to rest upon the not overly noble form of old Sammy Gompers. Having no place to go—but to LaFollette—he complains to Miss Democracy up the stairway in the words of the wounded lover—"Twas all very well to dissemble your love, but why did you kick me downstairs?"

How Gompers can go to LaFollette—whose keynote is "busting the trusts," is more than I can understand in view of the following, taken from the list of "Labor's Political Demands" signed by the A. F. of L. Executive Council: "We urge that industry and commerce be freed from legislative prohibitions that restrict development in conformity with economic requirements. To this end we propose the repeal of anti-trust legislation." The reader who sends the best answer to the question "Where can Sammy go?" will be awarded a poodle-dog collar with the words "Non partisan Politician" engraved thereon.

### Kackels Concerning the Klan

**I**T was 2:15 a. m. A newspaper reporter at the democratic konvention dictated wearily to a telegrapher—"It was Waterloo. When the delegates had fought with fists, and torn down each other's standards, had screamed their

hate and bellowed their uncontrollable passions throughout the night, the pro-klan forces won." Then, as the dead and wounded were being carried out, the reporter began to read out the resolution. When he came to the part where the konvention kondemned, (though not by name!) all fighting, hatred and passion, he kollapsed...

So ended the konvention where William Jenning Bryan, leaving to LaFollette the dismal heritage of busting the trusts, succeeded in krucifying labor with a koat of tar, in pressing upon its brow a krown of feathers.

Yet MkkkAdoo lost. His oil was not thick enough to fill the tar kan of the keagles. But it was not kourageous to kan him as a krook.

The republican konvention was easy. Dawes, the kold-blooded Fascist chief, while he scorns the childish hocus-pocus of the klan, rejecting the racial and religious issues with the words "that is not the way," still accepts the klan as an ally in Fascist white terror and counter-revolution. The klan won Dawes' konvention without a fight.

As to Kleveland and the Konference for Kurious Political Action, it was a foregone konklusion that a "melange of middle class intelligentsia, petit bourgeoisie and trade union

bureaucracy struggling to find a formula for class collaboration"—as Robert M. II of the LaFollette dynasty put the left view of it—would do the usual "liberal, neutral and impartial" thing and spend much time denouncing the communists by name without making even as much fight against the Fascist klan as did the democrats. The middle class is the Fascist class and half the labor fakere are klansmen. Against the big capitalists the *Chicago Tribune* properly admits LaFollette is "generally a dagger in utterance and a soft glove in action." But LaFollette hates and fears the workers, and he calls in the murderous, thieving klan to fight the Communists. A fine "progressive!"

The klan, like its European Fascist similars, showed strength in the socialist konvention. Berger, in fact, expressed approval of the armed Fascist-socialist bands of Europe, while George H. Goebel of New Jersey and W. A. Toole of Maryland fought valiantly for the klan. Goebel said that the klansmen are not moron murderers because he "had lived among them." That, on the contrary, is one reason they are. After all these konventions it looks like any worker who don't like to support Fascism had better support Foster and Gitlow.



WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

BENJAMIN GITLOW

Communist Candidates for President and Vice-President

# Chicago, St. Paul, Cleveland

By Earl R. Browder

FOR the presidential elections the alignment is at last clear. Coolidge and Davis represent the bi-partisan forces of Wall Street; LaFollette heads the ranks of the middle-class, small capitalists, professional classes and labor bureaucracy; while William Z. Foster, running on a straight Communist (Workers Party) ticket and endorsed by the Farmer-Labor national committee elected at St. Paul, is the leader of all the forces that stand against capitalism.

## A Struggle Against Betrayal

The events that have finally produced this alignment consist of a long record of hesitation and betrayal on the part of all the elements except the Communists and their immediate following; and the struggle against that betrayal led by the Workers Party and the Trade Union Educational League. The outstanding points in this history are Chicago (July 3, 1923), St. Paul (June 17, 1924), Cleveland (July 4, 1924), and Chicago again (July 10, 1924), when the nomination of Foster was made as the crystallization of the whole pre-campaign struggle.

In the light of the great betrayals since then, the debacle of John Fitzpatrick in Chicago, July 3, 1923, stands out more clearly than ever for what it was—the surrender to Gompersism. Strenuous attempts have been made to show the issue as that between the immediate demands of the Farmer-Labor Party on the one hand, and the dictatorship of the proletariat on the other. The Communists stated at all times: "Yes, we believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat, and will propagate and fight for it; but in the Farmer-Labor Party we are ready to unite upon the small, immediate demands, with all elements who are really prepared to break with the capitalist parties and throw themselves into the struggle."

The Communists did not insist upon the acceptance of the Communist program by the other elements; they only insisted upon the formation of a real party, they insisted upon a real break with capitalism. It was because Fitzpatrick was too timid to make such a break, because he was consciously or unconsciously preparing for his participation in the betrayal to LaFollette that has since occurred, that he split from the Chicago convention in 1923.

As a result of the Chicago convention, which overwhelmingly followed the Communist lead, the Federated Farmer-Labor Party was formed. Although this organization occupied the central position nationally in the farmer-labor movement, and led in the struggle everywhere for the upbuilding of local and state parties, it was impossible for it to create as yet the centralized national party which could unite, organizationally, all the forces of rebellion against the capitalist parties. It therefore set itself to the task hitherto carried on principally by the Workers Party, to build the United Front, to bring all the farmer-labor forces together into one party for the 1924 campaign.

## Rebuilding the United Front

To this end, negotiations were entered into with the various groups of farmer-laborites throughout the country, particularly with Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party which had elected two United States Senators. In November 1923, a conference was held at St. Paul, in which the Communists participated with the representatives of six or seven parties, at which it was agreed to call a national convention to unite all groups for the 1924 campaign, and which elected an Arrangement Committee to carry out the campaign.

The call for a convention on May 30, 1924, at St. Paul, to unify the organized workers and farmers against the capitalist parties, struck a responsive chord among the masses. A great swing toward the St. Paul Committee took place everywhere. The idea was sweeping the country. Union after union endorsed it, state and local parties swung into line one after another, and St. Paul (with the Communists participating and giving the drive its power and cutting-edge) became the leader of the mass movement against Wall Street.

But the misleaders of Labor always serve their masters, the capitalist class, well. They immediately took up the discredited Gompers program of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies", and giving it a new dress in the Conference for Progressive Political Action, laid their plans for side-tracking the great revolt that was brewing, back into the parties of capitalism.

Typical of the "non-partisan" program of the labor bureaucrats, the C. P. P. A. was split

between the supporters of LaFollette, in the republican camp, and of McAdoo in the democratic. For a time it seemed that the railroad union officials, who backed McAdoo because as railroad administrator during the war he had given them permission to collect dues from the railroad workers, would carry the C. P. P. A. into the ranks of the democratic party.

But the disclosures of McAdoo's connections with Doheny in the oil scandal, his million-dollar fees, his connections with the Steel Trust, coming just before the February meeting of the C. P. P. A. at St. Louis, threw the issue into doubt. The C. P. P. A. called a conference for Cleveland, July 4th, after the old party conventions, after refusing all offers of collaboration with the St. Paul Committee in uniting all forces of labor into one convention.

In the meantime LaFollette, tremendously popular among the farmers of the Northwest because of his "war record" and his specious "progressivism" in the Senate, began to take alarm at the definite organizational form being taken by the farmer-labor movement which threatened his scheme of personal control. He issued the word to his lieutenants in the Northwest to postpone the Farmer-Labor Convention which had been set for May 30, 1924.

## Communists Fight for Unity

In the entire struggle it was only the Communists who fought throughout for unity, and with a clear vision of how the splitting desires of the labor bureaucrats and capitalist politicians could be combated. They made compromise after compromise—on all questions except principle—and they stood "firm as a rock" (to quote the words of a non-communist participator) for the complete break with the capitalist parties.

Unity was preserved in the Arrangements Committee of St. Paul on the question of convention date, by compromising on June 17th, instead of May 30. But on May 28th, LaFollette made another attempt to split St. Paul, with a letter denouncing the convention because of the participation of the Communists.

In spite of all the sabotage, a great convention of 600 delegates met in St. Paul on June 17th. And here, too, the struggle for unity and for the protection of the whole movement against treason, fell to the lot of the Communists. The convention was sharply divided on the issue of support to LaFollette, and on the question of the immediate organization of a party. The Communists united the convention through an agreement which provided a class-struggle program of immediate demands, stop-

ping far short of Communism, and for the organization of a campaign committee which should definitely organize the Farmer-Labor Party nationally after the elections.

On the issue of LaFollette, the Workers Party, through William Z. Foster, made the following statement which crystallized and typified its whole fight for unity and against treason:

"Relative to the candidacy of Mr. LaFollette, the position of the Workers Party on the matter is, that in the coming negotiations between the National Committee of the Farmer-Labor Party and other groups relative to combined action upon a presidential candidate, the only basis upon which the Workers Party will accept LaFollette as a candidate is, if he agrees to run as the Farmer-Labor candidate, to accept that party's platform and its control over his electoral campaign and campaign funds."

The convention unanimously nominated Duncan McDonald, a coal miner, for president, and William Bouck, a farmer, for vice-president, and instructed its Committee to negotiate with the Cleveland conference on the question of a united ticket.

## The Cleveland Betrayal

On July 4th, the Conference for Progressive Political Action met in Cleveland. It rejected all proffers of cooperation from St. Paul, refusing to seat William Mahoney, an ardent supporter of LaFollette, because he had participated at St. Paul. It surrendered completely to LaFollette, and his "personal" candidacy, so completely that it swallowed his program whole, without dotting an "i", and left the question of vice-presidential candidate for him to decide. It took not the slightest step to organize a party, and endorsed LaFollette's statement against party organization. All elements, including the Socialist Party, that participated, accepted the betrayal without protest.

The complete failure of the socialists, the clothing workers, and other elements to form a left-wing at Cleveland, disheartened all the weaker elements that had heretofore adhered to St. Paul. It was evident that LaFollette would drag some of them along and precipitate another struggle within the farmer-labor movement.

In this crisis the Workers Party took a determined stand. It declared that the only safe guard of the idea of independent political action by the working class, was the immediate naming of a Workers Party ticket, of which there could be no doubt that it would go through the campaign and conduct the struggle without flinching against capitalism in all its forms.

A national conference was called in Chicago, July 10th, at which William Z. Foster was named for president, and Ben Gitlow for vice-president. The National Committee of the Farmer-Labor Party met on the same day, withdrew the candidacies of McDonald and Bouck, and adopted a declaration calling upon all adherents of the Farmer-Labor program to throw their support to the Workers Party. This statement was signed by Alex Howat, chairman, A. C. Hathaway, secretary, Alfred Knutson, Scott Wilkins and Joseph Manley, members. Alice Daly, of South Dakota, declined

to sign, and William Mahoney, the remaining member, had resigned.

Thus has the alignment taken place for the 1924 presidential election campaign. The issues are clear. William Z. Foster, the candidate of the Workers Party, running on the platform of the dictatorship of the working class against the dictatorship of the capitalist class, is the only representative of the struggle against capitalism. The betrayal of the official mis-leaders of Labor has been complete. Only the struggle for Communism remains in this election for the workers and farmers.

## The Steel Campaign Fiasco

By Wm. Z. Foster

WHEN the great steel strike of 1919-20 came to an end, I, as Secretary-treasurer of the National Committee, left in the treasury about \$130,000, the remains of the strike funds. The hard-boiled trade union officialdom, accustomed to waste whatever funds that come to their hands, smiled at this and looked upon me as one of the innocents. Many greedy eyes were cast upon the big fund and prophecies were freely made that it would be duly frittered away in the approved A. F. of L. fashion, that it never would produce an organization in the steel industry, for which purpose it was supposed to be devoted.

Those who spoke thus spoke from the book, because the steel strike fund is now practically a thing of the past and there isn't a trace of organization in the steel industry. The way the fund has been wasted is a disgrace. For three years after the close of the strike no real work worth mentioning of education or organization was carried on. Yet about \$55,000 was gotten rid of. Finally, on June 20, 1923, with a blare of trumpets, the A. F. of L. announced that with the remaining \$75,000 the steel workers would be organized.

If the public and the gullible ones in the labor movement believed that there was something in the new campaign, the wise heads in the bureaucracy were not deceived for a moment. It was the common gossip among them that the steel strike fund melon was about to be cut, and that a number of good jobs would be opened up for the benefit of the worthy brothers. No one seriously expected that real organization work would be done.

The campaign has been conducted under the control of Mike Tighe, President of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel & Tin Workers, and Wm. Hannon, Executive Board member of the International Association of Machinists. Tighe is a fossilized unionist of the vintage of 1890. He fought the 1919 strike at every turn of the road and is a good protection for the steel trust against the organization of its workers. His calibre may be judged from the fact that he not only refused all substantial aid to Jacob Dolla, who served almost five years in jail as a result of the 1919 strike, but he actually expelled him from the union and allowed his family to suffer in want.

Hannon was one of the most trusted members of the National Committee that organized the steel workers in 1919. He endorsed and helped formulate all the policies that were carried out. Yet immediately upon the conclusion of the strike, he turned upon the men who had trusted him and cooperated with him. In an article in the Machinists' Journal he cut himself loose from all responsibility and paraded himself as a victimized militant who had tried to make something out of the affair. Naturally, under such leadership as that of Tighe and Hannon, nothing was to be expected from the campaign, except that the fund would be duly spent.

Following its usual custom, the general office of the American Federation of Labor has taken no interest in the campaign. Neither Mr. Gompers nor Mr. Morrison feel the slightest responsibility for the organization of the steel

workers. They have not turned a hand over, either to help or to see that the campaign was conducted in a vigorous fashion. The same is true of nearly all of the Internationals involved.

Neither the A. F. of L. nor the Internationals have put any organizers in the field. They let the full burden of the campaign fall upon the steel fund. Not content with that, they have, notably Tighe, loaded up the organization staff with fossils altogether incompetent to act as organizers. At one time there were a dozen organizers in the field. These received \$250 per month, with \$7.00 per day expenses, or in other words \$460 per month for full time organizers. At present, the campaign being an admitted failure, there are only four men in the field. With few exceptions the organizers engaged in the work have looked upon their jobs as sinecures and have acted accordingly.

### The Money Wasted to Organize 200 Men

The campaign, such as it was, has been conducted chiefly in Chicago, Cleveland, and Bethlehem, a little work also being done in Buffalo. This resulted in complete failure, due to the antiquated and spiritless methods employed. At no point was enough grip secured in the industry to develop even a local strike. Nowhere were real organizations established. The total number of workers signed up throughout the campaign in all the districts did not exceed 200 at the very outside. Such is the ridiculous showing made by the great American Federation of Labor, with its corps of highly paid organizers, after a year's "work" and the spending of many thousands of dollars—a maximum of 200 steel workers who have been coaxed, cajoled, or kidded into joining the unions.

During the existence of the American Federation of Labor there have been many glaring examples of failure in organization work. Time and again the conservative leaders of the unions have demonstrated that they do not understand the first principles of mass organization. But the so-called steel organizing campaign easily tops the list of such fiascos. It is the most pitiful example of impotency and incompetency, that the labor movement of this country has yet seen.

But, characteristically, Hannan and his associates have an alibi for their miserable failure. They have the assurance to come out and make the claim that the recent introduction of the eight hour day in the steel industry was

due to their efforts. They say that Gary was afraid of their organization campaign and introduced the eight hour day to head it off. Many mean things have been said about Gary, but to accuse him of being afraid of the spineless, visionless, organization campaign now being carried on by the A. F. of L. in the steel industry is ridiculous. About the only sentiment that Gary or any other militant capitalist could feel towards such faint efforts as were put forth by the unions in the present campaign is contempt.

### Empty Boasts and Empty Treasury

Even before the campaign began, the agitation for the eight hour day, which developed out of the big strike and which had seized upon a wide breadth of public opinion, had reached the point where the eight hour day had been determined upon by the steel barons. For the men in charge of the present campaign to try to cover up their incompetency by claiming credit for the eight hour day in the steel industry, would be a farce if it were not so tragic.

For 25 years, or ever since the loss of the great Homestead strike, the conservative leaders of the labor movement have failed utterly in the task of organizing the great army of steel workers. Time after time they made efforts, only to still further discredit the unions by showing their weakness. Then, in 1919, a few radicals managed to take a hand in the work, and to apply modern methods, with the result that something substantial was accomplished. Those who are incurably optimistic thought that perhaps the Gompers machine might have learned something from the lessons of the last great struggle. But the bureaucrats have proved themselves totally incapable of so doing. The present organizing campaign in the steel industry is just as antiquated and futile as any that have preceded it under conservative leadership.

The great steel fund has been wasted and the workers are entirely without organization. And it is safe to say that the conservative leaders will never be able to organize them. The job is entirely beyond their comprehension and ability. Only revolutionists can accomplish it. The organization of the steel industry awaits the day when the revolutionary forces are developed to the point where they have sufficient resources to put on the necessary campaign. This day will come much sooner than many expect.



## Push the Fight for Howat!

By J. W. Johnstone

IN October it will be three years since John L. Lewis arbitrarily removed Alexander Howat and his colleagues from office of District 14, U. M. W. of A., expelled them from the union without trial, while they were in jail for defying the now discredited Industrial Court Law of Kansas.

Since Howat joined the miners' union in 1897, he has fought for the miners and against the operators. The operators could not bribe him, nor their corrupt agents in the union councils control him. When their pet Industrial Court failed to tame him, Lewis, their friend, expelled him.

The Kansas operators a few years ago, following their usual systematic corruption of union officials, tried to buy Howat by offering him a company job at his own price. But he refused to desert the miners. Only a few months ago, since he was expelled, the operators again offered him a job of mine superintendent at \$6,000.00 a year with a contract for five years. Although Howat was not a member of the union, he again refused to leave the ranks of the working class, refused to be bribed to desert the miners. Instead, he chose to stay with the miners, and the next week he went into the mines as a plain coal-digger—necessarily joining the union just as he did in 1897.

### Push the Fight for Howat!

The fact that Howat has joined the U. M. W. of A. as a new member does not mean that the fight for his reinstatement has been stopped. On the contrary it must be vigorously pushed. The Illinois, Michigan and Kansas districts have already demanded that a special International Convention be called to give him a fair trial. Two more districts are required to make the demand compulsory, and it is up to every fighting worker in the miners' union to see that his district joins in this demand. The Howat case is a fight for every miner, because to reinstate Howat is to break the control of the operators over the union. For years they have sapped the union's strength by buying out officials. Now they have a three-year agreement, an industry that is less than 50% organized and fully 50% over-developed. They expect to smash the union before the three-year agreement is expired. Lewis has helped them and will help them.

There is no union in America whose officials have so generally deserted it and gone over to the enemy as have those of the U. M. W. of A. Hundreds of ex-officials of the miners' union have been or are now on the payroll of operators. Some are paid for soft jobs with little work or none, like superintendents, commissioners or pit bosses, while others are given political jobs.

Here are a few for example: MacBride and Mike Ratchford of Illinois, Phil Penna of Indiana and T. L. Lewis of Ohio, all former International Presidents. W. D. Ryan, former International Secretary. George Colville and George Manuel, ex-presidents of District 25; P. R. Stewart, Ex-President of District 21; George Richardson and B. Harrigan, ex-presidents of District 14; and Herman Perry, ex-President of District 12 are some more.

### Lewis Never Elected

Lewis' advance—through the backdoor—to the office of International President of the U. M. W. of A., was, without doubt, part of the operators' scheme to control and, finally, to destroy the miners' union. He was never elected president. In fact he has never been elected at any time to any official position in the miners' union. In 1920 when he was in complete control of the official machinery in his home state, Illinois, he was defeated by over 20,000 majority by an unknown miner, Robert Harlin, from Washington state.

For years Lewis tried to induce the Illinois miners to elect him to some official position, but they would have nothing to do with him. Three times he was candidate for secretary of District 12, running against Duncan MacDonald. Each time he was defeated decisively. Losing hope of ever getting into office honestly by vote of the miners, he got his good friend John H. Walker to induce Sam Gompers to appoint him as A. F. of L. organizer. The Illinois miners heaved a sigh of relief thinking they were rid of the schemer.

In 1916, during the controversy over the New York agreement, Lewis came before the miners for the first time on a national proposition. He was appointed chairman of a special committee to force the New York agreement down the throat of the Pittsburgh District miners at the time they compelled Van Bitner to resign.

Lewis satisfied the operators so well that it became common knowledge that Al Hamilton, a scab coal operator, was openly boasting that he was going to make Lewis the next International President.

In 1917 Lewis was appointed statistician by President John P. White. Later he was appointed manager of the miners' journal. In 1918, and in accordance with the statement alleged to have been made by Al Hamilton, that in the process of making Lewis president White, too, would be "taken care of." White resigned to take the job as "advisor" to the Fuel Administration of the Government. Frank Hays then became president, and immediately appointed Lewis as International Vice-President.

### Operators' Scheme Wins

Hamilton's scheme to put Lewis at the head of the U. M. W. of A. was working according to schedule. In a very short time Lewis was in complete control of the International Board. Hays, a weakling, soon became as putty in the hands of the cunning Lewis. Rumors were circulated to discredit Hays. Whether they were true or not, they were part of the conspiracy to put Lewis into the presidential chair. In 1919 Hays came to an agreement with the Lewis clique, resigned, and for so doing received a year's salary in advance. At last Lewis stepped into the position he now holds!

With the machinery of the International in his hands, Lewis has been able to stick in the office by stuffing ballot-boxes, packing conventions, taking autonomy away from districts that he could not otherwise control, expelling progressives such as Howat and Myerscough and the use of every means of treachery and terrorism.

At present there are seven districts whose autonomy has been taken away by Lewis, i. e., Districts 15, 17, 19, 20, 26, 29, and 30. District 14 was under a provisional government until a few months ago. Under Howat it had over 11,000 members. Today it has only about 7,000. District 20, once with 11,000 members is now completely unorganized. The same goes for district 15, 29 and 30. District 19 is in ruins and District 26 is being systematically crushed. The miners' union is paying a terrible price for allowing Lewis to become president, and it faces annihilation if he is there much longer.

What a farce! Lewis, the creature of a non-union operator, at the head of the largest union of America, a union of good fighting workers; while Howat, with the confidence of the miners

everywhere, is removed from the office to which he was elected, expelled from the union and persecuted by Lewis, mountebank of the bosses!

The U. M. W. of A. cannot advance while Lewis blocks the way. The union is becoming but a plaything of the operators. Everyone can see the danger of complete annihilation. Two thirds of the bituminous miners are unemployed, the rest working part time. No relief is in sight. With the sole purpose of helping the operators adjust the industry and destroy the union at the same time, the three-year agreement was entered into at Jacksonville. No less than 200,000 miners are to be driven out of the industry, crushing the union in the process.

### Must Fight or Starve

The near future is not bright. No one can gloss it over. America faces a general crisis of all industries. Millions will be unemployed this winter. It is folly for miners to try to escape the struggle by seeking employment in other industries. There will be no work for them.

Only in one way can the unemployment be met in the mining districts. They must get out of their heads the expectation that the Lewis machine is going to help them. They, themselves, must fight—or starve. They must demand that the government and the operators provide work and funds sufficient to pay the regular union scale. They must demand the six-hour day, the five-day week—and fight with spirit for nationalization of the mines.

The left wing must lead the fight. In all bituminous fields councils of the unemployed must be formed. All unions, fraternal societies, workers' political parties, the employed and unemployed, the organized and unorganized must be asked to unite their forces in unemployment councils for mass meeting and demonstrations to assert demands conforming to this program.

Under the lead of the Trade Union Educational League, the militant miners in the U. M. W. of A. must fight for Howat because it is a fight for themselves. Lewis will oppose any program aimed to help them. Just to call yourself a "radical", just to be a fighter, is not enough. It is necessary really to get into action without gloves. More, we must have organization, discipline to hold our forces together, and a definite goal. The goal is the proletarian revolution, and every opportunity must be used to show the class nature of the struggle and to raise the slogan of the dictatorship of the working class.

# Dawes—the International Open-Shopper

By Harrison George

EUROPEAN capitalism continues steadily to decline. Markets for products of American capitalism grow steadily fewer and smaller. Enormous stocks of manufactured goods have met a non-absorbent wall of no orders and are backing up, closing the factories and mills, throwing unemployed workers on to the labor market in rapidly rising hundreds of thousands.

More than this, four and a half billion dollars of gold, about half the gold of the entire world, lies in the vaults of the American banks, only partly in use, the rest an unassimilable surplus vainly seeking profitable investment. Concentration of commodities and gold in one country, America, is bringing the crisis in world capitalism into the lives of the American workers. The backwash of the war has reached America.

The tendency is not new, but the degree of its operation is increasing. American capitalists, taking advantage of the growing army of unemployed, are beginning again to attack the wage and hour scale of the employed workers, to resume the "Open Shop" Drive that was suspended by the temporary revival of 1922-23—through the intensive exploitation of Asiatic and South American fields.

Gompers, who claimed credit for checking the first Open Shop Drive, will now have to answer for his responsibility in weakening the unions by opposing amalgamation, expelling the left wing and collaborating industrially and politically with the employing class. A new "Open Shop" Drive is begun concurrently with the drive to establish in the seats of power Coolidge the strike-breaker and Dawes the Fascist champion of the "Open Shop."

## What Dawes Means

The capitalist government of the United States has watched with increasing apprehension the machinations of European capitalist cliques. First, there were England and France demanding cancellation of the eleven billion dollar war debts to America, refusing to talk revision of the Versailles Treaty, which was wrecking America's market, until war debts were also discussed. By smooth work Morgan broke England away from France by obtaining a funding of the English debt.

But French occupation of the Ruhr and the forced marriage of German coal and French

iron created a menace to America's basis of power—steel production. Germany as a market for England and America was being destroyed, the mark was sinking into its grave and the German masses beginning to rebel. American capitalism has been forced to intervene in the reparations problem, to end its "splendid isolation"—mimicked by Gompers in his opposition to international affiliation for labor unions. These are the reasons behind the famous "Dawes' Report."

Last October, Secretary Hughes, answering Lord Curzon, stated American apprehension by saying that "present conditions make it imperative that a suitable financial plan be evolved to prevent economic disaster in Europe, the consequences of which would be worldwide." And, later, he recommended to work out such a plan, "men of highest authority in finance, of experience and prestige and honor." Thus, selected as the spokesman of American capitalism, there appears upon the stage the fabled savior of imperialist capitalism, Brigadier-General Charles G. Dawes.

## An Old Trick of Dawes

Dawes comes from Puritan ancestors, and Macaulay relates that the Puritans hated bear-baiting, not because it gave pain to the bear, but because it gave pleasure to the spectators. This Puritan trait seems to have been carried into Dawes' consideration of how to relieve the Germans from the Entente insatiableness. He did not object to robbing the Germans, but the French were getting too much fun out of it, all to the loss of American imperialism.

The famous Experts' Report on Reparations and its most prominent author, Dawes, have been heralded with such a fanfare of capitalist press publicity as the solution and the savior, that it is a duty as well a pleasure to point out the characteristics of both Dawes and his report.

Part of the Dawes plan is, in effect, for American gold to be taken to Germany and held in a bank as a basis for German finance, remaining all the time under Allied—that is to say, American—control; it shall be German money but, at the same time shall belong to American bankers...!

From the loud cheers that greeted this item in the Dawes Report one might think it is a

new idea, but General Dawes had experience years ago—to be exact 12 years ago.

In 1912, an adventurous crook of the banking world, William Lorimer, king of vice and republican politics in Chicago, had a bank. It was called the LaSalle Street Trust and Savings Bank. But the savings of the poor—and the rich—were criminally abstracted from the bank by Lorimer and his accomplices and the bank found itself facing the regular inspection of the state auditor, short just \$1,250,000 it was supposed to have but didn't. Lorimer's bank was bankrupt as Germany is, as capitalism is. Lorimer turned to the author of the Report on Reparations.

Lorimer went to Dawes, then president of the Central Trust Company, and an agreement was made between Lorimer and Dawes to have \$1,250,000 in cash hauled from Dawes' Central Trust Company to Lorimer's bank, there to be exhibited to and counted by the state auditor as belonging to the Lorimer bank, then to be returned to the Dawes bank so that it could be counted again—where it belonged. The fraud was carried out as agreed between the crook Lorimer and the sanctimonious candidate for the vice-presidency, the author of the Reparations Report and leading "open-shopper" of America, Mr. Charles G. Dawes. After Lorimer's bank finally was closed in 1914, its creditors sued Dawes' bank for the \$1,250,000 and in May 1917, Judge Frederick A. Smith held the Dawes' bank liable. All this is a matter of record in Chicago courts. But Dawes was in politics and by tricky work on another political judge reduced the sum actually paid for this fraud, against the state and the Lorimer depositors, to a mere \$79,898.

## Training for International Role

Naturally, such men are valuable. Dawes was given the job of purchasing agent for army supplies of the U. S. A. in its war for "democracy." The astounding sums piled up by the profiteers, the graft that bulged the pocket of every "patriot"—if it did not bulge those of Dawes, at least escaped his attention. When called on to testify at the congressional committee which uncovered the graft he purposefully posed as righteously indignant. He shouted and cursed. He yelled that the "moral issues of the war" were being submerged. He bullied his way through and became famous as the "strong" man who swore at congressman with a new cuss-word—"Hell and Maria."

Whether Dawes position as army purchasing agent or merely his voluntary interest in

the union wrecking, "open shop" drive of Attorney General Daugherty, was the reason is not known, but that Daugherty cleaned up on a block of stock given him of the Pure Oil Company, with which Dawes is connected, was established by evidence before the Senate Committee which investigated Daugherty. Certainly there was a close bond between these two, and Dawes, speaking at the Chicago Union League Club on February 22, 1923, said that the Daugherty Injunction against the railroad shopmen was in his judgment, "the beginning of a new era of law and order in this country."

In the same speech, Dawes definitely embraced the principle of capitalist dictatorship, saying, "That form of government which history has proved most futile and disastrous is a democracy. Steps taken of recent years towards the principles of free democracy are leading in the direction of tyrannical mob rule under evil leaders." The "moral issue" of the "war for democracy" in which he became a brigadier purchasing agent, was forgotten.

Even Dawes' frankly Fascist organization, the Minute Men of the Constitution, started in 1923, and which has recruited 45,000 upper-class shock troops dedicated to violent assaults on labor unions, could not cover up with its formal allegiance to "constitutional rights"—his real purpose of aping Mussolini. American capitalism looked hopefully upon him. Not without reason did the capitalist press say that in the Republican convention "Dawes' labor record was an asset to him, Dawes was the type of man the delegates wanted."

## Exporting the "Open Shop"

So much for Dawes the American "Open-Shopper." With the Reparations Report, Dawes became the International "Open-Shopper." Skillfully worded in the language of financiers, the Dawes Report is a charter of enslavement to the Morgan banks of, firstly, the German working class, and ultimately the workers of all Europe.

The Report itself says, "Reparations can only be paid abroad by means of an economic surplus in the country's activities." To reach this surplus in the German budget only two means are possible. 1) German workers must produce more and must consume less—get lower wages. 2) Or, the first means failing. German capital must pay the reparations bill out of its profits taken from German labor.

Which of the two means is being used under the Dawes Report is clear from the terms made

between the traitorous "socialist" government of Germany and the German capitalists. Kurt O. Sorge, President of the Association of German Industry, agreed to accept the Dawes Report only if the Ebert government would do seven things: 1) Destroy the political power of the trade unions. 2) Stop negotiations with the unions. 3) Repeal the eight-hour law. 4) Prohibit the United Front of the unions against capitalist assaults. 5) Allow arbitration in wage disputes only where employers desired it. 6) All nationalized industry to be turned over for private ownership. 7) High tariff on commodities used in Germany.

Of course the treacherous German social-democracy agreed, and the Dawes Report has its most prominent result in the attempt of the German capitalists to impose the ten-hour day upon the coal miners, with 900,000 miners on strike, a strike which ended in a compromise, in the betrayal of the workers by the leaders of the socialist unions controlled by the Amsterdam International.

The Dawes Report clearly provides for taking the reparations out of the blood of German labor. "Wage increases are not to be expected in Germany today," says Dawes. And he advises cutting off all aid previously given the unemployed and a wholesale discharge of railway workers. But, when it comes to the alternate proposition of making German capital contribute something by a heavier tax rate, Dawes says, "It is a matter for Germany to decide." As for living standards, "The amount of the minimum is not exactly determinable, seems to vary between different countries, between different periods in the same country" etc., leaving the advice that the living standard of the German workers may be cut to coolie standard to the inference of the German ex-

plorers. The decision of Dawes is not that "Germany shall pay" but that "German labor shall pay."

To force a surplus out of the German workers enough to support not only German capitalist parasites but to export the sums named in the Dawes Report, beginning with a billion gold marks the first year and increasing yearly, without precipitating a proletarian revolution, is a problem of the German government.

But a proletarian revolution in Germany is the only hope, not alone of the enslaved German workers, but of the English, French and American workers as well. For these huge reparations cannot be paid, even though German labor submits to the most abject slavery, in money. These huge reparations must be paid in goods. But at present the whole of Western Europe and America cannot find a market for its full productive capacity. This state of affairs, moreover, is not temporary, but fairly permanent. What will be the effect, then, to the workers of England and America, of the dumping of reparation commodities, produced by German slave labor, upon the world market?

Such a "solution" is the best capitalism has to offer. It will mean the terrible power of Morgan's "Open Shop" Drive will spread from America to Germany, from Germany to England and France and back to America again. It will mean competition with slavery or unemployment such as never has been known—all accompanied with a world wide attack on labor unions under the Fascist "Open Shopper", General Dawes. And the only remedy, the only cure, is international solidarity of unions under the banner of the R. I. L. U. and the inevitable proletarian revolution in Germany.

## 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 thruout the country.

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## Ferment in the Needle Trades

By A. Simon

THIS summer has seen three movements going on in the clothing industry of New York City, involving thousands of workers and their families. After years of struggle and sacrifice to establish union conditions, the needle trades workers have, during the past years, seen union control gradually lessened, the sweat-shop system becoming ever more strongly entrenched, and with it long periods of unemployment, unsanitary conditions, and cut-throat competition among the workers.

This condition of affairs could not continue. As a result of the left wing organization under the leadership of the Trade Union Educational League, a movement started in the respective trades to make expiration of the agreements the occasion of a real struggle to gain back the losses suffered.

The most important of the three movements now in progress from the point of view of a real struggle, is the strike of the Capmakers. Due to the continuous propaganda of the T. U. E. L. in the Capmakers' Union, some of the most important problems were forced to the front in the negotiations with employers. These problems are: 1) A guarantee of 42 weeks work during the year, with security from the employers to serve as unemployment insurance should the employers fail to supply the number of weeks of work stipulated in the agreement. 2) Every shop is to employ a full set of workers of every craft, so as to eliminate the little companies and family shops employing one or two skilled workers with the rest of the work being done by the employer and his family.

An agreement has been concluded with the large manufacturers. In it the union has won significant concessions. Namely, for the first time in the industry the employers are forced to recognize their responsibility in maintaining the workers of the industry at the expense of the employers during periods of unemployment. This is an accomplishment of the T. U. E. L.

It is true that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers was the first of the needle trades unions to have raised the issue of unemployment insurance in Chicago. The difference between its plan and that of the Capmakers, however, is that the former relates more to the particular shops and is jointly administered, while the plan of the Capmakers calls for a

three percent contribution from the employers to make up the fund controlled exclusively by the union. The second demand of the Capmakers also was granted after considerable pressure. And again it was an accomplishment of the left wing led by the T. U. E. L.

### T. U. E. L. Against the Sweat-Shop

The strike as it now stands is directed principally against the small bosses, many of whom will be forced out of the industry if the fight is prolonged. They constitute about 50 percent of the trade, and their elimination will benefit the workers. The final importance of these gains, especially the second one aimed at abolishing the sweat-shop, will depend largely on the determination of the leaders of the Capmakers' Union in continuing the fight—and this, in turn, depends upon the persistence of the left wing pressing the membership and the union on to the struggle. Any compromise with the small bosses would rob the Capmakers of the concession given by the large manufacturers. The left wing must vigilantly oppose any concession to the little sweat-shop bosses. Such surrender will imperil the whole industry.

The strike of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers was more of a defensive struggle than one aimed at new concessions. The men's clothing workers have gone through a serious crisis during the past year. The leaders of the A. C. W. have pursued a tactic that could but weaken and interfere with proper union control. They failed to take the rank and file into their confidence, a serious error which naturally begets mistrust among the membership. The demoralized condition of the trade encouraged the employers to force serious reduction of wages upon the workers. In such a situation a taint of union bureaucracy is most harmful.

It was imperative for the Amalgamated to call this strike to reorganize its forces and halt the epidemic spread of wage reduction. But the T. U. E. L. pointed out that to accomplish this task it was also necessary to put forth—besides the slogans of "No reductions", new demands to raise the enthusiasm of the workers, to draw into strike activity these militants of the T. U. E. L., who today have the confidence of the great mass of workers.

The agreement the A. C. W. concluded with the manufacturers thus far is by no means satisfactory to the militants of the Trade

Union Educational League, since it is not in line with their original demands. Nevertheless, it registers some gains, such as unemployment insurance funds and minimum wage, etc. But the extent these will be of value to the workers will depend on the strength and determination of the union administration, the officials' willingness and ability to exercise proper union control, which was lacking before the strike. While the T. U. E. L. renews its original demand, it also insists that nothing gained in the present struggle be lost.

#### The Betrayal of the Cloakmakers

Since the reactionary program of the "socialist" officials of the I. L. G. W. U. began, of expelling the left wing, especially the members of the Trade Union Educational League, the Sigman gang felt it necessary to counteract the great revolt of the rank and file which spread all over the country. So they lifted the ten demands originally formulated by the Trade Union Educational League and with great ceremony made them into a sort of program known as the "Ten Commandments." But this did not mean, of course, that they wanted these demands granted or intended to fight for them, and before the strike the T. U. E. L. warned the membership that the officials would not fight for these demands.

Under the present leadership things have been going from bad to worse. Thousands and thousands of cloakmakers have been unemployed for many months. The so-called "social shop" has spread like wild-fire. Working standards have become a thing of the past while the only thing visible of the I. L. G. W. has been the iron hand of the *Forward* gang choking every progressive and critical voice.

The time arrived on June 1, when the agreement with the bosses expired. For 4 months the officials carried on conferences with the employers behind closed doors. Finally the members were called upon to cast their ballots, and by referendum they voted 31,000 to 500 in favor of a strike for the "ten commandments," originally the demands of the T. U. E. L.

During this period negotiations were still going on, and the leaders at every conference on their own initiative kept cutting down the demands, without consulting the membership. The T. U. E. L. prophecy that the Sigman gang would not fight for these demands proved true. On the other hand the boss kept refusing even the modified demands. The bosses knew these "leaders"; they knew that they made "deals" before with these officials of the union—with the workers always the losers. The

bosses understood that the diplomacy carried on at present by the leaders was really not for the demands at all, but was merely grand stand play.

So it happened that instead of calling a strike, the officials called for arbitration from the Tammany governor of New York! The governor called all factions together and after some deliberations the employers asked for mediation instead of arbitration. Again the yellow socialist Sigman gang surrendered without even referring it to the membership.

Again came a grand stand play by the officials before the commission to mediate. The officials made pleas that carried nothing for the workers since they had already surrendered the original demands in the previous conference. Again came the closed-door diplomacy and the decision against each and every demand of the workers by the governor's Commission. The only thing left in the decision was phrases and phrases. Before the results of the Commission were given out the Sigman gang met and decided at once to accept the recommendations as a great "victory". But the employers were not so hasty, and knowing the kind of "leaders" they dealt with, they refused to agree even to these ridiculous recommendations.

#### The Mountain Brought Forth a Mouse

So the great "strike for the ten demands" has been led into a blind alley. As the T. U. E. L. claimed, no strike was intended. But with the refusal of the bosses to grant even this practical defeat to the union, the workers were called out of the shops on "stoppage." A stoppage, a strike, to enforce a virtual defeat for the workers! A fine goal, indeed! It is nothing but staged camouflage to make possible the collection of dues, since the old treasury has been bled white by the gang which knows how to ruin a union but not how to build one. There has been no strike, there will be none and the ten demands are farther than ever from realization.

In the meantime conditions of the Cloakmakers are becoming worse daily. But the betrayal has opened their eyes. Many who were blind are now seeing the character of the traitors who expelled the only fighters in the union—the militants of the T. U. E. L. Many more ever day realize that the union never will function for them until the expulsion policy is wiped out, the traitors turned out of office, and militant left wingers put in charge of leading the struggle.

The revolt is spreading rapidly, and the

militants in the union must endeavor to deepen the resentment against the betrayers of the membership. Already the angry membership responded to the call of the T. U. E. L. in a mass demonstration in front of Sigman's office. The traitor is also a coward, and in fear and trembling called the police to protect his yel-

low hide against the justified indignation of the rank and file. Such "leaders" must go. The workers now in the I. L. G. W. have a problem to solve and there is no one but themselves to solve it. They must see that the Sigman-Forward gang goes and that new and revolutionary leaders take control.

## Journeyman Tailors Face Clear Issue

By John Dorsey

**D**URING August and September the members of the Journeyman Tailors' Union of America will decide whether their union is to forge ahead upon a militant progressive program which will build the union and benefit the tailors, or continue to lose members and weaken the union just as a new "open shop" drive is about to begin, by continuing the present programless reactionary policy. The question of progress against reaction is symbolized by the contest for General Secretary-Treasurer between Max J. Sillinsky, the Cleveland progressive, and the reactionary Tom Sweeney who is now in office and wants to stay.

Sweeney is an example of the incompetent leech which hangs onto the body of organized labor. For ten years he has held down both the office and the tailors, inefficient and unpopular, but maintaining himself by unscrupulous use of a machine. He was assistant to the former secretary, Brace, and when Brace resigned Sweeney took advantage of his position as assistant, and maneuvered himself into office. He has stuck in office ever since.

Sillinsky, on the other hand, has a record, not only of lip service but of action and definite policy, to mark him as a real progressive. His program, upon which he runs against Sweeney, definitely declares for amalgamation, a labor party, protection of the foreign born and recognition of Russia, besides the necessary demands of the trade. That Sillinsky's deeds substantiate his program may be seen from the fact that in the Portland Convention of the A. F. of L., he was one of the very few who voted against the unseating of Wm. F. Dunne. At the same convention Sweeney proved to be a reactionary follower of Gompers and voted with the Gompers machine to put Dunne out.

This is a sufficient measure of what the two men stand for, but in the everyday fights of the workers we see again that Sweeney is incompetent and indifferent to the needs of the

workers, while Sillinsky's record is one of militant struggle against the bosses.

The building up of the union is one of Sillinsky's leading points, and the Cleveland tailors under his leadership were among the first in the country to enforce the week-work system upon the bosses. Then a year later, in 1920, the bosses tried to begin piece-work again and locked out the Cleveland tailors for refusing it. In a short but militant strike in which Sillinsky stayed on the firing line in spite of being badly beaten up by sluggers, and the tailors won.

After ten years of mismanagement, the J. T. U. of A. could not stand much more of the Sweeney administration. Rank and file clubs were formed and demanded that Sillinsky run for General Secretary-Treasurer. He was nominated by 35 of the largest locals, and in the election just ended he received 1959 votes as against 2456 for Sweeney. However, as there were two other candidates, Soderburg and Carlquist, the vote was split so that no one got a majority. Hence, according to the union constitution, a final election must be held between the two highest candidates—in this case the fight is clarified between the known reactionary, Sweeney, and the equally known progressive, Sillinsky. The left wing expects much of Soderburg's strength to fall to Sillinsky in the coming final election, since Soderburg, known as a progressive, was eliminated. Besides this, the Trade Union Educational League has endorsed the candidacy of Sillinsky and actively assisted in his campaign.

Militants in the Journeyman Tailors' Union must everywhere watch the coming election, attend the meetings of the union and raise the issue of progress against reaction. The rank and file clubs must be vigilant, not only in the immediate duty of checkmating crooked voting and electing Sillinsky, but to remain as permanent groups to keep the union and its membership always in the front of the class struggle, nationally and internationally.

## Turn Out the B. & O. Sharks!

By Andrew Overgaard

THE convention of the International Association of Machinists to be held in Detroit, September 15, faces a crisis in the union and must take a definite stand on many issues. During the period of so-called "prosperity" just ending, instead of the union gaining members, it dropped from 350,000—the number we had during the war, to about 75,000. Will we keep these few? And what can the union do to improve the conditions, and hours and wages of our members?

At the Railway Employees Department Convention before the shop men's strike, a demand for amalgamation was made by all the sixteen standard crafts, but it was voted down by the official machine, and Wm. H. Johnston—President of the I. A. M. was its bitterest opponent in spite of the fact that the Machinists' union definitely went on record for amalgamation at its Rochester Convention. But what do instructions mean to labor fakers?

That began the destruction of the shopmen's organization. Forced by the rank and file to call the strike, the leaders did not lead. They failed. They had no plans for centralized struggle, no necessary commissariat and relief, and made not the slightest move for unity of all railroad men.

After the settlement, the leaders became frightened. Working standards were practically destroyed. In that hour—as this one—the only measure which could have saved both conditions and organization was—amalgamation, immediate amalgamation. But the leaders ignored amalgamation. They wanted to surrender to the railroads, not to fight them. So a new panacea for all ills was proposed in the so-called "B. & O. Plan," with insurance and other quack remedies. It helps the companies. Naturally, the B. & O. Railroad Company endorsed it. But the men working under it call it "The sweatshop under union protection." It will fail because struggle is necessary, inevitable. But it can do terrible damage to the unions. The I. A. M. must not be made an efficiency auxiliary to the bosses, or become a company union. At the Detroit convention—and before and after—this damnable scheme must be fought with full force.

Only the amalgamation of all the unions in the metal and railroad industry into a powerful industrial union with guts to demand and take conditions instead of wheedling for

favors and getting nothing or worse than nothing—amalgamation is the only solution for the present demoralization.

Second, instead of simple life insurance, the left wing must fight for unemployment insurance, which helps the members now—not when they are dead. Besides, we are facing an unemployment crisis. This is a vital issue.

Third, a campaign to organize the unorganized must be started, and the first move toward it is to abolish the appointive power so that the twenty or so appointed organizers must be responsible to the membership for service instead of to the machine for playing politics.

Fourth, the militants must fight for the formation of a strong labor party, must force our officials to quit fooling around with the capitalist parties or any fake substitute like the C. P. P. A. with the discredited "non-partisan" trickery.

Fifth, four years is too long a period between conventions, and we propose to hold a convention every two years.

Sixth, let us abolish the stupid clause admitting only white machinists and open the doors for our colored brothers.

Seventh, the heresy hunting by the present officials must be stopped by this convention. Expelled and suspended members of the left wing must be reinstated.

Eighth, a real national campaign must be started to establish a forty-four hour week and regain the lost working conditions.

Ninth, efforts must be made to raise the standard of helpers. Also, all helpers in the big manufacturing plants must be organized.

Tenth, the left wing advocates affiliation of the I. A. M. to the Red International of Labor Unions. The I. A. M. should continue its connection with the International Federation of Metal Workers at Berne. But delegates to Berne should be elected, and instructed to demand the unity of all metal workers in the world, including the admission to Berne of the strongest metal trades union in the world—which is the Russian Union of Metal Workers.

The above are the major questions of the Detroit convention, of the membership. Others, like the election of an election board to count the ballots, will not be neglected. But the great treachery, the B. & O. Plan, must be repudiated, and those who thrust it down our throats turned out. On to Detroit!

## On the Eve of the Third Congress of the Profintern

By A. Losovsky

(General Secretary of the Red International of Labor Unions.)

WE are on the eve of important changes in the international labor movement.

The characteristic features of this coming change are the movements of resistance by large masses of workers against the aggressive actions of capital, and, second, offensive movements by the workers to regain a number of lost positions. In this respect it is necessary to point out the big strikes that have taken place in England recently, also the large number of strikes that have taken place in Germany, particularly the present strike of the German miners, and the intensive activities that are taking place at present in the labor movement of France. In a number of countries and industries the capitalists are being compelled to make concessions to the workers, as can be seen from recent events in England and France. Which proves that within the ranks of the working class there has been accumulated a tremendous amount of energy and that we are entering a new phase in the class struggle.

It would be a mistake, however, to believe that the period of capitalist aggression has come to a close and that the workers have started the offensive on the entire front. What we are witnessing at present is the appearance of the first symptoms of a new epoch characterized by the working class taking the offensive again. It is impossible, of course, to say how long this new epoch may last. One thing is clear, that the new spirit of aggression noticeable in the ranks of labor is bound to develop and produce very serious conflicts, and in some countries, as for instance Germany and Poland, it may lead to considerable disturbances.

This change of spirit in the ranks of labor on the economic field, and consequently also in the political struggle, must be taken into consideration when deciding upon our tactics for the future. The revolutionary trade unions are being confronted now with a number of new problems which demand an immediate solution. The situation at present is such that not only political but also economic struggles of the work-

ers must be fought against the Social-Democracy and the trade unions of the Amsterdam International, which means that the line of our tactics must succeed in breaking the resistance not only of the capitalists but also of international reformism.

### Shall We Destroy or Capture the Trade Unions?

This question must be formulated again primarily because the strike breaking activities of the Amsterdammers, their brutal attitude towards the revolutionary workers, have given rise in a number of countries, mainly in Germany, to a certain tendency which insists on the revolutionary workers leaving the reactionary trade unions. This question has been discussed in Germany during the year of 1919-20. It is true that at that time the leadership of the Amsterdam International did not dare to pursue the tactics that they are pursuing at present. It is known that it is precisely upon this question that a split occurred in the German Communist Party at its Congress in Heidelberg. The majority of that Congress adopted the position that we have got to destroy the reactionary trade unions. The result, however, was that the only thing that was actually destroyed was the Communist-Labor Party of Germany. The reactionary trade unions did not suffer at all. The minority at that Congress, which accepted the position of the Comintern defined by Comrade Lenin, has, because of that, grown into a powerful mass Communist Party in spite of the numerous defeats suffered by that party.

In considering this question we cannot be moved by any moral or sentimental consideration. That the leaders of the Amsterdam International are becoming more counter-revolutionary and corrupted every day, no one will deny. But from this, it does by no means follow that we must leave the trade unions. It was never our conception that to capture the trade unions means capturing their treasuries, real estate, etc. We always believed that our main purpose was to conquer the minds, the consciousness, of the

working class. Our main problem was to separate the masses from the ideology and tactics of the reformists. And is it not a fact that in doing so we have succeeded in winning over to our ideas hundreds of thousands of workers who are now following the Profintern? And is it also not true that this was the only tactic capable of achieving such results?

We would have committed the greatest mistake had we permitted the Amsterdam International to provoke us to accepting the policy of leaving the unions. Because this is precisely what the reactionaries desire, they want to get rid of us. They are reasoning in the following fashion: The revolutionary wing in the trade unions is growing; if we don't get rid of them now and immediately, then this revolutionary wing may be able within two or three years to conquer the leadership over the entire trade unions. But in order not to appear responsible for a split it is necessary to provoke the more impatient left-wingers to leave the unions, and in doing so, take upon themselves the responsibility for having split the organizations. This is the line of reasoning and policy of the Amsterdam International.

It is precisely this policy that is prompting the reactionaries to persecute and expel the most active left-wingers. And it seems to me that we shall be very poor revolutionaries and Communists if we let ourselves be provoked into leaving the unions by the leaders of the Amsterdam International. No. Irrespective of what this reactionary gang may do, we have got to remain inside the trade unions, fight for leadership, and remain there until the time arrives when we will be in a position to rid the trade union movement of all the reactionaries and betrayers.

#### Unity of the Trade Union Movement

The above policy can be pursued successfully if we continue energetically the fight for unity of the trade union movement. It is at this point that we will no doubt meet serious difficulties created by the multiplicity of forms in the revolutionary trade union movement. We have at present a number of national dual unions, also small groups of split-off or expelled. These latter attempted to organize their forces and extend their influence. In Germany, Czechoslovakia, the United States, Poland, and in a number of other countries, the following problem will confront us. 1) Shall we conduct a struggle for unity where there are in existence dual unions? 2) What shall be the relations between the existing revolutionary unions and the revolutionary minorities within the reactionary unions? 3) Shall we create special organs for the unification of all followers of the Profintern in each country? The main

problem, however, is, shall we continue the struggle for unity or shall we declare openly that the time has arrived for a complete split?

On this proposition we have noticed serious waverings among the comrades in Germany. There we find a whole group of comrades who consider that the slogan of unity in the trade unions is no longer applicable. These comrades are asking the following question, "Why shall we fight for unity at a time when no unity is possible with the reformists? Why shall we propagate a slogan which the masses don't believe and have no confidence in?" These comrades maintain that it is necessary to give up the idea of capturing the unions and find a new basis for our activities among the masses (Factory Committees).

It seems to me that by refusing to continue the struggle for unity we will commit an unpardonable mistake. For the reformists will immediately monopolize this slogan of unity for themselves. In passing, I want to say that our fight for unity is not demagogic at all, as the reformists maintain. We really desire unity. We are fighting for it. The only difference between us and the reformists consists in this; that while we desire unity for the purpose of the class struggle, the reformists desire unity for the purpose of class collaboration. This difference is serious enough to establish a clear line of division between us and them in the international labor movement. The struggle for unity must be continued also in the future. Even in those countries where we already have parallel dual organizations (France, Czechoslovakia) also there and particularly there we must wage an energetic fight for unity of the working class. Only thus can we succeed in unifying the masses and make them follow our leadership of their struggles.

#### Factory Committees

It would seem that everything has already been said on this question. In reality, however, when we examine the activities of the factory committees wherever they exist, we find that the workers of one country have very scant knowledge of the experiences of other countries along this line. The factory committees in the countries of western Europe are at present only in their beginning.

What is a factory committee? In the first place it is an organ of unity of the workers, and, secondly, the direct representative of the employes of a given factory. To succeed in this field, one must develop the maximum amount of energy and initiative. Even in Germany, which has at the present time quite a large number of factory committees, these have not yet crystallized into definite form. In other countries as, for instance, Austria and Czechoslovakia, the situation is much worse. In France they are now taking the first steps for the organization of factory committees. In England this movement has been almost completely extinguished. In the United States it does not exist.

This is the situation, and yet it remains true that no serious revolutionary trade union movement is possible if it does not base itself on factory committees. There was a time when the discussion revolved itself around such questions as, "How shall we build these factory committees? Shall all the workers employed in a certain factory be permitted to participate in the elections of the factory committee?" What shall be the functions of these committees?" etc. The period of such theoretical discussion is past. We have got to begin the actual

building of the factory committees. One might say that this is the main task of the followers of the Profintern, particularly in those countries where the trade union movement is split and where we find in each given factory, workers affiliated to one or more of these unions, to unite all these workers into one factory committee, to turn this committee into the actual leader of the struggle of these workers, to extend the competency of these committees as far as it is possible.

To bring the factory committees into actual leadership of the economic struggles of the workers, make these committees participate in the building up of various committees of action, also the means of organizing the unorganized, and to gradually prepare these factory committees to fight for and assume control over the factories—these are the simple but very important tasks confronting the followers of the Profintern.

#### On Strike Strategy

The experiences of the past year have emphasized the need of clarifying the question as to the best methods of the economic struggle. The conditions of this struggle have become very much worse primarily because the capitalists have succeeded during the past year in strengthening their organizations and in developing a complicated system of struggling against the working class.

The old-style strikes are no longer effective. No amount of enthusiasm will be able to overcome a well-organized and resourceful enemy. Notwithstanding all this, very little has been done by the trade unions to study and devise new and more effective methods of struggle against the capitalists. Was there anywhere an attempt made to outline the fundamental and general rules of struggle on the economic field? We know, of course, that there is no such thing as a pure economic struggle. That every economic struggle is also a political struggle. But that doesn't help us any because even on the political field very little has been done to generalize and crystallize the experiences of the international revolutionary movement. And still less has been done to study and understand the economic struggles of the workers.

Our backwardness in this respect becomes the more apparent when we see what has been done for the study of national and imperialist wars, for instance. There isn't a single important battle which hasn't been investigated and described in numbers of volumes. Every phase of an important war, even if it happened hundreds of years ago, has been at one time or another a subject for study. The capitalists have created numerous military schools, a tremendous literature, all of it devoted to a study of the strategy and tactics of the military arts. Thousands and thousands of people are studying it.

And now see what we have got with regard to the economic battles of the working class. Almost nothing, although from the point of view of social developments, an important class conflict is incomparably more important than any large military battle. Will anyone contend that the battles around Mukden (Manchuria) are more important for humanity than the strike of 1,200,000 English miners in 1921 that lasted 13 weeks, or the present gigantic fight of the German miners is less important than the battles between the Anglo-French and German armies on the Ypres? Merely to ask this question is to state the answer.

We have done very little to organize our struggles on the basis of past experiences. We must frankly say that none of the internationals has done anything in this respect. This question was never even placed on the agenda of any of the internationals. The explanation for it lies probably in the fact that it is a difficult problem. It requires serious study. It demands the building up of a real strike strategy. It is a difficult problem but it must be solved.

The reformists are not bothered by it because they are trying to avoid the class struggle. They believe they can fool history and get along without gigantic social battles. But for the revolutionary wing of the labor movement, which believes only in its own power, which understands that even the left-wing of the bourgeoisie is just as hostile to the working class as is the right-wing,—for us the problem of strike strategy is an important problem. We must succeed in gathering the collective experiences of the international labor movement. We shall have to consider the creation of special literature, special text books on strike strategy, and also the creation of special schools. We already must begin considering the question of building up a conscious leadership for the revolutionary struggles of the workers, a leadership which will, after the victory is secured, become the conscious builders of the new society. It is a new question, it has been studied very little so far. Only a serious effort, the collective will and thought of all of us, can succeed in solving this problem.

#### Leading Organs of Struggle

The solution of the above problem becomes still more difficult because of the fact that we are compelled right now and in the middle of our fight to create our theory as well as practice. We are compelled to assume leadership not only of the political struggle but also of the economic. And this we must do not only in those countries where we already have powerful organizations but also where we are as yet only in a minority. And really since the reformists have surrendered to the bourgeoisie, if they are attempting to play the role of strike-breakers and betray the workers to the capitalists, then we are compelled to assume leadership of the struggles irrespective of whether the circumstances are favorable for such action.

In a number of strikes in Germany, England, and other countries, the followers of the Profintern have been placed in responsible positions of leadership by the mere force of events. Why? Because they are the most revolutionary section of the working class and, being its vanguard, they necessarily find themselves in the front ranks. The difficulty of the problem consists mainly in this, how can we right now begin the preparation of proper organs of leadership for the common struggle? We cannot leave this problem unanswered because if we do so we risk the fate of the common struggles of the working class. The question is how shall we start these preparations? Experience will show that we have got to so unite the revolutionary sections of the workers that they will be able at any moment to assume the leadership in the struggle.

The Communist Parties, together with the revolutionary minorities in the trade unions, must assign special comrades. These comrades are to prepare themselves for leadership in the various committees of action and strike committees that will be formed during the struggle. We have got to create a staff

of specialized workers who could be distributed according to the demand of the situation.

We must see to it that our organization becomes more elastic and adaptable. In Europe and in America there still exist craft prejudices even among Communists, that only a member of a strike can lead the struggle of that trade. This is a dangerous idea against which we must wage an energetic struggle. We have got to select out of the ranks of the workers the best, the most daring, the most energetic revolutionary elements, and utilize them in all the serious struggles that may come, introducing them by all possible means into the various committees of action and into the strike committees. We cannot afford to continue as of old, we have got to make a change or else the revolutionary labor movement will not be able to succeed.

We must create leading organs for the common struggle and in the measure in which we succeed in creating these organs will we also succeed in assuming practical leadership over the economic struggle of the workers. And in the same measure will grow the influence of the Profintern.

#### Intelligence Service on the Economic Field

The labor movement is compelled to deal with a splendidly organized enemy. The employers' organizations present themselves as very complicated mechanisms whose functions and mode of procedure is being held in strict secrecy. We only know the general outline of the construction of these organizations. We do not know their inner workings and can very seldom see those obscure forces which are operating within them in time of serious class conflicts. Our ignorance in this respect is almost criminal. What do we really know of the secret funds of the employers' organizations? What do we really know of the methods that are being practiced to organize strike-breaking, outside of the information contained in a few accidental exposures? What knowledge have we in our possession of the methods practiced by the employers' organizations to buy the support of the press, the courts, and the entire apparatus of the State? Very little, indeed. And our struggles are becoming every day more difficult. And here, just as in war, we have got to resort to military manoeuvres and methods.

In time of war, each party to the conflict organizes its own intelligence services to secure information regarding the disposition of the forces of the enemy. Why don't we do the same thing? Why don't the trade unions organize such an intelligence service? Why don't we try to learn the secrets of the employers' organizations? Why can't we get on our side those people who are working for the employers' organizations and get from them the secret mobilization plans against the working class, also information regarding the inner structure of the employers' organizations, sources of their income, etc.? The reason why we don't do it is, because many workers are still dominated by the rules of petty bourgeois morality, while the employers, not feeling embarrassed by any such rules of morality, are sending into our organizations their own agents to inform them of whatever is transpiring in our organizations. Moreover, they not only have in the trade unions their paid scouts, but they also secure the support of the trade union bureaucracy, which in essence is nothing but the transmitter of bourgeois ideology into the working class ranks.

The employers are doing everything possible to

break the resistance of the workers. And we, we hesitate. We can find in our own ranks people saying that it is no good to secure information about the employers' organizations by means of illegal methods. That it is no good to send into their organizations our people in order to expose their secrets. We must put an end to those petty bourgeois conceptions of morality. War is war. We are confronted with a powerfully organized enemy. We have got to study them. We have got to learn their plans, their forces, so that we can strike at the right time and at the most exposed place. We must see to it that every important labor organization establishes its own intelligence service. If we don't learn what's doing in the camp of our enemy we shall continually be beaten.

#### Questions of Organizational Structure.

An important question for the revolutionary trade unions is how we shall continue to build our organizations. The difficulty arises in the fact that there are in existence so many forms of organization. We have general trade union centers, then the revolutionary minorities in the reformist unions, independent unions, etc. This variety of organizational form makes it very difficult for us to unite into one center all the revolutionary working class forces. The question is, what is our fundamental organizational task? What is the substance of this organizational question? The answer is, to create such an organizational form as to give us the maximum of elasticity, freedom of action, and the possibility of drawing into the sphere of our influence ever wider and wider masses.

We must say, in passing, that the revolutionary minorities in the old unions are not as yet organized in all countries. In some countries these minorities are nothing more than merely ideological groupings without strict organizational form, as, for instance, in England and America. In other countries (Germany) we already have definite organizational structures. The trouble, however, is that these structures have been built from the top down and not vice versa as it should be, since our movement in order to succeed must be based upon the lower units of industry. We must build our organizations on the basis of factory groups, from those groups to organization by industry, and then to a national organization of all industries.

We must also deal with the question of new and more modern forms of organization for the trade unions. The concentration of capital gave rise to the idea of creating a concentrated alliance of labor in the form of one big union. This idea has quite a number of followers in Czecho-Slovakia where they have created a one big union based on industrial sections. We believe this form of organization to possess great merits. It is precisely the type of structure towards which the trade union movement will come sometime in the future.

The question is, is this form of organization adaptable to the conditions as they prevail at this particular moment? Considered from this point of view the one big union form of organization will not everywhere succeed in getting into its ranks large numbers of the workers. We must take note of the fact that craft prejudice is too prevailing not only among the masses but also among members of the Communist Party. For this reason it is necessary to approach the application of this form of organization very carefully. Unity of all forces of

labor is absolutely necessary. We must, however, take care not to rush too fast, otherwise we may encounter very unpleasant consequences. We have got to make a detailed study of the accumulated experiences of the one big union movement and on the basis of this experience make concrete practical decisions for our future work.

Another important question of organization is the question of representation of the Profintern abroad. We have at present a number of such representations which have proven themselves very useful. We had the Central European Bureau, the Bureau of the Latin Countries, and the British Bureau. Although different in organization structure, and also in the nature and extent of their work, yet they are functioning as effective transmitters of the ideas of the Profintern. Under the present conditions there is no other way of influencing the international labor movement than the one we adopted. It will be, however, a mistake to convert these bureaus into political parties. No. Every bureau must carry out the instructions of the Profintern, organize and supervise the distribution of its publications, transmit to the Profintern information of the western European labor movement, etc. The least attempt on the part of these bureaus to overstep these technical limits will bring dualism into a distortion of our political leadership. It is understood that our representatives in the various countries must take the initiative to investigate and settle internal conflicts that may arise in their respective countries. This form of representation of the Profintern abroad we consider as a temporary one, in the measure in which our movement will grow and develop the functions of our representatives will have to be assumed by ourselves.

The next organization question is the question of financing the revolutionary trade union movement in general and the Profintern in particular. Up till this very moment the expenditures of the Profintern are practically covered by the membership dues of the Russian unions. In the future, it will be necessary that our affiliated organizations make stronger efforts to assist the Profintern financially. The difficulties are very great because in many countries we only have minorities which do not pay to the Profintern membership dues. In these countries we shall have to limit ourselves to securing funds by collections, thereby establishing a stronger financial connection between the Profintern and the revolutionary minorities. At any rate, we shall have to, in this instance, strengthen our ideological connections with a material connection.

We shall have, further, to continue our activities for the Fund for International Solidarity. This Fund has been created at the last Congress, but the demands for other activities has been so great, class conflicts so numerous, that whatever sum we succeeded in collecting was altogether insufficient for these activities. Extraordinary efforts will have to be exerted by the revolutionary workers in all countries in order to secure substantial results. Of course, we shall never grow so rich as to be able to assist in a financial way large strikes. But even a small contribution is at times effective in securing victory for the workers. To build this Fund of International Solidarity, and to strengthen the finances of the Profintern generally, will be one of the most important tasks of the coming Congress.

#### The Trade Union Press

Although great advances have been made in building up a revolutionary trade union press, yet we have really succeeded in accomplishing very little. Our press is weak. In every country the circulation of our papers is much lower than the number of followers of the Profintern. There is very much to be done in building up our press. We have, at present, a number of serious weeklies in France, Germany, Italy, England and Czecho-Slovakia. But this is not enough. Our aim must be to bring the circulation of our weeklies to a number which would exceed the number of the followers of the Profintern.

We must also aim at the creation of industrial organs, and also one central organ in each country for the entire revolutionary trade union movement. As a transition measure, we must see to it that the Communist press establish permanent trade union departments. And in those countries which have no trade union press at all, the Communist Party organs must set aside special pages for the trade union movement. We must also build up the serious literature on questions of revolutionary trade unionism. In this respect the Profintern has already accomplished a number of achievements.

#### Conclusion

From these general remarks regarding the immediate tasks of the revolutionary trade union movement, we can see what a tremendous amount of work will have to be done by the coming Congress of the Profintern. It would be wrong to separate our political tasks from the organizational and technical problems. The two are inseparable. Without a good organization one cannot pursue an effective political struggle, and a correct political policy is effective only so far as there is a good organization to carry it out. This connection with the questions of organization, the questions of policy becomes very apparent when we study the activities of the Russian Communist Party, the Comintern, and the Profintern.

Is it necessary to change our tactics in order to fulfill the tasks confronting us. Some comrades have declared the necessity of "new" tactics. The question is, what should these new tactics consist of? Shall we reject the slogan of unity in the trade unions? Shall we declare against the tactics of a united front, and in favor of a split? We have already dealt with the slogans of unity and splits in the trade union movement. We will now say a few words regarding the tactics of the united front.

Those arguing against this tactic have forgotten to observe that it is they themselves who have grown to power and influence because of the tactics of the united front. It is the German Communist Party within which there prevails now a desire to do away with the tactics of the united front, that has grown into a mass party because of the united front tactics. Our German comrades insist that if the tactics of the united front are to be applied at all, it must be done from below. This method of applying the united front cannot be considered a principle of universal applicability. In one country and in one industry it may be to our advantage to apply the united front from below, while in other instances we may find more advantage in applying these tactics simultaneously both ways, from below and from above. It all depends upon the time, place, and the conditions of struggle.

The tactics of the united front in those instances when it produced poor results, was bad not because it was applied from above, but because it was applied poorly. At the international conference of the Transport Workers (May, 1923) the tactic of the united front was applied from above. Will anyone maintain that because of this the results were bad? Everyone will admit the important political significance of that experience, consequently the tactics of the united front remain our most important means of maneuvering in the class struggle.

It may be necessary to reformulate this tactic more precisely, to carefully work out our plans on the eve of each united front campaign. We must develop our ability to quickly change our position and always consider carefully the opinions and sentiments that prevail among the working masses. In some places we may have to apply the united front tactics from below. In other places we may have to apply this tactic from below and from above. But the purpose remains always the same, to attract the masses to our leadership.

One more important question is the relation between the trades unions and labor governments. The relations between revolutionary trade unions and the revolutionary labor government are perfectly clear. Where the government is the organ of the proletarian dictatorship, as in Soviet Russia, the revolutionary unions will render this government every possible assistance and support, because then the unions represent the main basis of the proletarian revolution. The question arises what will be the attitude of revolutionary trade unions to a labor government of the type of the British government. Here, too, the situation is clear. The labor government in England is in reality a certain form of coal-

tion government. We have got to expose this coalition nature of the British government, its weakness, hesitancy, its fear of decisive action, its refusal to carry out any important social reform, and its surrender to the bourgeoisie.

To expose it merely in words will not be sufficient. Large masses of the workers all over the world, and particularly in England, still believe in the labor government. These masses are still under the influence of democratic parliamentary illusions. In order to expose the labor government, it is necessary to present to it a concrete program of social legislation, calculated to improve the conditions of labor, to change the system of taxes, to do away with the imperialist colonial policies of capitalism, etc. By presenting the labor government with such a program, we compel it to lay its cards on the table. This can be achieved only if we carry on a systematic campaign demanding the realization of our program. Then, the masses will understand the nature of the labor government. Wherever labor governments are in power, the followers of the Profintern must be doubly careful in applying the tactics of the united front with respect to those masses which still support these labor governments.

It can be seen from the above what tremendous and complicated problems are confronting the revolutionary trade union movement all over the world. Our road is difficult. We still have to win over tens of millions of workers for the struggle against the bourgeoisie, against the capitalist state, and against the reformists. It is a difficult task, but one that we will eventually succeed in accomplishing. What we need is more tenacity, more energy, more revolutionary elasticity, and loyalty to the social revolution, and then victory will be ours.

## Jacob Dolla Is Released

THE LABOR HERALD is glad to announce that its campaign begun in the January issue of 1923 has at last caused the release of Jacob Dolla, victim of the Steel Trust frame-up, from the Pennsylvania penitentiary where he was serving a 17 year sentence.

Old readers of the LABOR HERALD will remember the details but for the new readers we will give the brief history of the case. Dolla was an active steel striker in the great strike of 1919. A spy named John Aldridge, then a member of the union (A. A. I. S. T. W.), framed up a fake "dynamite plot," had Dolla arrested and tortured and sent to prison.

Only after getting to the penitentiary could he get word of his victimization to Wm. Z. Foster. Publicity began in the LABOR HERALD. It has been a left wing fight led by the LABOR HERALD, assisted by some active unionists like Clinton S. Golden of Philadelphia. The Steel Trust fought the release long and bitterly. The persistence of the left wing won. Dolla is not only free, but asserts that from now on he is a rebel, a rebel who will fight with the Communists for a new society. In the name of the left wing, the LABOR HERALD welcomes you back to the struggle, Jacob Dolla.



JACOB DOLLA

## R. W. Beattie, Labor Spy-Faker

By Wm. Z. Foster

AT last "Bob" Beattie, prominent labor official of Pittsburgh, Pa., has been exposed in his true light as an agent of the employers. For many years it has been common gossip in the Pittsburgh labor movement that Beattie was a spy and a crook. He has been connected with every shady deal that has been pulled off in the local movement. It is typical that in spite of the fact that there was every indication of his being a detective, the trade union officialdom of both his own international union and the American Federation of Labor made absolutely no effort to expose him. He was finally turned up by agents of the Pennsylvania Department of Labor and shown to be a detective in the employ of the Central Industrial Service Bureau.

Beattie held official positions galore, most of which he still holds even after his exposure. He was business agent of the local organization of Firemen and oilers. He was Vice-President of the International Union of Firemen and Oilers, as well as editor of its official journal. In addition he was Secretary of the Pittsburgh Central Labor Union and President of the local labor bank. Of a suave and ingratiating personality, Beattie lost no opportunity to worm himself into every possible strategic position, there to ply his nefarious trade of spying and grafting upon the workers.

When the big steel campaign was on, Beattie was commissioned to represent his International Union on the National Committee for organizing the steel workers. At that time all those of us connected with the campaign who could see an inch before their noses, knew that Beattie was corrupt. He was then local business agent, and, although having but a handful of members in his local union, he was able to sport a big touring car and to live upon the fat of the land. Several times when the committee was about to hold important meetings, I protested against his being present and demanded that some other representative of the International be sent.

No doubt Tim Healy, President of the International Union of Stationary Firemen and Oilers, knew, or was practically certain, that Beattie was a detective. But, as usual in such cases, he did nothing to expose him. Beattie, like all other crooks in the labor movement, was an ardent supporter of Sam Gompers

and a fighter against "Reds." He was deeply entrenched in the local bureaucratic machine which keeps the district safe for Gompers, and any attack upon him was bound to develop a big opposition from the whole Gompers crowd.

In many cities the local labor movements are corrupt to the point of being a standing disgrace. But nowhere is the situation worse than in Pittsburgh. Formerly the local central body was known as the Iron City Trades Council. But it was so rotten that, in order to get at least partially away from its evil repute, the name was changed to the present title of the Pittsburgh Central Labor Union. In almost all the crooked deals pulled off in the Pittsburgh central body, Beattie was a leading figure.

One of these jobs which stunk to the high heavens was the endorsement of Babcock for mayor of Pittsburgh. Babcock was a Republican with large timber interests in the south. These were operated under one of the worst peonage systems in the entire country, all of which had been fully exposed by Babcock's enemies. He was shown to be the most ruthless kind of labor exploiter. Nevertheless, Beattie and his crowd jammed a resolution through the central body endorsing him, just as the meeting was breaking up. The few who heard the resolution read at all understood it to be a condemnation of Babcock. Imagine the surprise of the whole labor movement when the next day all Pittsburgh was plastered over with great posters carrying a 100% endorsement of Babcock by the Iron City Trades Council and signed by all the unions affiliated to that organization.

It was a matter of common knowledge that for this job Babcock paid \$7,500, which was split among five men, one of whom was Beattie. Indeed, the honest delegates of the council appointed a committee to investigate the corrupt deal. This committee monkeyed along for several years, but, faced by the opposition of the entire Gompers machine, never did anything definite. A couple of years later it was found out that Babcock owned 55% of the stock of the National Labor Journal, the corrupt labor sheet parading itself as official organ of the local central body.

Another outstanding scandal of the many disgusting scandals in the Pittsburgh labor





JACOB DOLLA

movement, relates to the Labor Temple. A number of years ago local labor determined to have a home of its own and arranged to purchase a big building. In order to raise funds, some of the labor fakers, including Beattie, were instructed to solicit money from the unions and employers. In a short while almost enough was raised to pay for the building. Everybody breathed a sigh of relief and thought that at last labor had a location of its own. But, alas, the gang in charge of the collection of funds submitted their bill. This

completely wiped out all the money collected, to the disgust of the labor movement.

Not satisfied with this raw graft, the same gang repeated the proposition. It is said that the workers of Pittsburgh have paid for the Labor Temple three times over, yet today they hardly own a dollar's worth of it. They will welcome the exposure of Beattie. But he is only one flea gone from the dog's back. There are more of them, some even worse than he. Gompers and his crowd know of their existence, but naturally, they will not do anything to undermine their own support.

## Labor Conditions and Labor Unions in Japan

By Louis Zoobock.

This is the third of a short series of articles on the labor movement of Japan, foremost competitor of American imperialism in the Far East.

THE widespread strike situation described in the previous article, soon changed. The period of prosperity due to the war had begun to decline, and with increasing unemployment strikes became less frequent. The capitalists utilized this opportunity to the fullest extent. Wages were cut drastically, forces were reduced and, as expected, the radical leaders were first to be discharged.

The unions lost one strike after another. Strike leaders were bitterly persecuted by the police. But the repressive policy of the government and the weeding out of the militant workers from the ranks of the employed only tended to strengthen the radical element in the labor organizations.

The strike of the workers in the Kawasaki and Mitsubishi shipbuilding yards in 1921, is the best proof of the cohesiveness, determination and revolutionary spirit of the Japanese workers. "During the 40 days that the strike lasted," writes Kagawa, "the city people gladly bought wares of 6,000 strikers who went into street peddling in order to help the strike, and they set out thousands of pounds of ice in front of their shops for the refreshment of the strikers." Only after the exertion of two battalions of soldiers and 4,000 police was the strike suppressed.

### Strikes of 1922-23

The demands of the strikers in most cases up to 1921 centered around the following issues: recognition of factory committees, the workers' right to form or join labor unions, collective bargaining, eight-hour day,

increase of wages, allowance in case of dismissal, etc. These demands were totally ignored by the employers.

The strikes continued during the years 1922-23. Of the many important battles of this period, the following deserves mention: The strike of the Yokahama dock yard workers in March, 1922; the strike of the workers of the Osaka copper works in June that year; the strike of the workers in the Noda Soy Company in March, 1923—the only strike which ended in victory for the workers; the strike in the Mikuni Spinning Company during the same month, and that in the Railway Car Manufactory, etc.

The strikes were accompanied by violence. Thus, in the strike of the Oshima Steel Works, the strikers, according to J. Tani, "Attacked the plant and almost completely destroyed the shop." During the strike of the workers of Okumura Electric Company, says Tani, "An old mother of a striker killed herself as demonstration against the unjust dealing of the company. A funeral procession took the nature of a big demonstration of the strikers, and the company had to defend its shops with barricades of barbed wire."

Most of the strikes, as already pointed out, resulted in failure. The young, inexperienced and disunited unions of Japan could not withstand the united front of the government, capitalist, and Fascist organizations.

### Communist Influence in the Unions

The year 1923 is to be regarded as a memorable date in the history of Japanese labor. The masses of workers, remembering their repeated defeats, lost faith in the policies and tactics of their previous leaders—the Syndicalists. The masses realized they could

only win their battles thru the application of the united front and of revolutionary political action as taught by the Communists. Hence, a new era of Communist leadership began.

When, at the beginning of 1922, the autocratic government introduced an anti-Communist bill, the workers took little interest in it. The failure of the bill was due chiefly to the opposition of the intellectuals. In 1923, however, when the government made another attempt to push it through the Diet, it met this time with the united opposition of labor led by Communists. Mass demonstrations were staged in all industrial centers and the government was forced to withdraw the bill.

The Communists continued their activities energetically. Communist groups were established in most of the labor unions. The illegal Vanguard League, an organization formed to promote the R. I. L. U. in Japan, was created. In nearly all meetings of the workers, serious discussions of the united front principle and of political action began to take place.

This appearance of positive revolutionary tendencies in the trade unions aroused the uneasiness of the government. It instituted a new series of repressions. On June 5, 1923, most of the leading Communists throughout the country, including the members of the Central Executive Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, were arrested. "It was," says Tani, the Communist writer, "a *coup d'etat* to crush the growing Communist movement."

In September came the earthquake which dealt another great blow to the labor movement of Japan. The factory and workmen's quarters in Tokyo and in other places sustained the severest damage. Hundreds of factories were destroyed by the earthquake and, as a result, thousands of workers were thrown on to the street, increasing the already great army of unemployed.

### White Terror Unchained

The government, the willing tool of capitalists, utilized the disorders which followed the earthquake to the fullest extent. Martial law was declared. A new and systematic terror was instituted against the revolutionary organizations of the workers as well as against the leaders as individuals. In Kameido a group of Communists was massacred by the police. Tani says, "Nine labor leaders who had been most active in the revolutionary movement were put to death by soldiers' bayonets while

their hands were tied." Comrade Osugi, the well known syndicalist leader was murdered by order of the government. As a result of the general terrorization, the Vanguard League collapsed; the labor unions suffered great losses from which they have not yet recovered, and for a time the center of labor activity moved from Tokyo to Osaka.

The "June arrest," the earthquake, and the wholesale murder of Communists by agents of the government, checked for a time the activities of the Communist Party. But at present it is regaining its position in the trade unions. Its agitation for united political action among the toiling masses, its efforts to organize a workers' and peasants' political party, its attempts to unite all trade unions into one great Japanese organization—are already bearing fruit. The day when Japanese workers will be able to fight a winning battle is approaching.

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### CO-OPERATION ON THE "B. & O."

THE leaders persuaded the inexperienced workers to waive their seniority rights. Can you beat that for co-operation?"

This is one of the high points of an article in "Colliers Weekly," July 5th, extolling the infamous Johnston "B. & O." plan of class collaboration. It throws a vivid light upon what the plan means for the workers. The "leaders" of the workers persuade them to give up their seniority rights whenever these stand in the way of higher profits.

"If one of 'em so much as slows down before the whistle blows," brags a foreman about his workers under the "B. & O. plan," "you get a box of cigars. And three minutes before startin' time, you'll find 'em with their aprons on, just a-rarin' to go!" This, from a booster for the scheme, should rouse serious thought among union men. Speed-up systems are fine for profits, but what do they mean for workers? Another line or two from this "boost" for Johnston's plan will reveal something else that it means!

"It is through such leaders that several groups of workers have asked their foreman to discharge workers who prove unfriendly to the new plan or unable to keep the pace which the gang has set for itself. And, mind you, not one of these gangs is working by piece rate!"

So! The unions are changed into instruments to force the foremen to discharge workers unable to keep the pace. What a wonderful recommendation of the plan for the railroad workers generally! How the railroad capitalists should love this plan! But why should the workers enjoy it?

Boosters for the plan inside the machinists' union have been telling about how it would give the workers a "democratic" representation in the management. Does it? "Colliers" describes the "democracy" in these words:

"When somebody says: 'Well, Uncle Daniel Willard says it's so-and-so,' that's where the argument stops." This "Uncle Dan" is president of the B. & O. railway. He has the last word. So long as the plan means speeding-up, lower costs, more work, discharge of workers by their fellows, diversion, disruption, suspicion, and decay of the union, which this rotten class-collaboration spells for the workers wherever it is put into effect, "Uncle Dan" will smile and give his approval. But if the workers

should take their "democracy" seriously and ask for an increase in wages—that's where the argument stops."

### FIGHT AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT.

UNEMPLOYMENT is growing swiftly. An industrial crisis is facing the workers of America. Measures must be taken, programs and demands worked out, and the workers mobilized to fight against this vicious evil of the capitalist system.

The Trade Union Educational League must be in the forefront of this fight. Unemployment has always been a subject of concern and attention for the T. U. E. L., and our organization was the first to work out a comprehensive program to meet the problem, and also the first to point out the beginnings of the present crisis. The T. U. E. L. will continue to lead the fight.

In September, 1922, at the first National Conference of the League, in spite of the fact that at that time the boom was upon the country, and in spite of the raids and arrests that disorganized the work of the conference somewhat, the delegates who established the T. U. E. L. looked ahead to the coming problems and mapped out a plan for fighting unemployment. The resolution which embodied this plan, published in *The Labor Herald* for September, 1922, contains the essential points of today's program.

The beginnings of the present crisis were pointed out in the resolution of the second National Conference of the T. U. E. L., printed in *The Labor Herald* for October, 1923, entitled *The Industrial Situation*. Therein was pointed out the tendency of development, the forces making for unemployment and misery of the workers, and the imminent crisis. The crisis did not develop so quickly as was expected, as we pointed out in an editorial in the March, 1924, issue, but its coming was inevitable, and the delay was only for a few months.

Now the unemployment is upon us. All revolutionary workers must rally their forces in a united attack upon the evil. The program now laid down to fight unemployment, by the Workers Party, must be made the basis for a United Front against unemployment. Labor unions, fraternal societies, political groups, employed and unemployed workers, must be awakened to the growing menace, and must be mobilized into committees and councils to take action.

### "WORSE THAN SPANISH INFLUENZA"

LENIN once remarked that the capitalist governments regarded Communism as much "worse than Spanish influenza." The "cordon sanitaire" was built against Bolshevism, but nothing was done to blockade influenza-swept nations—and thus Ilyitch was proven correct.

This summer the specter that began to "haunt Europe" in the early days of Marx is again giving the world bourgeoisie sleepless nights and worried days. Bolshevism, regarded by the capitalist world as a pestilence, is gathering its hosts from every nation of the earth into council at Moscow. The Fifth Congress of the Communist International is just closed. The Third World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions is now in session. The

Young Communist International will follow. There has been an important International Congress of Peasants. A Woman's International Congress will be held. Through all the spirit of Communism—Leninism, runs, stretching its threads to every oppressed worker. The pestilence spreads. . . .!

The Fifth Congress of the Comintern was a test for world Communism. The great leader Lenin, is dead. No longer could his sound realism and revolutionary criticism be available to aid in the solution of new and complicated problems of the international party. Lenin is gone, but Leninism remains! Upon the question of whether or not his science could suffice, hung the success or failure of the Fifth Congress. The records of the Congress just arrived in America show that Leninism as a guide can be relied upon. The most grave disturbances and dislocations resulting from new and unique problems have been settled and solved by the Fifth Congress of the Comintern. Leninism is triumphant!

It was Lenin who has clarified the Communist work in the unions; it was Lenin, more than any other, who urged the organization of the youth and the importance of winning the boys and girls of the working class. It is certain that Leninism will guide the revolutionary unionists now in session at the Profintern Congress, just as it will be the lode-star of the Y. C. I. Hail to Leninism, the hope of the world!

### AGRICULTURAL WAGE LABOR

FOR centuries "The man with the hoe" has been one of the classical subjects for the romanticists. But capitalism, no less than feudalism, has produced a type of agricultural labor so benumbed mentally by its slavish toil that it cannot grasp and does not know even the cultural beauty of the great poem written by Markham, expressing its own degradation.

The advance in agricultural machine production has produced another type of agricultural worker. The seasonal, migratory and "floating" type has, however, not displaced the resident "farm hand," "ranch hand" and "hired man" as the more backward type is variously termed. The migratory is not clearly an agricultural type. He works in agriculture only to be able to escape it—to get back to the city. As a class he is far and away above the resident worker—the slave of an often enslaved but pitiless farmer. The migratory has varied proletarian experience and tends to revolutionary ideas.

It is a tragic thing that so far no serious effort has been made to organize this most oppressed stratum of the proletariat—the real wage laborers on the land. The I. W. W. drive "in the harvest" is, unfortunately, only a drag-net for initiations and dues to maintain a treasury and the semblance of unionism. It "lines them up" but it organizes nobody. The fact that such transient elements as make the harvest cannot easily be held in the union is no excuse for making the I. W. W. card mean no more to these workers than a ticket to ride freight trains. The Red International Affiliation Committee has rightly insisted that the I. W. W. make demands and fight for them.

But the mercilessly exploited "farm hands" are

entirely neglected. Only in California does the I. W. W. seriously undertake real organization of the wage workers against the "kulaks"—the employing farmers who are distinctly capitalists and parasites. The clear class line and the mass character of the workers has produced a type secondary only to the migratory harvest worker in revolutionary ideas. It is a different type and easier held in a union. But these two types, not distinctly demarked from each other, are not all there is of agricultural workers. There remains the "hired man" of the east and middle west, the cotton and tobacco slaves of the south, the regular "ranch hand" of the west, etc., and until the I. W. W. has made a serious effort to organize these elements, it is not only wasting the funds it gets, and neglecting that part of the working class in which Fascism is bred, but it is not living up to the elementary requirements of a union.

### WAR AGAINST WAR.

THE working class is again forced to consider the imminent possibility of war, and of means to combat it, on the tenth anniversary of the outbreak of the world conflict that drenched the earth with blood.

Every worker can see the preparations being made for the next world slaughter. It is hardly necessary to point out the well-known facts, the carefully nursed national hatreds, the newspaper campaigns, the monster military and naval appropriations, the "mobilization day" of the War Department, the emissaries of J. P. Morgan and Co. carrying on semi-official negotiations in Europe. These things, and a thousand others, promise war, conscription, and death to millions of American workers in the not distant future.

Who can say what will be the occasion of the conflict? Who can predict the alignment of nations that will take place? These things can be foreseen only vaguely, because national animosities are only the instruments of war, not their causes. The cause lies deep within the capitalist system itself, working in all countries, and the battle line itself is determined by the chance alignment of temporary capitalistic interests and the caprice of capitalist greed.

Workers are always against war until they are thrown into it. Why cannot the wars be stopped? In the past, it has been because the leaders of the workers have betrayed them to the war-makers. Muzzling the phrases of pacifism, sucking all the fighting spirit out of the working class, the leaders of the Second International, the socialists and social-democrats of the world, with their brothers, the trade union leaders of the Amsterdam International Samuel Gompers type have led the workers into the last war, and they are trying to lead them into the next one.

There is but one effective fight against the menace of war, and that is a fight against the bourgeoisie, against the capitalists and their servants, against the misleaders of labor. War cannot be opposed by pacifist phrases, which only give more power to the war-machines of the capitalists. Imperialist war can only be opposed by the class war. The wars that will come, caused by the imperialists' struggle among themselves for the world's markets, must be turned into the civil war of the struggle of the working class for power.

# The International

**HOLLAND** **A**T the Congress of the Netherlands Communist Party held recently in Rotterdam, the trade union question occupied a great deal of attention. It was the most important point of the whole order of business. The trade union movement is badly split. The total membership is 383,000, grouped in the following organizations, Amsterdam Unions, 182,892; Catholic Unions, 101,000; Evangelical Unions, 54,000; Neutral Unions, 32,000; Revolutionary Unions, 13,527. The opposition, led by Bouwmann, took the position that the Party should confine its attention to the revolutionary unions. This, however, was not the opinion of the majority, which held that it also was necessary to work in the reformist unions affiliated to Amsterdam. After a long discussion the Congress unanimously adopted a resolution to form Communist groups within the Amsterdam Unions, to support the principle of the united front, and to extend energetic assistance to the revolutionary unions. The Dutch Party, although having only 1,600 members, is much more influential than its size would indicate. At the last election it polled 54,000 votes.

**AUSTRIA** **T**HE Third Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions was convened in Vienna on the 2nd of June. In the hall where the Congress was held there was not a single red flag or piece of red bunting, a significant indication of the degeneration of the spirit of this pretended revolutionary organization. There were 200 delegates present representing 22 different countries. The Congress was opened by Mertens of Belgium. Purcell of England was elected chairman.

The English delegation created a stir in the convention on the first day by calling into question the policy of keeping the Russian trade unions out of the Amsterdam International. They condemned the attitude of the Bureau and formally moved that negotiations be started at once to bring the Russian organizations into the Amsterdam International. Fimmen vigorously supported the motion of the English delegates. He deplored the failure of the Bureau to sustain the united front negotiations in the International Federation of Transport Workers, when it declared that the Russian unions could be admitted only after the elimination of the Red International of Labor Unions. He said that fortunately the international federations had just held a meeting preceding the present Congress, in which they had decided that the Russian Unions could be admitted to their organization even though they were not affiliated to the Amsterdam International. Grassman, representing the German Federation of Trade Unions, bitterly opposed the English project and denounced the Bolsheviks in unmeasured terms. He was interrupted with cries from many delegates, "Where is Rosa Luxembourg?" "Where is Karl Liebknecht?" After a long and sharp discussion, the matter was referred to a commission. Sassenbach, notorious in German Social-Democratic circles, reported for the commission, saying, "In order to make it possible for the English delegation to withdraw its motion on the admission of the Russians, a

compromise resolution was adopted. The decisive phrase of this resolution is, "The Congress recommends to the Bureau to continue its efforts, so far as possible, without violating the dignity of the I. F. of T. U., to bring about the incorporation of the Russian unions on the basis of the statutes and resolutions of the International Federation of Trade Unions." Fimmen tried to have the clause relating to the dignity of the I. F. of T. U. struck out, but failed.

Outside of the foregoing, no matters of great importance were handled by the Congress. Leipart, of Germany, submitted a resolution condemning the Communists in the trade unions. It was adopted, with some amendments, and without discussion, the English delegates voting in committee against the anti-Bolshevik clauses. Ben Tillet created quite a diversion by his frank talk on the question of the struggle against war. He stated that the Communists are the only ones who have a consistent anti-war policy and he objected very much to their monopoly in this respect. He said, "In case of a war we will all place ourselves, assuredly I will myself, on the side of our countries. Therefore, it is necessary that we combat war in time." Oudegeest presented his report on international social legislation. It was no more than the program of the labor section of the League of Nations. He said, "We wish, with our social program, to show that, if the employers are not so stupid as to refuse our propositions, that they themselves will enjoy the greatest advantages from them." Bramley, of England, denounced the program of Oudegeest as one acceptable even to liberals. Oudegeest insisted on the necessity of collaboration between the workers and the bourgeoisie during the period of labor governments. His proposition, with slight amendments, was finally adopted. Thomas, of the League of Nations, had the hardihood to say, "I look with confidence to the future which will bring to us the ratification of all the promises of the Versailles Treaty of Peace." Purcell was given the place of J. H. Thomas, now Minister for the Colonies in the British Labor Government, and is now President of the I. F. T. U. The Congress closed by a weak singing of the International.

**SWITZERLAND** **A**T the time when the leaders of the Second International are coming more and more into power in European governments, a new crusade is being organized to crush the Third International. On this matter "L'Humanite" has the following to say:

"In Geneva there has just been formed a provisional bureau for the struggle against the Third International. This bureau is sending out an appeal to all patriotic organizations of Europe and America to create a movement in all the countries against the Third International. Numerous affiliations have already been received. There is being seriously considered the question of convoking a congress in Paris for the purpose of forming a united front against the Third International.

"The manifesto declared that the Third Inter-

national is seeking everywhere to destroy the economic, social, moral, and religious order. In order to defeat its aims, the churches and the associations with moral and economic purposes must collaborate. The provisional bureau in Geneva is gathering information relative to the activities of the Third International in all countries. This bureau is to become the center of all the anti-bolshevik forces in the world. It proposes to organize the propaganda against Communism, to encourage the formation of parliamentary groups of anti-bolsheviks, to furnish the various governments with anti-Communist material. Finally, the bureau would be the instrument enabling the national anti-bolshevik groups to co-operate permanently. It will undertake the direction of a new crusade aimed against the Executive Committee of the Third International."

**GERMANY** **T**HE latest big group of German workers to experience the treacherous betrayal of the Social-Democrats are the Ruhr miners. On May 8th, 900,000 coal miners went on strike. They demanded the maintenance of the seven hour day for underground work and the eight hour day for work on top, together with a 30 per cent increase in wages. The strike was one of the finest exhibitions of solidarity ever exhibited by the German working class. The miners are split into several unions, but in the face of the attack of the employers upon their standards of living they formed themselves into a solid united front. The strike was marked with great enthusiasm by the workers involved, their women also being especially militant. Workers in other industries also became deeply affected by the movement. The strike shook the country and gave the bourgeoisie a fright. As usual, when the movement began to assume a menacing aspect, the saviors of capitalism, the Social-Democrats, became active to chloroform it. They immediately ranged themselves upon the side of the employers, stating that the miners, because of the necessity of fulfilling the reparations demands of the Allies, had to work longer hours and accept a lower standard of living. They forced through an agreement providing for eight hours work underground and from nine to ten hours on the surface, and for only a 5 per cent increase instead of the 30 per cent demanded. The Communist organizations endeavored to hold the workers out against the treason made by the Social-Democrats, who were aided by the government. This was impossible, however. At Bochum, on the 1st of June, the Hand and Brain Workers' Union declared that it was impossible to continue the strike successfully with only 50 per cent of the miners out. It called the miners to utilize this new betrayal as a means to drive the reformist leaders out of the trade unions.

The German government, acting at the behest of the Social-Democrats, has prohibited the holding of the revolutionary Workers' Congress. This gathering was authorized at the now famous Weimar Conference of left-wing trade unionists. It was scheduled to take place early in June. Despite the prohi-

tion, the Communists declare they will go through with it anyhow, and have arranged to hold it later. The general purpose of the Congress was to organize the left-wing in the trade unions, the factory councils, and the organizations of the unemployed, in order to develop a systematic and effective struggle against the capitalists and their lackeys, the Socialists. The committee of 12 commissioned to organize the Congress outlined the following as the order of business: 1) The struggle of the German working class against its enslavement by the international brigands of capital; 2) The struggle for the eight hour day; 3) The struggle against the Amsterdam splitters and the destroyers of the German labor movement.

Sensing grave danger in the Congress, the employers and the Socialists waged war against it. The latter denounced it as an effort to split the labor movement. This was a lying accusation, because the Communists are making the most desperate efforts to hold the movement together in the face of the disruptive tactics of the conservative bureaucrats who can only maintain themselves in power by the most vicious expedients. The latter are the real splitters. As early as 1920 a resolution adopted by the German Federation of Trade Unions said, "It is an indispensable duty of the federations to combat the partisans of the Moscow International with every means at their command." And another declaration in their official journal in 1923, said, "Where such a division of opinion has developed, it can only be harmful to maintain an outward semblance of unity." Acting in the spirit of those declarations, the Socialists have not failed to split the unions wherever they thought their control was menaced. Despite these provocations, however, the Communists have resolutely refused to adopt a policy of secession. At the last Congress of the Party, a categorical stand was taken against the elements advocating the abandonment of the unions. The resolution adopted said that, "No provocation or no persecution should lead the Communists to voluntarily quit the unions." The struggle around the question of the Workers' Congress is only one aspect of the general struggle between the Communists and Socialists for the control of the organized masses of German workers, which is now progressing so favorably for the Communists.

**ENGLAND** **T**HE National Conference of all progressive elements of the British Trade Union movement, which is being organized by the British Bureau of the R. I. L. U., will be held in London, on Saturday and Sunday, Aug. 23-24. Within the past several months the Communists in Great Britain have made much progress towards organizing the revolutionary elements in the various industries. The scheduled conference promises to be the most important of its kind ever held in Great Britain. It will no doubt result in the formulation not only of a new program for the minority movement as a whole, but also individual programs for the respective industries. The minority movement in Great Britain is becoming a real power, one of the recent manifestations of its influence being the electing of Cook to the Secretaryship of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

## The World's Trade Union Movement

(By A. Losovsky, Published by the Trade Union Educational League, 50 cents.)

A Review—By Max Shachtman

AMERICAN literature on the trade union movement has been very sparse compared with the volume after volume of real contributions to the subject that have been written, both before and after the war, by leaders of the French, British and German unions. Most of it was marked by two characteristics; either it was written by socialist leaders who had no direct connection with the trade unions, like William English Walling, Robert Rives LaMonte, Frank Bohn and Andre Tridon; or the content reflected the dual union, syndicalist philosophy of the newly-formed I. W. W. or the French theorists, Pataud and Pouget. Thinkers like Daniel DeLeon were the exception and not the rule.

The Russian revolution has had a most profound effect on every phase of working-class activity, and the trade union movement is not the least of these. The policies of the revolutionaries both inside and outside of the unions were transformed almost over night by the hugeness of the revolution. The groundwork for this change had already been laid by the war surrender of the unions and their leadership to the war game of the imperialist bosses whom they had only a while before engaged in fighting.

If you go to this book with the idea that you have here an encyclopedia of the numbers of organized unionists before the war and after; of the names of officials and their addresses; of the rise and fall of wages in Portugal and Siam—if you think it is a sort of trade union year book, then go thou elsewhere. But if you are interested in tracing the life and movement and change of organized labor in the last ten years; if you want to know the real reason for, let us say, the present world struggle between the adherents of militant unionism of the Red International of Labor Unions on one side and the followers of the Amsterdam International on the other; if you want an authoritative review of the world's trade union movement—this book is absolutely indispensable. Nothing that comes near its scope, its knowledge and analysis has been published for years.

Losovsky treats of fundamentals. He does

not only state that the Amsterdam International has been traitor to the interests of the workers, but proves it by indicating its position from the time of its birth to its betrayal of the united front created by the International Transport Workers. The R. I. L. U. and its Communist supporters are shown to have aligned themselves always on the side of the workers, from the moment it was organized, with its consistent fight for the very elemental needs of the workers, such as the eight-hour day, to the Frankfort Conference against the danger of war and the occupation of the Ruhr.

For those who have had the practical job of stating the position of the revolutionaries on questions like the struggle against war, the organization of factory councils, the united front, dual unionism, the grouping of expelled militants, the attitude toward independent unions, especially those which tend toward syndicalism or anarchism (i. e., the I. W. W.), the Losovsky booklet is a boon.

A very good comprehensive summary of the R. I. L. U. and the international propaganda committees, which unite the workers according to industry in international action, is included, as is, also, a comparison of the numerical strength and influence of the opposing international organizations. And an introduction by Earl Browder, which goes into keen detail of the development of the American movement can be considered as an American supplement to the rest of the volume.

Many books have been written of late on the trade union problem, and readers have found it impossible to go through all or most of them to find out what is what. The Losovsky book can be said to summarize them all, bringing the theory and the fact together in concentrated form between two covers. To read the book is to gain information—not statistical, but information which is a distinct aid to a militant leadership, information which sheds revealing light on all the difficult problems of the working class of the world, information without which Labor is a blind giant groping in the darkness. The Losovsky book is an achievement, worth any price to those who want to know.

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