

LABOR UNITY

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Greetings

from The Red International of Labor Unions to The Trade Union Educational League

*The Following Cablegram Was Received by the Third National Conference of the
Trade Union Educational League*

THE Profintern greets the League's conference as a decisive factor in the struggle for class trade unionism in America. The increasing reaction of the bureaucracy, the leftward trend of the masses, make great advances possible. The fight against the agents of imperialism in all unions must be unrelenting especially when the bureaucracy takes the lead in a struggle only to betray workers, as in the garment and mine strikes.

The Profintern regards as the basis for unity of all progressive elements and as your immediate tasks: (1) the democratization of the unions and the ousting of corrupt leadership, (2) organization of the unorganized, (3) creation of new unions where corrupt bureaucrats have caused wholesale loss of membership and disintegration of the union, (4) amalgamation, (5) the fight against class collaboration, (6) the fight against imperialism, (7) the struggle against the war danger, (8) world trade union unity.

"Organization of the unorganized" must not be an abstract slogan nor reliance placed on the reactionary bureaucracy, but the league itself must unionize the unorganized millions. The present organizational weakness of the league must be corrected. All real left, and real progressive elements outside and inside of the unions, must be brought into the League. The Executive Bureau of the Profintern sends through the League revolutionary greetings to the whole American working class and feels sure that the League will be transformed from a propaganda organ into a leading organ of the class struggle of the American proletariat.

(Signed) EXECUTIVE BUREAU OF THE RED INTERNATIONAL OF TRADE UNIONS.

LABOR UNITY

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TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE

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The Crisis In The American Labor Movement

How To Meet It

By BILL DUNNE



- BILL DUNNE

MORE than a decade has passed since the officialdom of the labor movement, led by Samuel Gompers, supported the war program of the house of Morgan, took up the treacherous slogan "Make the world safe for democracy" and made the labor movement a part of the imperialist murder machine.

Well into the first half of the second ten years since the U. S. entered the world war, the labor movement is in a crisis so serious that efforts to minimize it are in themselves a danger.

What the labor movement needs is not pollyanna platitudes but an alarm. Facts must be faced, understood and the correct conclusions drawn.

From three directions the labor movement is under attack:

1. From the government, the courts especially. Injunctions, the most vicious of them already upheld by the supreme court, have made illegal strikes and even organization campaigns which affect the production of articles of interstate commerce. (Against the United Mine Workers in West Virginia and Pennsylvania injunctions have been granted which make organization work and the conduct of strikes a crime.)



MISLEADERS OF LABOR
John Lewis, Wm. Green, and Frank Morrison

Other injunctions and supreme court decisions, like that in the Bedford Cut Stone Company case, prohibit workers from refusing to use scab material, boycotting or conducting a sympathetic strike.

Company unions and the "yellow dog" contract have been legalized while the unions have no legal standing whatever. The capitalists and their government have never been forced to grant unions a legal existence in the United States. Unions are not included among "American institutions" in spite of the spread-eagle speeches of official leaders.

In their brief moments of frankness these leaders admit this. ("In order to give the trade unions *not only legal existence but the right to exercise their normal functions*, two legislative remedies must be enacted, etc."—From the report of the A. F. of L. executive council to the forty-seventh annual convention in Los Angeles.)

There is no strike or organization campaign of any importance but which is met with an injunction.

Injunctions take the place in the United States of the Fascist labor laws of Italy and the suppressive Trade Union Act of great Britain.

2. The capitalists are driving ahead against the unions with the best planned and most powerful offensive in our history—they are smashing the unions one by one through an attack which began in 1919 with nationwide raids, arrests, jailings and deportations of the most class conscious and militant section of the working class.

This attack was broadened to include the building trades. They had to meet a vicious open shop offensive during the depression of 1920-21. The infamous Landis award was born in this period.

Then came the counter-offensive of the railway capitalists and their government against the strike of the shop crafts. The strike was outlawed by federal injunction and the unions defeated.

The United Mine workers were too powerful, in spite of their reactionary leadership, to be beaten in this period and although a federal injunction to which President Lewis surrendered had given a foretaste of what was to come, the main attack was deferred.

The next attack was on the Furriers and Ladies Garment Workers Unions. These unions were crippled and the open shop instituted.

Now the United Mine Workers, the most important union in the American labor movement, is the object of a relentless offensive, so brutal in its methods that even certain capitalist sheets speak of "the civil war in the coal fields" and advertise the need of relief for 600,000 men, women and children.

The methods used against the miners and their families are those of an invading mercenary army.

It is the tritest of expressions to say that the United Mine Workers Union is "the backbone of the labor movement" but no other phrase so clearly describes this organization of workers in a decisive basic industry.

The attack on the U. M. W. of A., which is an attack on the living standards and social status of the 800,000 coal miners and their families, more than any one thing therefore brings sharply to our attention the grave danger which the labor movement faces.

3. The increasing industrial depression is the third direction from which danger threatens. The severe depression already evident in most heavy industries, and which the economists for capitalism make little attempt to disguise, can not of course be separated from the other sources of danger any



FACES THE CRISIS BUT WILL FIGHT
Typical young coal miner. His union is crumbling due to the treachery of Lewis & Co.

more than they can be separated from each other. Rather, industrial depression, with its inevitable unemployment giving the lie to the fiction of "permanent prosperity in America," creates greater problems for the working class and intensifies the danger from other directions.

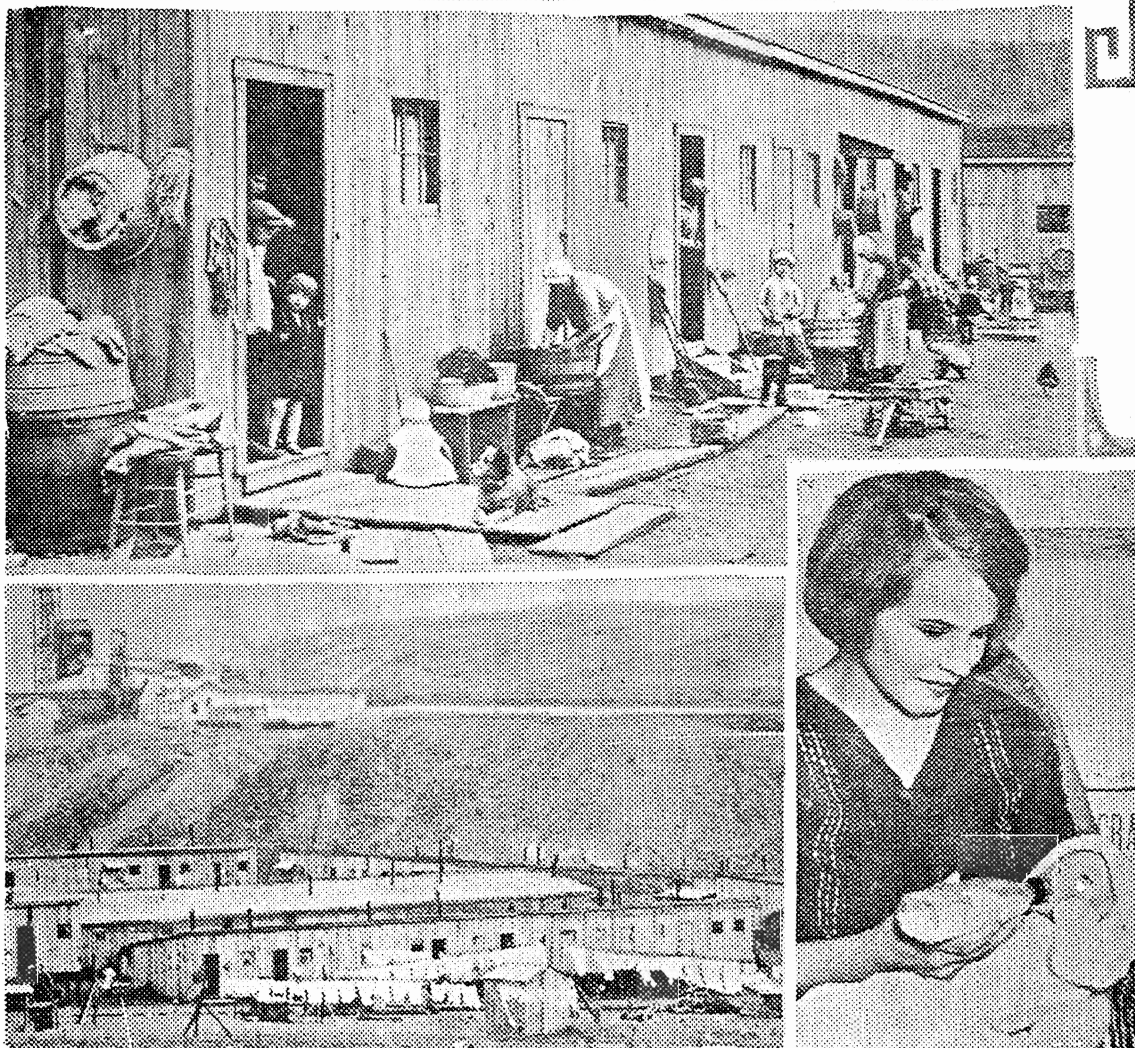
We can say that injunctions, by which capitalist government through its courts and marshals acts in its historic role of the instrument and executive committee of the ruling class, the open shop and unemployment are the chief weapons of American imperialism in its attack on the labor movement and the living standards of the masses in this period.

There have been two phases in the capitalist offensive or rather two kinds of strategy.

In the earlier period the capitalists sought to weaken and demoralize the unions—to force a

(Continued on Page 27)

PENNSYLVANIA MINERS HARD HIT BY STRIKE CRISIS



SCENE IN RUSSELTON, PA., MINERS' BARRACKS, and Mrs. Mike Zrelak with first baby born in them after eviction from houses.

The Miners Are Fighting Now!

By AMY SCHECHTER

AT LAST the will to fight and the disillusionment and bitter disgust of the striking Pennsylvania miners with the abject strike policy of the Lewis machine, have found voice. On January 4th, strikers from all sub-districts of Western Pennsylvania, as well as delegates from Ohio and District No. 2, came together in Pittsburgh and formed a "Save-the-Union" Committee to begin the work of consolidating the progressive forces in the union to organize for militant action, spreading the strike, pulling out the unorganized fields, and, for that general fighting policy which alone can save the union from going to pieces beneath the coal operators' savage attack. John L. Brophy, from whom Lewis stole the last election for President of the U. M. W. of A., addressed the meeting.

Today, in the tenth month of the lockout, with the coal operators' offensive increasing in violence, the striking miners know that the union has its back against the wall and must fight or be destroyed.

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More clearly than ever before in the history of the union rank and file miners realize that with the Lewis machine in control the union cannot and will not fight.

The point-blank refusal of the coal operators, led by the Mellon-controlled Pittsburgh Coal Co., to have any dealings with the miners' union when requested to attend a joint conference by Secretary of Labor Davis, has thrown a glaring light on the whole conflict, and made it impossible for the machine any longer to foster illusions as to a speedy and peaceable settlement, or to hide the fact that the coal war is a war of extermination.

"We have definitely and permanently severed all relations with that organization," states the Pittsburgh Coal Company, in answer to the Davis telegram.

"We will not meet with representatives of the United Mine Workers of America with whom we have no contract," declared the Ohio Coal Operators Association.

ACTUAL SURRENDER

As soon as the announcement came that the outcome of the much-advertised November A. F. of L. Pittsburgh Emergency Conference was to be a delegation to call on President Coolidge, the men knew that the machine was making a gesture of surrender.

"We are waiting on the conference," you heard all around the mining camps, before November 14. The conference came and went, and then as a picket at Harmarville (a mining town with a fighting reputation throughout the Allegheny Valley) put it:

"When the men saw what they done at the conference, they knew they got nothing more to wait for."

Before the Emergency Conference thousands had really believed that with the very life of the union at stake Lewis would be forced to at last enter upon aggressive action in some form. In some camps, the men talked of the railroad brotherhoods being asked to stop hauling scab coal; in others they thought that a nation-wide strike of the miners would be called, linked up with a drive for organization of the unorganized. Many of the miners believed that official action would take the form of a general A. F. of L. assessment for relief, after the conference had ended, the men realized that exactly nothing was going to be done.

COOLIDGE AS SPOKESMAN

Coolidge's answer to the delegation was exactly the reply to be expected from the spokesman of the great steel and coal and railroad interests behind the campaign to break down the miners' union. He declared that there were too many miners. He made it clear that he lined up a hundred per cent with the attempt of the operators to drag down standards in Pennsylvania and Ohio to the level of the southern non-union fields.

"The President is informed," said Coolidge's statement, "that coal consumption has seriously decreased because of the expansion of the use of water power electricity by industrial factories and of labor-saving devices in industry generally. It will be difficult for the coal operators to sustain the present level of wages in view of that condition, he believes. He is informed that there is an abundant supply of soft-coal from the lower-priced labor mines of the south."

OPERATORS ADVANCE

The sharpening of the coal operators' attack in the last weeks can very largely be laid to the no-fight policy and impotent political manoeuvring exhibited at the Emergency conference, and the disastrous pilgrimage to the White House that followed.

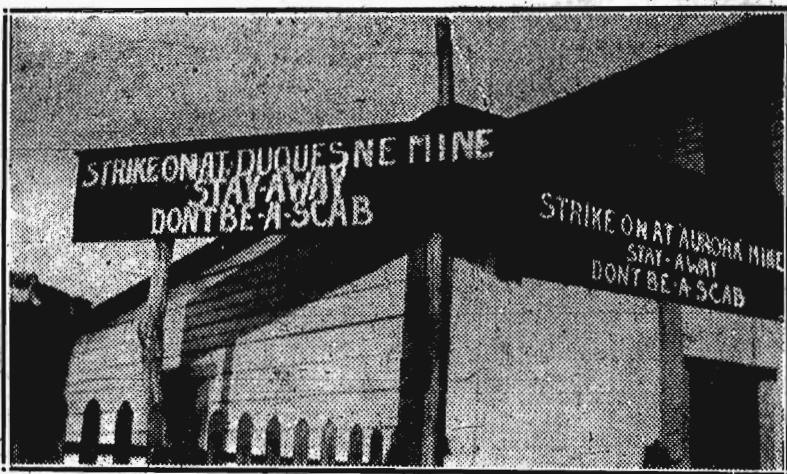
The companies were jubilant after Coolidge's strike statement:

"This means that we are to be allowed to carry on this fight for the open shop to a finish," said a representative of the Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Corporation, "without any action by the Federal government. We feel that this is a real victory for the principle that every American worker has a right to secure employment where and when he pleases and to work under any conditions he sees fit. (Pittsburgh Terminal has just cut wages for its scabs the fourth time since April 1). . . . The decision of the president upholds the right of private property by his tacit refusal to interfere in the eviction proceedings now being carried out against the members of the United Mine Workers who occupy company houses but refuse to accept employment on the company terms."

HAMSTRINGING FIGHTERS

Throughout the course of the lock-out, every attempt on the part of the rank and file to meet the coal operators' offensive with militant resistance in place of the spineless official policy of surrender

that steadily increasing numbers of the strikers saw was bringing the union to the verge of ruin, has been crushed by the machine. In camp after camp, mass picketing, mass violation of injunctions, resistance to evictions, were frowned down, and suppressed. The international organizers planted throughout the strike area by the machine counselled submission beneath the savage blows dealt by the companies: "Don't make any trouble," was the slogan.



A PICKET POST. They get injunctions against such signs.

To take Harmarville again. When the company first brought in scabs last July, men who had scattered around neighboring towns for whatever jobs could be picked up on the roads or in the mills, hastened back to carry on the fight to keep the company from opening up their mine.

Men and women and children crowded out on the picket line—mass picketing—twenty-four hour picketing. Men were standing on the line two shifts straight, not to be away from the fight.

"BUTCH" JAMES

Then "Butch" James of Illinois, a close personal friend of Lewis, was sent in as organizer. "No mass picketing," he said. "We don't want to violate the sheriff's proclamation." (The sheriff's proclamation permits no more than two men together on the public highway).

"Keep your wives and children home," decreed "Butch" James, "Don't use the word 'Scab'," he told the pickets. "Don't use abusive language, they might send in the state troopers."

The troopers came in anyway, two weeks later, and not long after that, smashed in the heads of numerous Harmarville men and women and children at the Sacco-Vanzetti protest meeting held at Cheswick a couple of miles away (making arrests that resulted in a first class frame-up case.)

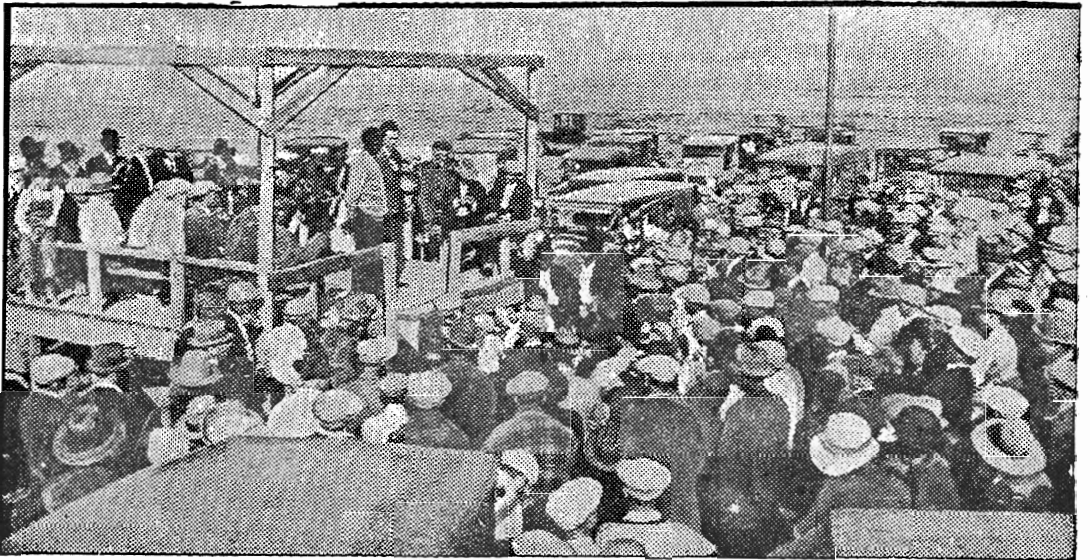
The "Butch" James affair is no isolated incident. The same sort of thing happened at every militant mine and in not a few cases an angry rank and file drove the "organizers" out of town. Harmarville has four, including "Butch" James, to its credit.

The hundreds of resolutions sent in by local unions making militant demands on the union during the course of the lockout—organization of the unorganized fields, general strike, etc.—have been completely ignored by district and national officials.

The presence of miners from the unorganized fields among the scabs, experienced men who can get out the coal and are ten times as dangerous to the conduct of the strike as the unskilled professional strike-breaker elements, has made the question of organizing the unorganized an immediate issue of the first importance. The disastrous effects of Lewis' betrayal of the splendid strike of 50,000 unorganized miners in the Connellsville coke region of Western Pennsylvania in 1922, and his consistent refusal to take action regarding the unorganized fields, are daily forced upon the attention of the striking miners on the picket line.

Sentiment for a general strike in all fields is definitely gaining in strength. A resolution sent out about a week ago by the Portage local, District No. 2, requesting joint action of all locals in a demand upon Lewis for a general strike as the only remedy in the present desperate situation, is typical of wide-spread, if not clearly formulated, sentiment among the miners. In camp after camp throughout District No. 2 the resolution was unanimously passed—"With a Shout," as Rossiter miners put it.

Winter, wholesale eviction, the long-drawn semi-starvation sapping their strength, the pain of being forced to see their children pale from lack of food and barefoot and in rags, is bringing the relief question to the fore among the miners today.



A STRIKE MEETING OF MINERS IN LUDLOW, COLORADO.
The town is famous for the massacre of women and children by Rockefeller police in a previous strike.

The Left Wing and the Colorado Strike

By HUGO OEHLER

THE strike of the ten thousand miners of Colorado led by the I. W. W. has brought to the front many forces of division among the ranks of the capitalists. The relation of this strike to the A. F. of L. and its left wing is likewise important. In the past the I. W. W. and the A. F. of L. have always been at dagger points over tactics and in this struggle the same is true with the leadership of the unions, but quite contrary with many of the rank and file. The strike has succeeded in uniting labor elements that heretofore were in opposition.

The strikes of the Colorado miners of the past have been led by the U. M. W. of A., but on this occasion its Lewis corruption has checked even a semblance of unionism and militancy. When the C. F. and I. launched their drive for reduction of pay the officials of District 15 rendered assistance to the bosses. The U. M. W. of A. in Colorado under the policy of the Lewis machine grew less and less in numbers until their force was a joke.



GOV. ADAMS. Officially responsible for the killing.

The more activity the militant Wobblies showed, the more aggressive became the officials of the Lewis machine in opposition and in favor of the coal operators. When the Aguilar conference was held on September 2 with 198 delegates elected by many of the miners to consider their grievance with the operators the U. M. W. of A. officials of the district were more active than ever, not in assistance but in opposition to the miners and their leaders. The day following the conference the Lewis

henchmen from the Pueblo office arranged a meeting in Aguilar, spending hundreds of dollars. The main text of the Labor Day celebration was bitter condemnation of the I. W. W. leadership. The systematic campaign of the U. M. W. of A. officials, Pugliano and Nigro, was without results, for on the day of strike the masses of workers walked out splendidly. And in the north field the miners struck en masse.

While the strike was in its

infancy the C. F. and I., the Rockefeller concern that dominates the coal industry of Colorado and influences the political machine to its will, arranged, at the Pueblo Steel Mills, to have its employees under the Rockefeller Plan pass resolutions condemning the I. W. W. leadership of the strike.

The Pueblo Trade and Labor Council followed with a bitter resolution condemning the I. W. W. leadership and the strike as outlaw.

The newspapers played these acts of treachery up big.

GREEN THROWS A KNIFE

The more effective the strike became the more assistance the right wing leadership of the A. F. of L. gave the bosses. And while Lewis and his men were helping the coal operators the local and state police with the company gunmen were doing their bit. Lewis, passing through Denver on his way east from the most wonderful convention on the coast, stopped long enough to condemn the strike leadership and outlaw the strike. President Green did likewise, as was expected. The miners continued to consolidate their forces, the right wing helped the bosses, the press of the capitalist gave the right wing leaders' utterances wide publicity, but the strike continued to grow.

The State Federation under Gross repeated the words of his right wing leaders but had enough sense to say that the strikers had a just grievance.

PROGRESSIVES SUPPORT

The progressives within the A. F. of L. were not a party to the actions of the Green and Lewis clique and under the leadership of the left wing substantial support was rendered to the striking miners. If the left wing was unorganized or out of the A. F. of L. the right wing leadership would have been able to do their damndest. But with organized opposition led by the left wing, the rights were unable to carry out their betrayal to their hearts' content.

The revolutionary workers throughout the country supported the Colorado strike and the left wing carried on support for the strike that hitherto would have been impossible.

In Denver the left wing organized a committee to assist the Colorado strikers and then enlarged it and combined with all forces in the city for a Defense and Relief Committee.

Through the left wing and the Denver committee the Wyoming U. M. W. A. unions have been able to obtain hundreds of dollars from many

camps for the Colorado strike. Gebo local sent \$650 and many other locals sent in hundreds. Over a dozen Denver unions have contributed hundreds of dollars to the strikers for relief and defense. In the union where the reactionary forces tabled the motion for contribution, the rank and file passed a motion to collect clothes and food as the next best thing under the circumstances and helped the miners through the organization in spite of the right wing power.

A tour through Eastern states by Strike Leaders E. S. Embree and Milka Sablich has been enthusiastically received and has brought much relief.

PERSECUTED BUT DEFIANT

With such support, and more important still, the assurance that for once a certain solidarity of labor was growing up, transcending the bounds of union jurisdiction, the miners have fought wonderfully.

Six of them were shot dead at the Columbine mine, in the northern field, by gunmen and state troopers sent there by the so-called "friend of labor," Governor Adams of Colorado.

A peaceful parade in Walsenburg was shot up by state troopers, and the strikers' hall fired into; one miner killed, one wounded and a spectator killed.

Over a hundred were imprisoned without form of law or charges other than a general one of "inciting to strike" in Walsenburg and Trinidad. Many of these have been released due to the activity of the joint defense committee.

CHILDREN EXPELLED

Mobs raided the strikers' hall in Trinidad, smashed it, and arrested strikers. They were invited to do so by the mayor of the city.

Two children of Emil Riskofski, a striking miner, were expelled from school in Frederick, Colo., for singing I. W. W. songs. Two hundred pupils, nearly the whole school, struck and paraded in the streets for them. Militia broke up a committee of parents going to call on the school superintendent.

There have been innumerable raids, terrorizing campaigns, and rumored assassinations by the militia and state troopers, who appear in some parts of the fields all of the time, in others spasmodically.

In spite of all this, the miners have stood firm since October. The mines are closed. Whenever a few scabs appear, marching miners, or caravans of miners in cars, move upon them and despite machine guns, persuade them to quit.

Prosperity and Unemployment

By M. GILBERT

THE year 1927 ended with the development to the highest point so far seen, of capitalist "prosperity dope"; really prosperous bankers, manufacturers, and their learned lackeys who mold public opinion have spread broadcast through millions of sheets of the daily newspapers, journals of "opinion," popular magazines, stubbornly hammering into the heads of the masses, such slogans as these: "We are the most prosperous country the world has ever seen," "Prosperity is more widely diffused here than it has ever been at any other place or time," "Wages are high, as never before, and there is a job somewhere for every man who really wants to work," "Business is good, and getting better," etc.

But all these wild cries are like vain exorcisms upon a deadening depression, whose first signs are very evident, and whose first stages, even, had already set in before the new year.

This fact has tremendous significance for the working class, and the immediate tasks of the labor movement.

MORE GOODS, FEWER JOBS

Even during the last five years, when production was growing by leaps and bounds, the number of workers employed was diminishing, not only in relation to output but also in absolute figures. The short table below shows the changes in important industries from 1919 to 1926. It is taken from census figures.

TABLE SHOWING WORKERS IN INDUSTRIES
(By Thousands)

Industry	Year of 1919	Year of 1925
Agriculture	11,300	10,500
Mining	1,065	1,065
Manufacturing	10,689	9,772
Railways	1,915	1,744
Total in these industries	24,969	23,081

During these years the output of manufactures has grown 28½% and at the same time the number of workers has diminished 9%.

The causes of this peculiarity are the greater use of labor saving machinery, more mechanical power, and at the same time, greater efficiency,

speed-up, more intensive exploitation of the workers.

Productivity of labor in eleven leading industries has grown since 1914 about 59%. In the automobile and rubber industries it has almost trebled. In 1925, the production of 67 workers almost equalled that of a hundred men a quarter century ago. Production has so far outstripped consumption that almost every industry has been during recent years running its mechanical plant below capacity. This has brought about the seemingly strange, but under present circumstances, inevitable, situation, that there should be increasing unemployment during a period of industrial "prosperity."

MORE WORKERS, LESS WORK

When we consider that during all this time the growth of population went on at the rate of about 2% per year, and that millions of farmers have been forced by the severe agricultural crisis to move to the city in search for work, this increase in unemployment, we can well believe, is much greater by now.

The workers who were struck off the factory payrolls could not go to the farms, the mines, or the railways—only a part of them could find work at all in new professions which are not covered by the census, such as taxi-driving, filling stations, road building, etc. An insignificant few of them may have become petty capitalists.

According to the very moderate figures of J. Trey, secretary of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L., at the peak of prosperity there were more than a million unemployed, another 3½ million partly employed.

Every worker knows well enough what it means to be unemployed in a land which makes a fetish of "prosperity" and whose government and ruling classes refuse to prepare for poverty among their workers with unemployment doles, who get no help from the trade unions.

Rising prices have quickly melted such savings as a part of the workers may have had when they lost their jobs. Especially hard is the lot of old workers who have given to their employers all their life and vigor, only to be scrapped like any other

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sort of junk when they become relatively unproductive.

MORE SHOES, MORE SHOELESS

At a recent convention of the Taylor society (Taylor of the stop-watch efficiency stunts), a speaker rose and stated:

"What is the use of our society, of all these efficiency systems when their only result is the growth of unemployment? We have installed new automatic machinery in our shoe factories. They produce shoes in a shorter time—but because of them more people have to go without shoes!"

That is the way it looked during the period of growing production, but it is much worse this year, and will grow still worse each month for a while. Not only have all basic industries stopped their growth during the last half of 1927, but they decline from month to month. Here is the solemn reading of statistics, compiled by the National City Bank of New York:

Production in 1927, as compared with 1926, shows a decline in locomotives of 36%; in freight cars, 35%; automobiles, 23%; steel, 8%; anthracite, 3%; coke, 9%; building permits, 12%; lumber cut, 14%.

Freight car loadings were lower in November than the lowest figure reached since the crisis of 1921.

The speculative boom on the stock market, which was a cause of much rosy optimism in the newspapers, to one who knows the circumstances says something much different; it says only that speculative financial capital has broken loose from its industrial base, is having its last wild fling before the crash.

Employment and the payroll index show a steady

recession during the last few months. The usual autumn gains did not take place last year. In bituminous coal, in spite of the strike, the open shop fields worked a few days on and a few off; 40% were unemployed in the anthracite; the highly skilled glass workers are losing out to the new automatic machinery.

Very bad are the conditions in the cotton goods industry, not only in New England, where the employers explain 50% unemployment by talking of southern competition, but in the southern mills likewise, where masses of impoverished mountain farmers struggle to enter factories in spite of the lowest wages and slave conditions. Recent curtailment of yarn production will aggravate the bad situation.

Heavy unemployment affects the woolen industry of Passaic, the silk looms of Paterson are steadily closing down, the shoe industry and the garment industry of New England and New York suffer more and more.

Steel is working but 60% capacity, and automobiles, on which many hopes were pinned, do not revive it.

Because of the far reaching interconnections of economic life, all these sour spots of industry spread, grow, and rot the whole fabric.

In the face of this situation, the working class must be roused. There is need, which most do not see yet, of united action.

Unemployment is bad and growing worse. Until Labor rises to stop it by organization of the unemployed, by shortening the work-day, by winning higher wages, the entire labor movement in America will be menaced with destruction, hardships and misery will abound.

LEARN TO UNDERSTAND AND FIGHT THE RESULTS OF DEPRESSION

Read

LABOR UNITY, Organ of the Trade Union Educational League

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LABOR UNITY, Enclosed find \$....., for which send me LABOR UNITY for years. Rates: \$2.00 a year; \$1.25 for 6 months.

Name

Address

William Jones, A. B.

By HARRY KWEIT

Secretary of the International Seamen's Club

WILLIAM JONES, able bodied seaman, got up in the narrow, cell-like room of his "flop-house" on South street, in the great port of New York, and groaned. He was deadly sick, but not as sick, he reflected, as he would have been if the night before he had not noticed on the bottle the bootlegger was pouring from a label: "Denatured Alcohol—Poison—Raises a blister when used externally—Taken internally, completely denatured alcohol is a violent poison, causing blindness and in large quantities, death." To be sure, the bootlegger must have put a lot of water in it, for he was not blind. And after one look at the label, he had presence of mind enough to get out of the alley dive, and invest thirty cents in a bed.

Jones had no real compunction about getting drunk though; he remembered telling a Salvation Army lieutenant who jeered at him in the early stages, the evening before, something of the conditions that drove him to it. He was just in port, off of a return voyage on a Carribean freighter. Life had been getting worse on board since the war. In the old days, when the Seamen's Union was pretty well organized, a seven thousand ton ship carried a crew of 45, including the officers. She would have had three cooks, a steward, three messmen, two mess boys, a bos'un, a carpenter, nine "A. B.'s", three ordinary seamen, three coal passers, three oilers, three watertenders, three firemen, two wipers, a deck engineer, and a store-keeper.

She would have worked three watches, of eight hours each—not such a bad life comparatively, he thought, and \$85 a month for it.

— First, on one excuse or another, Jones's employers had got rid of the messboys, (the messmen did their work), then the carpenter (the A. B.'s and the mates did his work), the deck engineer (the A. B.'s worked harder again), and the store-keeper (more work for an oiler).

Then they changed from the three watch system to two, like this, six hours on, six off, six on, six off, six on, etc., day after day, world without end, not time enough for a full night's sleep, not time enough to eat the food that was steadily getting worse. But that got rid of three A. B.'s and

one ordinary, one fireman, one oiler, one water-tender, one coal passer, one cook, one messman. The Old Man, the captain, stood for it, and undoubtedly the owners liked it.

* * *

The captain and mates even began to ask some of the easiest looking of the crew to do a little painting or scraping during their watch below, their time off. Jones caught the carpenter, just the voyage before the carpenter was eliminated, painting in the peak, on his watch below. He raised a laugh in the fo'c'sle by asking him to wash a big batch of dirty socks, underwear, etc. that had accumulated on him: "If you have time to work for the Old Man on your watch below, why not work some for your fellow workers?"

When the food got absolutely rotten, Jones led a little group up to the Old Man to demand their "whack," the minimum allowance of definitely named foods, so much beef, so much peas, so much salt, etc. which the La Follette seamen's act provides the sailor shall have. But he was only laughed at; it was demonstrated that the galley had no provision for cooking little dabs like that, that there were not even scales for weighing the stuff out, and "What do you think this is?", the captain had demanded, "A Limey ship? On a British ship you can get your whack, but on American ships it's not done."

Then came the oil burner—the crew was cut some more, the coal passers became memories, and they were among the most militant of the seafaring men—their continual quarreling with the officers had made conditions better for all, and their ousting made them worse. Work got harder, men were driven faster, and finally in desperation, Bill Jones got drunk, and missed his ship.

* * *

He didn't mind it much, except that he was broke. His wages had gone down during the last few years from \$85 a month to \$55. He knew that the Standard Oil, the Shipping Board, and one or two other lines paid "Shipping Board Wages," of \$62.50, and he determined to try to ship on one of these.

So he soaked his head in cold water (in fact, that was the only kind of water in the flop house)

Form 719

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE		BUREAU OF NAVIGATION SHIPPING SERVICE	
CERTIFICATE OF DISCHARGE			
No. 1			
Ship's name: Cockspout	Official number: 219020	Seaman's name:	
Port of registry: San Francisco	Net tons: 4443	I CERTIFY that the particulars herein stated are correct, and that the above-named seaman was discharged accordingly. Dated at N. O. La this 7th day of Sept 192 3	
Description of voyage: Foreign T.A.	Seaman's birthplace: Russia		
Seaman's birthplace: Russia	Age: 43	Master.	
Character: N.G.	Ability: V.G.	Seaman.	
Capacity: Carpenter	Seamanship: V.G.	Given to the above-named seaman in my presence, this 7th day of Sept 192 3	
Date of entry: 4-11-23	Date of discharge: 9/2 23	U. S. Shipping Commissioner.	
Place of discharge: New Orleans			

This is the kind of blacklist the Shipping Board uses. The important names have been removed from this one to protect the worker. "N. G." means no more jobs.

and consoled himself with the knowledge that he was too sick to eat breakfast even if he could afford it, and went down to the Shipping Board Service Bureau. The first thing they wanted to see were his discharge papers. And he was still so fuddled with the stuff that "raises a blister when applied externally" that he pulled out some of his last ones. As soon as he saw the clerk looking at the cryptic sign, "N. G." placed by the Old Man under "Character" on the last discharge he had, he knew that he would never get a job here. Ship's officers were punishing a "trouble maker." He saw the clerk making a few notes, and he knew that he was black-listed.

At the Standard Oil Co.'s service bureau he managed to conceal some of his black marks, by a judicious selection of discharges, but he found that the Standard Oil, and likewise the United Fruit and other big lines were hiring their own men only, men who had worked for them before, who endured bonus systems, officers who took stock in the company instead of pay, etc.

A tour of the private and public shipping agencies was fruitless. The "beach" was loaded with idle men. Many told him of attempts made to introduce the "discharge book" system, in which your discharges are bound together in a book, and you can't select among them, told of severe scrutiny of discharges, of little and big black-lists, of favoritism and ever growing unemployment.

The one ray of joy in the whole head-splitting day of disappointments was his finding the steward of the ship he had just left, out of a job too.

The steward had quarreled with the port steward of the line and been fired. The cause of the fight was the ingratitude of the port steward. It seems that on the last voyage, the port steward told the ship's steward to be sure and bring back half of the provisions, supposed by lawmakers to be used on the voyage.

This was done, at whatever discomfort to the crew, and the line saved a lot of money. But then it saved some more, at the expense of the too faithful steward. He was reduced \$10 in pay, because it was evident now that he did not have so much work to do.

Well, Jones "bummed" a meal or two, and worked an odd day or two a week at longshoring. Longshoremen on the trans-Atlantic docks, which handled mixed freight, unsuited to the mechanical conveyors, were organized into the International Longshoremen's Association, and got good wages, from Jones' point of view. But he couldn't work there. Those jobs were scarce. They wanted no outsiders.

Other longshore work was unorganized. The Wobblies tried to organize it, but seemed to spend too much time fighting the I. L. A. and the Communists, and in internal quarrels. Anyway they had little organization and no job control.

The petty bosses on the docks picked their favorites for the job, as the ships came in, and other men scrambled for checks. Work was hideously hard, without time off to eat or anything else until

(Continued on page 30)

The Latest Treachery of the General Council

A Statement by HARRY POLLITT, Secretary British Minority Movement

THE decision of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress to participate in an industrial peace conference with 24 capitalists, representing the biggest industries in the country, is the most shameful betrayal of the British Trade Union Movement that has taken place since the unconditional surrender to the Government during the General Strike.

In 1919 the capitalists prepared an "increased production and peace in industry" campaign; many prominent labor leaders participated in this along with the capitalists. In 1921 the campaign had come to an end, the employers had made their preparations, and the tremendous wage offensive began to take place. Since that time the British trade unionists have lost in wage reductions ten and half millions pounds sterling per week.

In 1925 there was a miners' crisis and the Government in July gave a subsidy to expire in May, 1926. This intervening nine months was used by the Minority Movement to endeavor to mobilize the Trade Union Movement for the inevitable struggle they knew would take place in May. The General Council deprecated all attempts at preparations for a fight, and spoke only of the need of peace.

The result is known to the world. The General Strike was defeated, the miners' lock-out was subsequently betrayed and lower wages and longer hours was the result.

RAIDS BEGAN

In January, 1927, the capitalists commenced their armed attack on the Chinese Revolution; in May they raided Arcos and broke off relations with the Soviet Government; in the same month they introduced the Trade Union Act, which nullifies all the fundamental economical and political rights of the trade unions. This Act was placed on the Statute Book in August, 1927.

The week before the Trades Union Congress opened at Edinburgh, Baldwin made his plea for industrial peace and class-collaboration. The General Council responded to that plea, and since that time have publicly been making overtures for a conference with the capitalists.

The workers will find, unless the present leadership is repudiated, that the whole of this propaganda of industrial peace and the proposals that will undoubtedly arise from the conference will be another attempt at a "breathing space" such as the capitalists got in 1919 and 1925, preparatory

to launching a new offensive upon the wages, hours and workshop conditions of trade unionists.

NOTHING CONSTRUCTIVE

All this is being done under the pretense that the trade union leaders have some positive contribution to make to the re-constructoin of British capitalism. Not a single leader who has been publicly associated with industrial peace propandanda has since the Edinburgh Congress made a single speech or article in which any attempt has been made to remedy vital weaknesses in the trade union machine, such as the multiplicity of unions, lack of factory committees, and local and central co-ordination. The result will be that the workers will find themselves delivered hand and foot to the capitalists and it is for this reason that the Minority Movement has been carrying on a ceaseless propandanda against the treachery of the existing leadership of the British Trade Union Movement.

This explains why that at the moment the only fight that is taking place on the port of the leadership is a fight against the revolutionary workers, and yet whenever the trade unionists have an opportunity of registering their choice as between the reformist defeatist leadership and the new revolutionary forces springing up from the ranks of the Minority movement they unanimously show their decision in electing our nominees as has been proved in Scotland where our candidates have swept the board.

This is the best guarantee that despite the latest example of unheard-of treachery the fight we shall wage against it will be a fight bringing increased success to the revolutionary movement.



A. J. COOK

An Interview With ARTHUR J. COOK

Secretary of British Miners Estimates the
Present Situation

ARTHUR J. COOK, Secretary of the Miners Federation of Great Britain, spent an hour today answering my questions on behalf of LABOR UNITY. I repeat as nearly as possible his exact words, because they come from the spokesman of a million organized miners of Britain, and are the most authoritative possible.

* * *

Did the coal-owners' "victory" of last year stabilize the industry, and solve the crisis for the capitalists?

No, the industrial crisis has been intensified by the wage reductions and longer working hours. Coal is being marketed at a loss of six pence per ton larger than before; bankers who control most of the coal production admit that their "victory" over the workers did not stabilize even their "investments," as they had expected, but on the contrary, since resumption of work they have lost 25% of their capitalization. The coal crisis is worse than it has ever been before, intensified by the assault on the workers: the "victory" of the owners unsettled the industry more than ever.

* * *

To what extent have the miners suffered from the assaults of the employers?

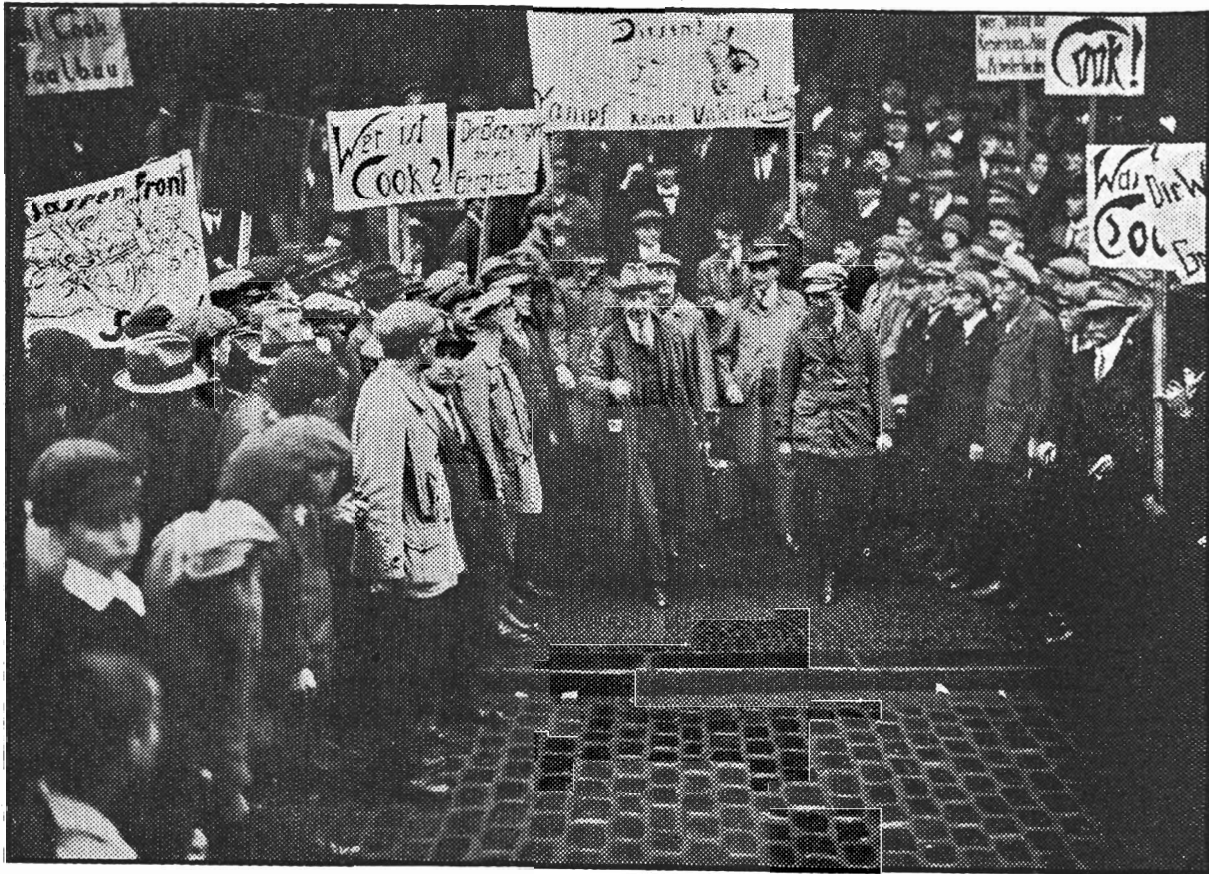
In addition to increasing the working day by one hour, wage cuts brought down earnings per hour by about 20%. Comparing the present position to that of 1913, the miners are today about 40% worse off. Unemployment is constantly growing, so that at the end of September, 1927, the number out of work had increased by 129,345 over 1926; in the whole industry almost 20% are permanently unemployed. Further assaults are being made by taking away unemployment relief; for example, in Durham, in the four months of July to October, while the number of miners employed was further decreased by 2,647 men, at the same time the number receiving relief under the unemployment Insurance Act was cut down by

23,229, which means that in this single district 25,876 unemployed miners were cut off from relief. At the same time those miners who have work receive smaller number of days' work per week; where the former average for Great Britain was five and half days, this had dropped in October this year to four and three quarters days per week, thus further reducing the earnings; the time added onto the day was cut off from the week, showing conclusively that the increase of hours per day was but a method of cutting wages.

* * *

The capitalist press has reported all over the world that the miners have "become sane" and "repudiated the policy of Cook." Is it true that the miners have lost their fighting spirit as a result of the betrayal?

That is a lie. The "policy of Cook" is the policy of the overwhelming mass of miners in the Miners Federation of Great Britain. Of all our thousands of branches, not a single one has ever sent in a resolution of protest against the "policy of Cook"; during July of this year, when all district were selecting by ballot the speakers for miners' celebrations, every district returned Cook at the head of the ballot. In the balloting for miners' representative on the General Council, every district nominated Cook, in place of Smillie who opposed "the policy of Cook." The Scottish miners have just been balloting on officials; Smillie has been their leader for over 35 years, but they voted him down for president this time because of his opposition to "the policy of Cook," electing instead a rank and file miner; the same thing happened with almost every official, including the



COOK WELCOMED BY GERMAN MINERS IN ESSEN.
He is an international figure, honored as a hard fighter.

secretary, Adamson, who opposed a militant policy. Wherever there are elections, the miners are choosing leaders who support a fighting policy. They know that only this fighting policy has prevented conditions from becoming much worse. Today the Miners Federation of Great Britain is more militant, more united, than ever before in its history.

* * *

Has the danger been overcome, that resulted from the reactionary break-away unions ("company and dual unions") started by Spencer et al., and supported by Havelock Wilson and the employers?

The reactionary break-away organizations are already on the wane in spite of the vast sums given by the employers, and the energetic support they received from the miners' enemies. That is because their first function is to negotiate worse conditions for the miners; the employers paid for them, in order to secure a cut in wages at once, and insist upon their pound of flesh immediately. As a result the most ignorant worker cannot help but know them for what they are, agents of the coal-owners.

But, of course, the failure of Spencer and Havelock Wilson does not end the danger; the strongest section of the reactionaries among the miners' officials has not yet gone with Spencer but remained in the union. Now when the members are beginning to vote them out of office, they are openly threatening a new splitting movement. They receive powerful support in these threats from McDonald and other leaders of the right wing of the Labor Party, and in the General Council. The miners are prepared to smash even more serious break-away movements, however, than that of Spencer and company.

* * *

What connection has the crisis in the American miners' union (U. M. W. A.) with the British situation?

More than two years ago I said the attack on the British miners would be followed by similar attacks all over the world. Events have proved this to be true, especially in America, and in all coal producing countries. The German miners are the only ones who have not suffered wage reduc-

tions, and that is because they had previously (1919 to 1923) been forced far below the world level, and now a reviving left wing movement there is able to force a slight levelling-up movement. The breakdown of American miners' conditions has been hastened and intensified by our defeat; when we were locked out in 1926, I wrote to John L. Lewis five times explaining our policies, on the basis of the necessity of international solidarity to preserve miners' conditions in every country, but the *Mine Workers Journal* in America, instead of publishing my letters, the official statement of policy of our Federation, suppressed them and printed instead the propaganda of our enemies. Doubtless such an attitude has contributed to the present serious situation of the American miners.

* * *

What progress has been made toward establishing a single, consolidated miners' union in Great Britain?

Every district of the Miners Federation of Great Britain is in favor of proceeding away from our present Federation basis and toward a completely consolidated National Union of miners. Plans are being worked out, and I am sure that within a year will be adopted and application begun.

* * *

What are the perspectives of the coming year? Will it be one of "peace," as proclaimed by the newspapers, or will it be a year of struggle?

How can there be peace, when the employers in every industry are pressing a further reduction in wages? Already, the miners in Wales and Durham are faced with demands for new reductions. The same is true in textiles, metal, and even in building. What the employers expect to obtain from the recently projected "peace conference" between Capital and Labor, is not peace but a surrender of the trade unions to these wage cuts without any effective resistance. That is not peace. While they expect to bind the trade unions, through the General Council, the employers will themselves be bound to nothing. I have therefore publicly opposed this so-called peace conference, because I am sure nothing can come of it but disappointment for the workers and disillusionment for the public. I foresee a year of conflict, for which the trade unions must be adequately prepared.

* * *

Will the Labor Movement as a whole find the necessary leadership in the General Council and Labor Party?

No; the leadership is swinging sharply to the right under MacDonald, Thomas, Clynes, et al. The so-called peace conference policy is paralleled by the movement toward a coalition with Lloyd George in the next Government. This would suit the right wing leaders far better than a Labor majority, of which they are afraid. The right wing, which is in control, knows that such a coalition means a split in the Labor Party, but they do not shrink from such a split; they are driving straight for it. They do not want a Labor Party, but rather a liberal party with themselves at the head, "emancipated" from control by the trade unions. Out of this split being prepared by the right wing leaders, I look for the emergence of a strong left wing Labor Party, which will include the Communists, based upon and controlled by the trade unions, which will unify the working class opposition to the MacDonald-Lloyd George coalition and give the necessary leadership to the British class in the coming critical struggles.

* * *

In what direction do the masses of workers develop?

The masses in Britain are moving to the left. Every sign points in this direction. We of the left wing base ourselves entirely upon the masses. The right wing leaders, on the contrary, are removing themselves ever farther from the masses. We welcome balloting by the membership for all offices; the right wing avoids all balloting with great fear, because they are coming out always at the small end. Only recently, for example, the South Wales miners returned Arthur Horner, nationally known as a Communist, at the head of the ballot. Why should the left wing be afraid of elections? It is the right wing which fights against the masses. I am making an offer to all my right wing critics among the officials of our Federation, a New Year's offer which I repeat periodically, and in which every left winger in Britain will gladly join me, to go to the masses for a new ballot for all officers, left wing and right wing, and see who really does represent the British working class. My offer will not be accepted. The right wing knows, just as well as I do, that a general balloting in the British trade unions would almost completely wipe out the reactionary leadership. The left wing represents the historical development of the labor movement today.

(Interview by Earl Browder, representing Labor Unity. London, Dec. 23, 1927.)



Red Guards of Canton, part of the armed defense corps of the Railway Federation, in front of their fortified headquarters.

The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Congress and International Labor Unity—By Tom Mann

IT IS a great step forward that there now exists a Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, that will undoubtedly in time link up with the trade union movement of the Western world. Since my return to England, after my visit to China, I have frequently reported upon the work of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference held at Hankow, and all our people are well pleased with the same and sincerely hope that the next Pan-Pacific Trade Union Congress will be on a much larger scale, although to have had representatives at the Hankow Conference from fourteen million workers was in itself a great success.

I have reported upon my visit to China as one of the International Workers Delegation on many occasions since my return to England some months ago. Only the night before writing this article I was lecturing on this subject at Woolwich before an audience chiefly composed of workers from the Royal Arsenal; at the close of my address they put many questions to me, all of them of a sympathetic character, and they showed the keenest interest in the Chinese situation, and the most emphatic protests were made against the Imperialist powers. All agreed that not only should the forces be withdrawn but also that the concessions and all territorial areas should be given up and all special privileges claimed by the British that operate unjustly to China should be abrogated, and it was resolved to work in this direction.

Much interest is also taken in the report of the Korean delegate to the Pan-Pacific Conference and indignation expressed at

the treatment meted out to the Korean workers by the imperialists of Japan. We sincerely hope that the trade union movement will rapidly grow in Japan and in all its colonies and dependencies and it seems to us that the Pan-Pacific movement is exactly the movement that should prove to be of help.

The militants of Britain are conscious of the terrible responsibility resting upon us in regard to India. Over 300,000,000 people in British India alone—and the conditions of work so awful that it makes the blood boil in the veins of a decent man who realizes that such enslavement is imposed in the name of this country (England) when it is the policy of the same ruthless exploiters that are at the same time systematically robbing the workers of England. We of the National Minority Movement at any rate have no hesitation in taking our stand openly and firmly against all such capitalist robbery, be it in the West or the East.

It will doubtless be of interest to state what the position is as regards the labor movement in Great Britain, and I regret I cannot report cheerfully as to the mass of the trade unionists in so far as the decisions of the Trade Union Congress are concerned. In several important directions the congress was reactionary: it was lacking in militancy; it declared in favor of industrial peace, meaning thereby a readiness to collaborate with the employers which can only be on the basis of perpetuating capitalism, and even to this overture which was received with great acclaim by the whole of the capitalist press there was no immediate response by any body

of employers. [Ed. Note:—A class collaboration conference has started since Mann's article was written.]

It is pitiable in the extreme that such feebleness should be shown by the spokesmen of the trade unions following upon the extremely savage trade union act recently carried by the government on behalf of the capitalists, and even so, neither the government nor any capitalist organization shows them the least concern until even the secretary of the General Council of Trade Unions publicly lamented this in a speech reported October 20, in the Daily Herald, the moderate labor paper, as the following excerpt shows:

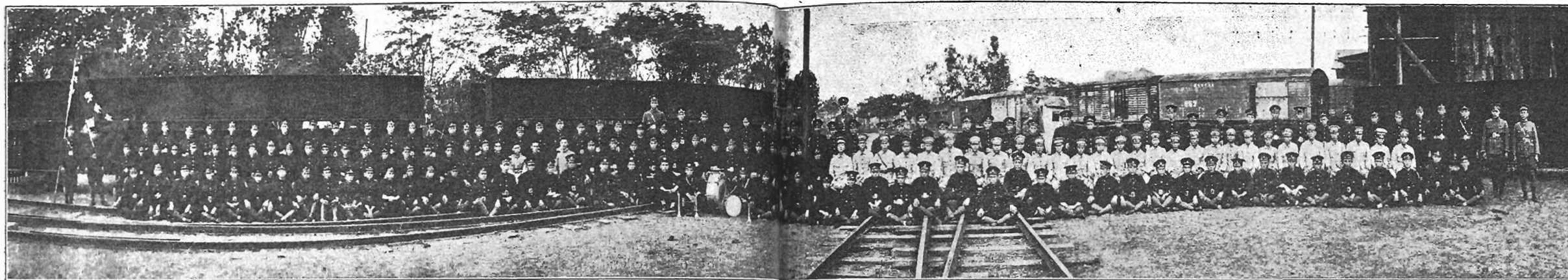
"The trade unions believed that they could make a constructive contribution to industry, but how had their statement at Congress been responded to?"

"There had been no declaration whatever from those organizations which were able to speak authoritatively for the employers."

"The National Confederation of Employers' Organizations and the Federation of British Industries had been significantly silent." (Emphasis as in Daily Herald).

The Trades Union Congress not only made this imbecile overture to the capitalists but followed it up by declaring emphatically against any recognition of the National Minority Movement, on lines precisely analogous to those of the capitalist press, and following instructions given to them by that press. There is no need for me to go into the peculiar methods of the election and selection of delegates to the congress, which admits of the permanent officials of the unions regularly appearing as delegates to the congress to

Tom Mann is one of the veteran figures in the class war of Great Britain. Advancing age has so far failed to cool his ardor that whereas when younger he successfully struggled for a "New Unionism" to transfer British unions from policies similar to those at present advocated by the ruling bureaucracy in the A. F. of L., and make them real fighting organs of the workers, he now carries on this battle on a world-wide scale. He was one of the workers' delegation, which this spring traversed all Central China, studying the nationalist and social revolutions there, and participated in the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference. He is again in England, still active in the minority, or left wing, movement, and in the present article he reports on both the English labor situation and that in colonial countries.



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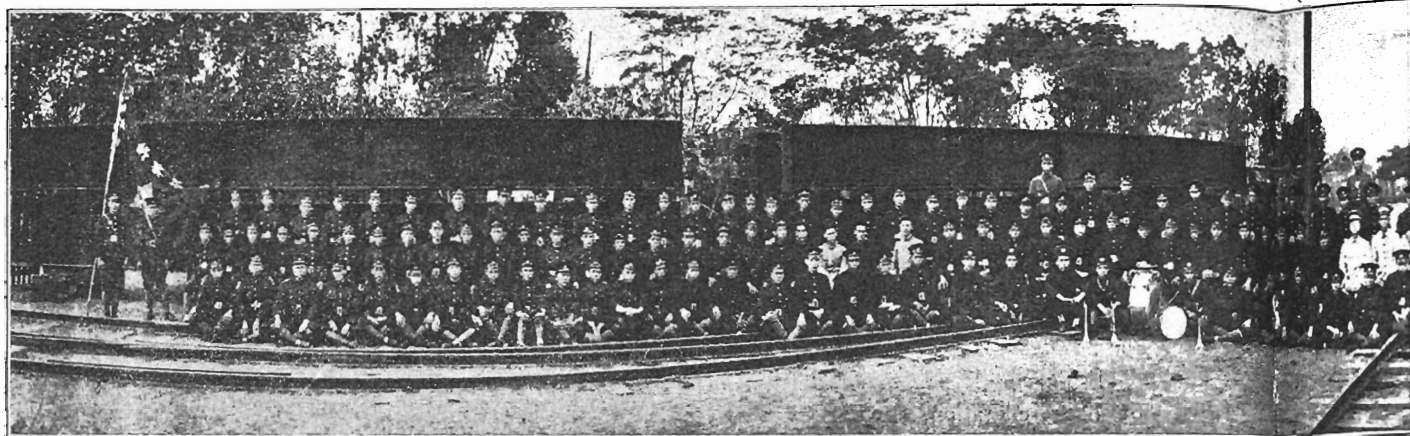
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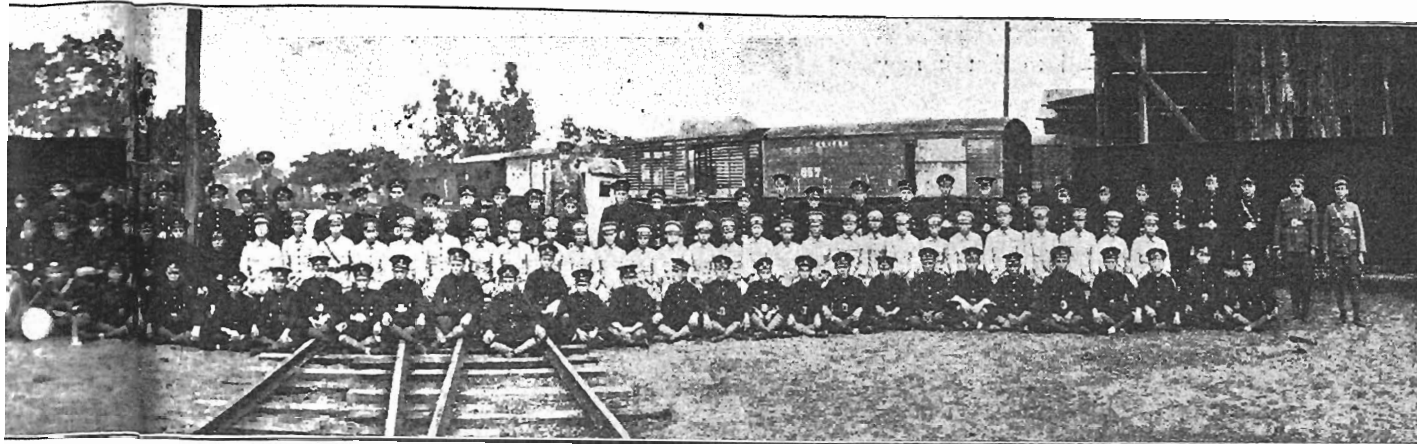
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It will doubtless be of interest to state what the Pan-Pacific Congress regards the labor movement in Great Britain, and we report cheerfully as to the mass of the trade unionists and the decisions of the Trade Union Congress, which are clear and in general important directions. The Congress was remarkably lacking in militancy; it declared in favor of industrial action thereby a readiness to collaborate with the capitalist system can only be on the basis of perpetuating capitalist rule. The overture which was received with great acclaim from the capitalist press there was no immediate response

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Members of the Railway Federation, in front of their fortified headquarters.

Press an International Labor Unity—By Tom Mann

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there was immediate response by any body

of employers. [Ed. Note:—A class collaboration conference has started since Mann's article was written.]

It is pitiable in the extreme that such feebleness should be shown by the spokesmen of the trade unions following upon the extremely savage trade union act recently carried by the government on behalf of the capitalists, and even so, neither the government nor any capitalist organization shows them the least concern until even the secretary of the General Council of Trade Unions publicly lamented this in a speech reported October 20, in the Daily Herald, the moderate labor paper, as the following excerpt shows:

"The trade unions believed that they could make a constructive contribution to industry, but how had their statement at Congress been responded to?"

"There had been no declaration whatever from those organizations which were able to speak authoritatively for the employers."

"The National Confederation of Employers' Organizations and the Federation of British Industries had been significantly silent." (Emphasis as in Daily Herald).

The Trades Union Congress not only made this imbecile overture to the capitalists but followed it up by declaring emphatically against any recognition of the National Minority Movement, on lines precisely analagous to those of the capitalist press, and following instructions given to them by that press. There is no need for me to go into the peculiar methods of the election and selection of delegates to the congress, which admits of the permanent officials of the unions regularly appearing as delegates to the congress to

Great Britain Advancing age has so far failed to cool his ardor that whereas when younger
h unions in policies similar to those at present advocated by the ruling bureaucracy in
, he now ries on this battle on a world-wide scale. He was one of the workers' dele-
national and social revolutions there, and participated in the Pan-Pacific Trade Union
, or left g, movement, and in the present article he reports on both the English labor
on and in colonial countries.

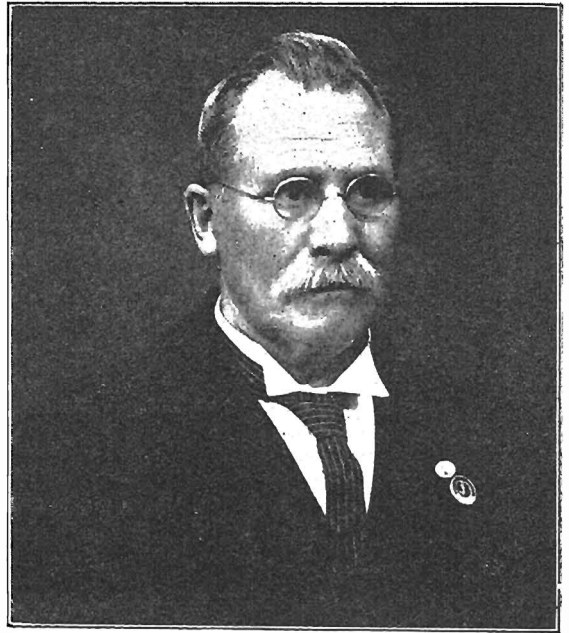
the exclusion of any new blood or new ideas, but to such an extent is this resorted to that it may safely be said that the delegates to the congress and particularly those that get the floor of the congress with official assistance do not in any genuine sense represent the up-to-date views of the rank and file members but deliberately and knowingly frustrate attempts to give voice to the rapidly growing revolutionary views of the rank and file.

If ever militancy was required on the part of the unions in Britain now surely is the time. In face of the fact that the miners were working quietly if not contentedly in the early part of last year, and the mine owners of that time were receiving profits admitted to be not less than 13,000,000 pounds per year, and another 6,000,000 pounds (one pound is \$4.86) was going each year to royalty receivers, still the owners demanded of the men that instead of the seven-hour day they must work eight hours a day and submit to other methods of wage fixing which meant a serious reduction in wages.

As is well known, after seven months' glorious fight, the miners were beaten by starvation, and the working hours lengthened, and the wages reduced. The conditions of the miners are appallingly bad and rapidly going from bad to worse. So very serious is the situation that the men in the Rhonda district of South Wales, where there is a large percentage of unemployment decided to *march to London*, a distance of 180 miles, to be received by an all-London working class demonstration, to arouse public feeling concerning the appalling condition of the miners and to try and obtain interviews with the responsible ministers of the government to urge upon them the absolute necessity for governmental action to redress the evils that now engulf them.

The mine owners are exhibiting the most callous behavior; it is well known and admitted that there are now more than a quarter of a million of miners out of work and still no action of any kind is taken to improve conditions, but they are still crying for further reductions in wages, and the situation in County Durham is particularly bad.

In view of such conditions the National Miners' Movement declares that it is a crime against the people to talk of further compromising with the boss class, and we further declare for prompt action to unify the movement for real militancy, the recognition that nothing can be obtained by collaboration with bosses, aiming all the time at one hundred per cent in the unions, eliminating all sec-



TOM MANN

tional unions by amalgamation having one union only for each industry, recognizing that sectional strikes are useless and the general strike alone must be resorted to.

For myself, I attach the greatest importance to the reduction of working hours; it is the safest of all plans for the workers to secure some share in the increasing powers of production and it is certainly the most urgent need of all Eastern workers whose hours of work are generally at least four hours a day longer than those of the Western countries.

Certain it is that we cannot secure an international reduction of working hours unless we have an international organization sensing correctly the situation in the various countries and capable of organizing the campaign scientifically. I would urge the advisability of a propagandist campaign beginning without further delay, and if this is directed by the Red International of Labor Unions, I feel confident that good results would speedily follow. All the time and everywhere our eyes are on the ultimate objective, viz: such capable organizing ability on the part of the workers as would warrant our entering on the final struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the complete control of all work by the workers, involving the abolition of all exploitation and conducting all industry on the basis of production for use, and not for profit.

ALL over the world the workers are holding meetings to commemorate the day of the death of Lenin, the greatest labor leader and strategist of the working class for improvement of its conditions and the most eloquent advocate of ultimate control of the entire machinery of production by the workers who make it to function. For Lenin's eloquence was a matter of judgment and deeds, not one merely of words. His most obvious monument, at present, is free Russia, and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, made up of the peoples now autonomous and self-governing, who were once conquered by the Czars. In that union of republics, founded under his direction, the workers rule, own the tools of production, and take the fruits of their labor for themselves. Those who meet on Lenin Day, to honor his memory, do so because they hope to carry on the fight in which he was a successful and courageous commander. They meet to challenge the domination of a parasite class of owners who do not work and live by extortion from the workers.



“These Are Our Railroads”

By CARL HESSLER

Secretary Treasurer of the Federated Press and Member of
Workers' Delegation to Soviet Russia, Autumn, 1927

“I READ most of what is written about Russia and I talk to quite a few of the people who have come back from there,” says an eminent American progressive, “and I have a pretty good idea of how things are going even though I haven't been there.”

In many respects this attitude is valid but in the most important aspect of the new Russia it entirely misses the point. No shelves of books and periodical articles, no succession of interviews with returned travelers and investigators can convey the foundation of the new order, firmly grounded in the hearts of the Russian people.

YOU OUGHT TO SEE IT

To sense this one must go to the Soviet Union, not read about it or get the spirit second-hand in other ways. And having gone, it speedily becomes evident that seeing is believing. The workers' republic will last because it has secure psychological as well as material foundations. The educational spade work has been well done and is already bearing fruit.

The principal psychological fruit is the feeling of power possessed by the Russian worker, especially the youth, as he talks to a foreigner about the present and future of the country.

“OUR INDUSTRIES”

“These are our railroads, our factories, our country,” he will proclaim in a speech of greeting at his way station as the train stops for dinner. “We run them and improve them because they are ours. We will make them constantly better and strengthen Socialism year by year.”

One gets the vivid impression that nobody had better monkey with this deep-felt communal ownership. There might be sharp words backed up by the rifles now used in target practise if that feeling were to be outraged in any way.

Similarly striking is the note of confident progress everywhere sounded, not only in Moscow but thousands of miles away. It sometimes takes forms that seem ridiculous to the American listener but only if he understands merely their literal meaning. As when a union business agent from the west coast promised the Baku workers at their club that he would tell America the truth about the Soviet Union though the government put him in jail for it.

“Don't worry, comrade,” was the refrain sounded by all the remaining local speakers. “Tell exactly what you saw and if you get in jail let us know and we will help you out.”

PROGRESS PROMISED

"Come back in a few years," we were constantly told, "and see what immense progress will have been made. American technic can be learned by us and under our better social system we will eventually outstrip you in production and leave you far behind in general happiness."

There can be hardly any contradiction of that position. The lines of Socialist advance are plain to see. The remaining fringes of capitalism are comparatively forlorn tatters. Banks, the citadels of capitalism in America and western Europe, are government institutions in the Soviet Union. The stock and bond market is non-existent except for direct purchase of government bonds in which private capitalism on an organized scale does not enter. The parasitic hordes of real estate men, insurance agents, get-rich-quick stock salesmen that clutter capitalist productive channels and poison the social outlook of western workers are missing in Russia. The emphasis is on useful work. The able-bodied man or woman not willing to work is an outcast.

These are of course commonplaces of returned observers. Yet they reveal the center of that new spirit that is the most reassuring factor in the Russian situation. All talk of a return to capitalism, taken seriously by long-distance experts who have not breathed the soviet air, looks ludicrous in the midst of a Russian railway workers' meeting or in chance conversation with man, woman or youth in front of a movie theater or in a street car.

ALL ARE CONFIDENT

The surging confidence of a bright future along Socialist lines is not confined to the new generation that has come under the influence of the Communist gospel in school and club and army. It penetrates older strata of workers and even sections of the former middle class.

One morning in Baku I encountered by chance two elderly women who had been comfortably placed housewives under the old order, one the wife of a steamboat captain on the Caspian Sea, the other of a technician in the oil industry. They had lost their homes and their bank accounts through the revolution. Instead of living in 7 room they had to live in one, sharing the bathroom and kitchen with the other families to whom the superfluous rooms had been allotted. Now living conditions had bettered somewhat, due to the enormous house construction undertaken in the oil country and the efficient management of the industry by the soviet engineers.

Each of these women, now widows, could have retired under soviet regulations on a small pension. Yet one of them at 73 has revived her girlhood training as a highly skilled midwife and the other, at 67, her education as a kindergarten teacher. As we talked in German they told of their life and present occupation. Conditions are incredibly better for the workers, they agreed, and the spirit of the country as well as their own desires had led the two women to continue working. Activity is better than idleness, one of them said, particularly when one's work is for the benefit of all.

A NEW CO-OPERATION

In considerable measure this spirit has been awakened by the trade union organization with its more than 10,000,000 members. Here again superficial observers report that the Baltimore & Ohio co-operative plan is in effect in the soviet industries. There is enough truth in this to make it seem plausible without further examination. The unions do make every effort to co-operate with managements in increasing production and heightening efficiency. They try to eliminate waste and they keep an eye on the occasional fellow who wants to loaf or sabotage. They present suggestions to the management and many of these are adopted.

But the underlying motive is as different as can be imagined from conditions prevailing in B. & O. plan shops in America. In our country all the co-operative effort runs along a one-way channel toward the profit vaults of the boss, that is, the parasitic stockholders of the road who never do any work on the property and in many cases never even see it. The most that can be said for the plan from the standpoint of the American worker is that his particular job is somewhat more secure as a result of his speeding up than it was before the plan went into effect on the railroad where he is employed. Where wages on "B. & O. plan" roads have gone up it is in response to wage boosts on other roads. This is statistically demonstrable.

NO PARASITES

The Russian worker, interested in making his factory or railroad more productive and efficient, knows that there are no private stockholders, no parasitic beneficiaries of his exertions. If his factory produces more than its allotted quota under the government plan for the year, part of the benefit goes direct to him and his fellows in that plant either in wage bonuses or in better conditions. Thus any industry will be put on a 7-hour basis as soon as productive conditions warrant. This

means that when with the help of modern machinery the present 8-hour output can be achieved in 7 hours, the shorter shift will be inaugurated but with 8-hour pay for the 7 hours. This will not be difficult as the Russian worker, though less productive at present than his American comrade, has shown that there is no innate obstacle to greater per capita output when the proper conditions are there.

These conditions are being provided by his unions. Pride in technical skill and speed, interest in putting the country on a socialized industrial basis, emulation in doing as much and more as the next fellow for the general good, response to the deep-lying communal spirit in him, knowledge that his increased efforts will not pamper undeserving idlers—all these motives are skillfully touched by the trade union machinery. It should perhaps properly be called union-management co-operation. It is real co-operation, with the management simply another function, some steps removed, of the worker in his capacity as administrator of the publicly owned industries.

THE AMERICAN "PEACE"

But in that case we should cease to call the American brand co-operation. As A. J. Muste of

Brookwood Labor College writes in the *January Labor Age*: "All the co-operation has been on one side. In other words, there is no co-operation. Both sides talk peace, but only labor has practised any. . . . If now with one hand such a road as the Baltimore & Ohio talks of peace and co-operation with labor . . . and with the other hand joins with the most notorious and bitter anti-union road in the country (the Pennsylvania) to deal a death blow to the whole labor movement, are we to continue to speak of enmity and treason such as this as co-operation?"

Such murderous frauds do not flourish in Russia and in consequence the labor movement there is not poisoned by treacherous slogans. That probably is one of the reasons why the traveler through the Soviet Union finds that at last he has come to a country where the workers do not face life in despair and bitterness as in the rest of Europe. Instead, the note is that of well-grounded optimism, a mighty confidence that the workers' republic is there to flourish and develop into an irresistible example to workers in all other lands.

This gives an unusually keen edge to the frequent question put to the American visitor by the Russian worker: "When will the American workers build a workers' republic?"

A Review of Events

(By M. S.)

THE Pennsylvania-Ohio-West Virginia miners' strike continues to hold the center of the labor stage. All of the enemies and forces of the coal operators are being brought to bear against the strikers so that this end may be attained. Evictions affecting tens of thousands of workers have already taken place. The vicious cossack forces of the state ride brutally through every remnant of a pretense to the "civil

The Big Coal Strike

liberties of the workers. The kept courts are delivering telling blows with the injunction mace. Judge Schoonmaker in Pittsburgh handed down an injunction that ranks ahead even of the infamous Wilkerson shopmen's strike injunction in 1922. It "regulates" picketing, prevents the union from fighting evictions, and surety companies from acting as miners' bondsmen. In Indiana County, Judge Langham has granted an injunction to the Clearfield Bituminous Coal and Lake Company, of which Governor Fisher is a director, which enjoins miners from speaking to scabs about the strike, posting strike notice signs, and singing songs when the scabs go to work! In West Virginia, another accommodating justice outlawed the union. These are a few samples taken from scores of similar injunctions.

The strikers are experiencing misery and suffering on an incredible scale. But the Lewis-Green machine remains philosophically imperturbable. The "relief" measures that they have undertaken are a criminal joke. No substantial effort has been made by them to mobilize the entire labor movement in what is tantamount to a life and death struggle. A few miserable tens of thousands of dollars have thus far been gathered by the bureaucrats. The fight against the injunction monster is being conducted with paper spitballs instead of with the mobilization of all available forces for mass violation. The November conference of labor officials in Pittsburgh to consider the situation could find nothing better to do than to unseat the rank and file delegates, denounce the militants, boost the political stock of the charlatan ex-Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania, who is to run against Senator Reed in the next Republican primaries, and propose to present petitions to Governor Fisher (himself a director of the Clearfield Bituminous Coal Co.) and President Coolidge. Another meeting, two weeks ago, of union bureaucrats did nothing. A meeting of delegates from local unions of District 5, held at the same time, made important decisions and is described elsewhere in this magazine.

Textile companies in Augusta, Biddeford, Lewiston and other Maine cities have made a flat reduction in wages of 10 per cent. The Amoskeag Mills in New England, with perfect Christ-mas taste and tact, announced a 10 per cent wage reduction effective December 24. One company alone, the Pepperell Mills, involves 3,500 workers. The textile slaves in Maine are asking that union organizers be sent there to organize their resistance.

* * *

Among the outstanding events in the labor movement of New York has been the struggle of the Interborough Rapid Transit Co. and its employees. **The I. R. T. and Its Men** After having made a lot of bluster and bluff about their defiant intentions to organize the sharply exploited traction workers, Coleman, Shea and Mahon, the bosses of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, have laid the basis for another sell-out. At the last appearance before Supreme Court Justice Wasservogel, on the application by the I. R. T. for an injunction restraining not only the Amalgamated but the entire A. F. of L. from attempting unionization, the representatives of the Amalgamated solemnly pledged themselves not to issue a strike call, or make a similar move, until the hearing on the injunction is held January 23. The joker lies in the "similar move," which means that the campaign to unionize the traction workers will be shelved. In the meantime, the stubborn brain of Hedley controlling I. R. T. policies continues to work out plans so that in the event of a strike there will be enough scabs to run the trains. He is training unskilled workers to act as mortormen to replace any of the regular men who may strike.

* * *

Some of the Amalgamated officials are having a tough time of it, too. Take the president, William Mahon, who has been commuting between Chicago and New York in a frenzied effort to prevent a traction strike in either city. The Chicago carmen demand a 15 cents per hour increase in wages, sick benefit at \$20 per week; life insurance at \$1,000 per man at company expense. The executives of both the elevated and surface lines, under pressure from the rank and file, voted for a strike. The membership meeting, which would have voted overwhelmingly for such action, was called off by Mahon, who believes that "arbitration" is an unmixed blessing. The rumors are that Mayor Thompson, hero in the recent war of the books, would sit in as the arbitrator. Thompson's pro-labor record allows us to predict with confidence that in any settlement he would outdo his New York colleague for outright knifing of the workers' interests. Both Mahon and Thompson will undoubtedly have expert assistance. Judge Wilkerson, the deathless hero of the shopmen's strike injunction, who is now receiver of the Chicago car lines, is announced as anxious and ready to issue an injunction to prevent the continued activity of the progressives in the Chicago carmen's union, who are revealing persistently the evil role of William Mahon & Co.

One of the most vicious decisions recently handed down in the anti-labor injunction epidemic was that of the New York Judge Erlanger, who endorsed the recommendation of Referee Murray Hulbert in the hearing at which the left wing officials of the Joint Board of the Cloak and Dress Makers were accused of violating the anti-picketing injunction. Eighteen defendants were fined \$250 each, and court costs, and the union must pay \$10,000 damages to the Dress Manufacturers Association, a total therefore of \$17,000. Morris Sigman, the president of the I. L. G. W. U. who heads the wrecking crew which has split the union, very obligingly testified that the workers had broken the injunction. Such fidelity to the interests of the bosses should be rewarded by something better than a *Jewish Daily Forward's* pension.

In the meantime, the left wingers have announced that they intend to fight the injunction and the Erlanger decision to the bitter end. The Erlanger decision will be appealed to higher courts.

* * *

A signal victory was won by the labor movement in the acquittal of Calogero Greco and Donato Carillo, two anti-fascist workers who were charged with killing a couple of fascists last Decoration Day. The "case" against them was altogether too thin. The efforts of the American fascists, together with the prosecution, to put through the frame-up were unsuccessful not because of the sweet impartiality and justice of the courts, but because of the vigilance and prompt action by progressives workers. Much credit is due to the International Labor Defense, which proved again its invaluable place in the labor movement, by the readiness with which it took up the case and organized the publicity and agitation movement in behalf of Greco and Carillo. Needless to say that if no movement had been organized for them, the fascist assassins would have been able to accomplish their ends which culminate in the death chair that burned Sacco and Vanzetti.

* * *

The elections in the New York Painters' District Council 9 resulted in the same defeat for the progressives that occurred in the last miners' union election. The opposition to the machine, organized in the Inter-Local Committee, had a ticket in the election which actually secured a majority but their votes were counted out, there were numerous repeaters, and non-members voted for the old machine. The count was so raw that the opposition watchers refused to sign the tally sheets. Pete Rothman, progressive candidate for day secretary, was given 2,833 votes despite the steal, while the machine candidate, David Schapiro, was given 3,175 votes. The Inter-Local Committee raised the slogan of a fight against corruption in the union, which came to a head recently in the case of Philip Zausner, former district council secretary. Zausner, who was, by the way, one of the sweethearts and paragons of the yellow Socialist Party which ardently defended him to the end, was exposed as a high-class grafter. He had cleaned up anywhere from \$100,000 to \$200,000.

History Repeats For The Traction Workers

By ROBERT MITCHELL

THE outstanding events which in early American labor history have already once appeared as tragedy are reappearing in modern times as the lightest farce. The bloody struggles of the eighties on the railroads and in the factories are seen in strange counterparts in the present farcical injunction "battles in the newspapers and in the courts.

And to carry the borrowed figure a step further, it is important to point out that the substance of the labor martyrs of that earlier period is reflected as the faintest shadow in the labor misleaders of today. Surrender itself, as has been well pointed out, may be elevated to a system, then praised and exalted by its makers.

Yet his surrender by the labor officialdom is due soon to liquidate itself. The bureaucratic officialdom has come to the parting of the ways. In New York city within a few weeks the officers of the American Federation of Labor will be forced to choose between roads which lead, one to some measure of struggle, the other to rapid and final surrender.

QUARTER CENTURY STRUGGLE

The history of the New York traction workers' struggles for trade union status goes back for nearly twenty-five years. The record of their repeated strikes and attempts at organization has running through it like a red thread the lesson of a single blighting influence which has eaten out the heart of their developing mass power.

This blighting influence has served not only to prevent the creation of energy necessary for organization but it has in at least three instances destroyed powerful organizations already in existence.

For it should be understood that at various times practically all of the New York traction workers have been unionized. As early as 1905 nearly all of the Interborough workers were organized in locals affiliated with two of the most powerful international bodies in the country, the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes of America and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

In 1905 a strike took place. A few months thereafter not a semblance of organization remained.

Draw the curtain from before a certain meeting of the National Civic Federation, then in its budding infancy. You will not, of course, be sur-

prised to see before you the regular collection of open shoppers, the 57 varieties of union busters and labor exploiters forming the right wing of this auagust body. As its left wing you may be startled to find old Sammy Gompers, not so aged in those days. Beside him sits Wm. D. Mahon, president of the Amalgamated; Warren S. Stone, president of the B. of L. E.; Frank Duffy, vice-president of the A. F. of L., and many other labor lights.

BANKER AND CIVIC FEDERATIONIST

Who was then president of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company? None other than August Belmont, millionaire banker, and president at the same time, of the National Civic Federation!

In the fertile brains of Belmont and his assistants there had already been worked out the plan for breaking the existing unions on their road. Quietly but determinedly the railroad began violating the conditions of the existing agreement. At the same time its president was paving the way for the support of the officials of the international unions.

Belmont was then planning his regular yearly vacation to Florida. The rising current of resentment of the workers on the road was a bit disturbing to the banker. So he spoke to the labor officials about his concerns:

"You need not hesitate to go away on your vacation, Mr. Belmont," Warren S. Stone assured him; "if any disagreement arises between the management of the road and the local committee of the workers, it will be referred to you and me. If we cannot agree, we will refer the dispute to an arbitration committee of six, each of us selecting three."

To which Mr. Belmont replied: "All right, Mr. Stone, and if we get to that point, you can name all six of them."

When the workers, no longer able to endure the continued provocations of the railroad masters, went out on strike on March 7, 1905, Belmont sent for the men who had assured him that no strike would occur. These labor officials could not prevent what had already taken place but they did

the next best thing: They imported strike breakers and put down the strike of their own men!

VERBAL AGREEMENT

For more than ten years the workers of the traction lines paid the penalty of this betrayal without a renewal of any attempt at organization. But in 1916, like a long-dammed-in flood, a wave of organization sentiment suddenly broke through the walls which the traction interests had set up to restrain it, and within a week's time thousands of workers had massed into a militant organization.

Accepting the inevitable the Interborough again began dealing with a labor union. The company conceded every demand made by the workers: recognition, increases in pay, improved working conditions. But forgetting the experience of a decade before, the men entrusted to the Amalgamated officials the task of making the victory secure.

Meeting with the officials of the Interborough under the auspices of the mayor of the city, Mitchell, the leaders of the Amalgamated worked out an agreement with the company. The agreement was verbal!

They did more than this. They promised the mayor, who was obviously there for the purpose, that no strike would be called over the minor issues still pending without first notifying him and securing his consent.

CALLING SCABS

The way thus again prepared, the Interborough began quietly importing strike breakers and making other provisions for a death struggle. For weeks while the workers rebelled and threatened and finally walked out by the hundreds in protest at teaching strike breakers, the officials of the Amalgamated dallied and held back the strike call which alone would have saved the situation.

The mayor had in the meantime departed to the Adirondacks for his vacation. Fitzgerald sought to communicate with him but failed. Later when criticized for the fatal delay the vice-president of the Amalgamated said: "I advised against a strike because I gave my word to Mayor Mitchell that we would give him an opportunity to return from Plattsburg before we took action."

The net result of the heroic struggle in 1916, because of the betrayal by officialdom, was the company union and the "yellow dog" contract which the inspired Ivy Lee promptly instituted on the road.

Again in 1920 the Amalgamated officials liquidated the organization which the B. R. T. work-

ers in 1919 had won through a mass uprising. To recite the details of this equally fateful betrayal would be merely to repeat in other words the substance of what has already been stated. With the time worn stigma of "outlaw" strike, the officials of the Amalgamated and the Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen branded the heroic struggle which the men carried out against the provocation of their masters and finally succeeded in wiping out the successful organization which the workers had built.

It would be more than an illusion if the belief were held that these officials will organize the traction workers. Not a defeatist but a realistic view of the situation forces the conclusion that they will not organize these workers. The past history of over twenty years of traction workers' struggles has emphasized two outstanding facts, one that in every instance the workers themselves have been responsible for the temporary organizations which arose, secondly that the International officials, the moment they took charge of the situation, were successful in liquidating those organizations.

Because these officials are inextricably bound up with the Tammany machine, in turn controlled by the traction interests of the city, their efforts during the past year have taken them actually ever further from the possibilities of successful organization. At the present moment, for instance, they are under agreement with the city not to carry out any "overt act" pending the decision of the existing injunction application.

Very likely while these words are still on the press a plan will be formulated by which these officials will be let out from the necessity of making some show at fighting the injunction. More likely still, an agreement is being arrived at which in its final consequences will mean the abandonment of the struggle to organize the traction workers.

These officials together with their patrons in the city government and within the offices of the traction companies forget one thing, however. They forget the workers! On four occasions the pent-up mass power of the workers has asserted itself in an uprising of irresistible force. On those occasions it swept aside the resistance of the most powerful open shop interests in the country, their petty officials in the city hall, their hired police and gunmen and their strike breakers.

Such an event will occur for a fifth time!

The Fruit Tramps

By WALT CARMON



While we baked in the hot shade of a loading shed, waiting for cantaloupes to come in from the ranches, the Armenian would often say:

"The Imperial Valley is only fit for rattle-snakes, rag-heads and just plain God-damned fools—like us."

"... and Scissorbills!" the Wobbly would add pointedly. Meaning the Armenian, of course. He wasn't a fruit-tramp. He was only making a stake to get back in the rug business. And he sang snatches from the opera. The Wobby said that made it worse.

If we were not too tired, that's the way the discussions began. Then, about twenty dog-tired fruit tramps would chew the fat about jobs, Janes and Scissorbills. The Wob would always include the Scissorbills. This happened during the day sometimes. Usually at night, however, whenever the flow of the fruit from the ranches would let up.

* * *

Not so many years ago the Imperial Valley, basin of some ancient sea, was a barren desert on which the bones of animals and foolhardy men bleached in the sun. The Colorado River was brought to water the rich slit through irrigation ditches. Now a good deal of it is a garden spot that asks no rain of God. Everything grows here. Including cantaloupes.

At the end of May Mexicans, Filipinos, Hindus and Japanese come to the ranches to pick the fruit from the vines under a blazing sun that brings a heat of 120 degrees in the shade. And there is no shade.

"Them that says there ain't no hell is crazy," the Wob would philosophize. "They never seen this valley."

* * *

Fruit tramps, like actors, travel on a circuit. Cantaloupes in Arizona, Colorado and California, apples in Colorado and the Northwest, lettuce in the Valley in December and January—and cantaloupes again in the Valley from May until July.

Some of the fruit tramps would get in few weeks ahead to nail crates which they packed with golden fruit when the season opened. They were the aristocrats of this labor. They lived in a

lean-to or tent on a ranch. The water is usually terrible. The food is no better. The hours are all the hours of the day and night. But they get better wages. They were always going to make the stake that would enable them to "get out of this God-damned game."

In the shipping sheds from Calipatria to Cal-exico on the border, we sweated to ship the fruit to the East. The Wob was funny too.

"The reason you can't prove your ancestors ain't been monkeys," he would say sarcastically, "is because the boss has sweat your tail off."

That might have been true too. We sure sweat. No common perspiration in this business. From early morn until night we were wringing wet.

* * *

Usually the day began at nine. About that time the first fruit came in from the ranches. At daylight the pickers, sacks on their backs, began their work that was broken only at mid-day by the broiling sun. The packers got going soon after. About nine the first truckloads backed into the sheds and then all hell broke loose.

The checkers took the count. The truckers slipped the stacked crates onto their hand trucks and trundled them into refrigerator cars that stood on the tracks alongside the sheds.

By noon the rumble of the trucks on the rickety flooring sounded like thunder gone wild. "Take 'em away," the checker would shout, aftener as the morning wore on. "Take 'em away!" and the trucks thundered in a steady monotonous rumble into the waiting reefers.

In the cars, the loaders were cursing by noon. By this time the heat waves flickered in an atmosphere of 120 degrees and more in the sun. The iced insider of the reefer, struck by the terrific heat, was clammy and sickening. The loader stacked the crates with increasing viciousness. He cursed as he laid the wooden strips between layers of cantaloupe crates. He cursed the damn truckers and the God-damned heat. He nailed the braces in the center of the car to prevent a smash-up on the road. He cursed the last nail and he brought his braces and nails into another car to start the job of cursing all over again.

* * *

At noon the heat was unbearable. The Valley was an oven in which the melons ripened and the

fruit tramps baked. The pickers came in to seek the shade. The packers slowed up soon after. Finally the loading shed came to a standstill.

There was a crude shower rigged up on the platform. The pipes were exposed to the sun. The first tramp under was often scalded. The water came steaming hot in the first rush from the heated piping. As it gradually cooled, the half naked truckers and loaders sought relief for their burning bodies in a stream of water that was never cold.

A walk from the shed to the lunch counter brought neither rest nor relief. At high noon in the shadeless streets the heat pulls the skin taut across your cheek bones like the hide on a drum. You gasp when it first hits you. Like the heat from a quickly opened furnace door in a stoke hole.

The oppressive heat dulls your mind and keeps your tongue behind your teeth. The Armenian was quiet. The Wobbly could only curse occasionally. The fruit tramp was parched like the earth that cracked into crevices. The fruit tramp believes in hell. He works in it.

* * *

The fruit tramp eats in a cheap, hot restaurant "for whites only." The "Native Son" of California keeps in mind the Negro, Mexican, Hindu, Filipino and Japanese who labor under a broiling sun to make the desert bloom.

The fruit tramp is no better. The Californian looks down upon this white brother of the slave with a colored skin. The "good" women will not speak to a lowly fruit tramp. It is enough that they must tolerate this riff-raff that allows them to spend the summer months on the sea shore in comfort. When the cantaloupe season is ended, the Valley is left to unbelievable heat which only the Negro and Hindu slave can bear. The white Californian returns to the Valley in September.

* * *

In the afternoon, slowly at first, the melons again stream in from the ranch. The heat by this time soaked into every living and every thing. The touch of the wood is hot. The fruit is at the point of maturity which will bring it full-ripe to the market.

As the rumble of the trucking and curses grows louder, the shower on the platform is running continuously. Truckers run under with their clothes on. Between carloads the loader brings his dripping self under the momentary comforting

wet. Perspiration and water intermingle to increase the dampness. The fruit comes in, the fruit tramp goes on, far into the night.

* * *

"Fourteen to twenty-four hours every damn day in the week. For six weeks. At sixty cents an hour," the Wobbly begins when he can catch his breath again. "And what the hell for?"

"A stake . . .," from the Armenian.

"A stake!" the answer comes sarcastically. "You're so damn dog tired you need six weeks on the beach to blow your stake in!"

"Or you discover your bones don't ache so much when your skin's full of booze," the Wobbly adds from a full experience.

"And what you don't blow in on booze the women take away from you!"

The Wobbly knows. He's been in the Valley for years. He's seen them booze and he knows what booze can do in that terrific heat. He's seen them go over the border to Mexicali for both booze and women. Many a stake has gone to Mexicali.

Late at night the stream of fruit slows up. Gradually the thunder of the trucks diminishes into spasmodic rumbles like a passing storm. The work-weary fruit tramps lie on the bare floor waiting for laggard loads from the ranch. The oppressive heat of the day has given way to a sultry night. An occasional breeze is a welcome gift that only a fruit tramp can fully appreciate.

If the day has not been too killing the men will talk. About jobs and Janes and Scissorbills.

"Where the hell do we go from here?"

"Hell!" the Wob tells them.

"What do you call this?"

"Hell. But you'll go to another." At this stage of the game the stake has lost some of its glamor. The Wob talks turkey to them now. Later, you may find some of the boys in the Wobbly hall in Los Angeles on the way to the beach.

Some go to Arizona to add to the stake. Sometimes there's a family to keep going. Some go to ripening melons further up in California. The fruit tramp follows the fruit for his living. You'll find him back in the Valley, perhaps, next season. The Wobbly, the Armenian, . . . all of them. All workers.

"Why?" you will ask.

"Well . . .," as the Wob would say, "a job is a job. A little better—a little worse. What the hell's the difference!"

The Crisis in the American Labor Movement

(Continued from page 2)

peace on terms which would make the next attack more certain of success.

In the building trades the Landis award boards and the Board of Jurisdictional Awards were used to kill the old militant policy of the sympathetic strike, building trades councils were split and disrupted.

The tremendous boom in building now no longer evident, made it impossible for the bosses to reap the full benefit of their campaign but the morale of the building trades unions was sapped.

The Baltimore and Ohio plan with its class co-operation and efficiency unionism provisions, and the legalization of this scheme in the Watson-Parker bill, followed the defeat of the shop craft unions.

These unions that in 1922 had endorsed a labor party and amalgamation became instruments of capitalist production.

In 1924 the signing of the Jacksonville agreement between the coal operators and the United Mine Workers was in reality the beginning of a new drive on this union—the same drive that is now in progress but with a different immediate objective.

When John L. Lewis agreed with the coal barons that 200,000 miners were to be driven from the industry and smaller mines frozen out, he delivered the miners to their enemies.

The war on the militant miners, the refusal to enforce the agreement, the expulsion of loyal fighters like Howat, the sabotage of organization campaigns in non-union territory, the abolition of provisions for rank and file expression—preceded by the black betrayal of the Fayette County miners in 1922—all weakened the position of the union and lowered its morale.

Then came the Lewis offer of separate agreements, arbitration and efficiency unionism—a B. and O. plan for the mining industry.

But only in Illinois did the coal operators accept the Lewis proposals—and there only to use the temporary agreement as they had used the Jacksonville agreement—to weaken the union still more.

In other sections the attack continues with added viciousness.

So far we have been dealing mainly with the strategy and tactics of the capitalists. Enough has

been said to show that the labor movement faces a fight for its life.

Now we pass the strategy and tactics of the official leadership. Its policy has been, and still is, a policy of continual retreat ending in surrender.

In all of the six years since 1922 labor officialdom has not sounded a single militant note. Far worse than this it has taken up the slogan of the capitalists and incorporated them in a "labor" policy the disastrous consequences of which are now apparent.

The capitalist strategy enters its *second phase* as the full extent and consequences of the betrayals by labor officialdom become apparent.

The capitalists no longer strive merely to weaken the unions by class co-operation schemes and modified company unionism, *they are out to destroy the unions and beat down the living standards of the masses all along the line.*

The labor agents of imperialism, the official labor leaders, have done their work of demoralization and corruption so well that, with an industrial depression here, the capitalists' advisers are urging no quarter.

What has happened?

The attack was started against those mass unions where considerable numbers of militant workers are found—railway shopmen, needle trades workers, miners.

The attack of course has not proceeded at the same speed on all fronts—it could not, due to the varying strength of the unions, the diverse economic conditions, the quality of the leadership, the strength of the left wing, etc.

But the general plan has been to demoralize the union by class collaboration and other right wing betrayals such as mass expulsions—and then attack openly.

In the railway shopmen's unions, in the miners' union, in the needle trades, we see the offensive in three different stages. If experience counts for any thing, the railway shopmen will soon be receiving heavier blows.

The capitalists could not have carried out their program to the extent they have, without the enthusiastic co-operation of the official leadership.

This co-operation is extended in four major ways:

1. By the reactionaries splitting the union and acting as strikebreakers and stool pigeons as in the needle trades.

(a) Expulsion of militant workers.

2. By refusal to strengthen the union by bringing in unorganized workers and sabotage of organization campaigns as in the coal mining, automobile, textile and steel industries.

3. By the introduction of efficiency unionism schemes, spreading class peace poison, "more production, more wages," putting forward the theory of "permanent prosperity," etc. (As in the railway shop unions.)

4. By open support of the two political parties of capitalism and war on the labor party.

Nothing here is to be understood as intimating that all these methods may not be used in any one union at the same time. Together they express the policy of the official leadership.

One outstanding result of this policy and one of the chief contributions of the Greens, Wolls and Lewises to the present crisis is the steady decline in union membership since 1921.

Beginning in 1922 and continuing with only short interruptions until the last half of 1927, there has been the highest level of industrial activity in the history of the United States.

The official leadership used this high production level as a basis for its slogan of "permanent prosperity" and its class co-operation and efficiency unionism schemes.

But no workers were organized. On the contrary, when we deduct from the per capita tax membership figures of the A. F. of L. the difference between the 400,000 members credited to the United Mine Workers and the 273,000 claimed by Secretary-Treasurer Kennedy in his report to the last U. M. W. A. convention, we encounter in this one union alone a discrepancy of 127,000 members.

There is every reason to believe that unions like the Electrical Workers who pay per capita on 142,000 members, and the Carpenters, who pay per capita on 360,000 members, are padding their membership in the same proportion for the obvious purposes of getting more votes than they are entitled to in A. F. of L. conventions and for giving the ruling machine a big chance for vote padding in union elections. The swollen membership figures also help to fool the membership into believing that the union is not losing ground.

We can safely deduct, on the basis of the above facts, at least 300,000 from the official A. F. of L.

total of 2,800,000—round figures—leaving 2,500,000.

If we allow the railway brotherhoods, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and other unions outside the A. F. of L., the generous total of 400,000 members, we reach a grand total of 2,900,000—less than 3,000,000 workers organized out of an estimated total of 20,000,000 workers who are certainly not less organizable than those now in unions if a militant campaign is carried on.

Still more destructive to the reputation of "practical trade unionists" which the fat-salaried official leadership has established in certain circles, is the amazing fact that in the period of the greatest industrial activity, lasting for five years, these great leaders have not only made no gains in organizing workers but have actually lost—or driven out—350,000 members.

In 1922 the A. F. of L. claimed 3,150,000 members. Allowing for the usual inflation we will deduct 300,000 from this figure, leaving 2,850,000. We have seen that the actual membership today does not exceed 2,500,000. 350,000 members have left the unions at a time during which any sort of an organization campaign would have doubled the membership.

This is merely a way of delivering the labor movement into the merciless hands of the capitalists—a method of doing the dirty work for the enemies of the working class.

Industrial depression is here and unemployment is increasing at a rapid rate. The "misleaders of labor" will shriek now that organization work can not be successful when industry is slowing down.

But what of the 5½ years of industrial activity when no real attempt was made by these bosses' agents to organize the millions of highly exploited workers in basic industry?

There is no more damning indictment of the Greens, Wolls and Lewises than this.

Unwilling to lead either strikes or organization campaigns and thus incur the displeasure of their masters, the imperialist ruling class, the reactionary labor leadership added to its sabotage of labor struggle an open war on the Communists and left wing workers.

It destroyed whole district union organizations and whole unions (Nova Scotia, Kansas, in the U. M. W. of A.—Furriers, Cloakmakers in the needle trades) rather than permit effective struggle to be carried on against the capitalists.

Thousands of militant workers have been expelled. Writing just a year ago in a pamphlet

called "The Threat to the Labor Movement," I said:

It will also be shown that the main motives which prompt the intensified attack, centering on the left wing, are (1) *the desire of the capitalists to suppress all struggles which interfere with the development of American imperialist prosperity and either destroy the trade unions or force them to a general dead level of docility,* (2) *the desire of the trade union officialdom to force on the unions a policy which will make of them the docile organizations which the capitalists will accept,* (3) the desire of both the capitalists and their labor agents to *drive the most conscious and active left wing workers out of the unions and destroy their influence in the labor movement because they are trying to rally all workers for struggle on a program of immediate and necessary demands.*

Finally, this pamphlet will show that the policy of the trade union officialdom, of which the latest attack on the left wing is a logical result, is based on one phase, and one phase alone, of American capitalist development, i. e., its present temporary upward swing, and that because of this neglect of other fundamental factors, *can bring nothing but disaster to the labor movement.*

The more "successful" this policy is, i. e., the more endorsement it receives from the masses now, *the more disastrous will be the ultimate result.* The left wing therefore fights the battle of the whole working class when it resists to the utmost the new offensive of the combined forces of American capitalism which, in the period of imperialism, include with some minor exceptions the whole bloc of trade union officialdom.

The deluge of union-smashing injunctions, the terror campaign against the rank and file of the garment workers and furriers and the vicious offensive against the United Mine Workers more than justify these statements. *The Greens, Wolls and Lewises are leading the labor movement straight to disaster.*

The labor movement is *already* on the verge of disaster. The official leadership has surrendered to the capitalists. The attack on the working class is intensified.

THE IMPERIALIST OBJECTIVE

The rulers and their agents are thinking of something else at this time besides the greater profits they will pocket if the labor movement is smashed, wages cut and the living standard of the whole working class lowered.

Competition for world markets and sources of cheap raw materials is becoming keener among the imperialist nations.

International conflicts sharpen, the offensive against the Soviet Union becomes more open, the danger of imperialist war increases.

The invasion of Nicaragua is a warming-up exercise for Wall Street government. American

imperialism, concentrating its centralized government and its ever greater combinations of capital against a weak and retreating labor movement officered by traitors, is striving for world domination.

To succeed it must conquer not only colonial peoples and defeat imperialist rivals but subjugate the American working class as well.

Imperialist war is impossible if at home there is a militant, class conscious and well organized working class—a class that will not fight wars for its exploiters but will make war against the imperialist war.

It is also this that Wall Street and its government have in mind. Under the pressure of political crises even conservative unions can become rallying centers for the masses. Imperialist war produces great crises. Wall Street wants no unions and especially does it want no mass unions like those now under attack.

Not one single word of warning of the war danger have the official leaders said. Instead, they endorse military training camps, make jingo speeches at the launching of cruisers, have the chief of the army general staff address the A. F. of L. convention as "a friend of labor" while they pledge the labor movement to "defense of American institutions."

Here again is a major contribution to the crisis in the labor movement.

Surrender to the whole imperialist program—surrender complete and abject to the ruling class but war upon every section of the working class that refuses to surrender.

Is the picture too black?

Then I say again that it is necessary to sound an alarm. High-salaried traitors are playing with the lives and liberties of millions of workers.

They must be kicked out. The labor movement must be saved and strengthened.

The forces that can and will do the job are already in motion. They have been stirred into action by the offensive of the capitalists and the continuous betrayals of reactionary labor officials.

Great struggles are ahead. One can not witness the heroic resistance of the Pennsylvania and Ohio miners and their families or read of the courageous struggle of the Colorado miners and their leaders, one can not see such unconquerable spirit as that displayed by the needle trades workers, without one's pulse beating quicker and one's faith in one's class being strengthened.

A correct program of struggle, capable and hon-

est leadership—this is what is needed for the militant workers who make up the left wing of the labor movement and whose task it is to wrest it from the agents of the imperialists and weld it into an Excalibur for the working class—make it a weapon whose blows strike fast, hard and true upon all of labor's enemies.

The program we have—the program of the Trade Union Educational League—organize the unorganized, save and build the unions, government and industry to support the unemployed, no lowering of living standards, world trade union unity, relief for all striking workers, organization of a labor party based on the unions' fight against imperialist war.

The leadership which is needed will develop in the process of struggle against reaction—it is appearing already in the organized left wing—the T. U. E. L.

The crisis in the labor movement caused by the capitalist offensive and the long and systematic betrayals of the Greens, Wolls and Lewises will be overcome by mass support of the T. U. E. L. program in the unions, among the unorganized workers and in the ranks of the unemployed.

The capitalist offensive must be defeated, the new leadership developed, the agents of the bosses deposed and the labor movement set upon the road of militant struggle that leads to victory for our class.

The Trade Union Educational League has no other aim than to rally the workingclass for these great tasks.

WILLIAM JONES, A. B.

(Continued from page 11)

the ship was unloaded. Then you usually waited several hours, in your sweaty clothes, in the icy harbor winds, for your pay—55 cents an hour.

Finally, after working several weeks, at an average of \$12 a week, Jones was hurt by a banana conveyor. This conveyor was a belt and roller system for passing out bananas from the ships. It had replaced six men in the hold with three, twelve truckers with two unloaders. It was one of the reasons why longshore work was scarce. And it was dangerous to the men. The bunches jumped off, piled up, sometimes with a man in the pile; sometimes in the water.

So Jones, temporarily crippled, could not work at all, and drifting around town, came finally into the International Seamen's Club at 26 South

Birthdays in February of political and class-war prisoners in American penitentiaries are announced as follows:

At San Quentin, Cal., Feb. 15, Matthew Schmidt, Box 520-9414.

At Walla Walla, Wash., Feb. 21, Eugene Barnett, Box 520-9414.

Neither of these may have packages but cards, letters and money are appreciated. Both are serving long sentences; do not forget them.

Street, where he found congenial company and a program, where he recuperated and took up the job hunt again.

The Seamen's Club is an organization of marine workers, trying to make life a little easier by means of a lunch counter where the food is at least healthy, and a reading room in which lectures on informative and interesting topics are given. It also stands to one side from bitter quarrels of the several little unions in the industry, and advocates a united front against the boss, on the basis of the following program of immediate demands:

1. Same food for crews as for officers.
2. Three watch systems. No unpaid overtime, no ships to sail shorthanded.
3. Clean linen and better sanitary facilities.
4. Abolition of all fines and logging.
5. Free passage to home ports for all seamen in foreign ports due to sickness. Wages to be paid in full up to the arrival in home ports.
6. Sick, disabled and old age fund to be subscribed to by the shipowners and administered by the union.
7. Complete recognition of the union. Abolition of sea service bureau and all private or public shipping agencies; all hiring through unions halls only.
8. Amalgamation of all marine unions. Agreements for all classes of seamen must expire on same date.
9. Slop chest at cost prices.
10. Oilskins and seaboots to be furnished by the company.
11. Abolition of all penalties for quitting ships; full wages to be paid on quitting in any port.
12. No discrimination on account of race, color or creed.
13. Scale of wages at least equal to that of 1921 (A. B., \$85).

EDITORIALS

THE POLICY OF LABOR UNITY.

WITH this issue we commence the publication of Labor Unity as a monthly magazine instead of a semi-monthly newspaper as heretofore. This will enable us, with conditions as they are, to give the progressive and left wing elements in the trade unions a better and more effective organ for organization and struggle.

Our general policy continues substantially the same. Only henceforth we will apply our efforts with redoubled energy because of the new wave of attacks upon labor by the employers and the critical situation of the trade unions.

The progressives and the left wing have reached a turning point. Their struggles and experiences of recent years, which were summarized and reviewed by the last national conference of the Trade Union Educational League, impose upon them new and greater tasks. The present difficult position of the working class and the critical situation of the labor movement demand of them more militancy, more initiative and more self-sacrifice than ever before.

As the central organ of the Trade Union Educational League, the chief aim of Labor Unity is to serve in the organization of the unorganized and in developing the general struggles of the progressive and left wing elements in the trade unions. Labor Unity will continue to wage a militant fight against the reactionary bureaucracy and for the democratization of the trade unions.

In the present situation the left wing and the progressives have great tasks and great responsibilities. The more the reactionary bureaucracy is moving to the right, as it does, the more it devolves upon the trade union militants to educate and organize the rank and file for the program of the left wing.

The program of the left wing offers a concrete solution to the problems confronting the workers. It is the only possible program for the labor movement. It calls for a militant struggle against the employers, and against all forms of class collaboration. It challenges company unionism by proposing militant industrial unionism, the amalgamation of the existing craft unions and the organization of the unorganized. It rejects any and all forms of trade union capitalism, such as labor banking, real estate ventures and insurance schemes. It demands the thorough cleansing of the trade unions from graft and corruption, the defeat of the reactionary bureaucracy and the democratization of trade union organization. It flatly rejects the discredited non-partisan policy of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and demands the organization of a labor party. It opposes without compromise and calls for a militant struggle against American imperialism. It stands for world trade union unity and for the recognition and defense of the Soviet Union.

The developing industrial depression with the unemployment crisis, the war danger, the threatening destruction of the United Mine Workers Union under the attack of the employers aided by Lewis, the new wave of capitalist aggression against labor along the entire front, the

extensive and menacing use by the government of the injunction and military against labor, and the further betrayals of the reactionary bureaucracy—all these developments are awakening the masses to organization and struggle. This opens new and greater opportunities for the progressives and the left wing to wage a successful fight for their program.

Labor Unity is a vital weapon in this struggle. Labor Unity must therefore be given the utmost support by every militant trade unionist. The progressive and left wing elements in the trade unions must consider it as one of their chief tasks to build the circulation of Labor Unity, to organize effective distributing agencies, and to secure articles and letters from the rank and file as well as from active militants.

Labor Unity must and will develop into a powerful mass organ of the American trade union militants.

WM. Z. FOSTER,

National Secretary, Trade Union Educational League.

WALL STREET WAR IN NICARAGUA.

WHAT is taking place now in Nicaragua is War. This war is carried on by Wall Street against the workers and farmers of Nicaragua who refuse to submit to the domination of foreign imperialists.

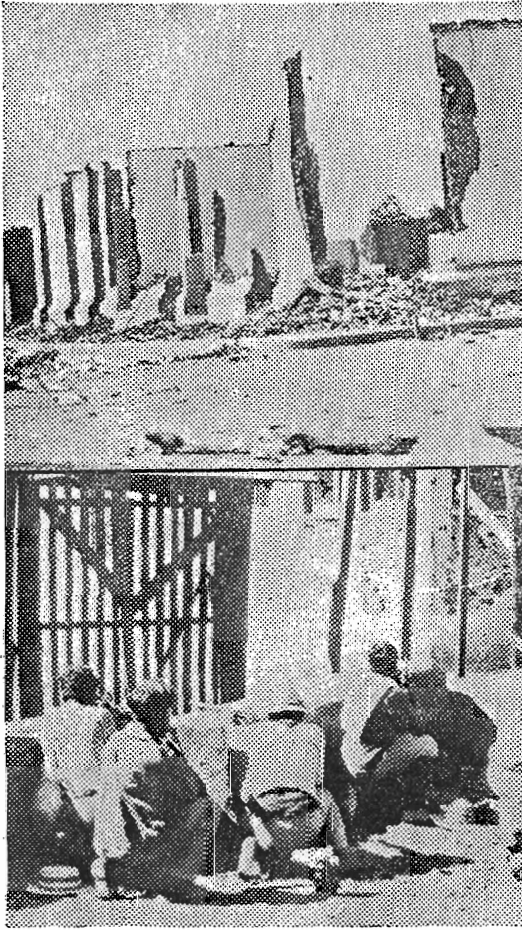
General Sandino is leading the struggle. He is mobilizing the toiling masses of Nicaragua to drive the foreign invaders out of the country. The workers and farmers of Nicaragua are fighting for their freedom and national independence.

But Wall Street and the big American capitalists generally are determined to maintain their stranglehold upon Nicaragua. Big American capital wants new markets for investments, fresh sources of raw material and cheap labor, strategic points for naval bases and communications for future imperialist wars. That is why American warships are in Nicaragua. That is why American marines are waging war upon Nicaraguan workers and farmers.

The war, which Wall Street carries on in Nicaragua, is part and parcel of American imperialist policy in Latin America. It is the practical working out of the Monroe Doctrine, the Doctrine which is to insure the domination of United States imperialism in all Latin American countries.

Will the American workers permit Wall Street to crush and enslave the Nicaraguan toilers? Will the American labor movement acquiesce in the murderous exploits of American imperialism in Nicaragua and in Latin America generally?

The Coolidge administration, the true servant of American capitalism, is now making a fresh effort to break up the opposition of the Latin American countries to the Monroe Doctrine. The whole purpose of the present Pan-American Conference in Havana, as far as the American government is concerned, is to terrorize and cajole the more independent Latin American countries into accepting the dictates and rule of the United States imperialists.



THIS IS WHAT IT MEANS

Attack on Nicaragua by the U. S. means low wages at home and destruction in Central America. Photo of village ruined by shell fire and Nicaraguan workers defending themselves on the firing line.

But the most harmful and disgraceful part of the whole affair is that William Green, Matthew Woll and the entire reactionary bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. are lined up in support of American imperialism. The Pan-American Federation of Labor, which is dominated by the same people, is nothing but an instrument for the enslavement and exploitation of the Latin American countries by the imperialists of the United States.

The workers of the United States have nothing to gain and everything to lose from the extension of American imperialist rule. The interests of the American working class demand the closest alliance between the toilers of all Latin American countries for a concerted struggle against the Monroe Doctrine and the rule of American imperialism.

Fight against Wall Street's war upon the Nicaraguan people. Demand the immediate withdrawal from Nicaragua of the marines and all other American military forces. Follow the example of the workers of Corinto who went on strike refusing to carry munitions for the United States invaders. Render all possible support to

General Sandino, to the workers and farmers of Nicaragua who are fighting for the freedom and national independence of the Nicaraguan people.

UNEMPLOYMENT—A MENACE.

ELSEWHERE in this issue we are publishing a detailed analysis of the present unemployment situation in the United States. It will be seen from the article that unemployment is becoming a veritable menace to the working class and labor movement of America.

Here we have the real fruits of speed-up and high production as far as the workers are concerned. Technical progress and high productivity of labor under capitalism do not result in diffusion of wealth and a higher standard of living as the supporters of capitalism would want us to believe. They result, on the contrary, in a relatively lower share for labor in the total national income, premature old age, physical deterioration and unemployment.

Capitalism always had a considerable number of unemployed to draw upon in times of so-called prosperity and for keeping down the standards of the employed workers in normal times. It is conservatively estimated that over a million workers are "normally" out of work in the United States, pressing against the wages and labor conditions of those who work.

This permanent army of unemployed has been growing steadily in recent years. It is now changing its nature. From a reserve army, which used to be drawn into industry in times of expansion, the unemployed are becoming totally "superfluous" in the sense that the capitalists can find no use for them in industry even in time of high production.

This is a direct result of the development of American industry, since the late imperialist war. It is a result of the introduction of new machinery, the perfection of labor-saving devices and the intensive application of speed-up and efficiency schemes to increase the profits of the employers.

While the number of wage earners is continually increasing, through the influx of raw labor from the farms, the industrialization of the South, etc., the number of workers actually employed in production is relatively decreasing due to the tremendous heightening of the productivity of labor. Thus a permanent army of "superfluous" labor has come into existence.

Now, with the developing industrial depression and curtailment of production in several basic industries, the number of unemployed is swelling to critical proportions. It has become a real menace to the working class and to the labor movement.

The question of struggle against unemployment must be placed on the order of business of every trade union. Concrete and practical programs must be worked out to compel the employers and the government to appropriate sufficient funds for the relief of the unemployed, the funds to be managed by the unions jointly with representatives of the unemployed. The unions together with the organizations of the unemployed must carry on a systematic struggle to shift the burden of the unemployment crisis from the workers to the employers.

Read the Facts About the Labor Movement in Books Published by The Trade Union Educational League

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