

LABOR UNITY

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THE Third National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League abundantly demonstrated that there is a rising tide of left wing sentiment in this country, that groups and sections of the Labor movement which we have not been able to reach within the last couple of years are now reaching out toward us, toward the T.U.E.L., as the symbol of militant action against the employers' union smashing and wage cutting campaign.

Events since the Third Conference have merely strengthened these feelings on the part of the rebellious groups in the unions, as they have at the same time threatened them with greater dangers and made them more rebellious. The open determination of the coal operators to crush the union in Ohio and Pennsylvania, their insistence on wage cuts in Illinois, which even had a separate peace with them, and the latest offensive, led by Matthew Woll and the American Bar Association to pass anti-strike legislation, automatically makes the T.U.E.L. a recognized leader in opposition, and increases its influence.

Under such circumstances, it is positively a crime upon the working class, to leave the T.U.E.L. as organizationally weak as it is at present. Our influence is larger than ever before, but mere influence must soon, very soon, be crystallized into action, positive leadership, and that means organization, quick organization.

The bureaucratic organization is very complete and efficient, not to fight for the unions, but to fight within them, against the workers.

The bosses' organization, throughout industry, is vast and complicated, intricate and many sided, an organization to divide and rule the workers, to enslave them.

Our organization is hardly begun. We must start immediately to build up our local general groups, one in each locality. The Third Conference adopted the following clear cut statement with reference to T.U.E.L. organization: "Organization means and is the only assurance that work will be done. We cannot depend merely on the individual capacity of left wingers. We have no concrete assurance that any policy will be put into effect unless we understand thoroughly the functions of organization. It is only through organization that we really have the assurance that the policies will be outlined, plans formulated, and actual work will be done by the left wing itself. The very function of organization develops the initiative of the individual, develops the leadership which we see is so necessary to lead the workers in the struggle."

The conference, in accepting the report of the National Organizer, also ruled: "We must also see that the local general groups function regularly, that they have their secretaries and their executive committees, and their various industrial committees, literature agents, and finance committees, so that the left wing can develop and grow in the industrial centers."

These decisions were wise and practical—there remains only to do it, to carry them out. In every industrial center, all left wingers must immediately come together, organize their local group, elect a secretary, and get in contact with the General Office of the T.U.E.L. Any left wing members desirous of saving their unions by militant struggle, and not connected with the T.U.E.L. in their locality, are invited to correspond at once with the National Office, 2 West 15th St., New York City, in order to aid in the creation of local general groups in their vicinity.

Since the Third National Conference of the T.U.E.L., the local trade union T.U.E.L. groups of New York have been crystallized into a functioning local general group. The Chicago local general group has been strengthened. In Philadelphia, Boston, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Cleveland and New Haven local T.U.E.L. general groups have been organized.

JACK JOHNSTONE--National Organizer of the Trade Union Educational League



We Are Not Alone! This is a photograph of the Third Annual Minority Movement Conference, London, England. The British Minority movement is a powerful, organized left wing.

LABOR UNITY

Official Organ of the Trade Union Educational League

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WHOLE No. 21

Labor Unity is a magazine published by and for the workers. Its success in the fight for the workers and the principles of the Trade Union Educational League depends on the support it receives from the awakened, militant section of the workers in America.

All events of importance in the world of labor should be reported to it, by whoever knows of them. Labor Unity solicits articles from the rank and file, from the workers on the job or unemployed, about conditions in their industry, about special cases of attacks on laborers by the employers, about the rascality of a sold-out union bureaucracy. Names of contributors to this magazine will be protected if desired.

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We Are Not Alone! This is a photograph of the Third Annual Minority Movement Conference, London, England. The British Minority movement is a powerful, organized left wing.

A Federal Anti-Strike Law

On Jan. 29, Julius Henry Cohen, for years attorney for the cloak manufacturers' association in New York, and bitter enemy of organized labor, announced, as chairman of a sub-committee of the American Bar Association's committee on commerce, that the sub-committee had worked out, in common with a committee, of which Matthew Woll is chairman, appointed by the American Federation of Labor convention, a plan for avoiding strikes in the future. Public hearings on the plan were set and organizations and individuals invited to appear.

The official statement of the American Bar Association indicates that the plan has been long in contemplation, that a preliminary meeting was held in April, 1926, with employers and Matthew Woll present, and that the conclusions jointly arrived at were that if the words "compulsory arbitration" were avoided, and if enough propaganda were provided beforehand, such an anti-strike law could be obtained. As the committee's statement puts it, "before there can be law there must be policy".

Cohen's public announcement of the decision to hold hearings on the plan finally arrived at was followed by high pressure publicity for it in the New York Times and other papers, in which every day either Cohen or Woll was quoted in support of the plan, and even such a minor show of interest in the proposals as a request from the Cloth Hat and Capmakers Union for a copy of the plan, was hailed at first by Cohen as endorsement. Woll is outspoken in praise, merely asking for a little more leniency from Federal Judges in the matter of injunctions, to show that they will fairly interpret the new law.

The proposed law is, says the Bar Association, "in line with the principles of the Parker-Watson Bill". It provides for a fact-finding commission, to delay strikes while the dispute is investigated and public opinion poisoned against the employees, then for "voluntary" arbitration between the union bureaucracy and the employers, then that the decisions of the arbitration board shall be law, and any union member who strikes against them subject to punishment.

In these circumstances, the National Committee of the Trade Union Educational League issued the following statement:

WORKERS, DEFEAT THE FEDERAL ANTI-STRIKE BILL!

"The Employers in their intense offensive to destroy the workers' standards and conditions are aiming a new thrust against the labor movement. This fresh attack takes the form of proposals by the ultra reactionary American Bar Association for federal legislation against strikes. This infamous scheme has the support of Green, Lewis, Woll and other officials at the head of the American Federation of Labor.

"The proposed national anti-strike legislation has three general aspects: First, it is put forward as a proposition to legalize agreements between unions and employers; second, it is to establish a "fact-finding" bureau to investigate industrial disputes; and, third, it aims to create an Industrial Council to promote arbitration of struggles between the workers and the employers. Under these aims are incorporated all the worst features of the Watson-

Parker railroad law. It is an attempt to put anti-strike fetters on the whole working class.

TRY TO PARALYZE UNIONS

"The plan to legalize union agreements will operate all against the workers. The federal courts, in the event of disputes, will have the right to interfere and enforce such agreements. In substance this means that employers will have a free hand to violate whatever agreements they may enter into. These agreements will be used by the courts as instruments to paralyze and vitalize the unions tied up by them. The union with an agreement will be denied the right to strike with other groups of workers. Union scabbery, long a curse to the American labor movement, will thus be institutionalized and enforced by court action.

"In this legislation the employers aim at legally separating by force of state action one section of the working class from another. We may be sure that the courts will hold that the

“Public Hearings” As Propaganda

yellow dog anti-union contracts entered into between the employers and individual workers are legal and enforceable. The same will hold true regarding contracts with company unions. The courts will be quick to prevent the unions from interfering with the operation of such contracts.

INSIDIOUS “FACT FINDING”

“The ‘fact-finding’ aspects of the proposal are insidious to the last degree. They mean that when the workers surge forward in great movements, the government will step in under the pretext of this law and paralyze those movements with interminable delays, while the employers’ agents are putting forward their anti-strike propaganda and cultivating public opinion against the threatened strikes. The employers will also have ample opportunity to recruit their forces of scabs and gunmen. The proposed legislation is calculated to disarm the workers, to prevent militant action by them, and to give the employers the opportunity to deal their blows against the working class whenever and wherever they please.

“An express purpose of the proposed law, which the capitalist papers frankly class as anti-strike, is to promote arbitration. Although the terminology is phrased to create the impression of voluntary arbitration, the substance of the scheme is compulsory arbitration. The device is basically the same as in the Watson-Parker Law. The union leaders join with the employers in denouncing strikes and establishing elaborate machinery. Thus they create a situation which tends to compel the organizations to use this arbitration machinery. It is the modern form of compulsory arbitration; the Kansas industrial court in a new disguise.

DICTION BY COURTS

“The whole proposal means to give the federal courts the right to dictate to the unions in labor disputes. For many years organized labor bitterly resisted all efforts of the courts to interfere in disputes between the workers and their employers. But now the labor leaders propose to concede this destructive power. Its outcome means a multiplication of injunctions and other court actions against organized and unorganized workers when they go into strike struggles.

Bar Association Hears “Yes Men” T. U. E. L. Single Dissenting Voice

The hearing staged by the American Bar Association on their proposed anti-strike law developed, as was expected by progressives in the labor movement, into a mere symposium of “Yes men” to the employers, with the single exception of the Trade Union Educational League, represented there by its national secretary, Wm. Z. Foster.

Every effort was made to gag Foster, his testimony being postponed until the last five minutes of the sessions, and cut short by the chairman’s ruling that the Bar Association’s Committee did not want to hear those opposed entirely to the proposed legislation, but only those who could make constructive suggestions about it. Butler, a member of the committee, also moved that no speaker be heard who was opposed to the court’s enforcing agreements between workers and employers.

Foster nevertheless registered a protest against the whole scheme of a disguised industrial court, and warned the Bar Association that, though denied the right to speak here, the T. U. E. L. would find ways to reach the workers, and organize opposition to the bill.

Various groups were represented at the hearing. The Bar Association itself speaks for high finance, and giant industry, and is for its own bill, of course. The A. F. L. bureaucracy, represented by President Green gave timid and camouflaged endorsement of the proposed bill. Green boasted that arbitration already prevails in the anthracite coal fields — where the miners struck against it, and where Lewis and Cappellini brazenly deny they signed an arbitration agreement.

Matthew Woll was present, and was specifically mentioned by Chairman Cohen as co-author of the scheme. He did not speak.

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“The planned national anti-strike law is part of the employers’ great offensive against the workers to speed them up in production, to reduce wages and to break up the labor organizations. The employers are carrying on their warfare under two general forms. First, a frontal attack, backed by all the powers of the government, to smash the unions, their latest achievement in union smashing being the breakdown of the miners’ union; and second, the undermining of existing organizations and the building of barriers to the development of future organization through such devices as company unions, B. & O. Plans, Watson-Parker anti-strike laws, etc. The newly proposed law

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A national left wing miners' Conference will be held in Pittsburgh, Pa., April 1, 1928. It has been called by the National Save-the-Union Committee, in response to a wide demand from all parts of the field. It will lead the battle to break the Lewis machine, save the union, spread the strike and win it.

The Senate Committee is frantically urging employers to make concessions in the hope of stopping the swing to the left.

THE MINERS SURGE FORWARD

By PAT TOOHEY
(National Save-the-Union
Committee)



PROFOUNDLY convinced, after months of waiting for activity on the part of their officials that would lead to the winning of the great coal strike in Pennsylvania and Ohio, the miners have begun to organize themselves, the rank and file of the union, for action.

A series of left wing conferences, of which four have been held already, is crystallizing into organizational form the wide-spread sentiment, "Lewis Must Go!" and "The Strike Must Be Won!"

The last two conferences to be held, one in Illinois and one in the anthracite, demanded that the regional conferences be climaxed by a great national left wing conference, to mobilize the strength of the entire left wing for a fight to the finish against the employers who are bent on crushing the union from without, and the dark forces, the corrupt official machines which sap the vitality of the union from within. At present writing, there seems no doubt whatever that the national conference will be held in the near future, and that it will lead to the miners themselves once more running their own union.

The last regional conference was at Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania, Sunday, Feb. 19 and was highly successful in spite of the conditions of terror which Cappellini is trying to create, with characteristic Fascist methods.

Threats against prominent left wing leaders have been frequent, and when the members of Pittston locals elected an anti-Cappellini slate headed by Alex Campbell, gunmen supporting the machine ambushed and killed Thomas Lillis, one of the left wing officials. Their next move was to try to kill three members of the grievance committee of Local 1703 (Pittston): Bonito, Moleski and Mendola, right in the union headquarters. In self defense, Bonito shot an administration gunman, Frank Agati, and has been arrested for murder. The anthracite conference voted unanimously to defend him, and the Save-the-Union Committee is actively undertaking to save him from the frame-up.

On the very day of the conference, Sam Grecio, another official of the left wing adminis-

tration at Pittston, was shot down with three bullets in his head while walking home with his wife. He is near death as this is written.

However, this terrorism did not prevent 150 delegates, from 51 local unions from meeting, and making plans to combat not only the general evils against which the whole miners' union struggles, but some special difficulties in the anthracite.

The anthracite miners are tied down with a five year contract, including an arbitration agreement, made for them by the Lewis and Cappellini gang. Fifty percent of them are unemployed. The great evils are the speed-up tactics of the bosses,, the contractor system, the arbitration agreement, and the sell-out policy of the district officials.

The conference was militant, took a firm stand against these evils, denounced the Lewis and Cappellini administrations, advocated spreading the strike over the unorganized field, and organized a local Save-the-Union committee to rally all anthracite miners against Lewis and for a national agreement, expiring simultaneously for the entire coal fields, soft as well as hard. It assailed the "co-operation" move by union officials and businessmen to advertise (and to cheapen) anthracite coal.

The chairman, I. Dziengelewski, prominent among the Polish miners especially, guarantees that the rank and file of the anthracite can and will take vigorous action in these matters. His militant keynote speech was heartily applauded, as were also Pat Toohey, speaking for the national Save-the-Union committee, George Papcun a well known left wing leader in the anthracite, and Martin Abern speaking for the International Labor Defense and offering aid in the Bonito case, and Powers Haggood.

Shortly before the left wing conference, a meeting in Scranton, called by the Central Labor Union, on unemployment, incidentally to assist some old party politicians in their campaign, demonstrated that there is a certain disintegration of Cappellini's power. Many delegates among the 200 there vigorously attacked the Cappellini and Lewis methods and administration of the miners' Union.

ILLINOIS DEFIES FISHWICK

In open defiance of the Lewis-Fishwick machine that has inherited the place in Illinois of Frank Farrington, the Peabody Coal Co.'s \$25,000 a year district president of Illinois miners, a hundred and fifty delegates, representing eight out of the twelve subdistricts in the state, met in Belleville, Illinois, Feb. 12, and formed a state branch of the Save-the-Union Committee.

The attempt of the district machine to nip this revival of militancy in the bud by scaring the miners away from the conference failed. A somewhat hysterical and confused let-



MINERS AT THE MEETING

ter attacking the conference was sent by Walter Nesbit, district secretary, to all locals, and printed in the Illinois miner, but did not prevent its meeting.

The situation in Illinois is interesting. District 12, the largest district in the union, has actually been forced by its officials into a separate peace with the operators, involving the compulsory scabbing of the miners in Illinois on their brothers still on strike in other states. The conference took place in a situation where, along with the legalized strike-breaking and co-operation of the union officials with the bosses to destroy union conditions in the mines, 40,000 miners are unemployed.

And not only did feeling run high in this conference for a fight for better conditions in Illinois, but all the speakers emphasized, and all the miners understood that their fight is a national fight, that the war on two fronts, against the operators all over the coal fields, in organized and unorganized territory, and against the corrupt union officialdom, must be

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What About The Anthracite?

By GEORGE PAPCUN

THE rank and file in the anthracite must ask itself a few questions, and it also must begin to understand that the crisis in the soft coal is bound up closely with the future of the union in the hard coal region. That also now the very existence of the national union is threatened and that slowly but surely the union in the anthracite is beginning to be company unionized. In very many territories and local unions it is actually company controlled and functions in behalf of the company.

We, the mine workers in the anthracite, after asking a few questions, will come to the conclusion that we must rid ourselves of the rotten leadership which is eating the very heart of our union and that the leadership in the anthracite is part of the leadership which now has all but smashed our union in the soft coal fields.

We must ask ourselves why is it that in the anthracite our officialdom has stopped fighting for the check-off, when we know that during the last strike of the anthracite workers they have made it one of the biggest issues. Why have they dropped it, also why have they specially dropped it on or before the Mt. Carmel fake cooperative conference?

CO-OPERATING WITH BOSS

Why did our officers join the Mt. Carmel conference with the coal operators, why did they holler so much about the grievances of the coal operators at the conference at the same time keeping quiet about the grievances of the mine workers?

We must also ask why so many grievances are going unsettled by the conciliation board and why it is that if the conciliation board takes them up they are settled in favor of the company or are disagreed on and thrown to the umpire where they are hardly ever heard of again.

Why is it that nothing is done to help the miners who are unemployed? At least 50 to 60 percent of the mine workers in the anthracite today are unemployed and have been unemployed since the spring of 1927. Unemployment is now becoming a permanent condition. Why is it that no definite rates are being set for the mechanical loader by the officialdom

in spite of the fact that it has taken the jobs of the mine workers away? No effort is being made to provide jobs for these miners who are being displaced by the mechanical loader.

Why is it that the officials are taking up the slogan of "putting out more coal" without saying anything about more pay? Especially why more coal if now the coal operators claim they have an over production?

Why is it that especially in District 1 where previously Cappellini made such a holler about the vicious contract system, now he is encouraging it and is not doing anything against it but is actually depending on the contractors to keep him in office?

Why is it that the conditions of the mines are getting worse, such as getting supplies, individual wage cuts, yardage and work. We know that while no definite wage cuts have been taking place openly, yet the bosses do and did cut the rates for individual miners until now you could not recognize the rates that are being paid as the rates which were agreed to on the rate sheet. Surely our district officials know about this.

"POOR COAL OPERATORS"

Now these are only a few of the burning issues, we bring to light so that there will not be any argument or doubt that we have grievances and that there is something wrong with our officials whom we pay. They rave about the terrible conditions of the poor coal operators but completely forget us.

We can ask ourselves, will they remedy the above? We have seen what they have done so far and the conclusion is that instead of remedying them they have been going completely over to the bosses and are working hand in hand with the coal operators. At the same time they are actually encouraging the control of local unions and general grievance committees by the coal companies.

We, the rank and file must come to realize that the above mentioned conditions can only be remedied if we take definite action.

What action must we take? We must immediately build a leadership of our own from among us who today are working in the mines.

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Against Class Collaboration

By A. J. COOK

(General Secretary, Miners' Federation of Great Britain; member of General Council, Trades Union Congress.)

THE great topic of discussion in British labour circles at present, and indeed in labour circles throughout the world, is the joint move, by an influential group of employers and financiers with certain prominent trade union leaders, for what is termed "industrial peace".

After the break-down of the great General Strike, caused by the failure of the leadership of the trade unions to pursue courageously the line they had reluctantly adopted, there was a noticeable tendency on the part of most leaders to take up a conciliatory attitude towards capitalism. This became very apparent last September at the Trades Union Congress at Edinburgh. George Hicks, chairman of the Congress, in his opening address, made mention of the new spirit in industrial relations, and generally threw out the hint which the employers promptly seized. Since that time, the speeches of Turner, present chairman of the General Council, Citrine, its secretary, J. H. Thomas and others, have made clear that the great majority of the members of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress (which is the permanently supreme functioning body between congresses), have all pointed in the same direction—the direction of class truce and collaboration.

ASKS WORKERS TO YIELD

On November 23, a group of employers, including some of Britain's largest capitalists, and headed by Sir Alfred Mond, himself a great magnate and notoriously opposed to trade unionism, addressed a letter to the Trades Union Council General Congress. This letter suggested a joint conference between this group and the General Council for the purpose of "reconsideration of certain fundamental factors in industrial reorganisation and industrial relations." Despite the mass of verbiage in which the meaning of the letter was enwrapped, every keen rank-and-file trade unionist knew it for what it was: an invitation to an industrial truce, from those who are the industrial masters, almost immediately after they had succeeded in putting over the Trade Union Act, a piece of legislation intended to shackle the trade union movement.

In other words, it was a challenge from the bosses, amounting virtually to this: "Well, you have had your taste of the general strike, and



LATEST PHOTO OF A. J. COOK

you see what it means: either capitulation or militant fighting, which you don't want, and which the "Reds" do. Also, we've passed the Trade Union Act, and you can now either go on fighting us, or make peace—on our conditions."

Every working-class student knew that this was the real nature of the letter, despite its—probably intentional—vague phrasing. Yet, on December 20, the General Council decided to accept the invitation. At the time, I protested



LATEST PHOTO OF A. J. COOK

but was outvoted. The result of this acceptance was the first Conference on Industrial Peace, which took place on January 12 in London. There were 27 employers present, and several more sent letters regretting their unavoidable absence. All the available 29 members of the General Council were there, including Citrine, the secretary. I was present as a member of the General Council, not because I believed in the Conference but because I wished to do my best there to expose the motives of the employers.

After a discussion, to which I shall refer later, the conference adjourned, with many expressions of good will. Arrangements are now pending for the appointment of sub-committees of employers and the General Council to meet for discussion of various topics. It is proposed that future conferences be held. The way to class truce is left wide open.

The above is a brief, dry summary of events. I feel that now the time has come to speak out still more plainly, if possible, than I have done before, to the workers of all countries, with regard to this attempt at tricking the British organised workers into participation in a capitalist farce, camouflaged as "industrial peace."

A DUTY TO THE WORKERS

I am fully conscious of my responsibility. I am the general secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, the largest trade union in this country with a membership of 800,000. I am also a member of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, the body which has been instrumental in bringing about the Conference. But that is not all my responsibility; my duty is primarily towards the workers who placed me in my present position. My duty is towards the miners of Great Britain, towards the whole working class of Great Britain, and towards the workers of all countries. And, when I say "workers of all countries," it is not a demagogic phrase. The policy of the British trade union movement: whether it adopts a fighting attitude towards capitalism and is really internationalist; or whether it conciliates British capitalism, and joins it in an imperialistic trade war against other countries; this vitally affects the workers of other countries. And that is why I am writing these words for my comrades in the United States to whom I also take this opportunity of sending my fraternal greetings, espec-

ially to the American miners who are now fighting for a living wage.

From the very inception of the "industrial peace" plan, I have spoken in public and private, opposing it. I have maintained that the General Council has been acting without any mandate from the workers they represent. I have insisted that they secure the opinion of the trade union membership as to the conferences—whether they should take place and what they should discuss—before entering into them.

AVOID MILITANT CONFERENCE

An illuminating example of the varying attitude of the General Council towards conference with the employers is that of the ratification of the Washington Eight Hours' Convention. When a deputation of the General Council waited on the Government to urge ratification, we were informed that the Confederation of Employers—a representative body of British capitalists—had urged the government that the convention must not be ratified but revised. I therefore moved that the General Council meet the Confederation to demand cessation of opposition to ratification. This was passed by a bare majority but the meeting has never taken place. Yet, in a question of "industrial peace" they are willing to enter into conversations with a non-representative group of employers! Alas! for consistency! In the first instance they were mandated, and have not yet met; in the "industrial peace" conferences they are not mandated, but have met!

LARGE POLITICAL ISSUES

The "industrial peace" conversations are, in my opinion, a denial of socialist policy both as regards home and foreign affairs. They affect the larger political aspects, as well as the purely industrial. For example, as regards foreign policy. The meetings are the result of the British employers' desire that the unions join hands with them in order to strengthen the British capitalists' position as against foreign trade competition. They want the General Council to agree on "ratification", on intensified production—with its concomitant unemployment and wage reductions—in order to beat foreign capitalists rationalising still more? Thus a vicious circle is started, which will lower the standards of the workers in all countries, in the frenzied struggle for the world market. That is not my conception of internationalism. My viewpoint is that the trade unions of the various countries should unite against world

capitalism, to raise the status of the toilers in *all countries*.

The "industrial peace" move, is a move by the employers to stabilise capitalism here in Britain. It means that they want the workers to forego strikes and other action against the employers' interests. It means, therefore, trade wars abroad and an industrial truce at home. It means the abandonment of all that has been known as trade union policy. If we are to agree to abandon the class struggle, then there is no need for the trade unions or for the Labor Party. Political and industrial organisations of the working class have no reason for existence, as such, except upon the basis of the class struggle. If all we need is to secure a closer and more friendly approach to the bosses, the House of Lords, or the bench of bishops, can do the job as efficiently as the trade unions.

FOR LABOR, OR AGAINST

It is all a sad surrender of everything which was once known as socialism in Britain. What would Keir Hardie think of the "industrial peace" manoeuvres? You cannot be a socialist and at the same time help the employers to rebuild capitalism—capitalism and socialism are antagonistic terms. We must either decide to stand by capitalism (abandoning socialism) or to work for the destruction of capitalism. There is no middle ground.

The industrial peace conferences are a great political victory for Sir Alfred Mond, and British capitalism in general. Mond's point is that the actual coming-together of the two parties is in itself a victory, as showing a change in the policy of the trade unions. He is right, to an extent. While not showing a change in the policy of the trade union membership, it shows a sad change in the policy of some of the leaders! By aiding capitalism to "restore British trade supremacy," they will let themselves in for a nationalist policy of protective tariffs, embargoes on foreign goods, etc., thus linking up with British imperialism.

This must surely involve a complete change in the policy of the Labor Party. While the leaders are assisting British capitalism to regain world trade supremacy, the Labor Party could not challenge imperialism. Also, it affects the Labor Party's home policy. If we are to assist capitalism to revive, we shall probably have to abandon some or all of our own measures, such as nationalisation of the mines, which is based on the assumption that capitalism *cannot* run the mining industry in the interests of the

workers or consumers. I am not prepared to abandon one point in the programme of the miners, or of the whole working class; and I challenge the whole policy of the "industrial peace" conferences, on the grounds that we cannot compromise with capitalism, and also on the more technical grounds that the General Council is not mandated by the rank and file to enter upon such conferences. There is no reason to believe that the trade union membership of this country desires us to enter upon these dangerous and weakening conversations.

DISCUSSION A MOCKERY

It is mockery to discuss industrial peace while these same employers, whom we are meeting, are those who supported the infamous Trade Union Act, which aims at the shackling of the trade union movement, and the political movement of labor. It is a mockery, while wholesale victimisation of militants exists throughout the mining fields. While wage attacks are at this very moment being made against the Durham miners; while attacks are being made upon the wages of the textile workers, in both the wool and cotton branches of the industry. These attacks were in progress *the very same week that the "peace" conference was meeting!*

Two statements were made at the first conference, by employers, which remained unchallenged, except by myself. Firstly, it was said that the employers were "a body of men who had never received the fruits of industry, but had created them." To this statement by one of the employers, I made the straight and obvious rejoinder: "It is a lie!"

Another statement made by an employer was that we were meeting under conditions of "comparative calm". There were no clouds looming on the horizon, no great upheavals between capital and labor, said he! To this also I replied, "It is another lie." And I followed this up with a description of the terrific destitution and victimisation in the mining areas. I charged the employers with having been out all their lives, to destroy trades unionism, to attack wages and hours. I stated that they were not really coming to us for "peace" but for our assistance to rebuild capitalism so that they could exploit the workers more continuously and more effectively. They wanted our help to rebuild industry for Sir Alfred Mond and his friends, not for the workers.

(Continued on Page 21)

Labor and Efficiency Engineers

By W. Z. FOSTER

WITH the rise of American imperialism and the development of mass production on a gigantic scale the employers have launched a whole series of movements and propaganda designed to demoralize the workers and to draw them into ever faster production. They call this "getting the workers' consent" to their speed-up program. F. W. Taylor, in his book, "The Principles of Scientific Management", laid the theoretical basis for this movement by pointing out that it is not enough for the employers to develop new machinery and technical processes; they must also, if they can, inveigle the workers into accepting these speed-up methods and operating them freely.

From this need of the employers originate all the variegated forms of company unionism, welfare work, group insurance, old age pensions, "educational work" housing schemes, profit-sharing, sanitary improvements, employee-stock-buying, etc., etc. These institutions are designed to pacify the workers, to prevent organization among them, to make them think they have a common interest with the employers, and to lure them into the mass production program of the employers. They are beggarly, illusory, crumbs thrown to the workers to halt them from fighting for the solid achievements to be gained through organized class industrial and political action.

THEORETICIANS OF MASS PRODUCTION

In developing this capitalistic fake reform movement, which is an adjunct of the employers' mass production program, there has grown up an extensive school of capitalist engineers, economists, and efficiency experts who, to disarm the workers and to draw them into still more intense exploitation, are putting forth many impossible theories, some of them, in words at least, even contemplating the abolition of capitalism.

Until now we have paid far too little attention to this capitalistic theorizing.

Professor Tugwell of Columbia University, in his book, "Industry's Coming of Age", preaches the false doctrine of capitalism gradually perfecting itself and of private ownership of industry slowly falling into disrepute and

eventually automatically disappearing. Professor Carver of Harvard wrote his book, "The Present Economic Revolution in the United States" to convince the workers of the impossibility that they can, by saving their dimes and investing them in industrial stock, soon buy control of the industries. Professor Veblen, in his book, "The Engineers and the Price System", puts forward the bizarre theory that the capitalist engineers will eventually work out a system of society in which private ownership of industry will be no more. Gillette, the safety razor manufacturer, purposes glibly that the people shall buy control of the stock in one industry after another and join them together into a "People's Corporation" which shall eventually become the cooperative commonwealth. Jett Lauck and Otto Beyer, economists and efficiency engineers, propound insidious systems of "industrial democracy" under capitalism through company-unionized trade unions, which co-operate with the employers to speed up production. Many others follow similar lines of fallacious theorizing.

CAPITALIST EFFICIENCY "SOCIALISM"

This "radical" theorizing, together with the company union, welfare, and similar movements, constitutes a system of capitalist fake reformism, a pseudo-Socialism, which I have dubbed "Capitalist Efficiency Socialism". It is a twin brother of the force program of the employers, the direct smashing of unions, driving of workers by wage cut, and economic terrorism, etc. It is an instrument of the open shop drive. Its aim is to liquidate the trade unions and workers' political organization, to destroy the class ideology of the workers, to convince them that capitalism offers them the way to their emancipation, to render the workers helpless before an ever-increasing exploitation. It is a menace to the labor movement.

THE SURRENDERS OF THE LABOR LEADERS

The conservative trade union leaders, Socialists as well as Gompersites, always tools of the bosses, have surrendered still more completely in the face of this speed up program of the employers. They have given up all semblance of a fighting program for the unions. They do noth-

ing to consolidate the unions, nothing to organize the broad masses of the unorganized. They are accepting the whole mass production program of the employers, with all its trimmings of company unionism, welfare work, "industrial democracy", etc.

The time was when these institutions of the employers to demoralize the workers were actively combatted even by our reactionary labor leaders. But no more. This opposition has practically ceased. Welfare work, profit sharing, and the like are being rapidly accepted by the union leaders. They now make no head-on collision with the company unionism, but instead propose to company unionize the trade unions. With their labor banking and other forms of trade union capitalism they have become ardent advocates of employee stock-buying. They have gone over completely into the service of the two capitalist parties. They are abandoning the strike in theory and practice. They have succumbed to compulsory arbitration—as witness the Watson-Parker railroad law and the proposed national anti-strike law now being sponsored by the American Bar Association and the A. F. of L. They have become servile lickspittles to American imperialism in all its phases at home and abroad.

An especially dangerous aspect of the surrender of the union leaders to the employers is the so-called "new wage policy" of the A. F. of L. This "Union-management cooperation" scheme, worked out by Beyer and other efficiency engineers, is nothing more or less than an arrangement between the labor leaders and the employers to drive the workers into still more intensified production. It is a capitulation to the speed-up program of the capitalists. It undermines the trade unions and degenerates them into mere appendages of the employers' producing mechanism.

When Taylor first outlined his system of scientific management the trade unions, even many of the leaders as well, correctly resisted its driving methods being put into effect at the expense of the workers. But now our corrupt union leaders are the most enthusiastic advocates of industrial efficiency at the workers' expense. They have accepted the capitalist efficiency engineers as the ideological leaders of the labor movement. The trade union journals are full of the vaporing of this gentry about the "blessings" of cooperation between workers and capitalists. The labor movement is in the hands of the workers' enemies.

THE CRISIS IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The rejection of a fighting program by the trade union leaders and their acceptance of the industrial efficiency theories and practices of the capitalist engineers has brought the trade union movement to the deepest crisis in its history. With practically a free hand, the employers, supported by all the Government organs of repression, are smashing and devitalizing the trade unions. The breakdown of the Miners' Union is the latest example of their union wrecking. The open shop movement gains ever greater momentum. In the growing industrial depression the employers intensify their drive against the unions and wage standards of the workers. The trade union movement is actually in danger of being destroyed.

It is a situation requiring drastic action by the workers. In order to maintain living standards and to save the trade unions the masses must be mobilized to change the retreat of the unions into a counter-offensive against the employers. But to do this the power of the reactionary bureaucracy must be broken, the policy of cooperating with the employers to speed up production must be abandoned, the domination of the capitalist engineers and their mass production theories over the labor unions must be liquidated. The no-strike, no-struggle policy must be given up, and be replaced by a program of class struggle, of aggressive action against the employers.

Before the workers stand a whole series of elementary tasks necessary to save and rebuild the labor movement. Among these are the basic problems of organizing the unorganized masses either into the existing unions or new organization, the amalgamation and democratization of the trade unions, and the formation of a labor party. These fundamental measures are necessary not only for the eventual building of a powerful labor movement but they are also indispensable to preserve the very life of our existing trade unions.

The present leaders, with their capitalistic industrial efficiency program, are leading the trade unions straight to destruction. The Trade Union Education program of militant action points the way to the construction of a powerful workers' movement, industrial and political, an organization capable of defending the workers' interests now and of ultimately abolishing capitalism.

Company Unionizing The Traction Workers

(By ARNE SWABECK)

By one of the most overwhelming votes in recent labor history the twenty thousand Chicago traction employees, last summer, recorded their determination to enforce by strike a demand for increased wages and improved working conditions.

The total net result of this splendid militancy in the final arbitration award, as now rendered after months of dillatory delay, is a miserable compromise. Not only that, but due to the betrayal of the fighting spirit of the men and the protection of the interest of the employers by the officials the union finds itself in a position of being little better than a company union. It is under the practical domination and control of the traction companies as exercised through union officials.

Today wages are still 5 cents per hour lower than in 1921. The speed up system has increased through speed table and efficiency contests. The seven day week prevails.

HIGHER STRATEGY FOR LOW WAGES

This is perhaps one of the most glaring features of the so called "higher strategy of labor", as promulgated by the trade union officialdom, and exhibited here in its worst form. The rank and file workers were militant and ready to act. They did not like the arbitration of 1922 which cut wages ten cents an hour. They do not like the results of the present arbitration. The union officials, particularly those of the street carmen's division are constantly pleading the cause of the corporations. The latter reciprocate by discharging and blacklisting the best spokesmen of the workers. Sluggings and jailings are part of these joint efforts.

Last June, at the expiration of the old agreement, the union presented its new demands including a wage increase of fifteen cents per hour, a weekly sick benefit of \$20.00 and a life insurance policy of \$1,000 per man at the cost of the companies. The vote authorizing the officials to call a strike to enforce the demands showed a total vote cast of 12,119 by the street carmen's division, of which 11,951 were in favor of the strike and only 162 against. The elevated employees' division voted similarly, overwhelmingly for the strike.

AGAINST THE OFFICIALS

With such backing the officials could make history, but failed. Moreover, during recent years, the only advantage gained by the men has been in spite of the officials and under the leadership of progressives who stood up to make the fight and won, only, however, to be themselves subsequently sacrificed, discharged and blacklisted.

In 1921 the street carmen's division, thru the militant fight of one of the members by the name of Dreckman won the eight hour day, time and one half for overtime, and a fifteen cents an hour wage increase. The men at the union meeting rushed the stage to convince the officials that they meant business. The repair men, thru the militant fight of Frank Carlson, at that time also won the equal hourly rate with the carmen. A little later both Dreckman and Carlson were discharged from the service.

GOOD STRIKE, POOR SETTLEMENT

In 1922 the companies demanded a wage cut. All traction employees struck solidly for six days. Not a car moved. The dispute was then submitted to arbitration, resulting in a wage cut of ten cents an hour. Frank L. Smith, senator elect from Illinois with official labor endorsements, (the same Smith who has just been barred from the Senate for corrupt practices) was instrumental in helping make the case for the companies.

In 1923 the men again gained a five cents an hour increase bringing their wages up to 75 cents an hour: the present rate. Extras, for rush hour service, receive at the most 69 cents an hour. History again repeated itself. This increase was won through the aggressive fight made particularly by two members, McCormick and McKiernan. Both were later slugged and expelled from the union.

STEALING A FRANCHISE

The companies were very eager not to see any wage demands through until they could first secure a new grant or permit of use of the city streets. The last twenty year franchise expired in the early part of 1927. Hence all this delay in which the union officials collaborated. The companies are now operating on a short term permit while seeking legislation for

complete control of the streets. The city council traction committee has framed a number of bills for enabling legislation which if finally adopted will put the whole traction system under the complete control of the Insull corporation, the superpower and traction trust of the Middle West, which owns both state and city governments.

Firstly, these bills provide for a forty year franchise. (permit) Secondly, this franchise is to be terminable by the companies any time, but by the city only in case it can designate a purchaser of the system at a price set by the companies. Thirdly, these bills provide for consolidation of all transport utilities, which are to remain in private ownership and control, thus creating a powerful monopoly—a gigantic, unscrupulous force opposing the union.

THE UNEARNED INCREMENT

The Chicago surface lines carry a present capital account of \$165,500,000. On the theory of "reproduction new less depreciation," the companies are seeking an increased valuation amounting to \$220,000,000, for which a renewal of the franchise is essential.

The capitalization of the elevated lines is \$105,000,000. Based on the increased valuation sought for the surface lines, the total capital account of both systems would be \$325,000,000. On this capitalization the companies will demand and be granted from the State Commerce Commission, with Frank L. Smith as chairman, as well as by the courts, an annual net income of 7½%. In other words, there are prospects of increased fares and millions in annual profits for the companies. In this situation the demand by the progressives for municipal ownership with workers' participation in the management has become a vital one.

All these questions were in many ways bound up with the recent wage dispute. The men, several times, became impatient at the long delay. Thousands of members turned out to some of the union meetings of the street carmen's division, urged to attend by the progressives, but at the meeting in August the Progressive leaders, Frank Carlson, Paul Maier, and Michael Sennot were denied admission to the hall with the statement that they had been expelled from the union that same morning—without a trial. Simultaneously they were also discharged from the service, including Carlson who had been reinstated after his first discharge.

RANK AND FILE PRESSURE

Progressive activities in behalf of the men continued nevertheless. Rank and file pressure increased and as the arbitration proceedings made no headway whatever, the officials were compelled to move. On December 5, the joint executive board of both the street railway and elevated divisions asked the international headquarters for strike sanction. International President Mahon arrived in the city. Several conferences ensued, with no other results but the selection of two new arbiters, Alderman Oscar Nelson for the union and Guy Richardson manager of the surface lines, to represent the companies. These two have handed down an award granting the sick benefit and life insurance demands and—a one cent hourly wage increase to begin June 1st, 1928. An additional one cent per hour beginning June 1st, 1929. The agreement to run for two years.

Oscar Nelson is a lawyer carrying a union card; deeply involved in the city administration politics dominated by the Insull traction interest and committed to its program. The traction employees could expect nothing in the way of protection of their interests from such arbitration; and nothing is the actual result.

The sick benefit feature and individual life insurance policy at the cost of the company has already for some time been enjoyed by the elevated employees. This the companies were willing to grant also to the street carmen without any pressure. Thus the net gain for the rank and file by their overwhelming strike vote and their militant readiness for fight is a miserable one cent increase to begin June 1st.

What is more important is that this comes at a time of a general offensive by the employers and the government upon the unions, at a time when the coal miners and other unions are fighting for their very existence and when the whole movement is in a deep-going crisis. It is one more example of a trade union being converted into a company union due to the bankrupt policy of the officials.

The progressive traction workers correctly pointed out that "arbitration is a trap." They urged the rank and file membership to "compel the officials to fight for their full demands or get out of office." The progressive slogan is now more weighty than ever: "*Fight the companies! Watch your leaders!*"

Hillman's Theory and Practice in The Amalgamated Clothing Workers Means That Tailors Earn An Average of \$21 per Week and Home Workers Earn Between \$9 and \$13 per Week.

Amalgamated Efficiency Unionism

Blessing for the Bosses--Misfortune for the Workers

By LOUIS HYMAN

Manager New York Joint Board Cloak and Dressmakers' Union

IN THE Jewish Trade Union Movement, Sidney Hillman, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, was the first to preach and put into practise the "Green-Woll" brand of unionism. Not only the employers of the needle industry, but employers everywhere call Hillman the best, the most capable and the cleverest union leader.

As for the liberal intellectuals, they never cease singing hymns of praise at the very mention of Hillman's name. It is often recounted how Hillman built the mighty Amalgamated, with a bank in New York and another in Chicago, built million dollar apartment houses also. The logical conclusion drawn is that Hillman's achievements prove the theory of class struggle fallacious, and all talk about workers wresting improvements through class struggle not worth a continental.

CAN A UNION PLEASE A BOSS

This brings to the forefront the question, how can matters be so arranged as to both satisfy the hunger of the wolf and at the same time save the sheep? We will let Hillman explain this great mystery.

In "The Advance" of June 29, 1927, there appeared an article of Hillman's entitled, "The Clothing Industry and the Amalgamated". In that article Hillman demonstrates that the percentage of bankruptcies amongst non-union firms is greater than that amongst union firms, because of the tactics of the Amalgamated, which were deliberately planned and executed. Hillman further states:

"We know more about the process of production than does the individual employer and in many instances the Union, through its experts, has indicated the mistakes made in the process of production and the way to improve such process. We have co-operated with the manufacturers to bring out such clothing as is demanded in the market; especially during the

past few years when there were continuous changes in the industry, the most important of which was the demand for cheap clothing. A great many manufacturers have made changes in their production in harmony with the new demands. Lower prices in clothing can result either from lower wages of the workers or changes in the method of production. And in this matter the Union can be of great aid by insisting that the lowered prices of garments shall only come about through a change in the method of production and not through lowered union standards. In some emergency cases we have even helped employers financially. We have helped them overcome the crisis and retain their business. The policy of our organization, as already stated above, was to co-operate with the employers in lowering the production cost without lowering the union standards."

NOT LOANING TO TAILORS

In considering the policy of the Amalgamated, as stated by Hillman himself, we will not take into account sentiments and will not ask the question whether it is consistent with trade union traditions to help employers financially.

The Amalgamated has a bank and to whom shall this bank lend money except to bosses who must pay bills? Surely, it is not to be expected that the bank would lend money to the tailors to pay rent? This would be contrary to the state banking laws, since the tailors cannot make use of Hillman's "efficiency" unionism as collateral to guarantee their loans; as for other collateral, it is not at their disposal.

Hillman's statement that the brand of unionism practiced in the Amalgamated is a blessing for the bosses is amply corroborated by official statistics which show that the profits of the men's clothing manufacturers have increased tremendously in recent years. According to statistics just printed by the United States Commerce Department there were, in 1914, some 4,830 men's clothing firms. Their gross profits amounted to \$141,351. This makes an average earning of \$29,265 per firm. In 1925 the num-

ber of firms was reduced to 4,000 and their gross profits had risen to \$325,920,000. This makes an average of \$81,480 per firm. In order to get an idea of how tremendous the profits of the clothing manufacturers are, one must also bear in mind that among the 4,000 firms there are 1,545 contracting shops and naturally the contractors did not make a profit of \$81,480 per year. If we were to figure only on inside manufacturers, therefore, the average profit would be much greater.

WHAT ABOUT THE WORKERS?

But after all, unions are created not only for the purpose of aiding employers but incidentally they must also do something for the workers. When we investigate the conditions of the workers we find that there are no miracles in this world. Hillman's magic explains itself and we learn how it is possible for production to be carried on at lower costs in union shops than in non-union. The magic wand is called "efficiency". What "efficiency" means for the bosses we have learned from the above. However, for the workers we find that "efficiency" means shorter seasons, unemployment, the speed-up system and starvation wages.

In the same organ of the Amalgamated "The Advance", of December 9th, 1927, Dr. Herman Frank in an article entitled "The American Men's Clothing Industry in Figures", shows that in 1923 all men's clothing establishments employed 174,332. This means that in the course of the two years, between 1923 and 1925, more than 20,000 workers have been thrown out of the shops; though the number of workers has been reduced; nevertheless the seasons grew shorter. Dr. Frank takes his statistics from the report of the Federal Department of Commerce. The year 1925 was a good year, a year of prosperity for the clothing manufacturers. This is seen from the large profits made as shown by the above mentioned figures. What then are the reasons for the facts as given by Dr. Frank? His article does not attempt to explain them.

RANK AND FILE WORRIED

Such explanation, however, can be found in "The Advance" of June 29th, 1927, the same issue in which Hillman's article, quoted above, appeared. There we find a report of a meeting of Local 2 of the Amalgamated which speaks of a discussion that took place on the much aggravated problem of labor saving machinery. It is a constantly growing evil and is becoming

more menacing from day to day, the report says. Machines are replacing hand workers more and more and there is less and less place for the workers in the industry. The report further states:

"The Executive Board of Local 2, together with the officials of the Joint Board conferred and worked out a resolution to cope with this problem. There is a certain part of a coat that must remain the work of the baster though basting machines are otherwise used. The officials, the business agents and trade managers have undertaken to enforce these regulations in the shops."

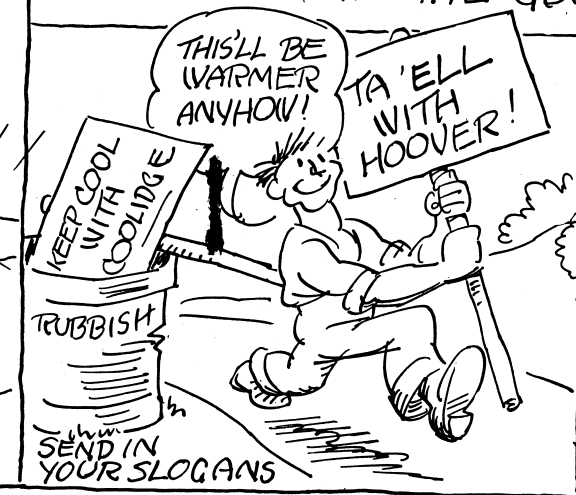
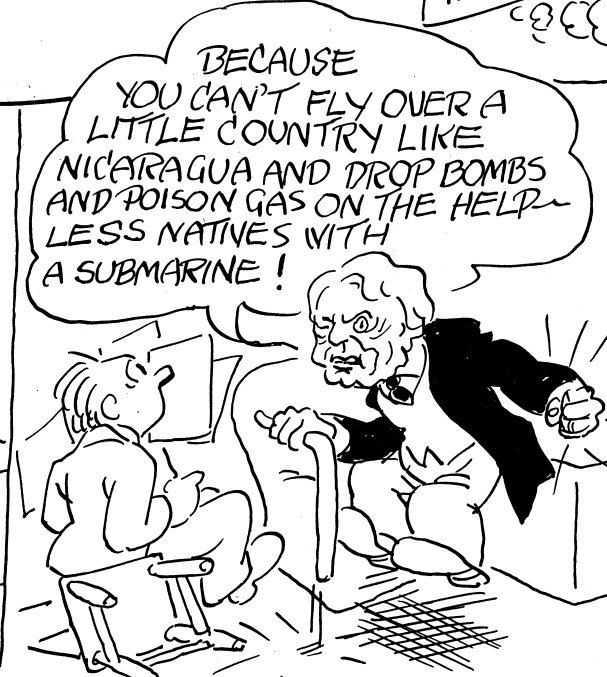
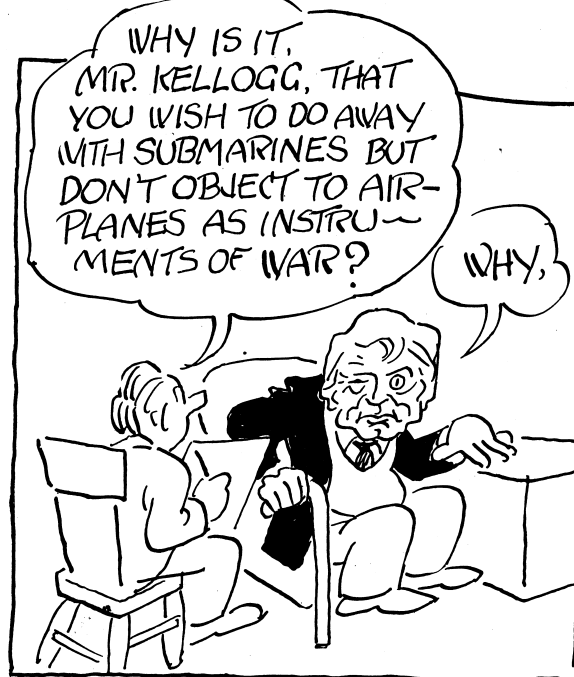
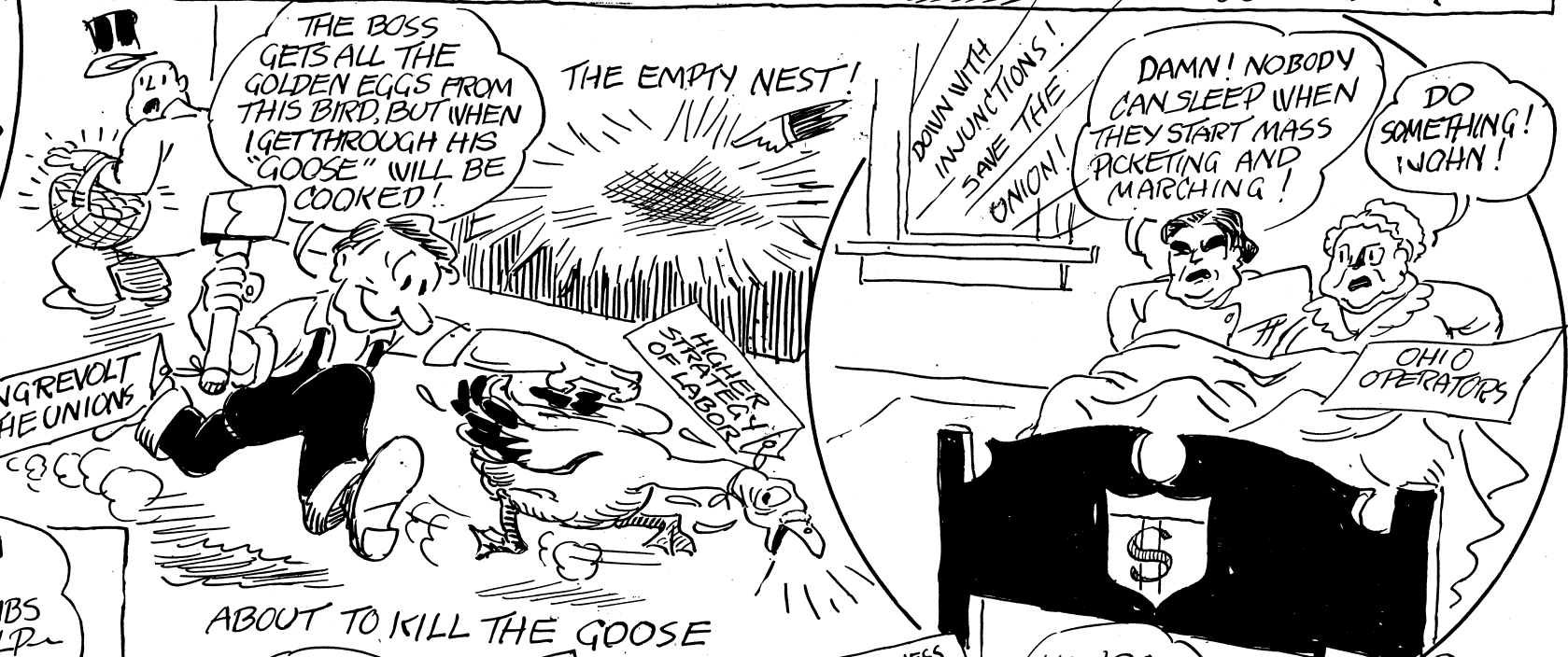
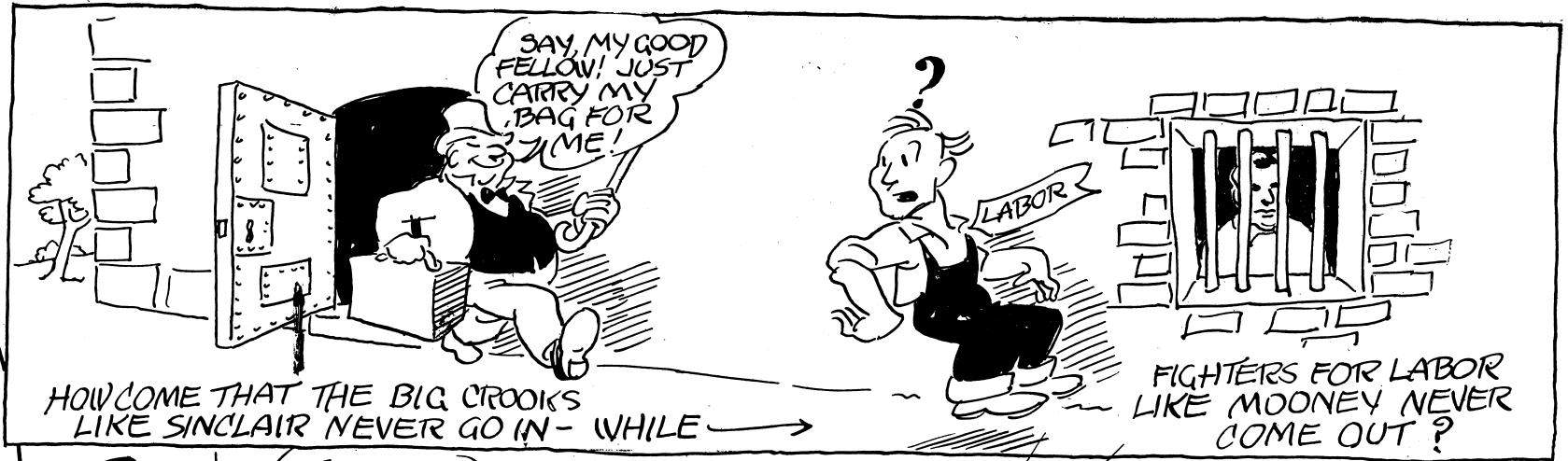
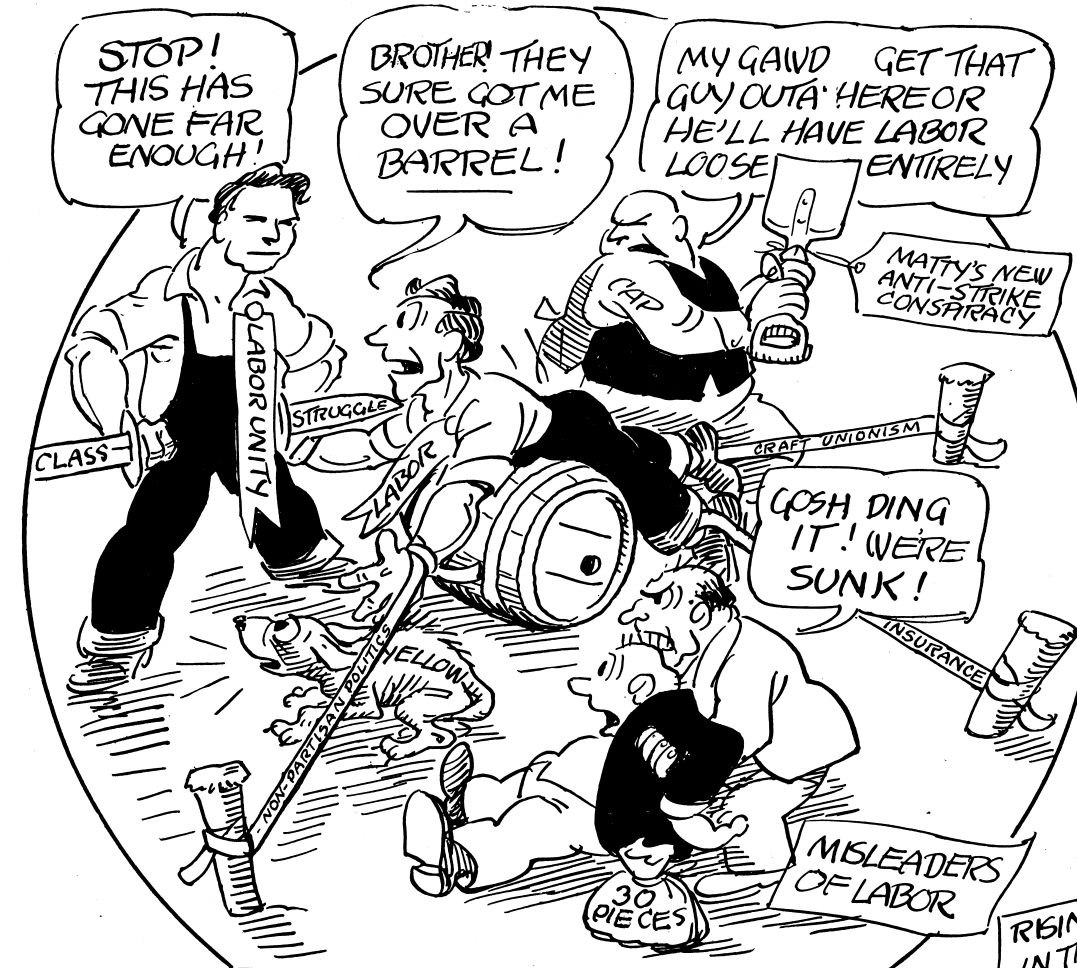
How do Hillman's tactics of co-operating with the bosses by installing the highest form of "efficiency" tally with this action of Local 2? How does this tally with Hillman's tactics of enabling union manufacturers to compete with non-union firms? Is it in line with Hillman's efficiency theory to force the bosses to employ basters when edges of coats can be basted by machine at a lower cost of production? Whose policy is correct? Whose tactics are in the interest of the workers? Whose tactics should be put into effect, Hillman's or the Joint Board's? And how can "The Advance" at one and the same time praise Hillman and also praise Hollander, who undertakes to see that no basting machines are installed?

"EFFICIENCY," NO CONSISTENCY

Consistency is not among Hillman's virtues. In the shops one cannot practice "efficiency" and cooperation with the bosses and at the same time prohibit the installation of labor-saving basting machines. Of course, theoretical inconsistencies disappear when it comes down to actual facts. In the shop Hillman's policy of the speed-up system and higher standard of production is put into effect, with the result that thousands of workers are thrown out of the shops and reduced to virtual starvation. Since the joint Board cannot give jobs to the workers, it at least adopts resolutions not to permit the use of basting machines. The bosses are not in the least alarmed by these resolutions. On the contrary, the more such resolutions are made the more easily will the workers be fooled.

Dr. Frank's article is full of figures. One can note how many inside shops there are, how many contractors, the prices of suits and coats, etc. But as to the earnings of the workers look once more into the report of the United States Commerce Department, where we discovered

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facts that are not to be found in "The Advance" and which they had evidently forgotten to state. We learn that the 174,332 workers who were employed in the men's clothing industry in 1925 received wages amounting to \$203,847,000. This means an average of \$1,168 a year per worker, or \$21 per week.

Well, it seems that the "efficiency" bunk and apartment unionism did not bring the millennium for the workers. One cannot even live meagrely on \$21 per week.

In order to complete the picture of the situation in the Amalgamated we will also acquaint you with the fact that in the men's clothing industry the evil of home work still flourishing. Not only did the Union fail to do away with this evil, but on the contrary, according to the report of the State Department of Labor, Bulletin 1477, of August 1926, the number of home workers in the men's clothing industry has increased. The investigation of the State Department of Labor has established that there are in New York about five thousand home workers and their earnings are from \$9 to \$13 per week. The report further states that when the home worker earns from \$9 to 13 per week it is not certain whether these are the earnings of one

person or more. It is also impossible to establish the number of working hours. In most instances those who take out work are women. When these women bring the work to their homes it very often happens that the mother together with the children do the work. In the books of the employer the name of only one person is recorded, but in reality a number of people worked for this \$9 to \$13 per week. There is no limit as to the hours; whole nights are spent working.

When we examine these facts the miracle disappears and the puzzle is solved. When Hillmans and Greens proclaim that thru the installation of "efficiency" the workers have shorter hours and higher wages, and that at the same time the production cost is not increased, they forget that this same "Efficiency" means not only a reduction of the number of workers and more unemployment, but also hard work and the speed-up system for those who remain in the shops; a speed-up system which can only be kept up with by the younger and stronger workers. Not only is this true in the Amalgamated but all over. Ask the workers and they will tell you what "Efficiency" means.

A FEDERAL ANTI-STRIKE LAW

(Continued from Page 3)

is in line with this whole development. Its purpose is to demobilize the workers and to render them helpless in the face of capitalist exploitation.

"The labor officials supporting this monstrous legislative program are nothing more or less than agents of the capitalist class in its open shop drive against the workers. They are surrendering the workers' right to organize and strike. Their action is part and parcel with their general policy of co-operation with the employers. With the unions being smashed on many fronts, these misleaders refuse to amalgamate the unions, to organize the unorganized, to build a Labor Party, to develop a counter-offensive against the employers. On the contrary, they work hand in glove with the employers to speed up production, they sabotage every struggle of the workers, and they terrorize every element in the working class that demands indispensable fighting policy. They are the tools of American imperialism at home as well as abroad. Meanwhile, the trade union movement goes into the ditch.

"The trade unions, confronted with an industrial depression and an army of over three

million unemployed, are in a deep crisis. Their very life is threatened by the attacks being delivered against them by the employers and by the absolute refusal of the union leaders to mobilize the workers to resist these attacks by a counter offensive. The proposed anti-strike laws are the climax of a long process of systematic surrender of the workers into the hands of the employers. It is the latest blow at the weakened union movement.

"The great masses of workers must rally and defeat this latest assault by the employers and their lieutenants, the trade union leaders.

"Unorganized, as well as organized workers, must protest and demonstrate aggressively against this crowning act of treachery by the labor bureaucracy. Every union and shop throughout the country should protest against it. The masses can and will defeat this effort to shackle the working class in slavery to the capitalists.

"Workers! Defeat the proposed legislation! Free yourselves from the treacherous leaders who are co-operating with the employers in the formulation of this law! Defend your living standards, your labor organizations, and your right to strike!"

When a Democrat is an Autocrat

A. G. RIGHTMAN

A short time ago the newspapers carried a little item, dated at "Printing Pressmen's Home, Tennessee: "The International Printing Pressmen and Assistant's Union will hold no elections this year, there being no candidates to oppose the present incumbents in office, President Geo. L. Berry, Vice-presidents Wm. H. McHugh, Shuford B. Marks, Geo. R. Brunet and P. J. O'Donnell, and Secretary-treasurer Joseph C. Orr."

The visitors from Abyssinia or the proverbial man from Mars might well get the idea from this that Berry and associates were so well beloved by the members of the union that no one cared to run against them.

A MAN WITH ONLY RICH FRIENDS

The briefest possible investigation among the members of the web pressmen of New York, among Locals 3 and 4 in Chicago or the dwellers in the Pressmen's home itself, would convince the inquirer that Geo. L. Berry, president of the union, some-time second in command of the American Legion, millionaire by virtue of personal investment of union dues, and aspirant for the 1928 nomination for vice president of the United States on the Democratic ticket, has no friends whatever among the actual, bona fide workers at the trade. In fact they hit him in the jaw if they meet him unprotected by gangsters.

Major Berry controls his union conventions through the "rotten burough" system, by which dozens of little locals, fake locals in many cases, cast the votes, and the big locals (over half the membership of the union being in New York and Chicago locals) are represented by a handful of votes. If those votes are held by courageous men, likely to talk up to the Major, they run the risk of being thrown in jail until the convention, always held in Berry's own home town in Tennessee, is over. Delegates from Chicago Pressmen's Local 3 were thus jailed at an international union convention. Or he might hire gangsters to slug or kill them, as gangsters were hired in the Chicago internal union fights.

KILLS OFF OPPONENT

He who runs against Berry, or opposes him in any way will certainly find that however

large a popular vote he gets, Berry will still be president because of the peculiar institution of an electoral college, controlled in much the same manner as the convention, in a union dominated by an upper caste of Berry-appointed organizers, with nine dollar a day expense funds and big salaries besides.

Thus in 1922 Berry was opposed by Farrel. A count of the vote in 122 locals showed Farrel receiving 12,310 votes and Berry only 2,636, two or three votes for Berry for each man appointed directly by him to a place on the union payroll.

But in these self same locals, Berry's majority in the electoral college, the votes that count under the constitution, was 42. In 6 locals voting for Farrel there were 7,238 members; in 43 locals voting for Berry there were only 226 members. It takes nearly a revolution to unseat Berry, under the circumstances.

BOSSES FOR BERRY

And Berry has back of him not only the legalistic power of his fake locals and hoodwinked country locals, he has the power of the press. He has the good offices of the owners of it. In August 24, at a convention of the union, Fred A. Walker, Chairman of the Publisher's Association of New York was introduced, given an ovation by the Berry majority, and said in the course of his argument for lower wages, longer hours, and harder work by pressmen, that Major Geo. L. Berry was one of the greatest labor leaders of America, and the kind of a labor official that the employers like, because, "The great danger to the employer is that the control of union labor may fall into the hands of unwise leaders".

Berry had justified the regard of the employers in 1919 in New York when he broke the "vacation" strike of pressmen by importing scabs, in 1923 when he broke the web pressmen's strike with scabs he imported even from Canada, to work at \$20 a day; recruited them through a scab employment office run jointly by himself and the Burns Detective Agency, and again later in 1923 when he broke the strike of the junior pressmen on Hearst's Evening Journal in New York.

BRAGS OF STRIKEBREAKING

Berry does not deny his strike breaking ac-

tivities, he boasts of them. Thus at the 1926 A. F. L. convention, he stated in an interview with newspapermen, how he told the New York publishers in 1923:

"This isn't your strike. I'll break this strike," and said of himself: "Well, I brought in strike-breakers from all over the country to man the presses, broke the strike and then got a \$5 increase..." (cheaper than scabs) I went back to New York on the expiration of the contract. The publishers came to see me at my hotel". (He maintains a suite at the Waldorf-Astoria)

"That's the policy that wins." Why should Berry do these things? When it was proven in open court that he had stolen \$165,000 from the union treasury to finance his Hinchfield Hydrom Electric Power Co. and allied enterprises, and Local 3 of Chicago rebelled against further dues for that purpose, Berry forced them to throw out the graft case then on appeal, because if they did not he would get the Chicago employers to reject their proposed contract, and smash their union. He paid the Chicago employers for this friendly aid by bringing strike breakers to crush the strike in the Cuneo plant. And he keeps until this day the \$165,000. He spent, on the books, \$2,000,000 on the Pressmen's Home in Tennessee, but the man who could charge \$42.50 carfare (as Berry did in 1920) for riding the Hudson tube and street cars from New York to Newark to speak an hour at the New Jersey State League of Pressmen, would find a way to make some of that \$2,000,000 stick to his hands. One way

he does it is by selling electric light and power, farm products, and other things from his many enterprises to the disabled printer's home, controlled by himself. It's good business when you are both buyer and seller, and some one else pays the bills.

SCABBED INTO THE UNION

Berry gets into his treasury all the money in the organization. He took \$30,000 from the New York union treasury after breaking their strike. And he uses it as he pleases. He is commonly reputed to be worth over half a million dollars, and he began his union career as a strike-breaker in St. Louis in 1902, where he entered the union by being given a card free to get him to stop scabbing. Now he gives scabs cards, free, to go on scabbing.

Is it any wonder that Major Berry loves the system, and hates militant unionists, who want results for the members of the organization, and not for him? The present system made him rich, give him a military title without making him do any fighting, and autocratic power. Beyond all he expects to be the next vice president of U. S. if union money can make him that. In 1902 he told a union organizer, appealing to him to be a man and stop scabbing to "Go to Hell". (An affidavit to this effect by Alfred Dale a union organizer is a matter of public record). Now he tells the whole union membership to "Go to Hell," and clubs them with scabs if they remonstrate.

"Public Hearings,, As Propaganda

(Continued from Page 3)

That group of smaller employers organized in the National Association of Manufacturers was somewhat opposed to the proposition. Its general counsel, J. A. Emery, protested that many employers wanted no unions at all, but was mollified when the chairman and other speakers made it clear that company unions and the "yellow dog" contracts, forced on individual workers would be recognized and enforced.

P. W. Martin, representing the International Labor Office of the League of Nations encouraged the Woll-Bar Association movement by declaring that the whole world is turning to compulsory arbitration.

David Dreschler, counsel for the New York Clothing Manufacturers Exchange, on the first day of the conference announced himself in favor of the proposed anti-strike bill, because, "in the coming period of depression labor which is now influenced by its conservative officials who gave little trouble, might begin to listen to radicals."

W. Jett Lauck, for a long time an employee of the railroad brotherhoods, revoked his previously published criticisms of the scheme, approved of it "enthusiastically" and proposed that the matter be pushed energetically. He too feared that later, during hard times, labor would no longer be satisfied with present policies and leadership.

And Chairman Cohen, summing up, declared that all who testified, except one, were substantially in favor of the proposed bill, and merely questions of administration were in dispute. He again decreed that Foster would have to present the T. U. E. L. argument in writing, instead of orally and finished with a dissertation on the dignity of this hall, and the respect due to the hearing.

With the exception of the sharp clash at the end, he should have had little to complain of in that respect, for all the bought labor officials, petty economists, and hirelings of big business took themselves too seriously to be any thing else than pompous.

The Fourth Congress Of The R. I. L. U.

THE Trade Union Educational League is sending a delegation of 25 to the Fourth World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions meeting in Moscow, in the middle of March. On their return members of the delegation will tour America, explaining at mass meetings the great significance of the Congress and of the R. I. L. U. The importance of this congress, the first in three years, can hardly be overestimated, not so much because the main lines of the policies of the Red International have not already been worked out at the previous congresses, but because the whole vast task of adapting those policies in detail to the concrete problems of many different countries must be thoroughly gone into.

Many things have happened since the last congress: the Chinese revolution, the Indonesian rebellion, the rising tide of labor in India, the British general strike and mine strike, the bureaucrats movement to the right in the United States, England, Germany and other countries, the increased stability and power of construction in Russia, the Vienna uprising, the Fascist terror over labor in Italy, Fascist movements in other countries, increased war danger, etc.

Delegates representing the millions of members of the Red International will have to take up again the question of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and relations with it. Its officialdom has gone far to the right, even as some of its rank and file have gone to the left. The "yellow" leaders of Europe are aping the class collaborationist tactics of the American Federation of Labor.

New methods of forming united fronts with the solid, proletarian elements in the Amsterdam international will be worked out at the Fourth R. I. L. U. Congress. The work of the Pan Pacific Trade Union Conference and the newly organized Latin American Secretariat, both of them united front movements will be examined, and furthered. A host of such problems as the fight against the war danger and imperialism, the labor movements in the colonies and semi-colonies, winning of the youth, educational work, immigration and emigration work among women, social legislation, as well as the organizational forms and tactics of left wing work in particular countries, like U. S., England, France, Germany, Japan, etc., will be vigorously attacked and solved. The secretary of the R. I. L. U. is warning the delegates not to come with mere cut-and-dried theories of a general nature, but with concrete and specialised information, so that there can be a working out in common of the practical strategy for the gigantic struggles looming up.

Against Class Collaboration

(Continued from Page 9)

TRY TO COVER UP

At the conference, I charged individual coal-owners with victimising workmen in their own collieries, and supported the charge with definite examples. But neither the chairman nor the secretary of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress breathed a word charging the employers with being out to smash trade unionism; in fact they seemed passively to acquiesce in all the employers said. At least, they did not protest. Instead of my receiving the support of the trade union representatives present, when I challenged the employers, I received nothing but opposition and insults. Later, as a result of my demand that verbatim reports of the conference be issued to the trade union movement—a demand they refused

—there were vague threats of having me removed from the General Council. Naturally, I shall fight any such attempt, and I am sure the rank and file of the unions will back me up in such a fight.

If the "industrial peace" majority on the General Council insinuate that, in my criticisms, I do not represent the workers' point of view, I am ready to make the following proposal:

Let us all resign our positions on the General Council, and seek re-election immediately from the whole trade union movement, on this issue. A special Trades Union Congress can be called, to deal with the issue, and to elect a new General Council on this specific question. It will reveal whether the workers want a policy of fighting capitalism, or of helping the employers to re-build it.

The Skeleton in McCrorry's Closet

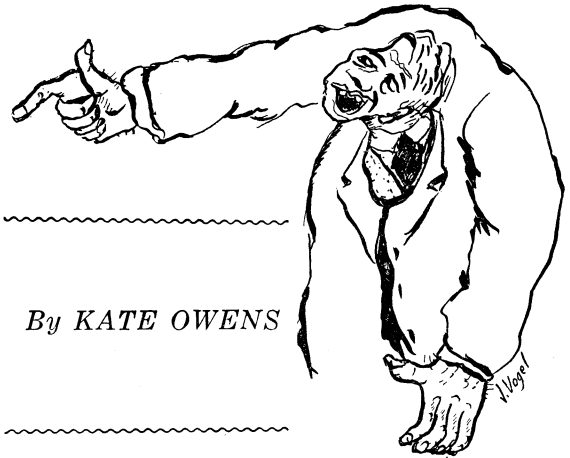
A smell was in the air of damp plaster. I was in the basement restaurant of one of McCrorry's five-and-ten-cent stores. myself in charge of four tables in the corner. Not a window was to be seen, but overhead were the huge white pipes of an artificial ventilation system.

The glare of electric lights beat against white-topped tables, illuminating spots of egg, tomato sauce and other remnants of past meals. I set to work. Behind the big horse-shoe counter, I found two cloths, one almost black; the other nearer gray. The dark rag I wet and started going over the tables. It smelled eloquently of a long history of such usage. Later I received a towel from the head waitress, who told me that each girl got "one a week."

* * *

As I swopped my tables over, a friendly cockroach crawled over my hand from under the sugar bowl and new-born flies buzzed sociably around. But less animate impediments refused to be stirred,—many of the spots I was forced to leave. After wiping the black rims from the top of the catsup bottles and cleaning the mustard jars, I was ready for customers. My hair net was firmly pinned in place, for the headwaitress had instructed me to buy one, as "McCrorry's is very particular about being sanitary"

"My" customers were tired looking girls and women, most of them



By KATE OWENS

A MANAGER

working in a nearby book-binding factory, I learned, and getting no more than \$14 a week. No wonder they could afford nothing more than the 25 cent lunch McCrorry's offered,—meat, potatoes and gravy, white bread and butter, and coffee with canned milk. For ten cents more, one could have soup, or a side dish of vegetables, or cake. But few took more than the minimum.

The waitresses themselves can have the side dishes with their meals; because the greater part of their pay consists of food. For the noon rush shift from 11 to 2 o'clock, the weekly pay is only five dollars. The nine-hour day girl gets \$12. A few customers leave nickle "tips" but this doesn't add much.

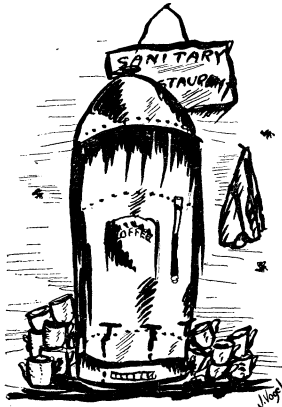
Of all the eating places in which I have ever worked, from coast to coast, this one was the worst and the most depressing. In other non-union places, the wages are almost as low,—even in the "Tip-Toe" and "St Regis" but nowhere else have I found such speed-up, such petty meannesses from straw bosses, such unsavory surroundings. The buss boy rushes like a little maniac, bent over half under the strain of huge pans of dirty dishes; the waitresses almost knock each other down in their race to be first at the coffee urn or steam table; the manager barks and customers yell.

When my time was up, I told the cashier that I didn't intend to stay, but she refused to give me the eighty cents due, saying that I must come back Monday, which was "pay day." McCrorry's is run on a strictly "business" basis and its rules could not be broken. I began to "raise a racket", saying that I wouldn't stir until I got my money. She relented and reached into the cash bag for the change.

In the dressing room, the girls were talking about one of the waitresses who was sick at



home with lumbago. They were much worried over her and one



said that she was going to see her that afternoon to give her back a good rub. This waitress turned to ask me if I was staying. When I said "No," that I was used to union conditions and couldn't stand such a job, all the girls wanted to know if they could join the union.

Inwardly ashamed and enraged because I could not answer "Of course," I hid my feeling and told the girls

that mostly men belonged to our union now, but that we were planning an organization drive for girls and when it came off, if they were still at the trade, they would surely hear of it.

As I smiled good-bye to their brightened faces, I wondered what they would think if they knew the truth—that our union officials are not interested in the workers nor how they suffer on the job, whether non-union or union; that they would hesitate about taking in girls even if the boss brought a signed agreement.

But if I had told them all the ins and outs of our union's "business" policy, I would also have told them that we had in our union a left wing that is fighting this boss-cooperation system and that when the left wing wins out, as is inevitable, we will have a city-wide organization drive, and there will be no discrimination against girls, nor against buss-boys, either, nor cooks. And we won't stop organizing restaurants and lunch rooms, but will look after hotel, cafeteria and automat workers as well, and by keeping up with the progress of the times, we will save our international union despite its officials.

What About the Anthracite?

(Continued from Page 6)

We must immediately start a struggle in our local unions to clean out corruption by the company and to clean out company influence.

We, as the membership as a whole, must realize that the union in the soft coal is in danger as also the union in the anthracite and that it is due primarily to the fact that Lewis, Cappelini and Golden are the head of it.

We must also realize that the different opposition movements in the districts and tri-districts of the anthracite must consolidate on one common program and must fight as a unit instead of fighting separately as we are fighting today.

"OUT WITH LEWIS"

We must make certain opposition elements not only fight because they are "out" at the present time and they want "in" but because the rank and file wants to clean out the offices. Our program must be: Out with Lewis and his whole clique—Immediate withdrawal from the Mt. Carmel cooperative conference which is controlled by the bosses—Immediate adjusting of all grievances—Immediate doing away

with the conciliation board and the umpire—Immediate taking care of the unemployed by the industry and the state government by a fund created from the profits of the coal operators and administered by the local unions—Immediate setting up of definite rates and making provisions for mine workers who are displaced by the mechanical loader—Absolute doing away with the contract system—Re-establishing wages where individual wage cuts were given on yardage or dead work—Absolute guarantee of all supplies for miners and in case of the miners not getting supplies and having to go home, they and the laborers or the workers who are concerned, must be paid a full wage for the day—Equalization of wages for all mine workers who are earning below the wage \$6.50—Immediate increase of 20%.

This is the only way that we will be able to save our union. The main task is for every member of the mine workers unions to get interested in his union affairs and to attend meetings. In this way only, will we be able to save what is left of our union and build it into the powerful union that it once was.

The Miners Surge Forward

(Continued from Page 5)

pushed energetically. The Illinois conference formally advised the National Save-the-Union Committee in Pittsburgh to call in the near future a national conference to guide the struggle.

Especially does sentiment run high for a strike on April first, when the truce expires, to save the union in Illinois, Ohio and Pennsylvania.

The Illinois conference took place absolutely in the open, in a big hall from which no one was barred. In addition to the delegates from left wing groups in the various locals, about 150 rank and file miners from the immediate vicinity were there. Gus Fritz, a district executive board member, once posing as a progressive, but now thoroughly unmasked as a tool of Fishwick and Lewis, sat in too, tried to take the floor, and metaphorically speaking, had his hide stripped off him by some of the delegates who knew him.

There were many speakers. Pat Toohey and Tony Minerich of the National Save-the-Union Committee, Luke Coffee, Joe Angelo, John Watts, Freeman Thompson, and numerous others seized the opportunity to speak for the miners of their localities, and tell of the situation in its various aspects. The feeling of the conference was quite clear and correct. The miners have lost confidence in their official leaders, they will fight along left wing lines for a labor party, for organizing of the unorganized fields, for the six hour day and five day week, for state relief for unemployed, for a tonnage rate on coal cutting and loading machines so that the machines will give part of their profit (taken out of the men's wages because of reduced crews in the mines) back to the miners, for no surrender of the Jacksonville scale, for national agreements and militant officials in place of class-collaborationists.

The question of machines, which are being introduced first into the southern fields as the coal seam around Springfield is not so suitable to them, is one of the most serious. Mines with 600 men employed have cut down to 250 men when machines were installed, and still produce enough coal. The entry-driving machinery throws most men out of work.

When the treacherous separate truce was signed with the operators by Fishwick, under Lewis' supervision, in October, the old wage scale was paid until March 1, with arrange-

ments for cutting it in February by a kind of arbitration. But the machine question could not wait that long; Fishwick agreed to a temporary basis of machine work, to take effect Nov. 1, with loading machine men being paid \$8.04 a day, and producing several times as much coal as under the old method, where the wage was set at \$7.50. Incidentally the operators, in the February meeting of the wage scale committee, demand \$7.50 for machine men, 80 cents a ton for pick loaders—a general reduction of about 25%.

Another sore point with the miners of Illinois is the flagrant disregard of union rules intended for the safety of the men. The bosses not only fire and hire as they like, feeling sure that the Fishwick bureaucracy will not interfere on the side of men discriminated against, but they also force men to work in unsafe mines, mines filled with gas, without proper timbering, with the cars running too fast, etc.

The employers, evidently in preparation for the use of scabs, are trying to get nullified part of the state mining laws providing a test of skill for prospective miners.

The least infraction of company rules by the men, however, is punished immediately. Dirt in one car gets a man dismissed, in many mines.

The conference discussed all these evils, and was enthusiastic for a fight to the finish to remove them. The delegates and spectators cheered loudly every suggestion of united action to win the strike, and unanimously and with cheers voted a resolution demanding the release from prison of Henry Corbishley and the other Zeigler men, framed up on murder charges because of an attack in a union meeting by reactionary gangsters. The prosecution had been aided by Fishwick's former chief, Farrington, and Fishwick himself helps keep Corbishley in prison.

Sentiment is wide spread among the men that the separate peace between the Illinois district and the operators was a mistake and treason to the rest of the miners, also that the operators having used them against Pennsylvania and Ohio, are trying now to break the Illinois union itself, as the wage negotiations have apparently fallen through, for the time being.

The Illinois conference voted to support the Coal Digger, militant organ of the left wing, published at 526 Federal St., Room 405, N. S. Pittsburgh, Pa.

MILITANCY IN OHIO

Ohio has become quite militant, too. On January 13 and 14, about 300 men from surrounding mines marched on the Rush Run mine of the Yiougehenny & Ohio Coal Co., attempting to operate as a fake co-operative, and closed it down. Nearly 500 miners then began picketing Neffs No. 7 mine of the Wheeling & Lake Erie Coal Co., near Bellaire, defying injunctions, arrests, and the efforts of the subdistrict machine to stop them. The Warner Collieries and the Rush Run owners asked Federal Judge B. W. Hough at Columbus for an injunction, and got it, on the grounds that "the situation is out of the control of local authorities."

In this atmosphere the Eastern Ohio left wing congress was held Jan. 20 at Bellaire, with 200 militants present from locals throughout the strike area. The conference formed the Ohio branch of the Save-the-Union Committee, with James Wahl and Plechaty, young Dillonville miners, Sepich of Neffs, and Jack Bell, old-time British progressive, as outstanding rank and file figures in the lead of the campaign.

AID FOR THE OPERATORS

Sub-district officials of the Union immediately launched a violent attack on the Save-the-Union Committee, and its fighting policy. The Neffs local officials were summoned to the sub-district office at Bellaire with orders that the injunction must be obeyed and mass picketing halted. The Neffs men refused to discuss the matter with the machine, and continued the picketing. Within the past two weeks, Lee Hall, Ohio district president and David McKee, international organizer, have come in to reinforce the sub-district machine, and are calling a series of mass meetings around the camps; not to brace the miners to resistance as the coal owners try to open the mines, but to denounce mass picketing, mine marches, and the general line of the Save-the-Union Committee. So far the machine offensive has been a fizzle.

A mass meeting called by the machine during the second week of February, at Lansing, with Lee Hall and McKee as speakers, resulted in 500 miners shouting down every attempt of the bureaucrats to attack the Save-the-Union Committee or the Pennsylvania and Ohio Min-

ers Relief Committee, which has a large number of Ohio camps on its list.

"STICK TO UNION PRINCIPLES!"

A few days later, at the Provident mine, militant local officials on the platform, with some 300 miners backing them up in the audience, pulled down the machine speakers when they opened up on the left wing committee with the command, "Stick to the principles of unionism and the strike if you're going to speak here."

In the meantime the Save-the-Union Committee is going steadily ahead with its plans, and a series of meetings is scheduled, beginning with the 17th, with Kemenovitch and Minerich of the Save-the-Union National Committee and John Brophy as speakers.

The Ohio mass meetings continue. Six more were organized for Feb. 23, 24 and 25, in Neffs, Bellaire, Yorkville, Dillonvale, Blaine, Martins Ferry, etc., with John Brophy and Pat Toohey speaking, and still others will be held. Mass picketing will be intensified as a result of these meetings.

The district officials are said to be concentrating all their forces on the camps for which the meetings are planned, and an open clash is expected between the Lewis henchmen and the rank and file militants determined to push forward the fight, clean out the corrupt officials who are letting the union slide to destruction, spread the strike to the non-union West Virginia fields just across the Ohio River, and build up the union into a strong and militant organization that will win the strike.

Throughout District 15 (Pittsburgh) many local unions are hearing Save-the-Union Committee speakers, mass meetings are being organized, and being officially sponsored by the U. M. W. A. locals. In Bentleyville, Pa., on Feb. 26 in the afternoon Brophy and Toohey spoke. Eight local unions sponsored the meeting, attended by thousands. The same speakers addressed a big meeting in Charleroi, in the evening of the 26th. Eight locals of Avella are organizing a meeting for Save-the-Union speakers.

In short, the miners know that the way to win a battle is to fight, and they are mobilizing their forces at last, they are on the march, and their objective is a victory.

* * *

Relief is still badly needed by the miners on strike. The headquarters of the Pennsylvania-Ohio Miners Relief is in Pittsburgh, Pa., 611 Penn Ave., Room 307

A Blood-stained Throne

By FRANK PALMER

JOHN D. Rockefeller, J., still rules Colorado, but again his henchmen have had to kill rebellious workers to hold his throne.

On the surface, Rockefeller was able to evade responsibility for the Columbine massacre on November 21, 1927, because his interests do not control the Columbine. And, despite all opinions, it has been impossible so far to tie the Rockefeller gang definitely to the frame-up now admitted to have preceded the massacre.

But on January 12, 1928, a striker and a boy were killed on the streets of Walsenburg, in the heart of Rockefellerdom. And this is going to be harder for the oily churchman to slip through.

On January 5, the City Council of Walsenburg passed a resolution at a special meeting, quoting from a supposed proclamation of martial law, claimed to have been issued by Governor Adams, and making Mayor John J. Pritchard "dictator" of assemblages, parades and demonstrations until the martial law declaration should be withdrawn. This resolution was approved and countersigned by Lewis N. Scherf, personal representative of the governor, and head of the state police. Yet the fact is that the governor had never issued such a proclamation!

"THE FRIEND OF LABOR"

Governor Adams is a weak, frightened and puzzled old man, who squirms nervously, but never takes any direct action. He agrees with anyone to whom he may be talking and promises anything he is asked. But before he can keep his promise he is told something else. He denied to the newspapers that he had issued a proclamation of martial law in Huerfano County—but he couldn't summon the courage to order Scherf to withdraw his approval of the statement that he had!

The day the resolution passed, 117 strikers were arrested as they marched toward Walsen (Rockefeller) mine at the edge of the town. The next night nineteen of these were taken in

FRANK PALMER WRITES

WELD COUNTY JAIL, Greeley, Colorado, Jan. 28.—You will have to move fast to catch me between jails. However, I have written a little something for Labor Unity. This was a great strike.

Fraternally, FRANK PALMER

cars about one hundred miles from Walsenburg and dumped at midnight in the desert five miles from any town, food, money, sufficient clothing, or knowledge of their whereabouts, and with the threat,

"If you come back, we'll kill you." Sixteen came back.

Lewis N. Scherf was positively identified as the "chief" of kidnapping pirates. The kidnapping followed raids in which I. W. W. halls were smashed, mass arrests of strikers, violence by the K. K. K. the state police, and mine guards.

On January 12, the campaign of terrorism apparently had failed. The Industrial Commission hearing began that afternoon in Walsenburg and the strikers were there, ready to testify.

A PEACEFUL PARADE

They met as usual at 2 P. M., held a short meeting, and decided to march to the hearing at the courthouse. They formed, with the American flag at the head of the column, the women marching with their men, many of them with babies in their arms. As they started up Main Street, they were met by Scherf and Mayor Pritchard and ordered back. They turned back, although they knew Scherf's order was based on the resolution, which in turn was based on fake proclamation of martial law. Backing Pritchard and Scherf were a dozen state police with riot guns and automatic pistols—and they were a nervous crew. One of them was Lee Lopez, a scab who three weeks before had been arrested for shooting Joe Martinez, a striker. Now he was with the state police!

It appeared that the police were to be disappointed, and that there was to be no opportunity for rough work.

A STRIKER KILLED

As the first of the marchers reached the hall, three state policemen left by the rear door. Clemente Chavez walked to the door to close it after them, when he fell to the floor, killed by

a policeman's bullet, which also wounded another striker in the arm. A hail of bullets from the police in the rear of the hall whistled through the building, breaking the plate glass window in front and missing men and women by inches. Across the street a boy of 16, sole support of four brothers and sisters, a mother and grandmother, who had nothing to do with the parade, was mortally wounded, dying the next day.

The state police reported that Chavez had been sniping at them from the upper window, had been shot out of that window and had hit the telephone wires as he fell outside to the ground—and so on in great detail. Unfortunately, they had done their bloody work too well for their own alibi. The brains and blood of Chavez were so spattered over the walls and floor of the lower hall as to make it perfectly obvious where he had been killed. Also, the windows upstairs had not been opened since the building had been painted; they were almost impossible to open, and the walls showed no return fire from the strikers had been directed against them.

It was a bit too crude, and the coroner's jury brought in a verdict of "unprovoked killing" saying "the state police showed a total disregard for human life."

BOASTED OF BLOOD MONEY

Immediately stories began to fly that the Rockefeller interests were too obviously involved—that this time they might get caught. Overwhelmed apparently by the horror of the blood-spattered hall, the gunman who killed Chavez got drunk and bragged of the thousand dollars he got from the Rockefeller interests for the job. It developed that President Jesse F. Welborn of the Rockefeller Colorado Fuel & Iron Company had been in Walsenburg the night before the killing, presumably to attend the hearing of the commission, but that he had ducked out in the early morning! It was announced that he had been "inspecting the mines," causing some question as to just how many mines the president had inspected in the middle of the night. The whole stoolpigeon system of the C. F. & I. has been crudely handled in this strike, and there is a good chance that this time the dirty work will be traced back to its source. The fineness of past years is missing, for some reason.

At any rate, the hearing has gone on and the strike has gone on. One of Colorado's leading old party politicians was told by a C. F. &

I. official, before the Walsenburg murders, "there will be about one more killing and all the strikers will go back to work." He was dead wrong. Hundreds of those who had been imported as scabs walked out after the shooting. The fighting spirit of the strikers was renewed. They carried on with a new determination.

CONTINUED SOLIDARITY

Some 500 have been arrested; seven strikers and a boy have been killed; more than a score have been wounded; dozens have been held without charges, bond or hearings; many of them have been beaten. But the wonderful vitality and loyalty of the working class when aroused has been shown again and again

Colorado is still a province in Rockefellerdom. But it is not always going to be. Another flag than his has already been raised over Smolny.

* * *

EDITOR'S NOTE:—On Feb. 20 the strike committee in Colorado announced that the men should go back to the mines. Only a few were taken back. A left wing among the strikers opposed the return, which means surrender.

Organizing the Unorganized

Two special conferences to organize the unorganized and wage a militant fight against speed-up, low wages, and other evils in the industries covered are assembling the forces of labor.

One, held in Detroit, Feb. 26, was participated in by the United Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers of America, by various fraternal orders having membership among automobile workers, and language clubs, representatives of the entirely unorganized, etc.

The Detroit conference was for the purpose of stimulating activity for the unorganization of automobile workers, Detroit being a big center of auto manufacture. The expensive and loudly heralded organization campaign of the A. F. L. higher officialdom apparently consisted in little more than a proposition being made by officials to the employers that they should sign up with the unions, and the unions would stimulate production, that is, function as company unions. This scheme was rejected for the time being by the bosses, who do not need it, and is emphatically rejected by the present conference of workers, who do not want it. The conference took special notice of the wage cuts in the industry, ranging from 20% to 40%.

Following the successful strike of the Haverhill shoe workers, who defied their union officials and fought through to a victory against a proposed wage cut, a conference of progressive shoe workers representing all New England is being held in Boston, starting March 4.

EDITORIAL

In a number of recent incidents, there appears clear indication that the temper of the masses of organized workers is rising for resistance against the union smashing, wage cutting campaign of the employers, to an extent and in ways which if pushed

Rank And File To The Left a little further, if given organizational expression, must threaten those men and those policies which have led the unions backwards for the past several years—the corrupt upper bureaucracy of the unions and the whole “higher strategy of labor”.

It can be seen in the mining fields, where a hitherto remarkably docile and well-betrayed strike is suddenly taking a strange new turn. Representatives of thousands of workers gather in Left Wing conferences: there has been one in Pittsburgh, one in Ohio, one in Illinois, one in the anthracite, and another on a national scale can confidently be expected before long, as well as still more regional conferences.

The purposes of these delegates is apparently nothing more nor less than to proceed without regard for the union machinery, which is so largely in the control of Lewis, to do those things which any union leader should have made it his first effort to do months and years ago: namely, to organize the unorganized, who have the fate of the strike in their hands, to spread the strike out on a nation-wide scale, to break up the separate district truces with the employers, which will, if they stand, forever split the miners' union and reduce it to helplessness, to break the power of the injunction judges by openly violating their illegal mandates, to get relief for the strikers by an appeal to the whole organized and unorganized labor movement, and to re-unite as a single fighting whole the anthracite with the bituminous union, by ending the treacherous five year agreement negotiated by Lewis and Cappellini.

These movements, if successfully carried out by an organized left wing, of course end the power of Lewis, Fishwick, Fagan & Co. In fact, the conferences have already raised the slogan: “Lewis must go!” and the Coal Digger, the organ of the “Save The Union” Committee, sounds it in every issue.

But this sudden revival of militancy is not confined to the miners. In as different an industry as could be imagined, in Haverhill, Mass., 9,000 rank and file shoe workers, facing a wage cut which was concurred in by the officials of their union, the Shoe Workers Protective Association, went out on out-law strike and last month won a complete victory, in the very face of opposition from all their officials, denouncing and rejecting the negotiations to end the strike carried on over their heads by President Nolan of the union and President Rooney, of the Shoe Workers' District Council in Haverhill. An attempt of local business interests to intervene, in the name of the public, was likewise emphatically rebuffed. So the strike was won.

The bitter left wing-right wing fight in the needle trades, especially in New York and Chicago, of course indicates an earlier exhibiting of a struggle which is

becoming general, since the “rights” were hardly more than the machine and its henchmen, with the great majority of the workers on the side of the “lefts”.

Recent elections among the painters and other unions show progressives and left wing officials elected; Chicago district of the Machinists union showed a rising progressive sentiment.

And one of the clearest of recent test cases was contained in the demonstration of a couple of thousand workers in a special mass meeting called in Cooper Union, New York, as an opportunity for the highest officials of the city labor council, the state federation, and the A. F. L. itself, to give

Green's Policy Falls Flat

their line for the fight against the injunction menace (recognized by them all as a menace to the lives of the unions).

This meeting, the most important of several in big cities, itself in the largest city in the country, only a few days before the arguments in a Senate committee on the Shipstead bill, and only a few days before the meeting of international union heads in a nationwide conference at Federation headquarters in Washington to make plans against the injunction menace, was rightly taken by workers everywhere, as the authoritative declaration of the officialdom, and the reception of their words by the crowd should be recognized as equally authoritative indication of the reaction to it by the rank and file.

The meeting developed trickery and tyranny by the officialdom and an entire repudiation of their policies and resentment of their attitude on the part of the workers present.

President Green, Wm. D. Mahon of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees (threatened with an injunction against organizing in New York), Joseph P. Ryan of the Central Trades and Labor Council, spoke. Father Ryan, also and a representative of the Federal Council of Churches spoke—in fact, three preachers spoke, if one counts among them Andrew Furuseth. A lawyer spoke.

The entire tenor of all their remarks was that injunctions were being misused, and that labor pinned its sole and only hope on legislative action through “friends of labor”. The audiences was apathetic until a young woman worker in the rear shouted “Why not a labor party”, whereupon a storm of applause broke out and lasted for eight or ten minutes. Green's only response was to sneer: “I hope you feel better now”. Neither he nor any other speaker on the platform mentioned a labor party, either before or after this incident.

Continuous requests to question the speakers were answered by Ryan with a promise to permit full questions at the end of the meeting. But when the meeting ended, these requests were contemptuously refused, the chairman signaled to the 176th Regimental Band, a militia band, a scab band provided for this emergency by the bureaucrats, and a strident and discordant braying of brass and thumping of drums drowned out all questions and remarks from the crowd, until in resentment it broke into that “booming” of the speakers with which especially a New York labor

audience expresses its supreme disapproval. The chiefs of the American labor officialdom filed from the stage while their scab band roared away, and thousands of workers howled, "Booooo Bill Green, fakers, liars!"

The entire incident like the miners' revolt, the shoe-workers' revolt, shows consciousness of a growing rift, recognition by both the rank and file and the officials that they have less and less in common.

From all these things, and from the fact (as is pointed out by the National Organizer of the T. U. E. L.) that our last national conference was half again as large as *The T. U. E. L.* was expected, it is easy to deduce that there is enormous, unorganized left wing and progressive sentiment in the unions to day. The rank and file worker wants to break loose from the chains a venal and reactionary officialdom have hung around him. Except during such incidents as alluded to above, he is hampered by his lack of con-

tact with his fellows, awed by the magnitude of the task and not reliant upon his own individual power—in a word, he is unorganized for left wing work. In this emergency, the T. U. E. L. is for him a life saver, giving him friends, counsel, a voice in the press, and unity of action, as well as confidence that comes of knowing he is a part of a movement. The T. U. E. L. is too small organizationally. It has to broaden out, and that means organizing local general groups in the big industrial centers, local industrial groups in all its chief industries. This is a major task of all militants.

The aims and objects of the T. U. E. L. may be summed up in its slogans: For aggressive unionism, Formation of a labor party, Organization of the unorganized, Against class collaboration, for amalgamation of craft unions, Democratization of the unions, For world trade union unity.

Those in accord with these objects are invited to get in touch with us.

With The T. U. E. L. Groups

(Presumably because this department is something new, only three of the T. U. E. L. groups have sent in reports for publication in this issue of Labor Unity. Secretaries of groups should take care to have in the office of Labor Unity by March 10, short (200 word) reports on activities in their localities, for publication in the April issue. — Editor)

Cleveland

A meeting of the Provisional Executive Committee of the Cleveland T. U. E. L. held in January made plans for the calling together of all progressives in the metal and needle trades industries, to start active Trade Union Educational League work in those fields. The policy decided upon is to form industrial groups of the T. U. E. L. at once in all industries where there are a number of left wingers. In industries where the strength of progressives is not well known, the policy will be to draw all progressives and left wingers into the general T. U. E. L. group and then form industrial groups as soon as enough are organized in the general group.

The Cleveland T. U. E. L. is planning a dance jointly with the Finnish Educational League at their hall, in order to raise finances for left wing work.

A general program and estimate of the situation in Cleveland is drawn up and indicates only about 85,000 workers organized at all in Cleveland, with the American Plan advocates still active, and vacillation between the Republican and Democratic parties as a fixed policy on the part of the union officialdom.

New York

A meeting held here to organize the general group

of the T. U. E. L. brought about 200 delegates from various left wing groups and organizations, and the movement is under way, with a fight on its hands right at the outset, against the Woll-American Bar Association anti-strike bill. The local general group of the T. U. E. L. analyses the Bar Association's open hearing, and challenges the statements of the class collaborationists and the capitalist lawyers.

On the eve of the hearings, (Wed. Feb. 15) a mass meeting of workers was held in Manhattan Lyceum to organize resistance against the anti-strike law, and the statement of the National Office of the T. U. E. L. against this law was printed as a leaflet and widely distributed through the workers attending the meeting. Wm. Z. Foster, National Secretary of the T. U. E. L., and Benj. Gitlow were the speakers,ohn Ballam, chairman.

A new local headquarters of the T. U. E. L. has been opened up at 101 East 14th St., New York City.

Boston

On March 3 there will be a Labor Unity banquet here, with Wm. Z. Foster as the main speaker. A Labor Unity Conference is being arranged at an early date, to be announced soon, to devise ways and means of aiding the magazine.

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A Review of Events

Brief Items on Movements Affecting Labor. Incidents Treated Elsewhere in This Issue Are Not Mentioned Here.

More Unemployment

Unemployment in factories in New York state fell off another 2% during December, says a report of the state labor department made in February. Some 20,000 workers were made jobless. There are now 240,000 fewer factory workers than in 1923. That unemployment has grown worse since anuary no one will doubt. It is particularly severe among the needle trades workers of New York City.

A meeting of jobless Passaic textile workers, Feb. 4, addressed by Albert Weisbord, leader in the big strike there, voted to join the New York Council of the unemployed, which demands public work at union wages, public kitchens, housing in public buildings, permanent unemployment insurance kept up by a tax on employers, and administered by unions, also recognition of Soviet Russia to decrease employment through creation of a market for goods. Passaic workers attempting to march from the meeting to the A. F. L. conference on unemployment were attacked by the police.

Simultaneously with the announcement of Bowery missions that bread lines were longer in New York City than at any time since 1916, Joseph P. Ryan, president of the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York City appeared before the state department of Labor Feb. 10, at an investigation into growing unemployment, and sneered at a demonstration of the unemployed going on outside of the hearing, which was a whitewash proceeding for the state and municipal governments. Ryan stated that he was "not only opposed to this movement of the unemployed" demanding relief, but had "every confidence that Al Smith would do the right thing".

A parade of unemployed in Philadelphia was broken up by police, February 12, with several arrests. The Cleveland unemployed council has been active for several months.

It's The Workers' Money

Dividend and interest payments in 1927, according to the United States Department of Commerce, reached the enormous total of \$4,751,142,000, a gain of \$415,230,000 or 9½% over the preceeding year and of 39% over the cash distributed to the owners of stocks and bonds in 1920. This annual tribute increase of more than 167% over the dividend and interest payments of 1913.

This 1927 return to absentee owners is equivalent to the combined annual earnings of 3,400,000 workers at the average wage paid in the factories during 1927. If split 50-50 between farmers and industrial workers it would have increased their income about 25%. —Leland Olds, in Federated Press.

Woll On Labor Sports

On Jan. 8, Matthew Woll broke into the New York Times with a special article advocating more sports activities organized by factory owners, and begging that the workers be allowed some say in arranging the games. He praised Roosevelt's "Playgrounds and Recreations Association", also the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A.

In answer to this a young worker has written us (too late for publication in full):

"Only the left wing can supply a program for trade union sports. To begin with what the workers want from the bosses is not more sports, but better working conditions, consisting of higher pay, the five day week and abolition of the speed-up system. Give the workers these things and they will have enough time and energy for sport activities. What the left wing calls for is not the right of the workers to help make up the program of sports events, **but absolute control of them.**

"Sports are one of the ways that we can bring the young people close to the trade unions. We left wingers must wherever possible bring up this question in our local trade unions, win their support morally and financially for the formation of sports groups and as far as possible work for the centralizing of these groups into some sort of united organization. Many times these sports organization will be able to teach these young workers discipline and a sense of organization which the old trade union leadership can never do and in times of struggle, these sport groups because of their training can become the front line fighters of the workers."

Unsatisfactory Legislative Conference

The "legislative conference" ordered by the Camden convention of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor met in Newark, Jan. 8, and uncovered a state of lack of organization among the left wing, and of reaction by the officialdom. The executive council refused to allow consideration of any bills not already drafted by lawyers, endorsed by the manufacturers' association, and mentioned in the convention. Hugh V. Reilly, the secretary, was the only one who seemed to know much about these bills.

The conference finally endorsed ten bills, including the eight hour bill, convict labor bill, and child labor bill. The painters, the barbers, the bakers and the machinists are left to their own resources to fight for legislation they particularly want without the help of the conference.

The whole conference was a lesson in the need for strengthening and solidifying labor organizations, the need of a farmer labor party, and the dangers of class collaboration. — From Herbert Stanley.

Window Washers Winning

Five hundred window washers in Chicago after striking for several weeks have secured settlements with some of the employers. They demanded \$160 a month instead of \$130.

An Arbitration Mix-Up

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen asked for a dollar a day raise on Western roads. The arbitration board at Denver, on Dec. 5 announced that it could not agree. The union delegates walked out. The rump board, then, on Dec. 17, awarded an increase of 30 cents a day for passenger firemen and 5 cents for other enginemen. The railroads refused to raise the wages on the grounds that the award was illegal, the board having abdicated its power. Federal judge Carpenter ruled on Feb. 1 that the award is legal.

The Employers Organize

In addition to the fact that mergers of employers are taking place at an unprecedented rate, the theory of the anti-trust laws is being changed to accommodate further mergers, according to a report to Oil Conservation Board, through its advisory committee, to be discussed at its next session. The report points out that recent rulings of the Supreme Court in the International Harvester Co. case, and others that a trust is legal no matter what its size or power "so long as its power is not improperly used." The courts have ruled that a combination is legal if any competition at all is left, without regard to the fact that, as in the steel industry, competitors may merely fill in the niches around the central trust, and follow its lead.

Progressive Machinists Active

The Chicago Progressive Machinist's Group in the last elections of the International Association of Machinists there for business agents and other officers made a good campaign and more than held their own, in spite of the fact that the lines between progressives

and the administration were more tightly drawn this year.

A four page printed program, made as the result of regular monthly meetings of the group, outlined a militant policy for the union, organization of the unorganized by concentrating on whole shops, opposition to the B. & O. plan, and in particular to the plan as it works in the Speedautomatic Co., against injunctions, for amalgamation and the labor party. Administration failures were pointed out.

Five minute speeches were delivered in all the locals. The balloting showed 32% of the votes for progressives. — **Fram Jack Brill.**

Some Labor Plays

This year has witnessed the first serious experiment in the establishment of a theatre for workers' plays. "Hoboken Blues" a play of Negro life by Michael Gold is the fourth play to be presented at the New Playwrights Theatre in New York, following a month's run each of "The Belt", a play of the Ford Factories by Paul Sifton, "The Centuries" by Em. Jo Basshe, on Jewish life on the East Side of New York, and "The International" by John Howard Lawson, on the world struggle for oil, ending in revolution.

Various trade unions and other labor organizations have taken the theatre for special performances for their members and friends. The Teachers Union and the Joint Board of the Furriers and Cloakmakers were the two first and only labor organizations to arrange for special performances of the "The Belt". Before the third play completed its run, 27 trade unions and other labor political organizations had arranged for special evenings.

The International Seamen's Club is taking a performance Thursday evening, March 1.

Frisco Unemployed

The Central Labor Council of San Francisco, recognizing that there are 100,000 unemployed in the bay district has passed a resolution condemning the San Francisco board of supervisors for initiating public work on a non-union basis, attempting to capitalize the workers' misfortunes for the benefit of the Open Shop and American Plan forces.

International Labor Notes

Chinese Soviets Set Up

Workers' and peasants' soviets have been organized over a large section of north and central Kwangtung province in China. The revolt has been recently strengthened by reinforcements of 17,000 troops from Hunan province who repudiate the anti-labor policy of the Nanking government, which is now entirely right wing Kuomintang, and has brought back into power Chiang Kai-shek.

Canton, capital city of Kwantung province, has been in the grip of one military adventurer or another since the suppression of the soviet government established there in December. Its financial system is wrecked, bank notes having depreciated to almost nothing, and the largest bank having only a few days ago repudiated an entire issue.

Russian Mine Wages Raise

The new annual agreement between the coal miners' branch of the Russian miners unions and the government coal trusts provides for a 6½% increase in wages. It gives a higher percentage of increase to low paid workers, and a lower percentage to the high paid, such as the office and technical personnel, who also belong to the miners' union. No wages are reduced. 85% of the coal workers are members of the union, but the new rates apply to every one in the industry.

Wages are similarly increased in the other new agreements for the mining industry. They go up by 3% in salt mining, 7% in oil, 8½% in asbestos, 11% in iron and 10 to 15% in gold and platinum mining.

Workers engaged in hazardous work such as hewers, timberers and borers in the oil fields, some gas workers, and all young workers (16 to 18 years) have

been entitled to 1 months vacation with pay instead of the general two weeks. In the new agreements more groups of workers are included.

The agreements this year increase the provision for free working clothes which are now to be washed and mended by the administration, and other special privileges prevail. — **From F. P.**

Fascist Unions Crawl

Mussolini has ordered fascist trade unions to hold no more meetings until he gives permission. A circular issued by his ministry of corporations assures the fascist workers that this is not intended to "restrict their trade union activities", and that certain meetings, strictly limited in membership attendance, may still be held in fascist labor halls.

But these meetings must not discuss anything except the founding of new unions and like matters. Reports of these deliberations must not be published except in the form of notices posted by specially qualified committees.

This means that Mussolini dares not let fascist workers talk over, in meeting, their hours, wages and conditions. The circular says the order is designed to limit "outside manifestation, really not necessary for trade union work." — **From F. P.**

Workers of India Strike

A strike of Bombay textile workers, which may by this time involve some 150,000 workers, is reported. It is in resistance to a speed-up system introduced by the millowners, largely British capitalists.

Strikes and boycotts in connection with the nationalist movement have greeted the Simons commission, a group of British officials appointed by the Baldwin government to the insulting job of seeing whether the Indians are civilized enough for a little more autonomy in government.

Australian Anti-Strike Bill

The Federal Government of Australia has introduced a bill to prohibit strikes. It permits no strike until government officials can take a special vote of the union membership. Where strikes do, nevertheless, take place, it provides that scabs will receive full protection by the government; special protection and facilities are afforded any union member who wishes to turn strike-breaker. Any individual member of a union can halt any policy decided upon, by an appeal to the government to have it annulled. Boycotts are prohibited. Unions violating the law may be dissolved by the government, and their headquarters sold. Individual strikers in outlaw strikes may be fined \$250 or imprisoned.

Lefts Win In Scotland

The elections in the Fife mining area of the Scottish miners' union resulted in a complete left wing victory. Two active left wingers' were chosen for the two permanent officials, and the five representatives from the Fife Miners' Union to the Scottish Miners' executive are all left wingers.

"Accumulated Dangers In Canada

Thirty-nine men were killed and fifty rescued only with great difficulty from the great Hollinger mine at

Timmins, Ontario, when fumes from a fire starting on the 550 level in a pile of rubbish which had accumulated there for years, spread through the workings.

The Canadian department of labor reports that wages in 1927 averaged two per cent more than in 1926, but are still seven percent below these of 1920. The same report states that the cost of living for a worker's family is now 56 percent higher than in 1913.

Polish Textile Wage Low

While Russian textile workers, averaging now 7½ hours a day, march ahead toward the 7-hour day, many Polish workers still toil 13 hours a day at their frames and looms. 10 hours is general and 12 hours, under the dictatorship of Pilsudski, is by no means rare, says the latest report of the Polish textile workers' union.

France, England and America continue to pour millions into Poland to bolster it up against the Soviet Union. Economic authorities boast that Poland is on the way toward recovery and stability, thanks to the recent \$80,000,000 loan from New York and London.

But the Polish Textile Workers Union reveals that recovery built on semi-starvation wages. Women average 45c a day and men consider their wages comparatively good at 70c.

French Partial Employment

A tendency towards unemployment is recorded in France. In the department of Somme alone there are 5,000 partly employed, and this is typical of other sections of the country. Forty thousand miners are working four days a week. Much unemployment prevails in textiles, France's second most important industry.

RESOLUTION ON THE U. S. CENSORSHIP

The National Committee of the Trade Union Educational League protests emphatically against the drive to suppress freedom of the press and use of the mails now being conducted by the Federal Courts, the Postal Department and the Bureau of Immigration of the United States government, as exemplified by the attempt to deport H. T. Tsiang, formerly editor of the Chinese Guide In America, a paper published in California to protest against the foreign imperialist aggression in China, as further indicated by the recent prohibition by the postmaster general of the use of stamps issued by the All-America Anti-Imperialist League protesting Marine rule in Nicaragua, and as most recently shown by the indictment and order to arrest three editors of The Daily Worker, of New York.

The National Committee of the T. U. E. L. characterizes these attempts to suppress any and all expression of opposition to the criminal war-like imperialist policies of the Wall Street government of the United States as extremely dangerous to the working class, and calls for all possible aid to the victims of this attack.

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