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Locomotive Engineers Expose Trade Union Capitalism

By E. L. STONE

THE tendency of recent years, fostered by the labor leaders, advocating workers-employers co-operation, to switch the trade unions off the road of struggle against the employers into the field of capitalist enterprise by means of labor banks and investment companies, known in short as trade union capitalism, has received a severe jolt at the fifth triennial convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers held in Cleveland.

Exploiting Labor for Profits

The enterprises of the Brotherhood included eleven banks and nine investment companies, with a capitalization of close to \$100,000,000, that have drawn the envy of every class-collaborationist labor leader whose ideal is a soft job on a high salary. Running these enterprises on a purely capitalist basis of exploitation and profit making, the Brotherhood thru its leaders not only entered into relations of employer and exploiter of labor but, as in the case of the Coal River Collieries in West Virginia, the state where the miners have fought their most bitter and bloodiest battles for the right to organize, operated undertakings on a scab basis.

With profits and higher profits as the sole motive, "investment experts" were engaged at high salaries, one of them being paid as much as \$48,000 a year, and the Brotherhood investment companies, backed by the Brotherhood banks, went in for highly speculative real estate, sky-scraper building, development, of a Florida resort, etc. There are rumors, apparently well founded, of mismanagement and graft. The result was such that emergency measures had to be taken to save these undertakings from a crash.

As a fitting climax to the capitalist and anti-labor character of these enterprises, the Brotherhood leaders came to the convention with a proposal to turn over their enterprises to the Philadelphia company-union traction magnate, Dr. A. A. Mitten. The convention, instead, decided to levy a \$5 monthly assessment for two years on the members of the Brotherhood, which, if fully paid, will bring in about \$7,000,000. The committee of 40, selected to investigate the condition of the Brotherhood financial enterprises, reported to the convention that the four highest officers of the Brotherhood were "guilty of such carelessness, laxity and indifference in the performance of their official duties that they are not nor have they been for a long time past, fit persons to hold office of any kind in your organization", with the result that the convention decided to separate the union leadership from the management of its financial enterprises.

In Place of Trade Union Capitalism - Workers Cooperatives

We are not much concerned with the question of graft and mismanagement - these may be partly accidental, partly the inevitable concomitants of profit enterprises without adequate control. The important lesson to be drawn is, that the fundamental characteristics of

trade union capitalism are such as to turn the outlook of the leaders away from struggle and to sap the fighting spirit of the union and its membership. If the trade unions are to function as weapons of struggle against the employers, they must not be fettered with capitalist, profit making enterprises.

The workers' savings can be utilized in the interests of the working class, not by means of trade union capitalism, but thru co-operative enterprises, financing workers co-operatives and promoting a broad co-operative movement. This would not only develop the initiative of large numbers of workers and train them in the spirit of working class solidarity, but will create mass auxiliary organizations which would be of considerable help to the workers in times of struggle against the employers.

Organized Labor Must Aid the Striking Coal Miners

By ROBERT H. COOK

AT the end of the third month of the miners lock-out, the Lewis administration is still ignoring the urgent need of relief for the miners and their families, just as it had made not the slightest effort to organize the miners in the non-union fields.

In the last few years the miners in the organized bituminous fields have, at best, worked only about half-time, and there can be no doubt that the small savings some of them may have managed to put aside have been exhausted. In every district where the lock-out is in force the miners have demanded that the International and district officials take steps to organize relief. But the Lewis machine, in power by virtue of un-exemplified frauds in the last election, has re-

mained indifferent, and the rank and file is forced to take the initiative.

Appeals from Rank and File

An example of this is reported in the Federation News, organ of the Chicago Federation of Labor, in the issue of June 25. We quote in part:

"Charles Freeman, Herman Kintz and John Evans are in the city to seek sorely needed aid for their deserving and impoverished fellow workers in the Terre Haute, Ind., District No. 11 of the United Mine Workers of America, one of the districts in the bituminous coal field where miners have been locked out since March 31.

"Quite a number of affiliated unions have readily complied with the plea of the representatives of District No. 11 at Terre Haute, Ind., to aid the 4,000 miners in that district, to strengthen them in their justifiable resistance against downright wage slavery, and to keep the wolf from the door at the homes of the mine workers."

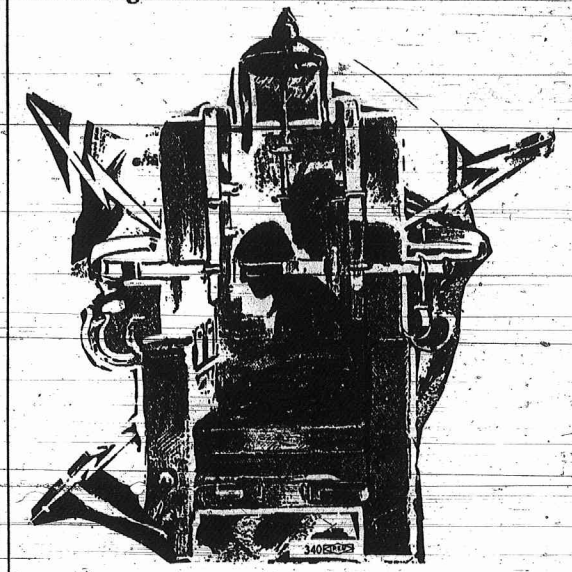
This action of the Indiana miners is not an isolated example. Numerous locals in the Illinois and Pittsburgh districts have adopted resolutions calling upon the International and district administrations to organize systematic relief. In the Pittsburgh district many local unions have elected local relief committees and have decided to provide relief for their members from the local treasures. In one of the sub-districts ten locals have organized a Relief Conference which is functioning despite opposition on the part of the District officials. This Miners' Relief Conference of Allegheny Valley has issued a call to all the miners locals in the Pittsburgh District for a district-wide relief conference to be held on July 1.

Entire Labor Movement Must Aid

These are but a few instances which show how urgent the question of relief for the struggling miners has become. But local treasures are much too small to permit adequate relief even for a short time. Adequate and systematic relief can be provided only thru the mobilization of the full

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Fight for Sacco and Vanzetti!



Matthew Woll in the Role of Stool Pigeon

By JOSEPH ZACK

ABOUT three weeks ago, Matthew Woll, the leader of the Civic Federation (an outfit of big open shoppers) and First Vice-President of the A. F. of L., in charge of the anti left wing crusade centering at present in the needle trades, sent out a letter in the name of the A. F. of L. to all affiliated local unions demanding that they furnish pickets to protect the scabs against the mass picket lines of the striking furriers who have been outlawed by the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. The communication was the sensation of the year in the New York labor movement.

It meant that union men were to fight union men in the open streets. The furriers and their friends were preparing for the event. Everyone asked himself the question, is it

possible that workers would obey such an order and let themselves be used against their best interests by this tool of the open shop bosses operating within the labor movement in the interests of Wall Street?

Proposed Fratricidal War

Matthew Woll's idea was to smash the mass picket line of the furriers with a mass picket line of conservative union men that he thus intended to mobilize. And since he had the police of his side, his picket line assisted by the police and gangsters would be able to smash the fighting furriers right in the streets in approved Mussolini style and those that would resist would be arrested on charges of felonious assault and sent to jail.

The leaders of the bosses had a meeting previous to that and de-

ecided that some of the leaders must be done away with. The stage was all set for the head smashing, bone breaking, clubbing and stabbing party which Matthew Woll was preparing against the striking furriers. This strike breaking expedition with a union label was to be something unparalleled in the history of the labor movement. The capitalist press was featuring it big. Here was a chance for the bosses, big and small, to watch how union men will slaughter each other in open daylight at the behest of the bosses' agent, Matthew Woll. Surely they would have been glad to pay big money to witness it from a grand stand.

The leaves of absence and work end permits of the police were canceled. They were drilling for the

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Matthew Woll in the Role of Stool Pigeon

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New York Labor Ignores Woll

The furriers and their friends were not asleep. They appealed to the feeling that every union man has against provocation and stool pigeoning of the Matthew Woll style. No union man likes to see himself as an assistant to the police fighting with these uniformed slugs against union men striking to uphold their hard won conditions. Tuesday came. The fur district was clustered up with police. The murderous looking ganster forces of the Industrial Squad were seen rushing back and forth, mounted police clattered down the streets and motor-cycle police paraded with machine guns in readiness. The stage was all set for a repetition of Passaic police terrorism. But this time the attack against the strikers was to be led by the A. F. of L. There was an ominous atmosphere of expectancy. Will the A. F. of L. workers obey the Judas order of Matthew Woll? If they do, the enemies of the labor movement had made all the military preparations for the purpose of doing the job. BUT THE A. F. of L. PICKETS DID NOT APPEAR! Evidently the A. F. of L. members in the most conservative local unions understood—they would not let themselves be used against the fur workers by the Judas, Matthew Woll.

The police had to do the job all alone. Evidently Matthew Woll, McGrady, and Frayne had misgivings that no rank and file workers will respond to their strike breaking order. The police therefore had instructions how to act in such an event. They rode into the pickets, swinging their clubs, they herded the workers en masse into the Black Marias (patrol-wagons). Mass arrests, 300 at a time.

Mass Arrests to Suppress Mass Picketing

So this was the scheme. Suppression of mass picketing by mass arrests and terrorization of the pickets by brutalities. Day by day hundreds of arrests, not on the charge of picketing, but on the charge of obstructing traffic, congesting the sidewalks, etc.; the police would permit only twelve pickets to a block. Thus would rush up in taxicabs, and under the very noses of the police would attack the strikers with knives or iron bars and then rush back to their cabs. It was in one of these attacks that Aaron Gross, one of the ablest leaders of the furriers, was blackjacked and

had his jugular vein cut open. Gross was hovering between life and death for several days.

In the police stations those that dared to offer resistance to any of the brutalities would be given a terrible beating. Some had to be sent to hospitals as a result of these beatings. The brutality towards women pickets reminds one of the anti-German stories during the war. The foul language and treatment used towards these working girls on the picket line, particularly by the police gangsters, can not be put in print. Day in and day out mass picketing, mass arrests, jail sentences, fines, brutalities under the direction of the A. F. of L. committee backed up by the Civic Federation, the bosses in the needle industry, the police department, judges, etc.

Central Trades and Labor Council Repudiates Woll

The indignation of the rank and file against Matthew Woll must have been running high indeed by this time even in the most conservative locals. Here was Matthew Woll, A. F. of L. leader, openly bragging about his police and stool pigeon methods for weeks, dragging the reputation of the labor movement down in the gutter, working hand in hand with the police, courts, the capitalist press and all the enemies of labor, while 200,000 miners

are fighting a lock-out, and 10,000 plumbers locked out right in New York. For the last two years there was a veritable reign of injunctions against labor in the New York district, prohibiting strikes, picketing and organizing. The bakers, painters, plumbers, paper box workers, etc., all had their share of police oppression and judicial tyranny. And here was Matthew Woll openly working on the side of all the enemies of labor. It was more than even the most conservative workers could tolerate. This indignation of the rank and file is now forcing even a part of the labor officialdom to come out against Matthew Woll's methods.

Thus about two weeks ago a heated attack on Woll broke loose in the New York Central Trades and Labor Council, President Ryan himself, in his own as well as in the name of Sullivan, head of the New York State Federation of Labor, denounced Matthew Woll's methods and called upon the local unions not to support Woll. Within a few days after this came similar action by the California State Federation and by the Philadelphia central body. Matthew Woll's scandalous conduct as a labor leader has attracted nation-wide attention and produced nation-wide resentment.

This sentiment must be utilized by the progressives and left wingers to defeat Matthew Woll's campaign

Rail Conductors' Chief Denounces Arbitration

Labor, the weekly organ of the railroad unions, publishes the following statement of the president of the Order of Railway Conductors, L. E. Sheppard:

"It is impossible for me to comprehend how two men of supposedly sound minds, meaning the two 'neutral' arbitrators, could father such an award as they have handed down for the conductors and trainmen in the Western territory.

"Were I to express any further opinion in this matter it would not look well in print.

"The decision convinces me that 'arbitrators' who know nothing of railroad employment cannot be expected to give the workers anything like a fair break.

"I was opposed to submitting wage disputes to arbitration in the first instance, and am more emphatically of that mind now."

against the left wing. Under the direction of Woll, the struggle of the reactionaries against the left wing has become outright scabbery and stool-pigeoning, and is endangering the right of all workers to strike and picket. "Wollism" must be driven out of the labor movement.



Arrested Fur Pickets

Over a thousand fur workers were arrested and hundreds sentenced to jail, thanks to the efforts of Matthew Woll.

Chicago Carpenters Ditch Reactionary District President

By A PROGRESSIVE CARPENTER

HARRY JENSEN, President of the Chicago District Carpenters Union for six years, was defeated in the election held on June 1. Jensen has been discredited long ago, but in one way or another he has managed to hold on to the office.

Some two years ago, at the very end of the election campaign, Jensen, with the aid of the International President Wm. L. Hutchinson, put over a so-called victorious agreement with the contractors, which later turned out to be a complete surrender to the Landis Award. However, knowing the bitter opposition of the Chicago carpenters to this Award, propaganda was spread that they had gotten many of the big contractors to break away from the Landis Award, and this won many members to Jensen's support and was responsible for his re-election.

Last year, following the exposure of Jensen by the progressive group, the opposition was organized and a progressive candidate was put up against Jensen. But Jensen, thru corrupt election practices, resulting in the disappearance of the ballots

of one progressive local, was declared re-elected by a majority of 109 votes.

Jensen Forces Split

In the election of this year the Jensen administration was hopelessly split. The result was that Jensen was opposed by four other candidates who, like Jensen, support the reactionary policies of the Hutchinson administration—in addition to the progressive candidate. But the progressive caucus was weakened thru the defection from their ranks of some who call themselves progressives and aided in the struggle of last year but who this year were more concerned about gaining a paid position in the union than promoting and making clear the program of the progressive caucus. This confused the situation, and the progressives were unable to rally sufficient forces to elect their candidate for the presidency.

The progressives in the Chicago Carpenters Union, thru their struggles against the Landis Award and the expulsion policy of the Jensen-Hutchinson administration, have gained considerable influence among

the members of the union, to such an extent that Thomas F. Flynn, the successful candidate for President, verbally accepted the program of the progressives, and even Jensen, as a concession to the progressives, came out for the 40-hour week and for strengthening and protecting of the shop stewards.

Thomas F. Flynn brings back into power the Bill Brims section of the Hutchinson administration. This was possible only because of the confused situation. The progressives had carried on a successful campaign against the reactionary policies of the Jensen administration, but had not been able to make clear to the rank and file the difference between the other candidates and theirs.

Johannsen on Flynn's Slate

An important contributing factor for Flynn's victory was the fact that some candidates on the progressive slate were also on the Flynn slate. Anton Johannsen, who last year was the campaign manager for the progressive ticket, this year was on the Flynn slate and played an active role in the campaign. He was endorsed by the progressive caucus, altho he was not placed on the pro-

gressive slate. The Flynn campaign was well organized. Every big job was visited, and Johannsen's alignment with the Flynn forces was utilized to propagandize the members that the Flynn slate accepted the progressive program.

Thru lack of finances, the progressives were unable successfully to counteract this campaign, which necessitated the visiting of the members on the job. This was done to quite a degree. But the Flynn supporters, among whom were many paid officials, conduct this kind of campaign much more thoroly than the progressives.

Anton Johannsen was elected Outside Business Agent, and is now a leader of the Flynn administration. He is by far the most intelligent of this group. He has a progressive record in the Carpenters Union and has been active in general progressive campaigns, such as for the release of Sacco and Vanzetti. But he took the position that it is necessary first to get elected to office and develop policies afterwards. This position, of course, is wrong, and his progressiveness will soon be tested by the administration of which he is a leading member.

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The Electrical Power Industry—By Harry Blake

THE convention of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, to be held August 15th in Detroit, is of great importance to the labor movement in this country and of particular significance to the electrical workers.

There has been such a tremendous development of the electrical industry and its allied branches that it bids fair to becoming the greatest in the United States. It is today one of the most powerful, and therefore a great challenge to the labor movement.

Controlled by Powerful Corporations

In the past five years, this industry has grown 50 per cent until today the United States produces more electric power than all the rest of the world combined. The total capitalization of this industry amounts to \$7,500,000,000. The rapid centralization and concentration of capital is manifest in the fact that 12 corporations between them control 65 per cent of the industry. The 5 largest of these control over 50 per cent of the entire electrical business in the United States. This is in contrast to the hundreds of small and independent power and light companies of 10 or 15 years ago, and it is predicted that sooner or later a gigantic super-power corporation will supply light to the homes and power in industry covering coast to coast.

Reap Tremendous Profits.

Millions upon millions of dollars in profits have been made by the powerful public utility light and power companies. In 1902 the gross earnings of all power and light companies was \$86,000,000. Last year gross earnings were \$1,400,000,000. Some possibilities for the development of industrial power electrically generated in this country can be seen when one learns that less than 65 per cent of industry uses electricity. Less than 55 per cent of the population of the United States lives in electrically lighted homes. One per cent of the railroad mileage is electrified and

92 per cent of the farms in the United States are without electricity.

This of course means a simultaneous development of electric appliances in connection with the development of the industry as a whole. One example will suffice. For instance, in the sale of electric refrigerators: in 1919 there were sold 3,000; in 1920, 5,000; in 1921, 7,000; 1922, 11,000; 1923, 16,000; 1924, 17,500; 1925, 75,000.

Bulk of Workers Unorganized

The public utility light and power companies alone employ approximately 215,000 workers. Only a very small percentage of these are organized. Imagine what a tremendous and vital force the unionization of these workers would be for the labor movement. But these great industrial lords are bitter opponents of the labor movement, and the workers in this industry are helpless and miserable human beings. They are the victims of all sorts of discrimination and they are up against the most terrific and vicious spy system in the country.

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers has evaded the question of organizing the public utility workers. This question must be answered and action must be taken by the convention to meet this challenge.

A small portion of the workers in the electrical industry are organized in the building trades and feel that they have nothing in common with the power and light companies. However, the building trades workers have much to do with giant power, for it is well known that these large corporations supply the capital to the structures and power houses that are going up all over the country—power houses that in the main are built by union men but which supply non-union service. These interests finance the manufacture of electrical appliances, such as refrigerators, washing machines, electric stoves, etc., now being installed in homes—some by union

electrical workers and most of it by non-union workers. Some portion of the members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the linemen, make their living from these anti-union power companies.

Struggle Coming in Building Trades

With the threatened decline in building construction, there arises the possibility of a great wave of unemployment, with an attack by these powerful capitalists to reduce the standards and living conditions of the organized workers.

A report issued by the banking house of S. W. Straus & Company, on labor conditions in the building industry relative to wages, states as follows:

"Wage scales have reached a peak and any attempt to boost wages in the spring will be met with resistance by the building public (read building bosses)."

Last November, regarding the State Industrial Survey Commission which was investigating in New York City some of the building trades unions, the Times reported as follows: that some of the members heard testimony to the effect that some of the union groups had closed their membership to applicants, and says "The facts brought out warranted a fight for the open shop in New York", and they predicted that when the present boom in construction subsided "the bitter labor war in the history of the country will be more than a possibility".

When this struggle comes the employers will take advantage of the narrow and short-sighted policy of the building trades unions in adopting a closed-book policy. It is well known that thousands of workers have vainly sought admission to the unions and the future is fraught with serious consequences when the building trades employers will seek to tear down the standards of the organized workers and will use the unorganized to take the places of those workers already in the unions.

What the Convention Must Do

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers at its convention must adopt a policy of opening up its books and taking in all of the unorganized electrical workers. Outside groups will be used by the bosses when things are slack to crush and tear down the standards of the organized workers. The decline in building construction will also bring and is already bringing a measure of unemployment, and the convention must go on record for a five-day week. This will be a great step towards reducing unemployment and weakening the power of the bosses to make use of the workers who are now unorganized and seeking admission into the union.

One of the big factors that the convention must consider is the unsteady employment. The average electrical worker works about 30 weeks in the year. The boss has a right to hire and fire. This right of the boss gives the worker a sense of fear and insecurity, and hundreds of workers are intimidated to such an extent that they dare not report infractions of the agreement on the part of the boss for fear that the boss will discharge them. In many industries the right of discharge has been taken away from the bosses. The convention must discuss this problem and come to the decision that a worker shall be guaranteed at least 40 weeks of employment by the contractor, and that the right of discharge shall not be vested solely with the boss.

To sum up, The convention of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers must discuss these four very important points:

1. Organize the unorganized electrical workers with special emphasis on public utilities.
2. Demand a five-day week.
3. Do away with the closed book policy in the building trades unions and electrical workers unions in particular.
4. Guarantee 40 weeks per year and no right of discharge.

Rail Maintenance Waymen and Arbitration

By ARTHUR JOHNSON

WHILE the wage increases at the present time being granted to railroad labor by the arbitration boards set up under the new Watson-Parker Law are totally inadequate and insufficient to maintain a decent living standard, the rawest deals received by any class of railway workers are being handed to the Maintenance of Way Employees.

A typical instance is the recent arbitration on the Louisville & Nashville Ry.

Unbelievably low wages and bad working conditions prevail on this road. Hearings before the arbitration board brought to light the fact that this company has 22 different rates of pay for its trackmen, ranging from 25¢ per hour on the Pensacola Division to 35¢ in East St. Louis.

Reduced to Poverty

The testimony of these workers shows that in order for them to eke out a livelihood it was necessary to find work outside of their regular employment on the railway after working hours and that their wives had to take in washings to provide the necessities of life for their families. One dress every year at a cost of \$1.80, one hat every two years, no Christmas toys for the children, no milk, and a three room section shack furnished by the company, these are the living conditions of a family of a Maintenance of Way employe on the L. & N. Ry.

Nevertheless, the award of the arbitration board granted no increases at all to various classes of

these workers, while 1c and 2c were granted to others, and 3c to foremen and the higher skilled mechanics. These increases mean an advance of \$2.08 to \$4.46 per month if the men work eight hours a day and 26 days a month.

The "wage increases" on the L. & N. are a classical example of what railroad labor can expect from arbitration of their demands. In some instances a few cents more is granted to the better organized trades. But these boards and the entire machinery of the Watson-Parker Law are now beginning to show their real function, which is to hold wages down to the lowest point and to compel the railway employes to accept their decisions.

Labor Must Fight

Similar arbitration decisions will be made in the future, and not only to the section men but to the higher skilled workers as well. Railroad labor is due for a rude awakening when it places its trust in the hands of these company controlled boards. To submit their wage demands and other grievances to arbitration is like leaving the matter to the tender mercies of the railway companies.

There is only one thing that will secure for the workers greater wage increases and that is the power of their organizations and united action between them. What is needed is unity and co-operation between trades in a campaign to bring the unorganized into the various unions and a joint drive by all sixteen standard organizations for greater increases. Until the rank

Frisco Starts Organizing Auto Mechanics

San Francisco.—The San Francisco Auto Mechanics Local 1305, International Association of Machinists, began its drive to organize the unorganized in the Automobile Industry with a very successful meeting and social which was attended by over 200 workers and their families. The affair was held on Monday evening, June 27, at the Carpenters Hall. The Ladies Auxiliary combined their membership drive and co-operated with Local 1305 in making it a success.

Wm. P. Stanton, President of the Central Labor Council and City Supervisor, pointed out how the last State Legislature deprived the large industrial centers from many of their representatives and shifted the majority to the rural districts. This is part of the campaign of the industrial associations and financial interests, to get complete control of the State Legislature so that they may more easily pass laws that are unfavorable to labor and to destroy some of the existing laws which were intended to benefit labor, such as the child labor law, eight-hour day for women, etc.

Towards a Labor Party

Such action by the political machine in California should point the way for independent political action and make good arguments for a United Labor Ticket. Altho Brother and file of the various unions recognize this and force this program upon their leaders they will have to take the miserable few cents granted them on the L. & N. and other roads throughout the country.

Stanton did not express any views on a United Labor Ticket, yet these are only a few of the actual examples that should prove to the workers that they cannot continue the policy of supporting "friends" in the old political parties.

Several other speakers pointed out the need of organizing the purchasing power of the workers in buying only Union made goods, etc. Those speakers who minimized the value of strike action on the part of the workers were not very well received. The workers present wanted a real fighting organization against the bosses and the piece work system which is practically another form of wage cut. At first the men were willing to accept a 50-50 basis with the boss on all jobs. Gradually the bosses cut them down to 55-45 and at present 70-30 favoring the bosses is the arrangement. In addition to this the worker has to wait around until jobs come in and do so on their own time. They keep on the job after regular working time and are only paid straight time. The workers are realizing that the only way to break down this system is by organizing and then forcing the bosses to go down to regular time and more pay per hour.

Sacco Vanzetti leaflets were distributed and were very well received. The Auto Mechanics local with the co-operation of the Ladies Auxiliary will make these meetings regular monthly affairs. The office of the Local is in the Carpenters Hall, 112 Valencia Street.

—Jack Carlson.

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**A TIMELY WARNING—LABOR MUST
INTENSIFY THE FIGHT FOR SACCO
AND VANZETTI**

THE reprieve granted to Sacco and Vanzetti was likely to create an unfounded optimism among many as to the probable final action of Governor Fuller. But the brutal action of the Massachusetts authorities in removing the two condemned workers from the Dedham jail into the very shadow of the electric chair should serve as a timely warning that the fight for their life and freedom is not yet won.

In the short time that is left to save the two victims of Massachusetts justice from execution, or a life that may be worse than death, the fight for an unconditional pardon must be taken up with renewed vigor. American labor, with rare unanimity, has given expression to the conviction that Sacco and Vanzetti were condemned on a frame-up and must be allowed to go free. Unfortunately the fight has been led into such forms that the enemies of labor could hope that it will dissipate itself in the mere passing of resolutions. This must not happen.

The decision of the New York conferences, representing over half a million workers, to call a general strike of short duration points the way. Labor throughout the country must hold new mass demonstrations, send labor delegations to Governor Fuller, call strikes wherever possible, to prove its determination to the masters of American life that the action of their class courts in Massachusetts must be reversed. Sacco and Vanzetti must be set free!

**AMERICAN EMPLOYERS ON THE
OFFENSIVE**

AMERICAN labor had a number of warnings in recent weeks of an approaching attack on the present standards of wages and working conditions. Now comes a new warning from a special committee of the Association of Railway Executives.

The committee, headed by the president of the Baltimore & Ohio, Daniel Willard, co-author of the workers-employers co-operation scheme known as the B. & O. plan, serves notice on the railway workers that the 8-hour day established by the Adamson law must be replaced by a 10-hour day. This is presented in the form of recommendation to "stabilize employment."

That a longer work-day would rather mean the "stabilizing of unemployment" is of little concern to the prophet of workers-employers co-operation where the co-operation is all in favor of the employers. The railway magnates and the other employers have seen the official leaders of organized labor boosting to the skies the alleged American prosperity, advocating the abandonment of the strike weapon in favor of "peace" with the employers, attacking and expelling the militants from the trade unions, and they imagine that American labor has become docile and has lost the fighting spirit. But they are due for a disappointment.

American labor will not submit to an attack on its standard of living and working conditions without determined resistance, and in the course of this struggle it will liberate itself from the domination of its class-collaborationist leaders. The militants must warn the workers of the approaching struggle and urge the unification of the forces of organized labor to meet successfully the onslaught of the employers.

LABOR UNITY advocates a program of aggressive trade unionism. It opposes class collaboration, whether openly initiated by the employers through company unions, or put into practice by agreement of employers and trade union officials through "co-operation".

**THE GENEVA "DISARMAMENT"
CONFERENCE**

THE three-power gathering at Geneva, diplomatically spoken of as a disarmament conference, has become an open duel between the United States and Great Britain for supremacy, with Japan on the sideline trying to get some advantage for herself out of this conflict.

The proposal of the U. S. for "parity" with the British in all classes of battleships and for a type of cruiser and submarine that could reach into every part of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans is based on the knowledge that, with the tremendous economic and technical resources at the disposal of the U. S., a parity navy in time of peace means assurance of a superior navy in case of war with Great Britain.

At the Washington conference the British have accepted parity with the U. S. in large dreadnaughts, which are good targets for submarines and airships and have therefore become more or less obsolete, but are unwilling to surrender their superiority in smaller battleships. Hence Great Britain's counter-proposal, which is based on her advantages in the numerous scattered naval bases and coaling stations, and the large merchant marine.

The differences at Geneva are a manifestation of the growing conflict for world supremacy which will ultimately be settled, not thru diplomatic negotiations, but in a bloody combat on land and sea. Only a successful struggle of the working class against imperialism can prevent this otherwise inevitable measuring of military and naval strength which must lead to a new general conflagration.

American labor must fight the growing encroachment of Wall street imperialism abroad and its growing arrogance at home by strengthening its industrial organizations and by building a mass labor party that will fight labor's battles on the political field.

**THE PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF
LABOR**

THE coming convention of the P. A. F. of L. will meet at a time when the Coolidge-Kellogg government, in its dealings with other American nations, has piled up an unmistakable record of encroachment and aggression. It is certain, however, that the convention, the supposedly representing organized labor of the Americas, will take little, if any, notice of the outrages committed by American imperialism in the interests of Wall Street.

The reason for this is not far to seek. As at present constituted, the Federation is dominated by the officialdom of the A. F. of L. As a result of this, instead of defending the interests of labor, it serves as an instrument of Wall Street imperialism.

The progressives and militants in the labor movement must strive for a P. A. F. of L. which would express the solidarity of

labor throughout the Americas against their common enemy—American imperialism. In exposing and combatting the present policies and constitution of the Federation, the militants should bring to the fore the demand for its democratization.

At present, representation to the conventions of the P. A. F. of L. is limited to the central organs of national federations, such as the A. F. of L. Executive Council. This must be changed to permit representation that would be closer to the rank and file of labor. With popular representation, the tight control of the tools of Wall Street over the P. A. F. of L. would inevitably break down and labor's opposition to American imperialism would find expression at its conventions.

It is natural that the workers of Latin America at present look askance at the P. A. F. of L. But the delegations from the Latin-American labor organizations could raise issues that would expose its present domination by Wall street and would help to mobilize labor against this domination.

The slogan of the militants should be a united front of labor against American imperialism in every part of and throughout the Americas.

RAILROAD WORKERS NEED UNITY

THE latest arbitration awards under the Watson-Parker law and the threat to the 8-hour day just issued by the railroad executives point to a coming struggle that will test the strength of organized labor in the railroad industry.

President Sheppard of the Order of Railway Conductors, addressing the convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, sounded a well founded note of warning:

"If there was ever a time," he declared, "in the affairs of railroad men, especially in the train and engine service, when they should get closer together and confer more frequently, that time is here. As long as we worked four-handed, so to speak, we never had any serious setback and were usually successful in the things that we tried to do."

President Sheppard's remedy, however, is very far from adequate. What is needed is, not merely the co-operation and conferring together of the four Brotherhoods, representing the more privileged workers in the railroad industry, but the amalgamation of all the railroad unions and the banding together of all railroad labor into one union. The struggle against the railroad companies will demand, not four-handed co-operation, but, single-minded direction and action.

Worker-management "co-operation" undermines real unionism.

LABOR UNITY stands for the organization of the unorganized wage workers.

TO OUR READERS AND AGENTS

Hitherto our paper, owing to certain technical difficulties in the printing, went to press on or the day following the date of issue, with the result that it reached our subscribers and bundle agents from three to six days after the date of issue. We have now made arrangements to go to press in time to reach most of our subscribers and agents on the date of issue. The change, however, involved a delay in the printing of the July 1 issue. The present number therefore takes the place of both the July 1 and July 15 issues.

MINERS STRIKE

Operators Determined to Defeat Miners' Union

By E. L. S.

THE recent developments in the look-out of the miners show the unbroken front of the mine barons unrelenting in its determination to defeat the U. M. W. A.

In the Central Pennsylvania field, where the miners continued to work after April 1 on the basis of a temporary agreement, the negotiations for a permanent agreement have broken down against the insistence of the operators on a 15 to 20 per cent. wage cut. Despite every effort of the Lewis machine and its satellites in District No. 2 to continue the production of coal in this field, the miners of this district have put away their picks since July 1.

In the Illinois District, the readiness of President Fishwick to accept changes in the working rules which would mean more work for the same wages, or a wage cut in a camouflaged form, was of no avail. The negotiations came to an end because the operators demanded an open reduction in the Jacksonville scale.

In Ohio, the mine operators' association has decided to serve an ultimatum on the miners union demanding the acceptance of the 1917 scale before July 15 and threatening to re-open the mines on that date on a non-union basis.

In the face of the obvious determination of the mine barons to be satisfied with nothing less than an open acceptance of defeat by the U. M. W. A., the Lewis administration persists in making no effort for a counter-offensive.

No Organizing Campaign

Nothing is heard of any activity in Kentucky, nothing is being done to organize the miners in the coke fields. Van A. Bitner, who is in charge of the "organizing campaign" in northern West Virginia, "issues frequent letters, circulars and statements" and is issuing a newspaper "at frequent intervals for circulation among the loyal mine workers of his field," according to the United Mine Workers Journal. He has ceased "bluffing" about a strike in this region.

Lewis Claims Fake Victory

Lewis is now trying to drum up a victory for the union in the decision of the Interstate Commerce Commission, which ordered a reduction of 30 cents on the ton in the freight rate on coal shipments from Ohio and Western Pennsylvania to the lake ports. The United

Mine Workers Journal for June 15 boosts this decision in several articles as well as in the cover cartoon. What basis is there for this interpretation of the I. C. C. decision?

In the past, Coolidge's Interstate Commerce Commission has always been hostile to the miners union and favored the forces that fought the U. M. W. A. Before the Pittsburgh District had become the center of the fight against the miners union the I. C. C. refused to lower the freight rates from Western Pennsylvania and Ohio, in the face of the support given to this proposal by the U. M. W. A. During the anthracite strike the I. C. C. ordered a special reduction in the freight charges to the Eastern states and lake ports for coal shipments from the non-union fields, and by every means at its disposal the Coolidge administration helped to defeat the anthracite miners. Wherefore then the sudden affection for the union miners, which the United Mine Workers Journal is trying to read into the I. C. C. decision?

And what about Andrew W. Mellon, chief of the Mellon interests now heading the fight against the United Mine Workers, who has been and still is the dominating influence in the Coolidge administration? It is scarcely credible that the Interstate Commerce Commission would challenge the power of our Secretary of the Treasury.

I. C. C. Decision Anti-Union

The facts just mentioned lend weight to the view expressed by Leland Olds, of the Federated Press, that the decision is directed against the U. M. W. A.

"The Interstate Commerce Commission decision," says Olds, "marks the climax of a series in which transportation rates have been manipulated in favor of non-union as opposed to union mined coal. . . The present decision of the commission is particularly bare-faced because it reverses a previous one rendered when the Pittsburgh district was still union."

"The commission now contends that it has taken into consideration particularly the changed conditions since its previous decisions regarding these rates. The only important change in conditions is the shift of Pittsburgh Coal, Consolidation Coal and

Pittsburgh Terminal into the non-union column."

Regarding the effect of the decision on the fight which these three big coal companies are waging against the miners union, Olds quotes the following from the Wall Street Journal:

"Costs were primarily reduced thru introduction of a lower-than-union wage scale, but the cost of going non-union kept the aggregate expense of production high. These three large companies will now be enabled to deliver coal at 20c and 10c a ton less transportation costs to Lake ports."

The Wall Street Journal in effect says that the decision aims to reimburse these companies for "the costs of going non-union" and thus to help them to keep up the fight against the U. M. W. A. And the Wall Street organ knows what it's talking about.

Fight for Militant Policy

The miners will not be deceived by the attempt of the Lewis forces to manufacture a fake victory. From all their past experiences they know that the Interstate Commerce Commission, as all other governmental agencies, is aligned on the side of the mine barons and that no help for the miners can be expected from that quarter. The miners can rely only on their own fighting ability and on the support of the labor movement.

The complete failure of the present strike policy of separate district and individual agreements, of narrowing down the struggle to as few miners as possible, of no real effort to organize the non-union fields, is becoming more apparent every day. If the miners want to turn the tide, if they want to secure a victory that will give them a strong union able to defend their interests, they must fight for the militant program of the "Save the Union" bloc and a militant strike policy.

Miners demand that the present defeatist policy be abandoned in favor of a fighting policy that will give you victory. Fight to win by forcing the carrying out of the following tasks:

(1) An immediate intensive organizing campaign in the non-union fields.

(2) The check-off demand and other grievances of the anthracite miners to be linked up with the demands and struggle of the bituminous miners.

(3) A national miners strike for a national settlement. No separate district or individual agreements.

(4) Immediate formation of relief committees and distribution of relief to striking miners and their families.

(5) Mobilization of the entire labor movement in support of the miners.

Pittsburgh Terminal Aims Pest at Striking Miners

By KARL PRETSHOLD

Pittsburgh, Pa.—Pestilence is the latest recruit the Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Corp. has enlisted in the fight to evict striking coal miners from company houses at Castle Shannon, near Pittsburgh.

City water, piped to points near the houses, has been shut off, forcing scores of families to use water from wells and cisterns which state health authorities found to contain disease bacteria. Notices to boil water taken from the wells and cisterns have been posted, but miners and union officers are worried lest children drink the polluted water.

Pittsburgh Miners Hold Relief Conference

Pittsburgh, Pa.—Fifty-eight delegates representing 34 striking local unions of U. M. W. A., District Five, met in conference at the Walton Hall, Pittsburgh, on Friday, July 1st, to consider the question of raising funds for the relief of the striking miners and their families. The conference was called by the Miners Relief Conference of Allegheny Valley, an organization consisting of a number of miners locals of Sub-district Seven, District Five, U. M. W. A.

In district five the struggle between the miners and the coal operators is assuming a more and more serious character. Iron fences are being built by the companies throughout the district in order to protect the scabs. Evictions, shutting off of the water supply and electricity, tearing off the roofs of the miners' houses in order to compel the miners to move, are but few instances of the bitterness with which the coal companies are carrying on their attacks against the miners union. It is to be expected that the struggle will last for some time. The miners realize this and are preparing for a determined struggle to the finish. The splendid response of the miners to the call for the Relief conference leaves no doubt that they are ready and are preparing for a fight until victory is won.

Conference Permanent for Strike Period

The conference organized itself into a permanent organization to be known as "The Miners Relief Conference of Western Pennsylvania", and adopted an elaborate plan for raising and distribution of relief. The headquarters of the Relief Conference are to be established in Pittsburgh. Victor Kamenovich, of Daisytown, was elected secretary. An Executive Committee of 8 was elected and the District Executive Board of the U. M. W. A., District Five, was asked to add a representative to this committee.

A resolution was adopted appealing to President Green of the A. F. L. to levy an assessment on all members of the American Federation for the purpose of supplying the striking miners with relief.

It was also decided to appeal to all organized labor and sympathizers to proceed with the formation of Relief Conferences wherever possible for the purpose of assisting in the Relief work for the striking bituminous miners. Steps will be taken to turn this movement into one of a national character.

Battle Company Police

Brownsville, Pa., June 28.—A shooting and clubbing affray took place at Fritzherry, Pa., on the mine property of the Pittsburgh Coal Co.

The affray was caused by a rebellion on the part of some Negro non-union miners who were brought in from the South by the Pittsburgh Coal Co. against the low wages and unbearable conditions under which they are forced to live on the company property. The Coal and Iron police first tried clubbing, but when this failed to subdue the discontented scabs they began shooting.

Strike-Breakers Leave Mine

In spite of the efforts of the company to prevent the scabs from leaving the Eitzhenry mine and to suppress the news of the battle, seven Negroes managed to get away. In talking to the union pickets they said that they will never again work for the Pittsburgh Coal Co. They were forced to work under worse conditions than in the South. The scabs are not allowed to talk to each other. Many of them are running away at the first opportunity.

Organized Labor Will Support Miners

(Continued from page 1)

resources of the United Mine Workers backed by the entire labor movement. The Lewis administration must be forced out of its deliberate indifference to the need of relief and compelled to use a part of the financial and organizational resources of the union for this purpose. And more than this the whole labor movement must come to the aid of the miners.

Organized labor is not indifferent to the struggle of the coal miners. It is fully aware of the aim of the coal barons—to weaken the miners union and to further break down union control in the mining industry, and that their success would strengthen the interests that are preparing for a new drive against the trade unions in the building and other industries. Organized labor has responded splendidly in the case of the Passaic strike, even in the face of the open and covert attacks on the strikers and their leadership by the A. F. of L. officialdom, and will respond generously if it will be called upon to aid the miners.

A Task for the Progressives

The progressives and militants should begin raising this question through the labor movement. The A. F. of L. Executive Council has been devoting its energy to fighting the left wing to the point of expelling and disrupting unions that have proven themselves capable of conducting successful struggles against the employers. They must be compelled to spare some energy to the task of saving the miners union. The question of providing relief for the miners must be brought before local unions, city central bodies, state labor federations, and the labor movement as whole.

Adequate relief for the coal miners is of most vital importance for the success of their struggle against the attack of the coal barons. Since the Lewis administration and the A. F. of L. bureaucracy stubbornly neglect this task, it becomes the duty of the progressives and left wingers to unify the spontaneous efforts of the rank and file of the miners union and to arouse the labor movement to the urgency of this task.

Convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor

By Manuel Gomez, Secretary, All-American A. F. of L. Imperialist League.

APPROPRIATELY enough, the fourth convention of William Green's "Pan-American Federation of Labor" is to meet in the same city where the Pan-American Commercial Conference held its sessions a few months earlier. The convention will open on July 18th in Washington, D. C., which in the minds of Latin-American workers is associated not with trade-unionism but with the Monroe Doctrine and American imperialistic aggression.

Herein we have the secret of the Gompers-Green foreign policy which explains why no bona fide working-class organization anywhere expects the gathering on July 18th to labor for the common cause of the wage workers of the Americas, and why the important trade unions of South America—believing through they do in international labor solidarity—will refuse to send delegates to this convention as they have in the past. It is a foreign policy taking its cue from the U. S. Department of State. Matthew Woll had the unmitigated gall to christen it openly as "the Monroe Doctrine of American labor" at the Mexico City convention of the P. A. F. of L., held in December, 1924. He gave utterance to the same formula at the Atlantic City convention of our own A. F. of L.

Ignored Labor Struggles in Latin America

Two and a half years have passed since the last P. A. F. of L. assembly. During that time there have been big labor conflicts in Cuba, Mexico, Peru and Chile, all of them involving American capital; yet the American-controlled P. A. F. of L. has taken no supporting action whatever—except for a platonic statement by Chester Wright on the anti-union reign of terror in Cuba, placing the whole responsibility upon the Cuban government instead of declaring frankly that the latter is a subsidized tool of U. S. Ambassador Crowder and the Sugar Trust.

Throughout the whole period of its existence the P. A. F. of L. has

failed to justify its name by initiating a single measure for practical trade-union co-operation in the Americas. Is it any wonder then that except for the C. R. O. M. of Mexico the so-called Pan-American Federation has remained virtually a paper organization in Latin America, without the affiliation of one important national trade union body in the West Indies or South America.

Supports Aggressions of American Imperialism

Our Latin-American brothers have far more serious reasons to be wary of the P. A. F. of L. than those indicated above. In the last two and a half years American imperialism has been more aggressive than ever in the lands to the south of us.

In the autumn of 1925 United States troops invaded the City of Panama and forcibly broke the strike of the Panama worker-terranants. At the same time deportations of native citizens—practically all workers—were carried on throughout Central America under U. S. inspiration. In 1926 violent conflict broke out in Peru where the Wall Street-controlled dictator had put through the infamous "Road-Building Conscription Act", under which the entire Peruvian working class is conscripted to work 12 days a year without pay, for the Wall Street-owned Foundation Co. In Chile, the American nitrate interests approved the exile and mass butchery of thousands of rebellious workers, members of the Labor Federation of Chile, because they wished to put into effect the labor provisions of the Chilean constitution. During this time the United States government was engaged in playing off Chile against Peru in the ill-starred Tacna-Arica adventure of American imperialism. Recent months have seen the cynical "postponement" of elections in Haiti, where Admiral Russell and his marines have been running things to suit themselves for years. In Panama the U. S. representative

has been trying to force the acceptance of another humiliating treaty, finally sealing the fate of that unhappy country as a protectorate of American imperialism.

What has the "Pan-American Federation of Labor" done in the face of all these outrages? Absolutely nothing. What has it said? Less than nothing; it has defended American imperialism.

These cases are only a few out of many. We need not review them all. But we cannot fail to recall the manifold aggressions against Mexico led by the U. S. oil, mining and banking lords in connection with Mexico's oil and land laws. The Mexican workers are affiliated to the P. A. F. of L., but Mr. Green's support was forthcoming only in the most doubtful phrases—and when the Mexican government, backed by the trade unions, was struggling with the Catholic reaction, Green turned his guns upon our Mexican brothers, rendering direct aid to the reaction and to its American financial coadjutors.

Facing a Crisis

We can expect some of these matters to come up at the convention on July 18th, and the United States delegates will have to give an accounting. Even those Latin-American delegates who are hand-picked (with expenses paid) by the Green machine will have to voice the discontent of their fellow-workers at home if they do not want trouble when they get back.

The P. A. F. of L. is before a crisis which the imperialistic policy of President Green has brought upon it. The labor bureaucrats in Washington cannot go ahead much longer under the theory of "the Monroe Doctrine of American Labor". Among the few Latin-American labor federations affiliated to the P. A. F. of L. there has already been considerable talk of leaving it and turning their energies to the creation of a Latin-American Federation of Labor.

Must Fight American Imperialism
No international labor body is

worthy of support that does not struggle militantly in the interests of its affiliated sections. If the P. A. F. of L. hopes to accomplish anything it must change its course.

American trade-unionists must exert pressure upon the A. F. of L. executive council (which is now running the P. A. F. of L.) to take concrete steps toward making the Pan-American federation an instrument for serving the common ends of the workers of North, South, and Central America.

Scores of practical measures for trade-union co-operation might be suggested, and unquestionably will be suggested at the coming convention. But the root of the whole matter is the question of imperialism. The United States government sends its diplomatic and military agents into the various Latin-American countries to defeat native resistance to American Big Business interests, which are involved in nearly every important labor struggle on the southern continent.

This is an obvious fact, just as the use of police to break strikes in this country is obviously in the interests of Big Business. How, then, can the workers of the Americas look with unconcern upon the progressive march of American imperialism southward, to the detriment of wages, of working and living conditions, and of trade-unionism itself? If the P. A. F. of L. is to be worth saving it must be converted from the instrument of American imperialism which it now is, to an instrument against American imperialism.

Unfortunately the left wing of the labor movement in the United States will be powerless to serve this end at the July 18th convention, for the A. F. of L. delegates are appointed by President Green and the other reactionaries now in control of the executive council. Our hopes must therefore rest with the Latin-American delegations, for whose countries the struggle against imperialism is a matter of life and death.

Women Workers in American Industries

By Margaret Cowell

THE markets for American products are growing smaller. The great European steel merger is a fact. The United States Steel Corporation in its report shows a condition whereby foreign competition is threatening to invade the iron and steel market in the United States. The lower wages paid to foreign workers, they say, are responsible for this. Of course they propose to meet this competition successfully, but not at the expense of profits. The cost of competition must come out of the wages of American workers.

Hence, more efficient methods for making profits is the order of the day. Two special features decorate this point on the order of business. 1) Increased productivity—new machinery which doubles the revolutions per minute; all kinds of devices establishing speed-up systems not known heretofore, without lessening the working hours. 2) An intensified campaign of propaganda that American workers are enjoying a high standard of living and are growing richer—a preliminary to a drive to slash the wages of the workers.

One of the main characteristics in this propaganda campaign is the co-operation lent to the capitalist class by the official labor leaders through their class collaboration schemes. Foreign commissions are coming to the United States to find the reasons for this so-called prosperity of American workers, and the A. F. L. officials are to assist

them to see this prosperity in the proper light.

Working Women's Share in the Prosperity

Let us see how working women fit into this picture of prosperity. American industries employ about 10,000,000 women. According to reports issued by the U. S. Labor Department, Women's Bureau, very many of these women have others who are either partially or totally dependent upon them for support.

The following data gathered by the National Industrial Conference Board for 1926 gives the lie to the anti-working class propaganda assisted in by the labor bureaucracy.

AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGE

Wool Manufacturing	\$18.51
Hosiery and Knit Goods Mfg.	17.07
Silk Mfg.	16.97
Machines and Machine Tools	16.23
Foundries	17.38
Foundry and Machine Shop Products	16.30
Electrical Apparatus Manufacturing	18.06
Auto Mfg.	18.71
Agricultural Implements Mfg.	20.46
Printing and Publishing (Book-Job)	17.88
Furniture Mfg.	17.45
Paper and Wood-Pulp Mfg.	15.97
Paper Products Mfg.	17.74
Meat Packing	17.48
Rubber Mfg.	18.91
Hardware and Small Parts	16.53
Cotton Mfg., North	15.55
Cotton Mfg., South	13.55
Leather Tanning and Finishing	14.72

Boot and Shoe Mfg.	17.12
Chemical Mfg.	17.52
Paint and Varnish Mfg.	14.74

The above is the average for the first quarter of 1926. Taking the average wage for a year, would make it lower than the above figures, as there are weeks of unemployment during the year.

Even Lower Wages in Some Industries

In biscuit factories, food factories, tobacco, candy and nuton factories, steam laundries, silk and white goods factories, the women and girls receive from \$6.00 to \$18.00 weekly.

In a tobacco factory in Perth Amboy, N. J., over 200 girls were discharged because of the introduction of new machinery; the prices were cut for the remaining girls. A number of the discharged girls found employment in a shirt factory in the same town at \$6.00 per week.

In the doll making industry, the employers have devised a new scheme for cutting down wages. Every working woman is required to sign an agreement that she will not join a trade union and will not go on strike. As a guarantee that she will live up to the agreement, 5% is deducted from the meager wages each week for one year. If this scheme works in this industry, it will soon be adopted in other industries.

According to the report of the National Industrial Conference Board for 1926, which sets 100 as the index number for the cost of living and

women's wages in 1914, the cost of living in the last quarter of 1925 was 171 and women's wages 128. That is, compared with 1914, the cost of living had risen by 71% and the wages only 28%.

Statistics prove that between 1919-25 production increased 43%. But 48-54-60 and more hours per week are still accepted as the average for working women. And these millions of working women are part of the mass of American workers who are supposed to be piling up savings, acquiring property, making investments and becoming capitalists.

Organize the Working Women
Of the 10,000,000 working women in American industries, only about 250,000 working women are organized. This socially and economically weakest section of the working class will be hardest hit by the coming wage slashing campaign.

The first steps in the wage slashing campaign have been taken in the building trades in New York City, in auto factories and coal mining. The labor lieutenants by their barrage of propaganda for class peace are doing their best to demoralize the working class and make it unfit to fight this offensive of the employers.

The urgent task of organized labor at this time is to strengthen the unions. Draw into the unions the millions of women and other unorganized workers. Make of the unions fighting weapons for the interests of the workers, and not job trusts for labor mis-leaders.

Chicago Carpenters Ditch Reactionary

(Continued from page 2)
The Progressive Program

The program of the progressives was extremely moderate, containing the following planks:

1. Affiliation to the Building Trades Council (and the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L.)
2. A five day (40 hour week) for the purpose of reducing unemployment.
3. We are against arbitration agreements with speedup clauses, and for the establishment of a form of stewardship that will give full protection to the men on the job.
4. To work for the enactment of provisions and working rules that will enable our aged members to work on a job and earn their living.
5. To work for the organization of all mills. Only union material to be used on union jobs. No reduction of millmen's wages.
6. Salaries of officers not to exceed 10% over the wage scale paid to journeymen carpenters.

Any program more moderate than this surely could not be called progressive. In fact, for ideological clarity it might have been better to have developed a more advanced program. Only two points separated the progressives from the others: their declaration against arbitration agreements and against the salaries of officials exceeding by more than ten per cent the wage scale of journeymen carpenters. The program was scarcely attacked by the opponents of the progressive slate, and this made it possible for Flynn to confuse the members by claiming that he had no differences with the progressives on policy.

Jensen was the only candidate who stated his position on the question of political action by labor. He supports the A. F. L. policy of "punishing the enemies and rewarding the friends" in the old capitalist parties. The progressives were silent even on this vital issue.

Flynn Elected by Minority Vote

It is worth while to note the vote cast for the different candidates:

Thomas F. Flynn	6,265
Harry Jensen (for re-election)	4,106
Verner Johanson	4,265
Fred Bobzin (Progressive)	3,386
Tot Radcliff	2,470
W. K. Radcliffe	394

Total vote 20,845

Flynn was therefore elected by less than one third of the votes cast. This emphasizes the need of primary elections, so that dummy candidates could be eliminated and the issues brought clearly before the membership. The demand should be brought forward that officers must be elected by a majority of the votes cast in the election.

The Tasks of the Progressives

The landslide against the Jensen administration is entirely due to the persistent propaganda of the progressives. Nevertheless another President has been elected, though with a minority vote, who in reality is as reactionary as Jensen. This shows that the task of the progressives is not only to win the membership ideologically against reactionary policy, but that they must make clear their own program and establish their leadership. The progressives must thoroly organize their propaganda so that they can reach the members on the job and to draw them into active participation in the union.

It can be said that the 3,386 votes cast for the progressive candidate for president constitute a conscious rank and file progressive element. Despite the confused situation which prevailed in this election, the progressives elected two members

Wuhan Textile Workers' Union

By EARL R. BROWDER

THE Wuhan Textile Workers' Union has 37,096 members. These are organized in 11 branch unions. Six branches are based upon the six large cotton mills in Wuhan, one branch to one mill; two branches are silk workers, one of weavers, one of dye workers, and one of hosiery workers. The last two named are branches of artisans, employed in a myriad of small shops.

In the big mills, the inner organization of the branch proceeds, first, with the organization of a row of spinners (for example), each row or group of machines being the basis of the first unit of organization of the workers. This group of workers elects a delegate to a section committee. The sections of each main department join together to form a department committee. From the department committees the branch is formed.

The Dee Yee Mill, which we visited, has 9,700 workers. Here one delegate is elected by each 50 members to a branch Assembly, which is the supreme body of the branch, electing the standing executives, delegates to higher bodies, etc.

The General Executive Committee for the Wuhan General Textile Workers' Union, is elected by a meeting of branch delegates, with each branch represented in proportion to its membership. This delegates' meeting is once per year; but a smaller number of permanent delegates meet every month. The Executive Committee has 25 members, who elect a Standing Committee (or Executive Bureau) of seven, for conduct of the business. Each one of the Standing Committee is in charge of a Department (Secretarial, Finance, Propaganda, Women's Department, etc.).

Women and Youth Represented in Executive

In the Executive Committee of each Branch, there must be at least one woman and one youth; this is to guarantee that proper attention shall be given to the special problems of women and children. The voting power was stated to be: men 45%, women 32%, children 23%, in the union as a whole; but here, as elsewhere in the world, the men predominate in the leadership more than in the general numbers.

The financial system of the Union is based upon a monthly fee for each member of one-half day's wage. This gives the General Union a monthly income of \$10,000 (Mex.). This income is centralized in the General Union, expenses of the branch being controlled and regulated by itself but paid out through the General Office. All expenditures are strictly controlled by budget, of which the following is the general outline:

- 10% of income to the Hupeh Provincial General Trade Union.
- 10% of income for expenses of Wuhan General Textile Union.
- 40% of income for expenses of branches of Textile Union.
- 10% of income to Clubs, Amusements, etc.
- 30% of income for Reserve and Strike Fund.

Employers Taxed for Pickets and Educational Fund

The Union has a Picket Corps of 500 workers, trained under control of the General Union. All but 60 of these work regularly in the mills, and are only called for special service. The other 60 are on per-

manent duty, the personnel being changed every three months, and the workers being paid by the factory to which they belong. Support of this picket body is one of the obligations of the employers contained in the contract with the Union. Ten of the pickets are armed with rifles.

Another interesting provision of the Union contract with the employers, is the provision of an Educational Fund, to which the employers pay \$1,000 per month, for the benefit of the textile workers. This money goes into the general educational scheme of the Hupeh Provincial General Trade Union.

Women Active in Administration of Union

In the administration of the Union, the women are taking a constantly increasing part. Although women in China are only now emerging from the terrible fetters of feudalism, bound-feet, and double-oppression, they are displaying a remarkable talent which already has given them a position in the trade union movement of China at least equal to that of women in the United States.

This union above described is, of course, one of the best organized unions in the newly-acquired territory of the Nationalist Government. Some unions, which existed before for many years during the illegal period, are stronger and more solid. Others of the new organizations in the trade union movement may not

Russian Trade Unions Aid Norway Workers

A DELEGATION from the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions arrived in Moscow on April 18th for the purpose of informing the Soviet trade unions of the lock-out in Norway which had been in force for some time, affecting tens of thousands of workers, and to ask them for aid.

On April 21st the Presidium of the Central Committee of the trade unions of the USSR held a joint meeting with representatives of the Central Committees of the various trade unions. At this meeting the Norwegian delegation reported on the situation of the locked-out Norwegian workers.

The joint meeting unanimously decided to appropriate from the funds of the trade unions of the USSR one million Norwegian kroner (\$205,000) to aid the locked-out workers of Norway. Of this amount, 200,000 kroner were given as a donation and the remainder as a long-term loan, to be repaid at the convenience of the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions, depending upon its financial condition and upon how soon the Norwegian trade unions will recover from the effects of the lock-out.

yet make such a good showing. But on the whole, the Textile Workers' Union of Wuhan may serve as a good example of the Chinese Labor Movement.

Australian Trade Union Congress

By W. FRANCIS AHERN

MELBOURNE—(FP)—At the All-Australian Trade Union congress, held at Melbourne in May and attended by delegates from 98 trade unions throughout Australia, a plan was launched for placing the labor movement on an industrial basis. The name is to be the Australian Council of Trade Unions and its aim will be the socialization of industry, production, distribution and exchange.

The council aims at transformation of the movement from a craft to an industrial basis, administration and centralized control of industrial disputes.

Spokesmen at the congress, which endorsed the plan, said that the chief function of the council would be political in character and that gradually it would wrest from the present conservative leaders of the Australian Labor party the control of the party machine and party policy. In opposition political leaders of the party have put forward a consolidation scheme for closer organization of the party. There is sure to be a test of strength between the industrial and political leaders.

The congress pronounced solidly against all piecework and bonus

payments, co-partnership and profit-sharing schemes of employers.

The congress held that unemployment in Australia was aggravated by immigrants from Britain and other European countries. It was resolved to warn intending immigrants of the economic disaster awaiting them and to unionize them if they did arrive in Australia.

Peace in the Pacific was discussed at length. The congress decided to convene a Pan-Pacific Congress of trade union organizations to meet in Australia in 1928. It decided to hold the conference in Australia, because the Australian federal government had prevented trade union delegates from leaving Australia to attend the recent Pan-Pacific Congress in China.

The congress sent fraternal greetings to the working masses of China. The congress pledged its members to foster the Hands-Off-China movement in Australia.

It was decided that until the Amsterdam International and the Red International of Labor Unions compose their differences the Australian workers will refrain from affiliation with either body.

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Whither Civilization?

Book Review

WHERE IS CIVILIZATION GOING?
By Scott Nearing, Vanguard Press,
Price 50 Cents

THE game of questions and answers seems to have replaced the crossword puzzle as its source of amusement. Unfortunately, the questions and answers all too frequently are of no real value to the average human being.

Questions, nevertheless, are being asked in greater number than ever before. The older generation asks why there cannot be a return to the "good old days" of before the world war. The younger generation wants to know whether life is worth living, if they are mere puppets of fate or can work out their own destiny. Serious and pedantic scholars are asking if civilization is on the decline. Questions, questions, everywhere and of all kinds.

Scott Nearing, in this, his latest book, endeavors to give an understandable, if not too detailed, reply to the question: "Do people really get anywhere, or are they merely going in circles?" "So long as human nature remains unchanged, is there any use in trying to change social institutions?"

Nearing has the happy knack of being able to present social and economic problems in a readable fashion. He is a popularizer of social science, but he is not a so-called, superficial writer. True, he has not done anything remarkable in its originality, but he has nevertheless done much good work. He is always intensely interested in what he is writing about, with the result that his books are not merely a series of statistical tables surrounded by dull, dry, belabored conclusions, as is the case with most economists and sociologists.

Nearing sketches the growth of society from its first faint beginnings up to the present time. He indicates the forms that social organization has taken; the sources of livelihood; of tools, forms of exchange, means of communication; organization of labor; etc., etc. In this he has made use of the outlines of such well-known social scientists as L. H. Morgan, Wissler, Mueller-Lyer.

To those who are well versed in sociology the book presents nothing original. But to the average worker it will be a veritable storehouse of facts and conclusions which are bound to cause the scrapping of many opinions previously held.

I would certainly recommend this book to those who want and need information upon the great social problems of today but who are afraid of long words and involved sentences.

The workers of this country are sorely in need of many more volumes of the type which Scott Nearing has just given them. The book is authentic, although objections can be made to details in several instances. It is based upon verified evidence. It has a scientific, and at the same time a worker's point of view. It is easy to read. It is short—only 110 pages. It costs little, only fifty cents.

Several years ago Edward Carpenter wrote a book entitled "The Cause and Cure of Civilization". Scott Nearing's book indicates the answer much better than did Edward Carpenter's.

See one less baseball game or one less movie—and instead buy and read "Where is Civilization Going?" It is to your interest to know.

—Oliver Carlson.

Sport Sidelights

By ALBERT STEWART

IN Chicago recently there was held a mock investigation of corruption in professional boxing and wrestling. It ended as most all other investigations of such a nature have ended—in a complete blow-up of all the charges and a clean, nice whitewash of the sport and the sportsmen involved. However, during the brief course of the investigation enough dirt and stink was thrown up to give the simplest devotees of the mat game, a jolt.

Bill Demetral, veteran wrestler, and Martin Slattery, manager of John Pesek, furnished information which proved definitely that for 10 years the wrestling game has been under the complete control of a trust, and that such men as Strangler Lewis, Earl Caddock, the Zybyskos, Wayne Munn and Joe Stecher, have been in the employ of this trust, the chief stock in trade of which was the heavyweight wrestling title. Every bout of any consequence was rehearsed beforehand—although it must be admitted that double-crossings occurred here and there.

To all thinking fans wrestling has been completely exposed as honey-combed with crookedness and fakery. Nevertheless the honorable legislative committee solemnly passes the opinion that things are as they should be! Evidently corruption is not confined merely to sporting circles, but extends right into the ranks of the gentlemen who administer our great government.

ONE of the biggest labor sports events in years will be the First Annual National Labor Sports Union Track and Field Meet, to be held at Electric Park, in Waukegan, Ill., on July 30th and 31st. Hundreds of labor athletes from all over

the country are expected to participate. In addition to track and field events there will be a baseball game, a soccer game and pate in over thirty events which gymnastic drills.

All worker sportsmen are permitted to enter the meet.

AS the baseball season wears along, it becomes pretty certain that in the American League, the New York Yankees, just about have the pennant cinched. The terrific hitting of Gehrig, Ruth, Combs, Lazzeri, Koempf, Collins and Meusel, has enabled the Yanks to pile up a formidable lead. As things stand now, the Athletics stand only a ghost of a chance of overtaking the New York outfit.

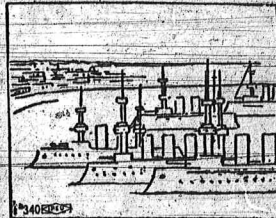
In the National League, things are nip and tuck. Pittsburgh of course is the big favorite, but the Cardinals and Cubs are right on the heels of the Pirate entry. It all depends on the Pittsburgh pitching. If Yde, Aldridge, and Morrison and Kremer, can come to the rescue of Meadows and Hill, then the Pirates should cop. However it looks as though the National League pennant scramble will not be straightened out till well along in September.

NOW that Jack Dempsey and Sharkey are definitely slated to scrap it out for the right to meet Gene Tunney, the sports writers will have plenty to write about. We wonder what the plot is, in this case. Is it to let Dempsey make a come-back, or to give the Boston boy a crack at the title. It depends on which of these would be most profitable. If Dempsey is figured to be the bigger gate attraction then he will certainly be permitted to win.

The Imperialist Trio



In Geneva



In China



In Geneva



In China

TWO OF ONE KIND

A political object-lesson for grown-up children:

Some things there are, brother, leap to the eye.
Here is Geneva, and there is Shanghai;
Here prophylactics are sought against war,
There they continue the cure as before,
And, be it sung in Shanghai or Geneva,
"Might before right" is the tune of the diva.

TO A FAT BOURGEOIS

O you are hog fat and your clothing is fine
So stoke down your fodder and lap up your wine,
Let the paunch of your plenty protrude from your vest
And the jowls of contentment fold down on your chest.
For we lean and hungry are supple and strong
With thin lips that murmur, Not long now, not long.

While you have been eating the best in the land
Bedewed with our sweat and produced by our hand,
In the snow and the rain, in the heat and the cold
Our hate has grown bitter, our hearts have grown bold.
Now tempered by hardships we patiently wait
Like lean wolves in winter outside of your gate.

Eat, drink and be merry, wax sluggish and proud,
For thus shall you totter, your shoulders be bowed;
When the walls of your mansions fall in on your head
The poor shall be sheltered, the hungry be fed,
And you and your class shall go down in the sea
Of surging Red Flags in the land of the free!

—HENRY GEORGE WEISS.

THE UNSEEN ROAD

Beyond the wall there runs a road,
Beyond the road a hillside slopes,
Beyond the hill the orchard's load
Hangs ripened with the harvest hopes.

The wall was built long years ago,
And longer yet—or so it seems—
They shut me in this hall of woe,
That severs me from all my dreams.

The road winds on; the hill invites
My step, my heart, my wand'ring soul;
Bright shadow of despair that blights
The hope now chained to time's far goal.

O tell me that the road will run
Beyond the hill, once more, for me!
That golden apples, kissed with sun,
Await my hand when I am free!

—HARRISON GEORGE,
Leavenworth Prison, June 1922.