

LABOR UNITY

An Illustrated Monthly Magazine



May, 1928

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Organize the T. U. E. L.!

The Vanguard of the Army of Labor!

Extracts From The Constitution of The Trade Union Educational League

1. — Nationally the T. U. E. L. shall consist of the following industrial sections: Transport, Metal, Coal Mining, Textile, Clothing, Building, Printing, Food, Light and Power, Communication, Shoe and Leather, Chemicals, Lumber, Amusement, Miscellaneous. These National Industrial Sections shall consist of workers from all the labor organizations in their respective spheres. Where necessary the National Industrial Sections shall be subdivided into National Trade Sections to correspond with the existing craft unions, but all such National Trade Sections shall be subordinate to the control of their respective National Industrial Sections.

2. — Locally the T. U. E. L. shall be composed of Local General, Local Industrial and Local Trade Groups. The Local General Groups shall include all the left wing and progressive workers or groups of workers in a given city. The local Industrial Groups shall cover all the workers in a given local industry, and the Local Trade Groups those in a given craft, where craft subdivision is necessary.

4. — The T. U. E. L., in order to establish working relations with the unorganized masses, shall build up and establish connections with workers' clubs, shop committees, and other groups in unorganized plants and cities. Into all groups and leading committees of the T. U. E. L., there shall be included representative elements from the unorganized plants in the respective industries and localities.

5. — The T. U. E. L. shall set up formal or informal connections with the various trade union united front committees built around special issues, such as strike relief, defense, organization of unorganized, labor party, trade union elections, etc., seeking gradually to weld such movements into a broad left wing. (Extracts from Article I, "Structure".)

* * *

Membership in the T. U. E. L. national and local committee and groups shall be open to all honest and militant workers regardless of their political affiliations. The groups and committees shall be composed of members of all A. F. of L. and independent unions, representatives of trade unions and unorganized shops, and workers expelled for militancy and those from whom there are no existing unions. All such unorganized militants shall conduct a struggle to get back into their unions or to have unions established in their unorganized industries. (Article V, "Membership".)

These Are Our Slogans

FOR AGGRESSIVE UNIONISM

AGAINST CLASS COLLABORATION

FORMATION OF A LABOR PARTY

DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE UNIONS

ORGANIZATION OF THE UNORGANIZED

FOR AMALGAMATION OF CRAFT UNIONS

FOR WORLD TRADE UNION UNITY

LABOR UNITY

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"RELIEF WILL WIN THEIR STRIKE"

Photo of miners outside their barracks at a mine in District 2, Central Pennsylvania, with provisions just distributed by Penn.-Ohio Miner's Relief. Its place is now taken by the National Miners' Relief, 611 Penn. Ave., Pittsburgh

THE MINERS SPREAD THEIR STRIKE

THE immediate effect of the National Save-the-Miners' Union Conference held in Pittsburgh, April 1-2, has been a widespread revival of the strike. As the delegates returned to the localities from which they came, mass meetings and local union meetings heard their reports, and an increase in optimism and determination resulted, which took outward form in mass picketing and strong resistance to evictions from company houses and union barracks. Mass picketing was organized in many camps throughout the Pennsylvania and Ohio region, and though tear gas bombs, charging the crowd by mounted police, clubs and guns were employed by the coal and iron police and State troopers, the effect on the men who had come into these regions to work in the mines was very great. By dozens, hundreds and even thousands, they have left the mines and taken their place with the strikers. These

results were obtained at the cost of some 150 arrests. In St. Clairsville, Ohio, 75 women marching in protest against the jailing of Save-the-Union were tricked into the jail yard by Colonel Caldwell of the National Guard and locked up.

Illinois is out on strike, mass pickets closing down the mines around Springfield and in the southern coal field where about a fifth of the tonnage producers in the State had been signed up by the Fishwick machine. Machine guns and tear gas bombs used by mine guards and deputies threaten the pickets, but their work is successful. Gangsters are being used by Fishwick to attack pickets at Springfield.

The strike in the unorganized Westmoreland, Greene, Fayette and Somerset counties, called by the Conference of April 1, is under way some 15,000 men responding during the first

few days, mostly in the northern part of the area indicated, but being joined by over a thousand in West Virginia. With a still inadequate number of organizers in the field, the Save-the-Union Committee is nevertheless successful in spreading the strike from mine to mine, and it is forcing its way southward into the great coke coal region. It has to be careful by explained to miners here, betrayed by Lewis in the last strike, that this is a new leadership calling them out. Otherwise they do not leave their jobs.

Negro miners, always discriminated against by the Lewis machine, are present in the Pennsylvania fields in large numbers. They are striking heroically, along with the white miners knowing after the Pittsburgh Conference in which Negro miners played a prom-

inent part, that the new leadership has no intention of discrimination whatever.

The Save-the-Union program for having the miners take over the union through district conventions is progressing rapidly. In many districts it is plain that the regulations in regard to special conventions written into the union by-laws or district constitutions by machine bureaucrats can not be complied with. For example, District No. 2 (Central Pennsylvania) has by-laws requiring 10,000 signatures to the convention petition. There are only 2,000 organized miners in the district. District No. 5 requires action by a majority of the locals. All but 50 out of 200 locals are "blue sky" or paper locals, created by Lewis to give him control of conventions.

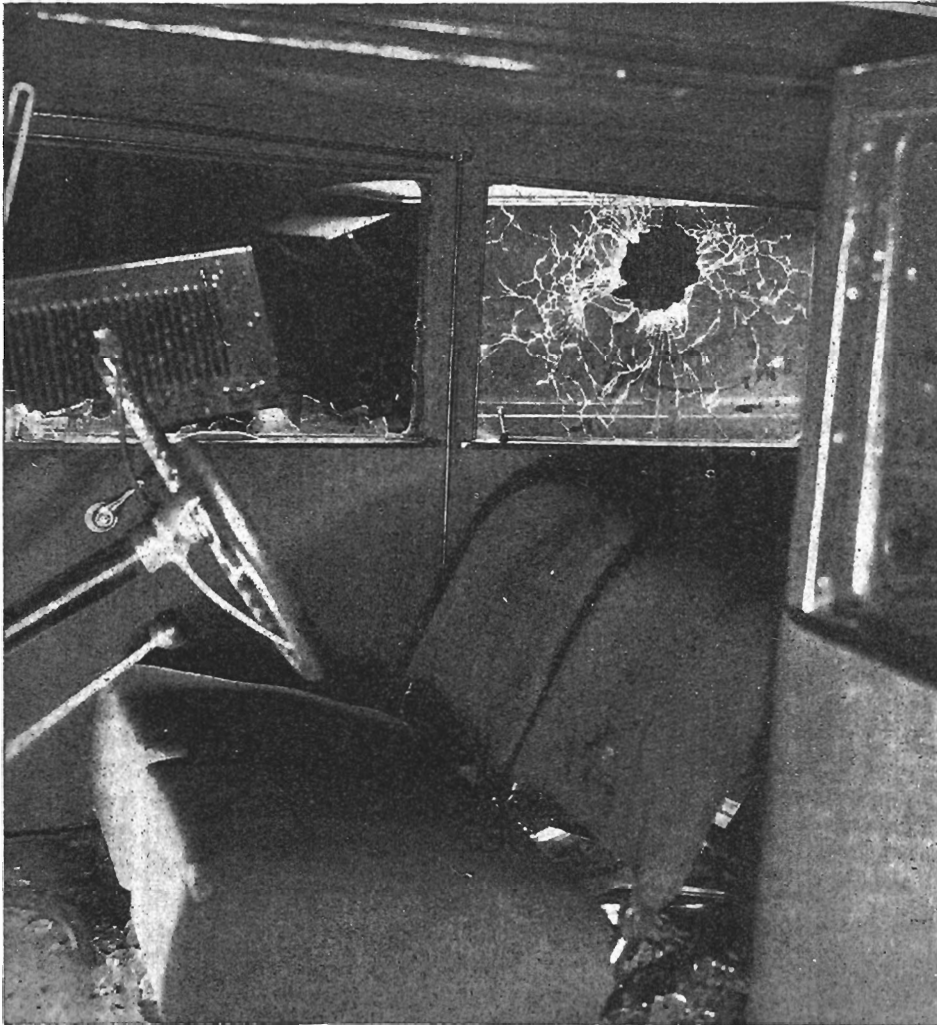
In District No. 6, on the other hand, the re-

gulations call for the approval of two of the four subdistricts, and this approval will be secured by the progressive. Likewise in Illinois, the required 5,000 signatures will certainly be obtained. In all probability the machine will nevertheless refuse to call conventions in Ohio and Illinois, and the call will have to come from the Save-the-Union Committee, here as elsewhere.

Throughout the coal fields, the machine is busy, issuing condemnations of the Save-the-Union Committee, calling it a dual movement faking reports from the Committee, telling the miners not to picket, not to strike, etc. Old time Socialist leaders are involved in this treacherous work of the Lewis machine.

The strike and the union are passing into

(Continued on Page 7)



LEWIS-CAPPELLINI GANGSTERS' TACTICS WHICH MINERS MUST FACE

The automobile in which two opponents of the corrupt reactionaries were killed in Pitts-
 ton, Pa. Machine gun fire poured through the window and slew Alex Campbell and Pete
 Reilly.



A FEW OF THOSE ON THE PLATFORM AT THE PITTSBURGH CONFERENCE

BACK ROW: Jim Haggerty, New Kensington, Pa.; Philip Gianbattista, West Va.; George Murphy, South Fork, Pa.
 FRONT ROW: Davy Jones, Becknell, Ind., (Ass't Sec'y;) Wakefield, Kansas; Mrs. Christine Dolance, Library, Pa.; Mrs. Anna Mondell, Renton, Pa. (women representing Women's Organization, aiding in the mine strike.)

The Save-the-Union Conference

By JACK LEE

WHEN for two intense and glorious days, starting at eleven o'clock Sunday morning, April 1, over eleven hundred delegates from local unions of the United Mine Workers of America, and from the unorganized fields, met in the National Save the Miners Union Conference and voted to take the union from its misleaders, to fight and win the year old strike, to call out hundreds of thousands of non-union miners who would follow it but would not follow Lewis into battle, they did something that resulted in such immediate and dramatic events, of such colossal importance that the conference itself seems about to be hidden beneath the spectacle of its deeds.

Yet in more senses than this already mentioned, the Pittsburgh conference was a historic thing. Nothing like it has ever before been attempted in America.

The U. M. W. A. has been the solid base of the American organized labor movement. But nowhere has the destruction of democracy,

control by the rank and file, been so apparent and so complete. The conference was held without the participation of a single one of the higher officialdom of the union, all bought up by the Lewis machine. It met in the face of the published threat of Lewis and the larger district officials that everybody attending would be expelled. Local unions endorsed it in the teeth of Lewis' declaration that their strike relief would be cut off if they did so. It was called after the Senate of the United States had sent an investigation committee to issue a proclamation against the Save-the-Union movement, and to beg the operators to save Mr. Lewis in order that the progressives might not be able to take over the struggle.

The economic difficulties were enormous. Delegates had to come thousands of miles, in some cases, and by auto, for there was no money for railroad fares. Storm and rain and the fact that the miners have not been able to keep their cars in repair kept many away. It

is safe to say that the widespread poverty of the coal fields, on strike for a year, kept away at least four times as many as would have come otherwise.

But after Senate, and operators, and Mr. Lewis and Mr. Fagan, president of District 5 (Pittsburgh) had denounced the Save-the-Union movement as everything from "only an April Fool joke" (Fagan) to "foreign Red propaganda" (Lewis and the Senate) 1125 delegates that John W. Watt called to order Sunday morning met in a real council of war



Tony Minerich, left, chairman of the credentials and other committees, just expelled by Lewis for his prominence in the fight to save the miners union from the coal operators and the Lewis machine, talking to George Despot, delegate to the conference from Harmarsville.

which lasted to the motion to adjourn late Monday night.

Watt, himself, gray and gaunt with the struggle, but strong and fighting fit, stood on the platform and looked with a smile over grim miners' faces, miners packing the floor of the largest hall that could be obtained in Pittsburgh, packing the galleries where visitors would have been if there were any room for visitors, and thronging steadily in to stand in the aisles and round the walls. On the second day the committee sent in huge painted banners, "Lewis Must Go!" "Organize the Unorganized", "Spread the Strike", "Save the Union". The banners echoed the keynote struck in every speech on the first day. The conference organized with a minimum of confusion and effort: Watt, chairman; Pat Toohey, secretary; David Jones, assistant sec'y; a rules committee, credentials committee, program and resolutions committee; committee on strike situation, committee on organization of unorganized, committee on organization, finance and press.

Business started at once. In fact, it had already started the night before when the delegations had met by districts, elected five representatives from each district on a provisional National Save-the-Union Committee, (the conference re-elected them all), and read and adopted the program drawn up by the Save-the-Union Committee calling the meeting.

"Take Over The Union"

After a long and keen analysis of the situation, this program contained three decisive paragraphs, fighting paragraphs, open declaration of war against the operators and their hirelings, the misleaders of the union, as follows:

"To put the U. M. W. A. into honest hands we propose the following procedure: The Save the Union movement in the various districts shall at once through the local unions insist upon the calling of special emergency district conventions, carefully guarding against any packing methods by the Lewis machine. In the event of refusal or delay by the present district officials in calling such conventions, the respective Save the Union movements shall themselves call the conventions. At these emergency district conventions the offices of Lewis machine supporters shall be declared vacant and new officers, representative of the membership, shall be elected. In the local unions new officers shall be elected in place of the proved Lewis supporters. After the district conventions the national convention of the U. M. W. A. shall be organized on the same principles."

Then a call for mass picketing and mass

violation of injunctions both of which policies the Lewis machine has sabotaged, and for strike on April 1 of Illinois, Indiana and Kansas, the districts forced to make a separate, strike-breaking peace with the operators by Lewis, and after that the call to the unorganized to join the strike:

"The Save the Union movement is carrying on extensive organization work in the unorganized districts. This is already far advanced in Somerset, Fayette, Greene, and Westmoreland counties in Pennsylvania. The National Conference endorses the call issued by the National Save the Union Committee for a strike of these miners on April 16th. This strike must be a mass turn out. It will go far to win the whole battle of the miners. The unorganized miners of West Virginia, Kentucky, and other unorganized districts are urged to unite under the leadership of the Save the Union Committee and to prepare to defend your interests and to help win the present decisive strike. The Save the Union movement pledges you its most loyal support."

On the second day, after a long debate, the conference decided to also call the anthracite on strike just as soon as the necessary preparatory work could be done.

The conference adopted the entire program with cheers, many with a sigh of relief. Not a single dissenting vote. Old men, worn with the struggle against the treason of the Lewis machine, weary of expulsions and suppression at conventions and union meetings, sick of Lewis' crude vote stealing and packing of conventions, breathed cleaner air at once, whispered their renewed zeal to their neighbors. Young miners, the first leaders in this campaign, felt their early ardor justified. This is a fight to the finish, and everybody present knew what he was undertaking.

Brophy Analyses

Brophy spoke, as chairman of the National Save-the-Union Committee. Brophy is the man Lewis counted out in the 1926 elections for international president.

"In its whole life," said Brophy, "the union never faced such a crisis as today, and the fault lies with the Lewis policies."

He recounted the story of the 1922 strike, when the union at the peak of its power was led into a humiliating "arbitration" by President Harding, and President Lewis, an arbitration which couldn't be forced on the miners after all.

Lewis' position in this strike, Brophy proved by many instances, was the same he has openly held since, namely, to split the union up into as many fragments as possible. He wanted



JOHN W. WATT, CHAIRMAN

Thrown out of sub-district office by Frank Farrington but welcomed as a comrade by the rank and file.

to settle with any company that would settle and let the more difficult districts wait, and starve, and lose to the operators. Brophy told how Lewis finally had his way at the Cleveland convention, dragooning the other districts into abandoning the coke fields, and even to such plain treason as allowing a company to sign up part of its mines and use them to scab on the mines which it did not sign up. The Consolidation Coal Company (Rockefeller's company) had mines in Northern West Virginia which it signed. Its mines in Maryland and Pennsylvania were kept scab. The Bethlehem Mines Corporation was privileged to sign up some of its mines only. The Weaver interests mines in Pennsylvania and West Virginia signed up in one state and scabbed in the other. The Hillman Coal Company, broke the strike of its coke coal miners but signed its bituminous miners. The U. S. Fuel Company of Illinois owned by the U. S. Steel Company, signed 3,000 men, and the H. G. Frick Coal and Coke Company, also owned by the U. S. Steel Company, scabbed on 18,000 men in Pennsylvania, etc.

"We meet today," said Brophy, in "defiance to the officialdom to end this sort of thing. Voices call us dual unionists and agents of the employers, but the presence of these delegates showing the feeling of the rank and file shows that we are only saving our union and the officials are wrong. Two hundred thousand men have already expressed lack of confidence in the Lewis methods by leaving the union."

He spoke for a labor party, for violation of injunctions.

Lewis' plan to starve 250,000 men out of the mining industry, at a time too, when all other industries were cutting down their forces, came in for most sarcastic treatment.

"If our union is to be saved," declared Brophy, "it will not be done by Senate investigations. The Senate will never organize the unorganized, and that is our key problem."

"The strike must be won. April 1 gives us the best chance. The progressives have the leadership more and more. Their program will be accepted by the miners. New hopes and illusions will not do. But carrying the fight into the non union fields will win and we welcome Illinois and the other signed up territories back into the struggle."

Pat Toohey, Secretary of the National Save-the-Union Committee also reporting for the committee struck responsive chords when he said: "We are here for only one purpose: to

save the Miner's union, to win and spread the strike and to oust the gang of reactionaries who are leading it to destruction.

"The reactionaries," continued Toohey, "are the agents in our union of the coal operators like Schwab, Rockefeller, Warden and Mellon. The union faces the most serious crisis in its history, and we meet with the determination that these 1,100 miners, representatives gathered from all parts of America and Canada to discuss among themselves, in the absence of their \$11,000 a year labor fakers who are betraying the miners, who have lost the union, who are wrecking the union, to meet today to plan ways and means of saving this union, the remnants of it, of building it, of saving their conditions and getting better conditions, and bringing our union back to itself where it was before these reactionary thieves took control of it.

"John L. Lewis was never elected to the presidency of the Union," said Toohey as the conference roared "No!" in agreement, "for he stole the election from Alex Howatt in 1922, he stole the election from Voyzey in 1924, and he stole the election from John Brophy in 1926. He has instituted a Mussolini regime in the unions, a regime of sluggings, of evictions and of beating down and terrorising the rank and file.

Toohey turned to the story of the courageous fight of the Pennsylvania and Ohio miners, and spoke of how they were holding out against the terrific odds of the coal and iron police, the clubbings, the jails, the injunctions, and the courts, the hunger and cold of the barracks and the miserable relief of \$1 a week given them by their highly paid officials. Their conditions have led them to thinking more and more that they must do something to prevent the complete smashing of the union by the operators and their union tools.

Toohey spoke of the unorganized fields, where, as in Westmoreland, Pa., county, there is no tonnage and no check-weighman, and where, as the miners say, 'We load coal by the acre'. The miners are being paid as low as 85 and 95 cents per car, which is described as a "street car", and there is no pay for dead-weight. "The non-union fields," he said "are our central problem."

"Miners, take control of your union! We propose that on the return of the delegations they begin organizing the forces of the rank and file and demand the union.

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NEW BEDFORD CHECKS A WAGE CUT

THE textile bosses' machine in New England came to a sudden jarring halt on April 18, when the employers' great drive for a ten percent wage cut, proceeding from one mill to another, ran into solid resistance in New Bedford. Thirty thousand workers there are out on strike, demanding an increase instead of a decrease.

It is a left wing strike, in fact. The union textile officials, in this case Mr. Batty, of the American Federation of Textile Operatives secretary of the Textile Council, and Fred Beal organizer of the A. F. T. O. had consented to the cut. But they could not deliver the men into bondage. When the strike meeting was announced for April 14, Batty and Beal saw the mayor, and agreed to not announce the result of the vote for a week, during which arrangements could be made to compromise the strike.

When they got to the strike meeting however, they found that the Textile Mill Committees, organized among union and non-union workers as a result of the Textile conference held in Boston the months before, had already drawn up a set of demands that suited the workers for 20% increase in pay, eight hour day and five day week, etc. had distributed leaflets at the mill gates, and had so inspired the mill workers that crowds stood around the gates chanting, "Strike One, Strike Two, Strike Three, All Out!" The shouting of slogans and the spreading of strike sentiment had lasted all day before the strike vote, and at the meeting Batty's speech for postponement was simply howled down. The official proposal for counting the votes in secret brought satirical remarks from the members about the vote in Fall River a couple of weeks before, when the officials de-

clared that eleven votes short of the necessary two-thirds majority had been cast and stopped the strike. Everybody knows that the Fall River boys voted overwhelmingly for resistance to wage cuts.

A motion was jammed through in spite of all the officials could do for counting the ballots at once and announcing the result. It was almost unanimous for strike. So 30,000 men went on strike, of which only about four or five thousands are organized in the A. F. T. O.

Now the problem is to enforce solidarity and militant strike activity on a bureaucracy that has no heart for it.

The A. F. T. O. officials have made no provision for picketing.

The mill committees are trying to organize it. The officials may try to give relief only to union members. The Workers International Relief director has gone to look over the situation, and probably there will have to be some big drives for relief from the rest of the labor movement, as at Passaic. The A. F. T. O. officers are calling meetings craft by craft of their union, and evidently plan a partial settlement; the left wing will fight this to the limit, under the slogan, "All Work, or None."

Batty and Beale attack the Mill Committees as Communistic and have had the police department order Wm. Murdock, Sec'y of the Mill Committees out of town. When a mass meeting was held in which Wm. Daech, a strike leader from Passaic, and member of the United Textile Workers, came to speak to the New Bedford strikers, his superior officer, President McMahon issued a statement repudiating Daech and showing solidarity with his rival bureaucrat Batty, when it was a question of "fighting the Reds" and betraying a strike.

The Coal Miners Spread Their Strike

(Continued from Page 2)

the hands of the Save-the-Union Committee.

Relief will in the next few weeks and months become the decisive factor of the struggle. Hundreds of thousands of miners and members of their families will face immediate starvation. Many have been slowly starving for a year.

The National Miners Relief, over the signatures of Anthony Minerich, chairman; A. Wagenknecht, Relief Director; and V. Kementovich, secretary, has issued a circular calling for the organizing of foreign language relief com-

mittees, Negro, Youth and Women's relief committees in all cities, shop relief committees in all factories, and the enlisting of all possible local unions and fraternal organizations in the work of relief. Mass meetings and collections requested. Address 611 Penn. Ave. Pittsburgh.

The National Miners Relief points to the immediate need of \$200,000 for the purchase or hire of tents to house the miners evicted from company houses by the operators, or from union barracks by Lewis.

The Mills of Passaic Today

By AUGUST ERDIE

HERE is Passaic, New Jersey, a little quiet town 11 miles from New York City, with its big mills surrounded by high grim walls, inside which toil thousands of textile slaves, under the whip and lash of the mighty lords, the textile barons. After the 1919 strike the workers were afraid of their own shadow, abused and spied upon by the hirelings of the bosses. Wages were low and wage cuts followed each other.

Then thousands of textile workers cried, "If we have to starve we will not starve working."

Zober Takes Field

Chief Zober, the Passaic Police Chief, the agent, and stock holder in the Botany mill, viciously ordered his cossacks to attack the workers, and boasted that he would break the strike in a few weeks, and have all the leaders in jail.

Police clubs, water hose, and gas bombs all failed to break the strike, the workers throughout the nation rallied behind the workers of Passaic in their struggle against the mill owners. It was indeed a class struggle, the workers learned that not only were they fighting the textile barons, but the machinery of the local and state governments was used by the bosses and their agents to crush the workers into submission. Martial law, injunctions, brutal cossacks headed by the sheriff of Bergen County, were what the textile workers had to contend with.

For the sake of unity against the bosses, the strike leaders persuaded eleven thousand textile workers to join the United Textile Workers of America, knowing all the time that its officials were reactionary, but desiring to rally the A. F. of L. around the strike.

Finally strike settlements were reached, and promises of no discrimination given by the bosses, most of which have not been kept.

The strike is over in the textile mills of Passaic and again quiet settles over the battle field of yesterday. Chief Zober the cossack chieftain and the tool of the mill barons of Passaic, stands today suspended as the Chief of the Passaic police, accused of stealing cars and selling them at a handsome profit. The charge is that while the chief was "upholding law and order,"

cracking the skulls of working men and women who were struggling in a perfect legal way to get a little more bread and butter for themselves and their children, he was making very good business for a certain "ring" of auto-thieves. Not only Chief Zober but all the most vicious tools of the mill owners have fallen by the wayside. Sheriff Nimmo who read the riot act, and closed the halls in Garfield is dead, Judge Davidson of Passaic, Judge Baker of Garfield, and Judge Barbour of Clifton, all of them well known by the workers for handing out heavy sentences during the strike, are removed from office. The chief of police in Garfield is dead while in Clifton the throne wavers under the once mighty political boss, and chief of police, and the workers say of him, "It won't be long now."

Fights Workers, Not Boss

James Sarr, vice president of the United Textile Workers of America, a definite right winger, has been out in Passaic for over a year, trying very hard to "clean out the Reds." At the time the Botany mills settled an agreement was made with the International office of the U.T.W. that the active and militant workers, and all those that may look "Red," must not go back into the mills. This is one of the reasons that we cannot build up a strong militant union, the workers who have taken an active part in the struggle cannot find employment in the textile mills, by agreement between the mill bosses and the officialdom of the United Textile Workers international office.

Thomas Regan, another antique from the international office, was sent into Passaic as an organizer: sent in to organize the textile workers of Passaic, but all day long he snoops around the union headquarters watching other peoples' business, trying to get the "dope" on all the Reds and left wingers in the union, looking into all the papers and books, and even into the waste basket for "Red propaganda." Visiting the bar rooms, drinking good beer, walking from store to store looking for the union label, that's the way our friend Regan, international organizer of the United Textile Workers of America, is organizing the textile workers of Passaic and vicinity.

Since the ending of the strike a few thousand workers have been hired, the mill owners say that lack of work and depression in the industry compels them to place working men on part-time work, many of the workers are hired, work only a few weeks, get laid off, and are told that if they are needed they will be sent for. In a few weeks or months probably they are called back to work with less pay, the union has tried to remedy this condition but the bosses say that the worker is hired into another department and so he must start at a lower rate.

In this way a 20% cut was put over at the Gera-New Jersey Spinning Co., reducing the wage to 40c. The Botany Mill also now forces workers to pay 40c to 50c a week insurance.

It is evident that the bosses are trying to smash the union. A few months ago in the Botany mill, the bosses made an attempt to establish the company union, a few of the chief suckers were called together and an association was formed, the company issued leaflets among the workers urging them to join this

new union, where no dues need be paid, and all kinds of schemes were offered to the workers.

This company union lived only to see two meetings, at each meeting hardly a dozen workers were present, half of them being our own boys sent there to size up the affair. The workers just gave the whole thing a laugh, and the bosses were compelled to drop the idea.

Workers Fight Anyway

The union rank and file, not its leaders, force organization.

A large building has been rented in which will be located the Union headquarters, offices, meeting hall and billiard rooms—only one block away from the Botany mills. Despite the efforts of the textile barons to crush the union, intimidating the workers by holding the club of unemployment over their heads, the textile workers of Passaic are determined to organize all the textile workers in Passaic and vicinity, and carry on the fight against the mill owners until a complete recognition of the textile workers' unions is secured.

The Progressive Railway Unionists' Congress

A national congress of progressives in the railroad unions has been called to meet in Chicago, June 2 and 3, at North Side Turner Hall. All local unions, system organizations, and local progressive committees are entitled to two delegates each.

The call is issued by the International Railroad Amalgamation Committee, through its organ, *The Railroad Amalgamation Advocate*, published at 702 East 63rd St., Chicago, Room 8. This is also the headquarters of the committee, and further information about the conference and the Amalgamation Committee's activities can be obtained there from Sec'y-Treas. O. H. Wangerin.

The conference call points out that of the 1,800,000 workers in the industry, only 750,000 are organized, and these are in unions whose leadership has ruined their finances and reduced the morale of the members by crude class collaboration schemes such as support of the Watson-Parker law and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers \$30,000,000 "labor" bank fiasco.

The Amalgamation Committee's call points out the unions, and have in their favor the continued introduction of new technique, by means of which 150,000 workers have been driven from the industry within the last five years.

The Amalgamation Committee's call points out that there is urgent need of joint action by the unions leading to industrial organization of the railroad workers. It tells how the Railroad amalgamation

movement came into being through the great shopmen's strike of 1922, and emphasizes its policy of working through the existing unions, for a change in leadership and amalgamation of those unions.

The problems to be taken up at the conference, says the committee in its call, are as follows:

1.—A united campaign by all Standard Railway Unions to organize the unorganized.

2.—A joint movement to secure additional wage increases and improved working conditions, and to resist future attempts of the companies to reduce the wages of any trade.

3.—A united front against the proposal of the Association of Railway Executives to introduce the "flexible workday" of 8 to 10 hours.

4.—Methods of fighting the company unions.

5.—The problem of unemployment among railwaymen.

6.—Plans for closer federation of the Standard Organizations leading to complete amalgamation and the establishment of one powerful union of all railway employes.

7.—A new and progressive leadership, reduction of Grand Officers salaries and union Overhead expenses.

8.—The failure of the B. & O. Plan and the disastrous effects of labor banking upon the unions.

9.—Fight against anti-labor legislation (injunctions, Railway Labor Act, proposed national anti-strike law, etc.).

10.—Support for the striking coal miners.

Who is Jobless?

By SOLON DE LEON

Not Governor Smith, though he admits more out of work in New York than since 1921, and is quite willing to advocate a petty program of public works to strengthen his bid for the Democratic nomination.

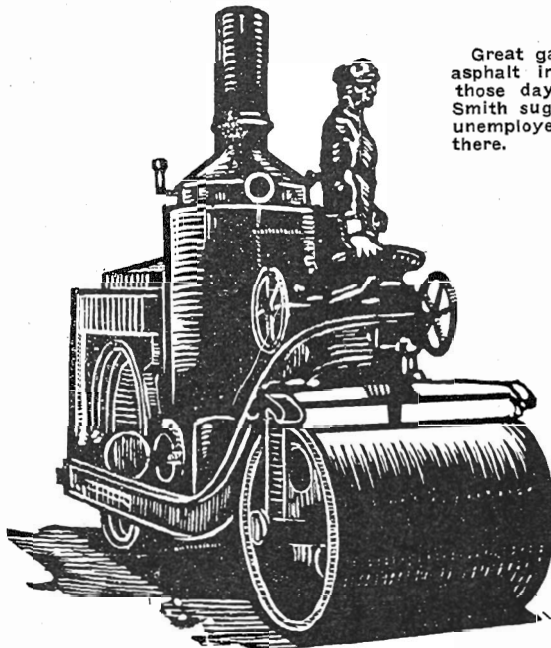
Not Secretary of Labor Davis, though he says, "We have unemployment in the country. Every one knows it. Why not admit it?"

Easter has come and gone, but with it small change in the unemployment situation. Professional boosters for the capitalist system are rejoicing over an increase in February of 1.7 per cent in factory employment for the country at large—"an advance for the first time since last June." But even so, the number employed in factories remains 5 or 6 per cent below what it was this time last year. Besides, there are many sorts of unemployment other than factory unemployment. And even if the 1.7 per cent improvement extended to all kinds of work, it would mean only 85,000 out of 5,000,000 back at work.

5,000,000 Jobless

That 5,000,000 are unemployed is a guess because there are no figures. The Romans forbade the slaves to wear a distinctive uniform lest the slaves should realize how many they were—and revolt. The American capitalist class refuses to keep regular nation-wide records of the unemployed lest they also realize how many they are—and smash the system which starves them.

The Labor Bureau, Inc., which pries around into all sorts of interesting industrial corners to dig up information useful to workers, figured in January that there were at that time over 4,000,000 unemployed. In 1923, said the Bureau, there were 1,000,000 out of work.



Great gangs of men could be packing the asphalt instead of this steam roller, but those days are gone forever. Governor Smith suggests public improvements for the unemployed, but the machine has beat them there.



Since that time 1,000,000 have been squeezed out of the factories, 100,000 off the railroads, 100,000 out of the mines, and 1,000,000 farmers have left the land for the towns. Besides, there has been a normal population growth of 3,000,000. Of the 5,200,000 workers thrown upon the labor market, the Bureau estimated that the building industry absorbed 300,000, public utilities 200,000, the movies and other amusements 100,000, automobile sales and service 750,000, other distribution 500,000, the professions 200,000, and miscellaneous loop-holes admitted another 100,000—a total of 2,150,000 given a chance for a livelihood. But this left a surplus of 3,050,000, which added to the original 1,000,000 unemployed of 1923 made an army of more than 4,000,000, jobless and free to keep cool with Coolidge on the bread lines.

But such a showing was too much for Republican complacency—especially in a presidential year. Secretary of Labor Davis blurted out some figures in denial. The Labor Bureau promptly revised its estimate. It showed that by Secretary Davis's own information the number of the jobless was not 4,000,000, but 5,000,000!

In factory work as a whole, nearly a sixth of those employed in the busy spring months of 1923 are now out of their jobs. For various branches of manufacture the condition is shown by the latest Federal Reserve Board reports to be as follows:

Industry	Average	Average	January	Points
	1923	1927	1928	Dropped 1923-27
Metals and products	99	87	81	12
Iron and steel	98	86	81	12
Textiles and products	107	94	93	13
Fabrics	110	97	95	13
Textile products	104	91	90	13
Lumber and products	108	91	84	17
Railroad vehicles	106	77	75	29
Automobiles	116	113	114	3
Paper and printing	105	108	109	---
Foods and products	94	86	84	8
Leather and products	99	85	83	14
Stone, clay and glass	122	117	102	5
Tobacco products	94	80	74	14
Chemicals and products	81	77	75	4
General index	104	92	88	16

Thus in the fourteen groups of factory industries listed, average employment from 1923 to 1927 dropped 8 points or less in four groups, including the rapidly expanding automobile industry. It slumped from 12 to 17 points in eight, or more than half of the groups. In one group—railroad vehicles—it crashed 29 points. In only one—paper and printing—did it go up, a mere 3 points. As usual, the January figures for 1928 are in most cases below the average for the preceding year. Only automobiles, and paper and printing, go against this general rule with slight advances as this year began.

The catastrophic cutting off of employment which has befallen American labor is practically solid for the country. American capitalism is allowing its workers to multiply only where wages standards are vile. Where the pay is too good for the bosses' stomach — and that is in five-eighths of the country!—it is freezing the workers out.

How can it do so? By means of the very capacity to produce in enormous quantities

which the American workers by a century of toil have built into the country's industries. As the Magazine of Wall Street recently put it:

"Whether we consider agriculture, manufacturing, or mining, a large capacity to produce seems to force an output in excess of the demands of both home and foreign markets. Furthermore, so extensive is the over-capacity in many industries that even excess output does not occupy facilities to the full."

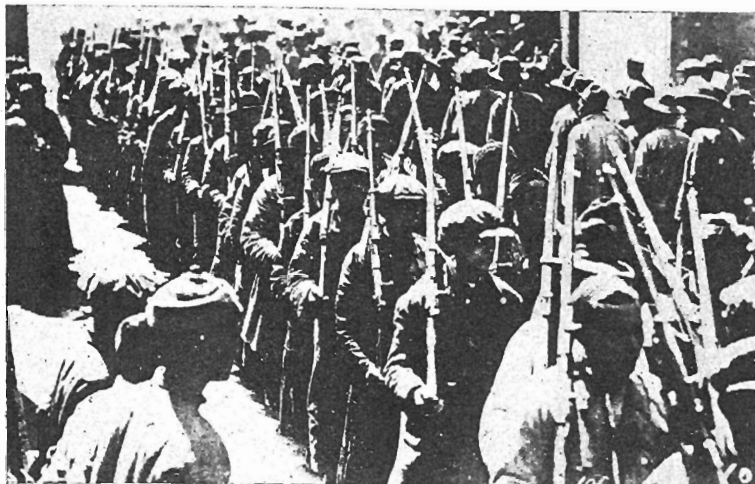
Or, as the deacon said to the cuttlefish, the workers have nothing because they produce too much. And they will continue until they take over for themselves the machines.



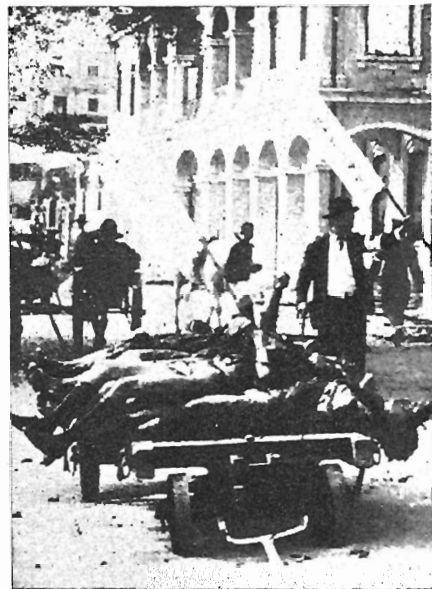
Part of 90,000 unemployed workers of Cleveland being fed by their Unemployed Council. The city has refused to give adequate relief.

Class War in China

Workers slaughtered, stripped and piled on hand trucks in the streets of Canton by the reactionaries.



Red Guards (Defense Corps of the Labor Unions) marching in Shanghai. They need those guns for the class war is bitter in China. See picture to the right.



By LI CHEN

THE Canton uprising ended by the defeat of the proletariat after a short but glorious attempt to establish the first workers' government in China, has been followed by a new and fiercer wave of White Terror. The repressions were started by the so-called "left Kuomintang" militarists, Chang Fa-kwei and Li-Fu-lin. During the weeks immediately following the reoccupation of Canton by the reactionary forces more than 2,000 workers were arrested and shot without any show of trial. Rifles were found insufficient to do the executioners' job so machine-guns were used more than once, long rows of workers being bound together and moved down. The coolies who have no room, no houses of their own and must therefore sleep in public boarding houses (barracks) had no chance to escape this horrible repression. It is among them that the greatest losses occurred. Li Chi-sen, the man of the April terror of last year, has come back and continues the work of repression started by his rival, Chang Fa-kwei.

The wave of repression takes many other forms.

The first step taken by Li Chi-sen on his return to power was to issue an order prohibiting strikes and every form of working-class activity for six months. The next step was to issue a series of regulations limiting and practically paralyzing the few trade unions still allowed a legal existence. All the Red Labor Unions have had to work illegally since April

of last year, but this time even the unions organized by the so-called "left Kuomintang" have been closed, their properties confiscated and their members hunted by the police and jailed. Even in the official General Kwangtung Labor Federation whose leadership is directly connected with the Kwangsi militarists, they thought it necessary to close several unions. This "necessity" came from the fact that many workers in the official or "yellow" labor federations participated actively in the uprising, against the wishes and instructions of the corrupted bureaucracy. It is generally estimated by the Hongkong British press that about 200 unions have been dissolved recently in Canton and that of 350 unions formerly existing only about 60 now remain open.

The Merchants' Volunteers, armed organizations of the propertied classes, which several years ago were suppressed and disarmed after severe fighting by the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, have now been reorganized and patrol the streets, helping to arrest the workers.

On the Chinese New Year (January 21) the employers seized the opportunity to dismiss "suspected" workers and shop employes "guilty" of trade union activity. Over a thousand were deprived of their jobs without any serious reason being given.

The disruption of communications (by road, river and railway) increases every day. Agrarian production is in chaos. The militarist wars started this process of disruption long ago,

and today it is aggravated and accelerated by the growth of a class-conscious peasant movement on one side with the spread of banditry (product of the misery prevailing in the villages) on the other.

In Canton there is general bankruptcy.

The currency problem is the most pressing one. Before abandoning Canton Chang Fa-Kwei and Li Fu-lin collected all the silver reserve of the Central Bank and ran away with it. The paper notes underwent a great depreciation, their value falling at one time to as low as 25% of their face value. Many plans to make loans failed to materialize through the resistance of the merchants and the lack of confidence of foreign capitalists.

An equally drastic repression has been directed against working conditions, wages, and hours of work. It is difficult on account of the depreciation of the currency to give figures which would convey an accurate idea of the aggravation of the miserable living conditions of the workers during the liberal period of the Kuomintang government and what conditions were not lost after the April coup d'etat, have now been taken back by the employers.

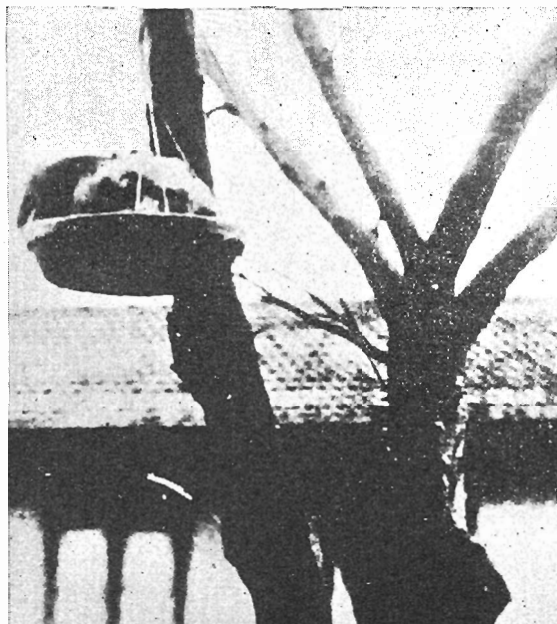
Unemployment has increased in tremendous proportions. No assistance for the unemployed is forthcoming. Those who go to the Bureau of Agriculture and Labor to ask for relief or work are told by the clerks to send in written applications for jobs. A vernacular newspaper explained that as very few workers can write this may dispose of the "importunities" of a good many!

New Tendencies Among Militarists

The common danger from the revolutionary workers and peasants has brought about a more united front of the warlords and merchants. of course this new "marriage" does not go without many difficulties; the generals need money that the Chamber of Commerce is not often willing to provide.



Working conditions in China after the reaction.



LABOR'S HEAD ON A PLATTER

An actual photograph in Shanghai of the pledge of the right wing Kuomintang to foreign imperialism.

The second tendency is toward a rapprochement between the White Terror government of Canton and the government of Hongkong. After many years of defeat the compradore policy again occupies the center of the stage. Hongkong dictates to Canton what to do. Listen to the speech of Sir Cecil Clement "toasting". Li Chi-sen:

"Give us security! Eliminate pirates and brigands! Put an end to civil war! Protect life and property, trade and commerce! Do this, and the coffers of your provincial treasury will soon be replenished by an abundant revenue. Do this, and there need no longer be any clamor about unequal treaties, imperialism, and other senseless slogans which were formerly encouraged by the malice of Communist propaganda, but now happily evoke little response in Canton.

"We in Hongkong have watched with sympathy and admiration the maner in which you, Marshall Li, have grappled with the immense difficulties confronting you. You have already done much to destroy the menace of Communism and Bolshevism, and to curb the tyranny of Labour in the Liang Kuang province. You have set your face resolutely against strikes and boycotts and all forms of lawless agitation."

The movement of the revolutionary masses pushes militarists and capitalists into the arms of the Hongkong imperialists. It is not a sign of strength of the reaction, but of its fundamental weakness and fear.

The class war in Kwangtung rises to a higher stage.

Organizing Working Women

THE TASK OF THE LEFT WING

By EVA SHAFRAN

GONE are the days of "Women's place is in the home." Dead and buried is the time when woman was considered as a toy, the "house doll," to be taken care of by Man, the "stronger," both physically and mentally. New days have come—the days of capitalistic industrial expansion and development which have rapidly brought women into industry and presented new burning questions of organization before the labor movement as a whole, and the left wing in particular.

The "over-night" industrial development in the United States, the need for more and cheaper laborers, the low earnings of male workers—all these added to the rapid coming of women into industry. Between 1880 and 1910, the number of women workers increased 223 per cent—twice the increase of men workers. Between 1910 and 1920, the increase was 41 per cent.

New we have 8½ million women "gainfully employed" in the United States, according to the 1920 Census—one woman to every five men. Two million are married women, adding eight or ten or twelve hours of work daily to their household responsibilities in order to help support their families.

Women have gone, not only into the "light" industries, as might be expected, but into the so-called "heavy" industries as well. In the automobile industry alone, the number of women workers increased, between 1880 and 1910, the tremendous amount of 1048 per cent.

Women work in almost every branch of industry in the country. Out of a total of 572 industries studied by the Women's Bureau of



WOMEN STRIKERS DEFY WHITE TERROR IN SHANGHAI
Even in the patriarchal Orient modern industry takes women from the home and throws them into the class struggle. How much more in America!

the U. S. Department of Labor, only 35 do not employ women. This just shows what a factor women are increasingly becoming in industry.

Of late years there has been a great cry raised for the "freedom" and "equality" of women. With the upper and middle classes, this has become a sort of hobby. In their case, there is no economic reason involved. The women simply realized that the view of them as the "doll of the family" in reality meant that they were looked down on as a lower sort of being.

Which Class?

The demands in themselves are, of course, very "noble" and justified. But it all depends on who and for whose purposes they are being used. To the middle and upper class women, the right to do what they want means one thing, and to the working class women it means something else. The total disregard of the working woman's viewpoint by her "sisters" is expressed very well by Amy Wren in an article in "Equal Rights," official publication of the Women's Party:

"As far as I can see, if a debutante can dance all night without injuring the chances for the future generations' health and all that, there's no reason why they shouldn't work all night if they wish."

On such "weighty" reasoning as this, Miss Wren and her associates would force an "Equal Rights" amendment to the Constitution, which would do away with all protective legislation for women workers.

For us workers, these arguments for "free-

dom" in the abstract which means in reality slavery don't mean very much. We understand that not only are women oppressed under capitalism, but all those who have to slave under the yoke of capitalism to earn their daily bread are exploited. Nevertheless, there are certain problems peculiar to women in industry. These 8½ million women now in industry work under very bad conditions—long hours, poor surroundings, and wages much lower than those of men and these are some of the problems that we should consider.

The figures of the Women's Bureau show that the average wage for women in the various states in 1920 ranged from \$16.85 per week in Rhode Island to \$8.60 per week in Missouri. The average weekly earnings for men workers in Illinois in 1925 was \$32.29 and for women \$18.83. In New York the average earnings in 1925 for men were \$30.75 per week; for women, \$15.14. It is a fact well known to all workers that women doing the same work as men are frequently paid much less.

Long Hours

The hours of work for women range from 48 to 60 and over per week, the majority of them working 9, 10, and even 11 hours a day. In the southern textile mills, the 12 hour day and 14 hour night are common. It should also be noted that long hours usually run simultaneously with low wages, according to the figures and studies of the Women's Bureau. Many employers thoughtfully arrange for women with families to work night so they can look after their children and do the washing and cooking in the day time. When do they sleep? Ah, well, that's not the employer's concern.

Marriage No Escape

"Discriminatory legislation" for women has been necessary for several reasons. In the first place, they, the women, are so poorly paid that they dare not fight for better conditions for fear of starvation if they are discharged. In the second place, many have regarded their employment as temporary and have so endured the terrible conditions until they could get out—although statistics show that women who leave industry to marry are returning to it more and more frequently after marriage.

The chief reason, however, for the lack of activity by women to gain improvement for themselves has been that the trade unions have fought their admission for fear they might bring wages down or throw men out of jobs, or (incredible as it may seem) from the old be-

lief that "women's place is in the home," and that she is a creature without sense, responsibility, or endurance. The fact that less than three per cent of the working women are organized, although, as Manry Anderson says, four million out of the 8½ million now working could belong to trade unions already affiliated with the A. F. of L., is a terrific indictment of the American trade unions.

That female labor is cheaper and more satisfactory to the profit interests of the employers, and that therefore, women will keep on pouring into industry—there can be no two opinions on this. Nor can there be any dispute but that women can be used in industry either to lower the wages and working conditions of the men or to help the men, by fighting with them against their common enemy—the employer. Past experience has taught us that where women are ignored or discriminated against by the men, they were a menace to the movement, and both men and women lost. Where women were taken into the unions and given a place, they were of great help to the union. We saw it in the great steel strike and in other great struggles of the workers in the past and present.

So what shall we do?

The only answer to this question is: Organize the women workers, help them raise their standards of living, and make them a valuable asset to the struggle of the working class instead of a menace.

Social legislation for women? We are for it. But social legislation alone will not serve the purpose, particularly where it depends upon "goodwill" for its enactment and capitalist executives for its interpretation and enforcement. Social legislation that will really serve the interests of the working class woman and protect her functions as child-bearer and worker, will never be gotten except through the united striving force of an organized working class.

The present A. F. of L. leadership in its long history of "attempts" has proven incapable and unwilling to organize the masses of unorganized workers, men as well as women. The job of organizing the women workers, therefore, is the task of the Left Wing.

The work of the left wing among women in the 11 months of the Passaic strike, the splendid organization of the Women's Councils, the activities of the Women's Battalions in the Furriers' strike, all are evidence to convince us that the left wing is capable of doing, and will do the job.

ORGANIZATION AND NEW TECHNIQUE IN THE BUILDING TRADES

By JACK JOHNSTONE
(National Organizer T. U. E. L.)

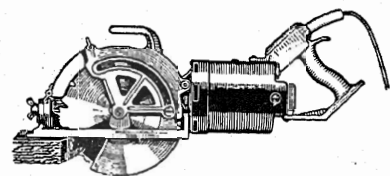
WHILE the building industry has been revolutionizing for the past 40 years, it is only since the end of the world war that rapid strides in that direction have been made.

This important development has been almost completely overlooked by the building trade unions, but is being taken full advantage of by the employers.

Today the building trade workers are mere cogs in an industrial wheel. The craftsman of 30 years ago has disappeared and in his place has come a host of specialized semi-skilled and unskilled workers, who produce huge skyscrapers the main parts of which have been built in a factory, numbered, brought to the building site and assembled. Of course it would be wrong to say that skill has been eliminated. What has happened is that skill has been diluted and the number of skilled men, especially the building pioneers (carpenters, masons and bricklayers), needed on a building has been reduced and their relationship to the building so changed that they are no longer the dominant factor that they were 25 or 30 years ago, and common labor plays an ever more important part.

AGE OF STEEL BEGINS

The erection of the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York in 1880 marked a definite change in building construction. While steel had been used before, (the Tower Building, New York, 1889; the Masonic Temple, Chicago, 1890, etc.) the building of this first sky scraper in the world with steel frame and elevator marked a new epoch in building. The introduction of the steel skeleton as the sole support for a building, replacing masonry, lumber and brick as the basic material, had a far-reaching effect, not only in building construction but upon the workers in the industry. In building construction it meant the elimination of the heavy wall base, the elimination of supporting walls, a reduction in building costs, the raising of the sky line to a limit which has not yet been reached. In other words, the introduction of steel as a basic material in building construction was the foundation upon which has been built in a very few years the highly centralized mechanized industry. Without the steel skeleton, and later reinforced concrete, without the pneumatic caisson process for the sinking of piers to great depths, the modern skyscrapers would be impossible.



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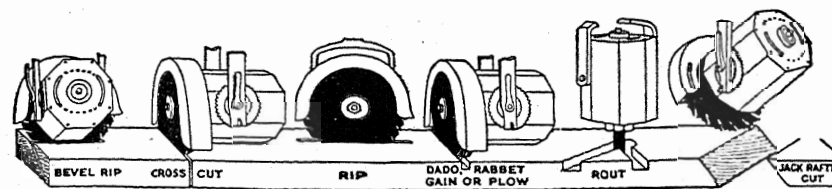
BUILDING BY MACHINERY

With the establishment of the steel building frame began a rapid development of machine power, the introduction of new materials and substitute materials, causing specialization

Here is the old way with a wood chisel and the new mechanical way. The power chisel also drills holes through any thickness. One man does the work of ten.



not only of workers but also of building employers, creating a host of contractors and sub-contractors, until building construction seemed to be hopelessly decentralized. However, this was just the first phase of the revolution that was taking place as machine power increased, and the mechanized process in building operations developed. The building industry developed rapidly from a localized character into an immense national industry that created huge companies requiring the investment of large capital, the dominating local builder gave way to national trade contractors, national general contractors, forcing eventually, in 1922, the amalgamation of these national employers' associations into one national industrial employers' organization, the American Construction Council. With this process completed, the stabilization of building construction became assured. Since 1922 rapid progress has been made in this direction. Far and large, the building industry today is controlled by finance and industrial capital with the bankers playing an important, and in times of labor troubles, a dominant role.



This one man carpenter's bench wood working machine does a variety of jobs as indicated above, which formerly kept many men busy.

The introduction of new basic materials and the development of further substitutes for wood, brick and stone, coupled with the rapid introduction of power machinery, changed, multiplied and mechanized building operations, obscured heretofore rigid craft boundary lines causing struggles against the introduction of machinery, and created new organizations of workers, throwing all of the building trades unions into ruinous jurisdictional wars. The basic causes of these wars are neither discussed in, nor understood by the unions. If they were, jurisdictional disputes would not occur and a process of amalgamating the workers' forces to conform to the new industrialization in building construction would have followed.

UNITE BOSSES, DIVIDE WORKERS

Here are just a few of the new and substitute materials that have made the skyscraper possible, the introduction of which have caused devastating jurisdictional war: steel and reinforced concrete replacing wood and masonry as basic materials, concrete and cork floor in place of wood, artificial stone in place of dressed stone, granolithic stone and steel stair cases instead of wood, plaster board and metal ceilings in place of lath and plaster, metal window frames, doors, casings, base, shelvings, medicine cabinets, etc. in place of wood, metal concrete forms instead of wood, enamel and patented preparations instead of paint, etc.

Equally important in the development of modern building construction is the introduction of new machinery and the development of power operations, among which are: the pneumatic rivetter which does the work formerly done by eight men and now a new process of electric welded joints, being developed to take the place of the rivet; other pneumatic tools, such as for chipping stone, etc.; steam, electric and gasoline shovels, hydraulic and elevator dredges, the perfected hoisting engine with its increased power, improved brake and mechanical control, etc.; the power-driven pick, grab-lines and other excavating machinery, the portable belt conveyor, the power concrete mixer, the gravity distributing concrete tower, the stone and granite cutting machine, the cement gun, the paint spray, the joiner, the floor scrapper, the nailing machine.

These few examples show to what extent the building industry has been mechanized. Scores of building operations are performed by power machines, most of which have been developed within the past 15 years. In the process of mechanization of building operations, skill has given way to speed and so-called efficiency. Today it is quantity they want, with quality becoming the product of factory-made material, or regulated by the machine process rather than by the mechan-



This is an electric paint burning and scraping machine. Result: unemployment for painters.

ORGANIZATION AND NEW TECHNIQUE

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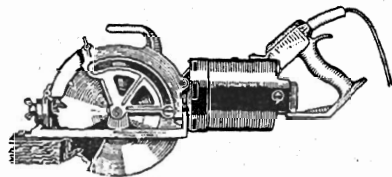
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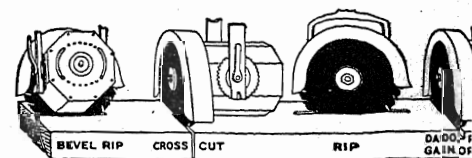
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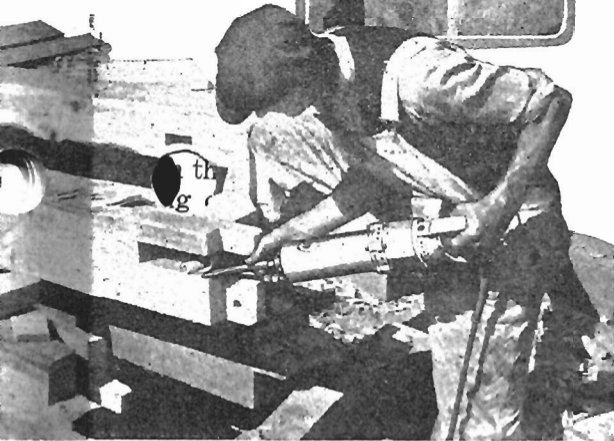
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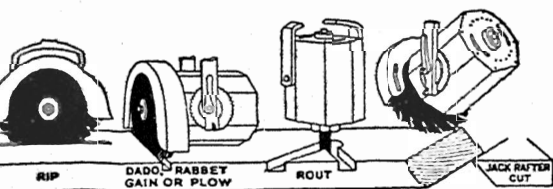
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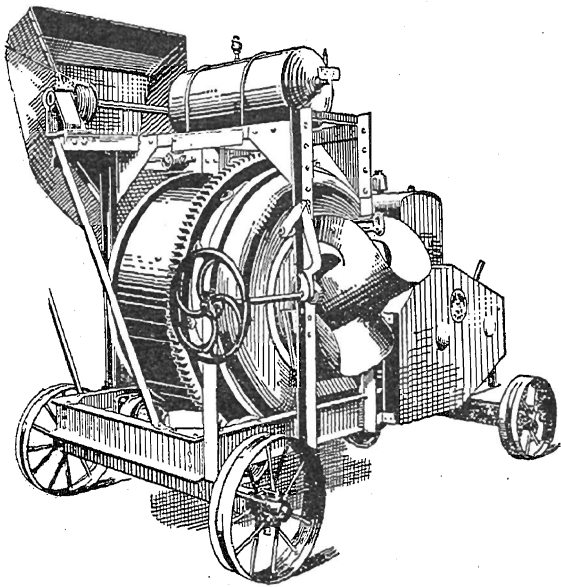
Here are just a few of the new and substitute materials that have made the skyscraper possible, the introduction of which have caused devastating jurisdictional war: steel and reinforced concrete replacing wood and masonry as basic materials, concrete and cork floor in place of wood, artificial stone in place of dressed stone, granolithic stone and steel stair cases instead of wood, plaster board and metal ceilings in place of lath and plaster, metal window frames, doors, casings, base, shelvings, medicine cabinets, etc. in place of wood, metal concrete forms instead of wood, enamel and patented preparations instead of paint, etc.

Equally important in the development of modern building construction is the introduction of new machinery and the development of power operations, among which are: the pneumatic rivetter which does the work formerly done by eight men and now a new process of electric welded joints, being developed to take the place of the rivet; other pneumatic tools, such as for chipping stone, etc.; steam, electric and gasoline shovels, hydraulic and elevator dredges, the perfected hoisting engine with its increased power, improved brake and mechanical control, etc.; the power-driven pick, grab-lines and other excavating machinery, the portable belt conveyor, the power concrete mixer, the gravity distributing concrete tower, the stone and granite cutting machine, the cement gun, the paint spray, the joiner, the floor scrapper, the nailing machine.

These few examples show to what extent the building industry has been mechanized. Scores of building operations are performed by power machines, most of which have been developed within the past 15 years. In the process of mechanization of building operations, skill has given way to speed and so-called efficiency. Today it is quantity they want, with quality becoming the product of factory-made material, or regulated by the machine process rather than by the mechan-



This is an electric paint burning and scraping machine. Result: unemployment for painters.



MIXER FOR CEMENT OR PLASTER

ic. The building must move upwards so many more floors a week or a month. So many bricks must be laid per day, so many doors are hung, so many feet of floor are laid, so many bathrooms etc. are enameled, so many yards of plaster. Up-to-date machinery has taken the place of good mechanics and good laborers. The carpenter, hod-carrier and building laborer of 25 years ago is not the carpenter, hod-carrier and building laborer of today. Here is a new industry, and a new type of worker, with new problems, that require new methods.

Intelligent workers no longer fight against the introduction of machinery unless it is of the character of the paint spraying machine, which is injurious to health. The struggle of the workers must be to control the new machinery, so that it will serve and not enslave them.

The only response that the trade unions have made to the great change in building construction has been: (1) To increase the number of unions. (2) Ruinous jurisdictional quarrels. (3) Federation of craft unions. (4) To help form a national employers' industrial organization. (5) To fight the left wing, which advocates amalgamation and a progressive program for the trade unions.

The formation of local building trade Councils and the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor indicated a single craft union could no longer cope with the situation and fight the employers successfully alone. However, with this craft union change, trade union development stopped. The weakness of the craft form of organization was

recognized as early as 1913 when a resolution was adopted by the Seattle convention of the Building Trades Department held that year, endorsing the amalgamation of the building trade unions into five departments, viz: Mason Group, Iron Group, Pipefitting and Power Group, Building Finishing Group and Wood Working Group.

This proposition, however, was allowed to die with the adjournment of the convention. To emphasize the weakness of the craft unions, it might be well to devote a little space to what has taken place among the employers.

Period of Confusion

To some extent, the revolution in building construction prior to the world war had the same effects upon the employers as it did upon the workers. As the change in building construction was being made, it first created confusion, new interests came into the field, old firms with old methods had either to change their ways or make way for the new firms with the new methods. This was not accomplished very easily or peacefully. However, employers have a class virtue that has been lacking among the workers. Generally, no matter how bitterly they may quarrel among themselves, their forces can be quickly knitted together in a common struggle against the workers. This was seen in the struggles of 1900 when the Chicago employers, organized into the "Contractors Council," locked out and completely defeated the Chicago building trades workers. This was followed by similar action of newly organized "Building Trades Employers Association" of New York City in 1903, when the building trades workers were defeated after a five months bitter strike. These successes served as an incentive to employers in other cities and similar local organizations were formed.

Employers Organize

Some early attempts were made to organize the employers upon a national and industrial scale, such as the formation in 1887 of the "National Association of Builders" and later in 1912 the "National Association of Builders' Exchanges", but it was not until 1917-18 that the movement took root. The National Association of Builders Exchanges played a powerful pioneer part in the work of organizing the employers industrially. However, it had all the weakness of a loose federation, the boundary lines of its members were vague, its jurisdic-

tional quarrels were as bitter as the jurisdictional quarrels in the unions. It sponsored the formation of the "National Board of Jurisdictional Awards" to settle disputes with the unions, and set up a Commercial Arbitration Court to settle similar disputes within its own ranks, the latter achieving as little success as the former.

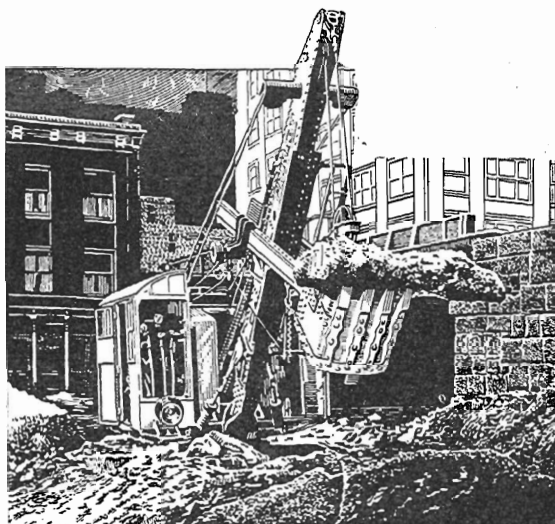
In 1918 the American Institute of Architects issued a call for a convention of employers' organizations for the purpose of forming a national industrial employers' union. While nothing of a lasting nature came of this meeting, the machinery had been set in motion. The employers were flooded with campaign literature. The trade union officials headed by Donlin, President of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L., became boosters, if not actually organizers, for the formation of an employers' industrial union. So anxious was Donlin that the employers should have a real fighting organization, that he gave out the following gem in 1920:

"The trouble with the construction industry is that we are not organized. We are suffering from too many things which a strong organization could remedy... If labor should then be held responsible for stopping production, the unions, could then be called in by the Congress (controlled by the employers!) to explain. What we need is a Congress with teeth in it."

General R. C. Marshall, who was also interested in seeing that his co-employers formed the proper kind of organization in reply to Brother Donlin said:

"Unless organized labor will maintain a reasonable attitude toward the other elements of construction which have a common interest with it, these other elements will go to the other extreme. Insistence upon a labor monopoly or upon an employer monopoly of the conditions of labor under the non union shop. The closed shop, or any other plan is bound to bring reaction after reaction according as circumstances give power to one of the other. In the Building trades, labor is largely organized and should be willing to deal with employers. By many it is considered that their right to do so is fundamental. Also, the right of the employer to contract with whom he pleases is equally fundamental. It is necessary that these forces work together for the good of the industry. If the trade unions in the building industry perform the services for their members and the corresponding trades which they are in a position to perform, I believe that they need not fear to recognize the right of freedom of contract for the individual, and if they will recognize that right the construction employers of the country will, I believe, not only recognize that right but come to adopt collective bargaining through the unions as a more satisfactory means of handling labor questions because of the very nature of the industry and because the unions are organized."

General Marshall was one of the organizers of the "Associated General Contractors" which



DIGGING FOUNDATIONS

was formed during this general campaign in Chicago in 1918. This association went on record for the open shop in 1920, and supported by the so-called Citizens Committee and the banking interests, led the struggle against the Chicago building trade workers in 1920-22.

During 1921-22 a number of national employers' conferences were held, culminating in the organizing of the American Construction Council in Cleveland, June, 1922. This organization is an amalgamation of the various national employers' trade associations into a departmentalized employers' national industrial organization, each department with equal voting power, and its decisions are final. It is sponsored and fully supported by the financial interests, and peculiar as it may seem, by the upper strata of Labor's officialdom. In 1923 it appropriated \$25,000 for organizing work, for the building of powerful local builders' congresses. Since its formation it has made rapid progress. It is a mighty organization and is ready to whip any wavering contractor into line with its program, by the use of the financial and industrial boycott. This is the organized force that the building trade unions will have to deal with in future struggles; it is a vastly more centralized and powerful organization than anything organized labor has achieved in this industry. Brother Donlin has had his wish fulfilled. The American Construction Council has teeth in it.

The building trade workers are the next target for a general attack. This is obvious. With the valuable assistance of the building boom they were able to stop the open shop drive of 1920-

22, and since that time increase the numerical strength of the unions and while the working conditions are bad and the speed-up system allowed to develop unchallenged, the unions were able to retain their standard of living by increasing hourly wages to meet the rising living costs.

On the other hand, the rest of the labor movement has been on the retreat. Proof of this is abundant. The majority of basic industries are working open shop. The powerful Railroad Shopmen's Federation has been demolished. The once powerful United Mine Workers of America is fighting a lockout and has been hacked to pieces, by the coal operators and by John L. Lewis, its international president, until today 70% of the bituminous coal is being mined in non-union territory. So serious is the situation generally that President Green, of the A. F. of L. has to admit publicly that the very life of the labor movement is in danger.

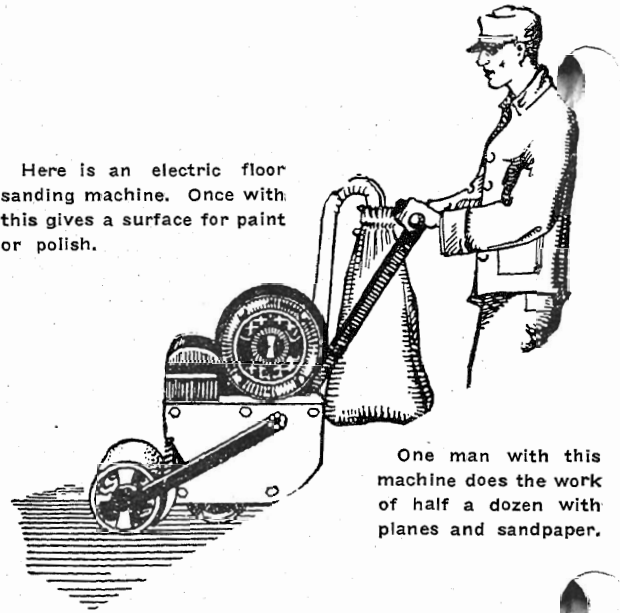
The whole base of the labor movement has been narrowed down to a point which endangers its very existence. The cause of this is the corruption of the ideology of the movement by so-called leaders. The very vitals of the movement are being eaten away by the anti-working class policies of the Greens, Wolls, Hutchersons, Donlins, et al. Green says that the life of the labor movement is in danger. Yes, it is, But it has been brought to that pass by such schemes as the B. & O. plan, the Landis Award, "Worker-Employer Co-Operation," "Labor Life Insurance," and other pet schemes of class collaboration which Matthew Woll and others parade under the high sounding title: "Higher Strategy of Labor." A little more of this higher strategy of labor and the labor movement won't be worth a damn.

It is not a mere idle thought to say that upon the shoulders of the building trade workers rest the task of stopping the retreat of the workers. With the building boom at an end, unemployment on the increase, with an industry that has been flooded with new workers during the boom and the speed-up in full swing, a well-organized employer class is only waiting until conditions ripen in order to launch an attack. On the other hand, there are nearly a million organized workers who have been fairly steadily earning wages for the past five years, a good morale, a rank and file that is willing to put up a militant struggle, not merely a defensive one against wage cut, but offensively for the 5 day, 40 hour week, for better working

conditions, against the speed-up and for real union job control. The organized building trades workers at this moment are in a most favorable position for a struggle that will not only advance their interest but advance the interests of the entire labor movement.

The obstacles that stand in the way are the leaders, because they refuse to lead. The fact is, they are incapable of leading. With five years of favorable conditions, the shorter work week is not even a general talking point, the speed up system was allowed to develop without challenge, and working conditions were allowed to go to the dogs. Even in wage increases the rank and file had sometimes to step over the heads of their leaders. The rank and file must take a further hand in the game.

Here is an electric floor sanding machine. Once with this gives a surface for paint or polish.



One man with this machine does the work of half a dozen with planes and sandpaper.

It can be safely said that craft ideology and the craft form of organization can no longer advance the interest of the building trades workers. To follow this old method of struggle in the present stage of development means defeat. Amalgamation is the next step that must be taken by the building trade unions. Away with the so-called higher strategy of labor! Just plain ordinary united struggle against a common enemy, the employers. What is needed is a UNION with teeth in it, fighting against wage cuts, for the 40 hour week, against speed-up, for job control and a uniform agreement for all trades to expire at the same time.

The Save-the-Union Conference

(Continued from Page 6)

"If there is any split, it will not be we but the reactionaries who will bear the responsibility for it by their policy of discrimination, ex-



GEORGE VOYZEY

Lewis counted him out when he ran for international presidency in 1924. Here he found men who hailed him as a brother in the struggle.

pulsions and victimization. It is true that we vote, but it is they who count the votes. The rank and file," he concluded, "are we the Save-the-Union movement and that is our assurance of victory in the fight to win the strike, to oust the Lewis machine. Save-the-Union and re-establish it as a powerful force in the mining industry."

After Toohey's statement and during his entire speech tremendous applause rocked the hall.

The details of the speeches that followed were different, but the sense was the same. Each speaker related new instances of Lewis treachery, of its evil results for the union, but all were united on the main point—"The Union Must Be Saved From The Coal Operators and From Lewis".

The Pittston Murders

Stanley Dzienglewski from Pittston told of the Lewis-Cappellini program of murder and frame up there: when progressives win control of a union, gunmen kill three of them, wound another, and frame up three on murder charges.

Tom Parry, of Illinois, expelled by Fishwick and Farrington; George Voyzey, counted out by Lewis when he ran for international presidency in 1924, Wakefield of Kansas, where Lewis expelled the officials for fighting the anti-strike law; and many others of the rank and file added their voice to the indictment of Lewis and his clique. Anthony Minerich, reporting as chairman of some of the most important committees, spoke again and again, militant, direct, common sense, he had just been expelled, Lewis' first victim, for attending the conference.

Joe Angelo of Springfield introduced a resolution; he was carrying the marks of a slugging by the machine thugs. Powers Hapgood was chairman of a committee; he was out on bail arrested for activity in defense of Bonito, Mendola and Moleski.

Two days of this, and meanwhile speeches on the young miners, by George Papcun; on the miners' children; by 12 year old John Foley, representing Mollenauer strikers' children's clubs, on women by Mrs. Dolence and Mrs. Mondell of the Women's Progressive Committee, on Negro miners, by Wm. Boyce. The conference adopted resolutions and amendments



This is the kind of work, hard, dangerous, unhealthy, where the coal operators want to cut down the wages one third.

to the program co-ordinating all this activity, recognizing the need of the negro miners for equal work for equal pay, and equal rights in the union, which Lewis has deprived them of, drawing the youth organizations and the women's organizations into the strike activity.

The attitude of the entire conference towards the Negro miners was cordial and fraternal in the extreme, and Negro delegates representing both white and negro miners took a prominent part in proceedings.

Coal Digger Endorsed

The Coal Digger, militant organ of the Save-the-Union Committee, published at 526 Federal St., Pittsburgh, was endorsed, and many in the conference gave their last dollar for a subscription. Money was showered upon the stage.

A skeleton organization for the unorganized was provided as follows:

"....a complete network of mine, local, subdistrict, and district committees among the unorganized. Secretaries shall be elected by these committees who shall be properly connected with the National Save the Union Committee. These committees shall carry

on intensive work to unite the unorganized miners around them.

"The next step shall be the organization of district and local conventions for the purpose of definitely organizing these miners into unions. These newly formed unions shall be under the general direction of the National Save the Union Committee until they can be brought into the U. M. W. A. under honest and reliable leadership. Under no circumstances shall they be turned over to Lewis' henchmen."

And that is that. Let Lewis call it a dual union if he wants to; when he is eliminated, it will be part of the United Mine Workers of America.

Lewis has cut loose from the safety of Washington with a fierce and incoherent denunciation of the National Save-the-Miners' Union Conference. He calls it Communistic, he pretends also it intends to hurt the strike—as if anything had been left undone by Lewis to injure the strike.

The miners will know very well how little credence to give Lewis.

The General Attitude

The attitude of the capitalists and the machine was one of great bewilderment. The hard boiled New York press hardly mentioned the conference. The Chicago Tribune, closer at hand gave it columns of space. The local Pittsburgh papers gave it their main headlines. The farther away you got from it, the easier it was to follow Lewis' lead, that the Conference amounted to nothing. In the coal states it could not be disregarded.

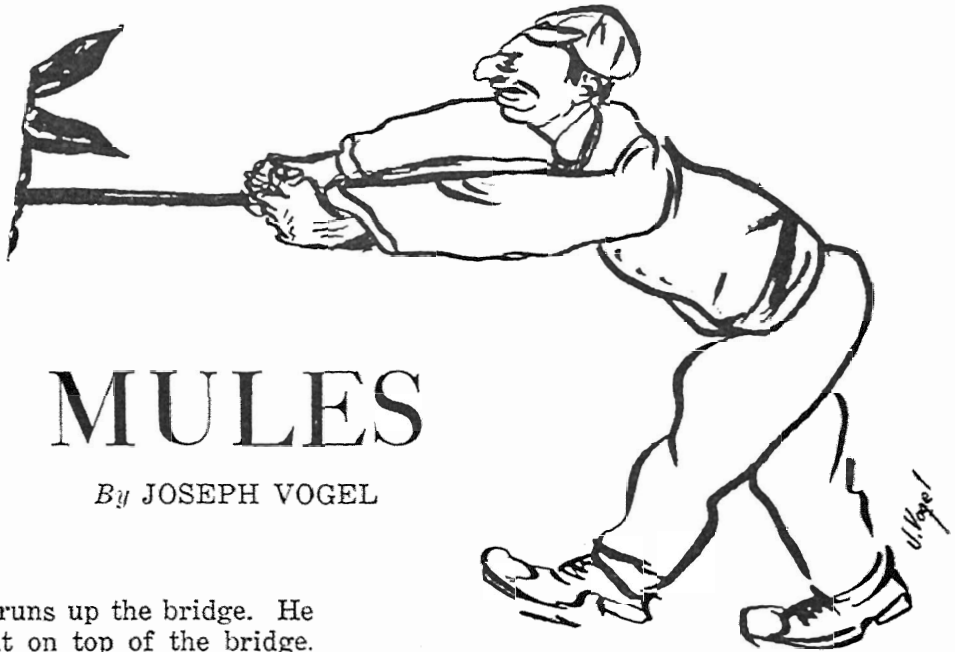
The Workers Party papers supported the Conference completely. The Socialists split on it, the New Leader recognizing it as a bona fide struggle of the miners, but deploring its "Red leadership", the Forwards condemning it outright. The I. W. W. which scoffed and jeered at it throughout its making, was forced into some grudging admiration at its success, the Wobbly attitude is almost that of the New Leader. The liberal Nation published special, and accurate articles on the Conference.

The miners need publicity because they need relief, and the solidarity of labor to win this strike. One of the things they spent most time on was the discussion of relief. Lewis is going to cut off relief right and left, to evict miners from union barracks, to try to starve his rebellious union members into submission. The Conference moved to appeal to the whole labor movement for relief and solidarity. If they get it they will win in spite of Lewis, the operators, and the injunctions.

A BARGE carrying a load of two hundred mules draws alongside the Lucia this morning. A rapidly constructed wooden bridge connects the barge with the ship and continues down steeply into one of the aft holds. Loading of the mules begins. Whips suddenly snap sharply in the air, four men on the barge moan and groan and wave their arms widely. A mule starts in fright, jumps forward, hesitates, his legs frozen stiff, then runs up the bridge. He comes to a sudden halt on top of the bridge. The new world upon which he glares with saucer eyes terrifies him, and his legs tremble and quiver. His body jerks forward upon immovable legs when two other mules who have followed him press for shelter against his flanks. A young man rushes alongside the bridge and slams the mules on the behind with a large bar of wood. "How! How! How!" he shouts at the top of his voice, "How! Hoah! How!" and seeing that the leading mule does not budge he jumps on the leader's back and continues with his pummeling. The mule, his skin quivering and his teeth chattering, instead of going forward, starts backward, at a rapid pace, forcing the mules behind also to return to the barge. A moment's pause. Then the four men on the

MULES

By JOSEPH VOGEL



barge renew their bellowing and wheezing and cursing, the snapping of their whips, and three mules start again for the bridge. The mule driver is prepared this time; he supports himself on top of the bridge rails and strikes the mules vigorously from behind with powerful kicks of his feet. "How Hoah! How!" Soon, after another mule driver has applied a stick resoundingly on the mules, the leader leaps forward desperately, and snorting to the heavens starts his perilous trip down into the strange and awful regions of the hold, followed by his two companions.

Over and over again this process is repeated. A mule driver wallops one mule so hard that his stick breaks in two, the end part flying into the ocean. He immediately picks up a substitute, a stick twice as thick. He has become angry; he strikes the particularly obstinate mules across the ears and on the nose. "How! Hoah! How!" Slam! Whack. The acrobatic mule driver, he who rides them occasionally, leaps down in front of the leading mule, grasps his nostrils and by checking the mule's breathing forces him to follow down into the hold. Often a more vicious and independent mule retaliates with swift and graceful kicks, when a driver hits him too persistently; but the drivers are skilful and slip out of the way of their but powerful legs, usually by hoisting themselves high on the bridge rails where the mule's feet cannot reach them.

As the loading continues, all of the ship's officers, bedecked in spotless white uniforms,



"HOW! HO! HOAH!"

stand on an upper deck and gaze upon the scene, fascinated as if they were witnessing a bull fight.

And in the aft hold... a deafening racket! Surely the stalls will be smashed to pieces, for the mules kick and jump and force their way forward and backward regardless of barriers, here and there two mules standing back to back engaged in a furious kicking combat. They quiver and shake, then suddenly leap and dash away from a beam which has been sent flying by another mule's kick. Wooden bars cannot stop them. They jump, fall, scrape their bodies, tear their shins, smear the stalls with blood.

Above on the deck resound shouts of "How! How! Hoah! How!" sharp smacks of wood applied to tough hide, and on the upper deck voices of the officers in laughter and jest.

II.

We are now about a hundred miles out to sea. At six o'clock in the morning we must water the mules. Five of us mule feeders go to the aft hold. As soon as we appear below deck we are greeted by an acute orchestration of combined instrumental effects yielding base harmonies of snorts and grunts and tenor mellifluities in whinnying and agonized cries for water. We fasten pails filled with water to bars in front of the stalls. We are soon thoroughly soaked with perspiration and by water splashed out of the pails, for the ship rolls heavily and the mules are eager to taste our wares. When a pail drops into a stall, it immediately becomes an instigator of a revolutionary outbreak and comes out of the fray battered and dented as if it had been no more than a small toy pail.

After we finish watering the mules, we make ready to feed them. Another sudden outburst of whinnying and snorting greets the hay. The mules rock their heads and crowd against each other to get at the food. We grab armfuls of fodder and throw it quickly at their feet, for some mules with their heads toward us, and

many having turned around in fright, present to us slender legs with a terrible motive power which we hold in great respect at as great a distance as possible. Since we cannot feed all the mules simultaneously, a craning of necks and a miniature stampede commence. The stalls were erected to hold groups of five and six, but where bars, which formerly separated these groups, have been kicked away, ten or twelve stand in unbroken rows. It is in the frantic efforts to reach the hay, by those who have not yet been served, that the battle rages at its fury. Those who are already engaged in consuming the hay bite the heads of the invaders. One bite is taken as a matter of course, but a continuation of this sport arouses ire, and the victim madly turns his rear to the hay-hogger and deals him a series of place-where-you can kicks. Still munching his hay, the mule thus assaulted performs a turn-about-rear and ferociously returns the hoof-beating. Meanwhile those mules struggling to reach the hay go as far as to try to leap over their neighbors' backs, but unfortunately, since there is no space in which to land, the leapers remain awkwardly with their forelegs over other mules' backs, and in the space thus left behind them, not to forget the felicity of their posture, other brethren cannot resist the temptation of practicing placement on the exposed haunches. Back to back they kick and pummel until hurt or exhausted, or until one of the mules beats a retreat. Several mules who are being bitten on the neck and who cannot find room in which to turn advantageously upon their opponents, just let it out on the helpless wooden stalls. These performances are occurring in several stalls at the same time. And all the while we mule feeders are walking between the stalls with armloads of hay, fearful of the moment when a pair of small sharp feet will send us swiftly up through the open hatchway, and perhaps farther up still, hoof-marked into heaven.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24 1912,

OF LABOR UNITY published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1928. State of New York, County of New York ss.

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Vern Smith, who, having been duly sworn according to law deposes and says that he is the Editor of the LABOR UNITY and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation) etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act

of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher: The Trade Union Educational League, 2 W. 15 St., New York, N. Y.; Editor: Vern Smith, 2 W. 15 St. New York, N. Y.; Managing Editor: Vern Smith, 2 W. 15 St., New York, N. Y. Business Managers: None.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must

be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

Trade Union Educational League, a voluntary association, 2 W. 15 St. New York, N. Y., National Committee: Wm. Z. Foster, Secretary, 2 W. 15 St., New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state). None.

Vern Smith Editor
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30 day of March 1928.

Seal Joseph R. Brodsky
My Commission expires 3-30-1928

THE RED INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM

Labor Unity begins publication below of the main thesis adopted by the Red International of Labor Unions Fourth World Congress, meeting in the latter part of March, in Moscow. Delegates of the T. U. E. L. were present and took part. These delegates have not yet returned to America, but immediately on their arrival, a full account of the Congress will be given through Labor Unity to the American workers on its accomplishments. The R. I. L. U. covering all five continents, is an enormous body, millions of workers affiliated through unions, left wing movements, labor federations and whole labor movements (as in China).

THESES ADOPTED BY THE FOURTH "RILU" CONGRESS

I.—General

THE state of world capitalism at the beginning of 1928 is marked by a fresh sharpening of the capitalist contradictions arising out of the strained atmosphere of the relationship between states and classes, and by the continuation, under new conditions and on a new basis, of the crisis in capitalist economy, rendering the stabilization of capitalism less firm and secure.

The rivalries between the world powers in their endeavours to redivide the world, in their thirst for new markets where they may export their commodities and capital, and for new spheres of influence, are insistently growing. These rivalries bring in their wake a maddened race in armaments, the formation of military alliances and treaties, while preparations for fresh imperialist wars are being openly carried on.

The mature financial and economic might and aggressiveness of American imperialism is meeting with the despairing resistance of Great Britain which is more and more losing her world positions. Having rehabilitated their productive apparatus, the German bourgeoisie is again coming forward with colonial claims. Other countries, such as Japan, France, Italy, etc. are sharply fighting for world markets and zones of influence.

The tremendous increase in the concentration of capital, the creation of powerful national and international trusts and combines which to an ever increasing extent are directly subordinating the machinery of the bourgeois state to themselves, is not only not smoothing out the contradictions in capitalism but tending to render them acuter than ever.

The successes achieved in the sphere of stabilization were carried out at the expense of the working class as a result of the economic and political offensive of the capitalists; mainly by lowering the living standards of the working masses and to lesser degree at expense of the rationalization of production. But it is precisely these very successes which have called forth a wide and increasing disparity between production and the purchasing power of the broad masses, which have led to an extension of unemployment, to bitterer struggles for markets, etc. The growing economic struggle of the proletariat is becoming a serious factor undermining the firmness of capitalist stabilization.

The flimsy nature of capitalist stabilization is being made worse by the economic and political growth of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics which is steadily and systematically raising the standards of living of the working class, successfully developing its work of socialist construction in industry and serving as a centre of attraction for the exploited masses the world over.

The increasing economic struggle of the proletariat is becoming a serious factor undermining the firmness of capitalist stabilization.

The Soviet Union's growth is compelling the international bourgeoisie to seek to overcome all the internal difficulties with a view to throttling the country ruled by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The struggle being waged by the millions of toilers of the colonies against imperialism is becoming a more and more important factor undermining capitalist stabilization, while the struggle is making of them a mighty ally of the U. S. S. R. and of the revolutionary labour movement of the west.

Regarded on the whole, the international economic and political situation is conditioned by the steady sharpening of the class and social struggle, while a new period has begun of broader and sharper conflicts between the working class and capital. All activities of the Red International of Labour Unions and its adherents must be adopted towards preparing and directing this struggle.

II.—The Results of the Capitalist Offensive

The political and economic offensive of centralized and trustified capitalism has led to the following: (1) The biggest economic disputes of recent years have finished in defeat for the workers, owing to the greater rallying powers and increased organizedness of the employers and to the absence of the united front and the disunity of the workers, to be explained by the treacherous anti-labor tactics of the reformists (general strike, the miners' lockout in Britain, dispute in German railway industry, etc.) (2) Compared with the general "Offensive" of the employers and the "Retreat" of the workers, any separate strikes won do not change the situation that has been established between labour and capital. This position of the relations between labour and capital have different forms in different countries. Whereas in Britain, for example, the process of the working class retreat has become of a lengthy character and is still continuing in Germany, big sections of the proletariat have been beginning, during the last year, to transfer from the defensive to the partial offensive. (3) As compared with pre-war, in all capitalist countries has there been a lowering of the living standards of the vast mass of the working class, and only in a few countries has there been a raising of the life standards of certain sections of the workers (Britain, America); (4) Unemployment in some countries (Britain) has become of a "Permanent" character or of a constantly recurrent character (Germany). (5) Practically everywhere the eight-hour working day has been withdrawn in actual fact, while at the same time social legislation has been whittled down. (6) A series of laws attenuating the right of the

workers to defend themselves has been introduced (the strike-breakers' charter in Britain), and the workers of many countries have been deprived of the right to possess their own class trade union organizations (anti-labour laws in Italy, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and elsewhere), to call strikes, etc. (7) With the aid of the reformists anti-labour arbitration of a compulsory nature has been introduced by the capitalist State in many countries. In the United States, for instance, the American Federation of Labor is taking direct part in the drawing up of an anti-strike law which provides for compulsory arbitration in bourgeois courts. (8) An attack is being made on an international scale against the right of the trade unions won by scores of years of fighting (Britain and elsewhere). At the same time the employers are making excessive efforts to introduce the company and all manner of non-class unions.

The result of this systematic and organized offensive has been a lowering of the masses' standard of life, has made for the weakening, while in many countries it has brought about the smashing of the trade unions and the other class organizations of the proletariat; by the use on a wide scale of their allies, the social reformists, the employers are at the same time making efforts to destroy the very possibility of resistance of the working class, using measures inclining to its complete disarmament. The distinguishing feature of the present day "industrial peace" lies in its being carried out not by buying over the upper strata of the proletariat as was the case before the war, the bourgeoisie at the present being unable to do so for the lack of means, but by the preliminary smash-up of the working class which still more emphasises the treacherous hold of the reformist trade union bureaucracy.

III.—Transforming The Leading Organs Of The Reformist Unions into a Direct Weapon Of The Capitalist Organizations.

During the last few years the reformists trade union leaders have come to occupy such an anti-labour position that they are in no wise to be distinguished from the leaders of the liberal, Christian and other unions based upon the harmony of interests between labour and capital, although they frequently mislead the workers with their shouts about the class struggle. The rule of the reformist leaders in the trade unions is leading more and more to the destruction of the difference between the organizations which came into being as organs of the class struggle (free unions in Germany, etc.) and the bourgeois unions working for industrial peace. But the work of transforming the unions into organs of class collaboration is meeting with the serious resistance of the working class. Even if the reformists have succeeded in transforming part of the lower organs of the trade organizations into a weapon of the employers and the bourgeois State still a considerable part of the lower organs of the trade union movement are determinedly resisting this sort of thing.

Following are the features of this evolution: (1) "Fusion" of the leading lights of the trade union machinery with the apparatus of the bourgeois State (affiliation of the reformist Confederation of Labour of France to the National, Economic Council, etc.) (2) "Amalgamation" with the employers' organizations (leagues and institutes of industrial peace in Britain, bloc of the trade union leaders and the

bourgeoisie against strikes in Germany, Poland, etc.) (3) "Voluntary submission" to the arbitration of the capitalistic State (Germany, etc.) (4) "Bloc" of the employers, police and trade union leaders against the striking workers (Germany, France, Balkans, United States, etc.). (5) "United front" of reformists and employers for the purpose of purging the factories of revolutionary workers. (6) Transformation of the trade unions into organs of capitalist rationalization (Britain, France, Germany, U. S. A., etc.). (7) "Collaboration" of leaders and employers to smash the trade unions and transform the reformist unions into company unions, which is having a catastrophic effect on the trade union movement (United States). (8) "Submission" to the ruling class and their organizations which only increases the aggressive attitude towards the left wing of the trade union movement. These repressions are becoming more powerful the more big class battles develop.

In addition to the act of sabotaging of the economic struggle the reformist bureaucracy, forced under pressure from the masses to display a certain amount of initiative in the fight for higher wages and shorter hours (Germany, Austria, etc.) are striving whilst retaining the leadership of the unions in their own hands to prevent the development of a mass movement of the proletariat and the transformation of strikes into political struggles. By displaying a certain measure of activity in the economic struggle, the trade union bureaucrats are also aiming at creating a basis for themselves for government combinations. In these cases where the reformist bureaucracy finds itself at the head of the mass movement out of fear that the leadership of the mass movement may pass into the hands of the revolutionaries it endeavours on the one hand to show to the employers that it has the masses in hand, and on the other tries to throttle the movement of the workers as soon as possible.

All these new features in the policy of the trade union bureaucracy are bringing about the complete subjugation of the reformist trade unions to the employers' organizations and the capitalist state and so to the destruction of the unions generally.

(To be Continued)

Uruguay's Labor Unity Bloc

The "Labor Unity Bloc," organized last November among the unions either expelled from the U. S. U. (Uruguayan Federation of Unions) or disagreeing with its anarcho-sindicalist policies, continues to grow. The "Labor Unity Bloc" does not demand that its member unions leave the U. S. U. but struggles within and without the U. S. U. for a real union of the Uruguayan labor movement on the base of Red International of Labor Union principles, the immediate fight to improve conditions of workers, the organization of the unorganized, and against the policy of the U. S. U. leaders of expelling everyone and every organization that does not agree with their anarchist-syndicalist theories.

The U. S. U. is the main trade union center in Uruguay, and has 6,000 members. Another, the F. O. R. U. (Regional Federation of Labor of Uruguay) is strictly anarchist, and smaller. The "Labor Unity Bloc" has about 4,000 members, many of them in the Uruguayan Federation.—C. Dujovne, R.I.L.U.

EDITORIAL

Celebration of the first of May as International Labor Day, originated in Chicago, U. S. A. in 1886. It has seemed convenient to our American reactionary, labor-dividing union bureaucrats to forget that fact, and to cultivate the fiction that May First as a labor holiday is something alien and unrecognizable to those laboring under American institutions. All European workers greet May 1 with a stoppage of work, even as the first International Labor Day came into being with a general strike.

In 1886 there was unemployment, and 360,000 workers struck at the call of the unions of the day, for the eight-hour day. The strike was put down partly by terror, and involved the monstrous provocation of the Haymarket and the framing-up and hanging of six of the workers' leaders—an American background even to details.

And this May Day—also finds unemployment. The U. S. government admits 2 million jobless; on another page we publish the figures to show it is really 5 million.

In Europe, also, there is widespread unemployment.

And again the eight hour day is a question at issue. It has not yet been won for the bulk of the American proletariat, the skilled trades must be constantly on their guard to preserve it, even though because of the tremendous advance in technique, they should be fighting now for perhaps the four hour day instead of the eight hour day. It is vastly easier for the bosses to grant the 40-hour week now than the eight hour day in 1886, but it requires the same fight to get it.

In Europe, to which International Labor Day migrated, and where the eight hour day has become established by law and treaty and covenant of the League of Nations, even the right wing there, the Amsterdam International, in its Press Release of April 5 declares: "Workers of the World! The Eight Hours Day is in danger!" Amsterdam refers to the proposal of the British government to "revise" the eight hours day convention of the League of Nations labor office. The British government has never signed this convention. A. J. Cook in our March issue of Labor Unity, charged the British Trade Union General Council with refusing to bring pressure on the government to endorse the convention.

And (whether by chance or not) no British representative signs the Amsterdam protest against revising the eight-hour day convention, only French, Germans, Danes, Belgians, etc.

It may be seen then, that even in Europe the timidity and sectarianism of labor leaders hamper the fight for the shorter work day.

In such a time, the lesson of International Labor Day—solidarity of labor and struggle for the shorter work day, becomes doubly important. "Unity and struggle": these are the watchwords today, this May Day, as they were forty-two years ago. It is still necessary for workers to strike on May 1 and demonstrate for International Solidarity and the world for its workers.

John L. Lewis, by virtue of stolen votes called "International President of the United Mine Workers of America", proceeds with his anti-strike legislation. As we pointed out in the last issue of this magazine, Lewis declared before the coal investigation committee of the U. S. Senate that he was in favor of a certain coal operator's suggestion for a kind of Watson-Parker law in the coal industry.

Further details are now available. The bill has the endorsement of Senator Hiram Johnson, the man who as governor of California was chiefly instrumental for keeping Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings in prison. Johnson has publicly expressed some doubt as to whether he can jam the thing through this session of Congress, but it seems to be understood that he will try.

The bill will provide for legalizing mergers among operators "to stabilize operation"—also to make a still solidier united front against the union and to limit production: Lewis' old plan for crushing out of the industry 250,000 miners. It will contain features desired by the bigger operators for federal marketing of coal, for a "fact finding" commission, and for recognition of whatever union Lewis heads when the law is passed as a kind of company union of the coal fields. The Watson-Parker provisions will eliminate strikes, or at least place the power of the courts openly against strikes.

The strategy of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats and the big employers in regard to Federal anti-strike legislation thus becomes clearer. They will try first, before the passage of a general law, to rivet the shackles on the largest and most important industry, tying down the largest and most militant group of organized workers, at a time when they are most weakened by a year long strike and partial settlement. After that, let the building trades beware! Then the general anti-strike law of Woll and the American Bar Association will finish for the smaller groups, all together.

The left wing will struggle against each and all of these anti-strike laws. They fought in Kansas; they went to jail (and were expelled from the union for it by Lewis) to end the anti-strike legislation there, and they are not beat yet.

The most complete sell-out to the employers under the guise of the traditional American Federation of Labor political policy of supporting the "friends" of labor and punishing its enemies was attempted by the Illinois trade union officials in the April 10th primary elections.

On behalf of the half million organized workers of the state, the officials of the Illinois Federation of Labor, the Harry Fishwick machine of the miners' union and the Cook County Wage Earners League (an aggregation composed purely of officials) pledged unqualified support to the corrupt Small-Thompson-Crowe-Smith clique within the republican party.

May Day In 1886

And This May Day

Lewis Prepares Anti Strike Legislation

How Labor Was Sold In Chicago

This indorsement was given in spite of the fact that the heads of the ticket, without exception, during their period of administration for several terms, fully demonstrated their anti-labor record. Moreover, every candidate on that slate was pledged to the program of the Republican party which is definitely anti-labor because the party is owned and controlled by the employers and bankers.

Governor Small received indorsement for renomination. His looting of the state treasury has become so well known that he was ordered by the courts to pay back to the state the sum of \$625,000. State jobs under his administration being let out to contracts employing non-union labor caused constant complaint in the unions. Hundreds of miles of hard roads have been built under supervision of his administration and under absolute non-union conditions, workers being employed at 40 cents an hour and working 10 hours a day.

Former Senator elect Frank L. Smith and State Senator John Daily are birds of the same feather. Both received the labor officialdom endorsement, the former candidate for Senator, the latter for candidate for Attorney General. Frank L. Smith, as the chairman of the Illinois Commerce Commission in 1922 succeeded in putting through a wage reduction of ten cents per hour for the Chicago street car men. After the 1926 elections he was exposed as having received slush funds to the amount of \$237,935 from the anti-labor Insull utilities corporation.

John Daily, as state senator, preceding the Chicago Landis award fight, headed a committee to investigate the Chicago building trades unions.

The labor officials further indorsed for candidate for states attorney the present incumbent, Robt. E.

Support Crowe, His record as a vicious foe of organized labor is undisputed. During the Landis award fight in Chicago, his office furnished police for protection of scabs. His efforts to smash the Chicago trade unions became so pronounced during the Ladies Garment Workers strike in 1924 that the Chicago Federation of Labor officially charged that Crowe had turned over the states attorney's office to Dudley E. Taylor. They charged that Crowe made an unveiled threat to break the back of organized labor in Chicago and was supported by the employers' association.

Throughout the Illinois trade union movement this record of the candidates mentioned is known. The Cook County Wage Earners League even went to the extent of giving its indorsement to one Charles Weber in the nomination for candidate for the State Assembly against Agnes Nestor, Secretary of the Chicago Trades Union Label League. Weber ran on his record of having helped to defeat the Women's Label League. All this happened in the face of the present existing situation with the employers marshalling their forces for a grand offensive upon the unions.

The coal operators of Illinois are viciously attacking the miners' union, aided by the treasonable mine union officials. For the rank and file miners this is a life and death struggle to maintain the right to live and the existence of their organization. Anti-labor injunctions ever more drastic are

handed down against union activities in the state by judges who themselves once received the indorsement of these same officials as so-called friends of labor. Yet Illinois is supposed to have an injunction limitation law in force. Unemployment is heavy, particularly in Chicago, a situation utilized by the employers to little by little smash the union, establish the "open shop" based on the yellow dog contract. Increasing speed-up and frequent wage cuts is the system in Chicago factories, undermining the standard of living of all labor. Never was one of these issues raised, or a modest demand or even a question asked when these blanket indorsements were given.

Naturally there could be no other results coming from the A. F. of L. political policy of so-called neutrality and supporting "friends". It is a bosses' policy. Only the bosses' candidates get the support. Those finally selected in the primary were in no way different from those defeated. All were candidates selected by the employers, running on their tickets and were definitely anti-labor.

Thus complete support of and co-operation with the employers candidates on the political field must necessarily lead to an abandonment of the struggle against the employers for better conditions for the workers on the economic field. And this is actually becoming the consequence in the fullest sense of the word. It has been stated often and it is well to repeat on the basis of this additional experience that the only real alternative is a complete change of political policy. The inauguration of a policy of independent political action by Labor, the building of a powerful labor party as the first step toward cutting lose from domination by the employers and toward the developing of greater consciousness among the masses of workers on a class basis.

This, however, is the task of the rank and file workers led by its left wing.— A. SWABECK.



Coolidge Looks at Latin America

A Brief Review of Events

Incidents Treated Elsewhere In This Issue Are Not Mentioned Here

A New Drive For Mooney And Billings

In a letter written March 27 to James P. Cannon, Secretary of the International Labor Defense, Tom Mooney breaks away from the policy of appealing to the California state government for justice and declares "I am convinced that a broader appeal will have to be made than the present policy I have been following for the past five years will not bring justice to Billings and Mooney—that our appeal will largely have to be centered upon the great mass of workers, organized and unorganized, as well, that great body of liberal minded people throughout the entire nation."

"I will, and I am more than certain that my co-sufferer, Billings will also, appreciate any efforts put forth by your organization to bring about the desired results."

The I. L. D. has announced from its national office, 99 Broadway, an international campaign to rouse the workers of the world to this twelve year old scandal of Mooney and Billings imprisonment.

These two California labor organizers are still held in prison after the crudest sort of frame-up, which has been over and over exposed. Not a single material witness against Mooney and Billings has not been completely discredited, most of them by their own confessions of being suborned to perjury for the prosecution. U. S. investigators used dictaphones in the prosecution's office, and found Fickert, the prosecuting attorney, openly gloating over details of the frame-up. The trial judge and the most of the jury have signed statements that the collapse of the witnesses convinces them that the two men are innocent. It is proved that important pictures, showing Mooney and Billings in a place where they could not have been if guilty of placing the 1916 Preparadness Day bomb, were destroyed by the prosecution. But the Merchants and Manufacturers Association which financed and instigated the prosecution still rules in California, and Mooney and Billings are still in prison.

I. L. G. W. And Amalgamated Conventions

The International Ladies Garment Workers Union holds a Convention in Boston, May 7. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers has one in Cincinnati, May 14.

"The Chicago Needle Worker", militant organ of the Needle Trades Section of the Trade Union Educational League, published monthly in Chicago, 23 South Lincoln St., calls attention in its April issue to the crude terroristic tactics used by the official machine in each of these unions to pack the convention. As an example is cited the election as a delegate of Julius Biberman, a former scab, by Local 144 of the Amalgamated, of course at a rump meeting in which progressives were barred from speaking.

This issue of the Needle Worker also contains a full statement by the New York Joint Board, telling of the ruin and wreckage the Sigman clique have spread throughout the I. L. G. W. U., destroying all the gains secured by the strike a year and a half ago, which was under left wing leadership, and transforming New York into a non-union market. The New

York Joint Board calls on the Locals to defeat the Sigman policies at the Convention.

The Frame-Up Of Bonita

Sam Bonita, arrested with two other progressive miners of Pittston has been framed up for the shooting of Frank Agati, Cappellini gunman and contractor. Though the evidence showed that Agati fired first, and that Bonita would have been killed if he had not shot from his pocket, from which he did not have time to draw his gun, and though the jury stood eleven to one for acquittal, Judge McLean of Wilkes Barre kept them out until they brought in a compromise verdict of manslaughter, with a recommendation of "extreme clemency." Then the judge disregarded the clemency plea and sentenced Bonita to four from six to twelve years. Next will be the trial of Mendola and Moleski who accompanied him to the District office of the union, on official business, only to run into Agati in ambush there. Funds should be sent to the Bonita, Mendola, Moleski Defense, Wilkes Barre, or to Save-the-Union-Committee, National office, 526 Federal St., Pittsburgh.

C. & O. R. R. Decision Against Raise

On April 14, the Watson-Parker board of arbitrators, with those "neutral" arbitrators appointed by Coolidge casting the deciding vote, bluntly denied the expected \$1.50 a day raise of wages demanded by the shop crafts to equalize their relative position with that held under the 1918 federal regime.

The shop crafts unions brought the appeal in the case of the Chesapeake & Ohio because this road operates under the Baltimore and Ohio plan of "co-operation" between labor and management and the union heads fondly expected some concessions from the management. Afterward the plan was to demand the raise on the other roads, with the C. & O. decision as a precedent.

The Klan And Its Murders

An interesting case in which expelled members of the Ku Klux Klan sued in the Federal Court here the regular Klan organization ended recently with the judge refusing to continue the trial. What worried his honor seems to have been that evidence fairly rolled in of murder and arson committed by the K. K. K. in the name of patriotism and religion. Col. Wm. J. Simmons, the founder of the Klan, accused his successor in office, Hiram W. Evans, of plotting to murder him, and of procuring the assassination of Capt. W. B. Coburn, a Simmons man.

One witness told how the Klan in Texas murdered seven men, and how he himself was present when the 200 K. K. K. took a man into the fields, saturated his clothing with kerosene and burned him to death at the stake. Other witnesses told of men being kidnapped by the Klan and beat nearly to death, as well as tortured in other ways, by having their ears cut off, etc.

Simultaneously David C. Stevenson, former "Drag-

on" of Indiana, now in prison for rape and murder of a girl, issued some more confessions of his knowledge of Klan leaders framing-up public men by faking photographs and affidavits of immorality with women.

Defeat Mass. Bill For Night Work

The night work bill for Massachusetts women textile workers went down to defeat by a vote of 116 to 90 in the House. The measure, aimed at a law passed in 1907 barring employment of women in cotton and woolen mills after 6 p. m. had been reported favorably by the labor committee and had passed the Senate 20 to 11.

Associated Industries, New England Council and the textile barons flooded the state capitol with lobbyists and twisted screws on every weakening legislator. Had they won 14 more to their side, the first onslaught on the 48-hour law would have been successful.

Employers led 25 girls, all non-union, from Taunton to plead for the chance to work nights. Unions answered by bringing scores of union women from Fall River and New Bedford, great textile centers, to show legislators the real sentiment of workers.—From **Federated Press**.

Mahon Sells Out to Mitten

By an amazing contract with the Mitten Management, the street car men's union has agreed not to organize employes of Mitten's street railways in Philadelphia and Buffalo in return for a promise to recognize the union on lines to be acquired in the future.

Organization of 25,000 subway workers in New York City may be affected by the deal, signed by President Mahon of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes and his son, and the Mittens, father and son, owners of company unions on both the Philadelphia and Buffalo transit systems.

The Mittens last figured in a union deal when they agreed with officers of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers to take over financial properties. Opposition on the floor of the B. L. E. convention was so intense however that the deal was not consummed.—From **F. P.**

Chicago Painters on 40-Hour Week

From 15,000 to 20,000 Chicago union painters switched from the 44-hour week to the 5-day 40-hour schedules April 2, the second building trade in this area to make the reduction. The hourly wage of \$1.62½ will continue in effect but the weekly earnings are cut from \$65 to \$58.50.

The out-of-work among the union members have been considerable the past winter. No contractors having dealings with the union may have any work done Saturday, the painters district council announces.—From **F. P.**

One Day's News

Strikes, destitution, uneasy squirmings under fake prosperity, scandal and demands for relief from tyranny are part of the scene that passes in daily review before the labor reporter. He records on April 5, 1928:

Brooklyn barbers winning, in the face of unemployment, a strike against wage reductions from \$30 to \$25—estimates in a very respectable magazine: that 300,000 children are maimed in industry yearly—Negro protests against segregation in a Montclar, N. J. theatre—the business mayor of Worcester, Mass, complaining because the city must spend \$50,000

monthly to care for 1,000 helpless families—denunciation of New York flophouses for the unemployed as rivalling Calcutta's Black Hole, with 200 men sleeping in 127 cubic feet of space—graft in New York milk endangering the lives of countless babies — prison bulging with inmates, due to unemployment, according to wardens—a starving man picked up.

Continue Mineola Frame-Up

Nine workers in the fur industry, convicted in the Mineola frame-up a year ago have had the case against them sustained by the Brooklyn Appellate Division Court in a judgement rendered April 14.

The case will be appealed by the Joint Defense and Relief Committee of the Cloakmakers and Furriers.

Judge Leighman of the State Supreme court on April 24 granted a "certificate of reasonable doubt" because of the prosecutors trick using witnesses called suddenly from the audience, without being sworn. Bail is raised from \$3,000 to \$6,000 per man.

The sentences to be served by the furriers are: Jack Schneider, chairman of the Joint Board; Samuel Menscher, head of the general picketing committee during the furriers' strike of 1926, Oscar Mileaf, Martin Rosenberg, Joe Katz, George Weiss, A. Kranklin, M. Malkin, 2½ to 5 years in Sing Sing, and Otto Lenha a term of 1½ years in a reformatory.

The case against them was conducted by the employes and the right wing in the union. They were accused of destroying property and assaulting two owners of a scab shop in Mineola during the 1926 strike.

Protest The Marines In Nicaragua

A demonstration of protest against the continued invasion and conquest of Nicaragua by American armed forces, was held in Washington, Saturday, April 14, under the auspices of the All America Anti-Imperialist League, National offices at 39 Union Square, New York City.

About 150 league members and others journeyed from Atlantic seaboard cities to carry before the White House banners reading: "We Do not Appeal to the White House But to the Masses Against the White House"; "We demand the Immediate Recall of the Marines from Nicaragua;" "Millions Unemployed While United States Funds Go For Conquest;" "Why Not Help the Farmers Instead of the Bankers in Nicaragua?;" "Wall Street, Not Sandino, is the Real Bandit in Nicaragua;" "Imperialism Means World War;" "Support Sandino Against Wall Street and Its Politicians", and "Defeat the War Against Nicaragua."

All branches of the government immediately and definitely took part against those supporting the workers and peasants of Nicaragua. The police arrested 107 demonstrators on a law passed by Congress prohibiting such parades in Washington. Trial judge Maddenly fined 84 of the demonstrators the following Monday the maximum of \$5, and snarled at them, "I'm sorry I can't give you more."

Newark Cab Drivers Strike

Yellow cab taxi drivers of Newark, formed an A. F. of L. union, spies informed, discharge of leading unionists followed—and then the men walked out. Their demands, typical of the evils which begin heavily upon taxi drivers wherever Yellow cabs are seen, included recognition of the union. The strike was compromised.

International Labor Notes

A Sop To German Workers'

In the Ruhr coal fields and the Saxony metal industry the government arbitrators are pursuing a policy of partial granting of the workers' demands, but not of enforcing the grant. An eight percent increase in Ruhr wages has been granted, the men demanding fifteen percent. In spite of the decree supposedly settling the metal lock-out, 250,000 men are out of work still, and recently 15,000 more were locked out in Hanover. The employers disregard the settlement of the arbitrators, and so far no real pressure has been put on them by the government they control.

Fight Spanish Wage Tax

The series of strikes against the Primo de Rivera tax on wages instituted at the beginning of the year is not yet entirely over, and in many cases has forced the employers to raise wages to the amount of the tax, which is 3½ percent. on all workers making over 18c per day.

The most serious outbreaks were in Barcelona, in January, though the first strike was that of the printers on two Madrid papers. In Reussa there were pitched battles in the streets, with loss of lives. Strike centers were Barcelona, Reussa, Badalona, Maturo, and Rubi. The strikes were lead by Communists, and were deprecated and disregarded by the Socialists. The formerly powerful General Confederation of Labor, led by anarchists syndicalists, with 1,200,000 members in 1920, had by the middle of last year sunk to not over 20,000 members, so, with the exception of the reactionary General Confederation of Trade Unions with some 200,000 craft unionists of the smaller town, the labor movement of Spain was depressed until the present revival through militant strikes.—Dujovne, R. I. L. U.

Italian Unionism Revives

A wave of arrests is sweeping Italy, the excuse being the bomb of April 12. The Mussolini government would have the world believe that a charge of explosives was set off in a lamp post merely in the hope that the king might be passing at the time and be blasted by it. It is significant that the arrests are largely of those suspected of belonging to the General Confederation of Labor. This is the new, revolutionary, underground organization formed to save the C. G. L. Unions which the reformist leadership have ordered liquidated at the request of the Fascisti. In spite of arrests and wholesale discharge in Turin and elsewhere of workers accused of helping to reorganize and maintain the C. G. L., this latter organization continues to grow, and seriously interferes with wage cutting plans.

The Unitary Socialist Party, and the Maximalists, meeting in France, have recognized as the C. G. L. a central committee of reformists with headquarters in Paris, but this group has no influence on the Italian workers.

Farinacci, writing in his organ "Regina Fascista," and the editors of "Lavoro d'Italia," the organ of the fascist unions, admit the growing resentment of the workers against the state policy of allowing the employers to ruthlessly break their collective agreements while at the same time holding the workers to them.

Japanese Elections

K. Yamagata, writing for the Oriental Literary Society of Shanghai, describes the recent general elections as a reproof to the Seiyukai, the present government party, which is primarily the party of the feudal landowners, the largest capitalists, and especially the group exploiting Manchuria and other imperialistic conquests. Its main rival, the Minseito, a party largely of the shipping, commercial and lesser businessmen got 214 votes in the Diet against 221 for the Seiyukai. The appearance on the scene of a left wing and a centerist labor party, the Ronoto and the Nichiroto, which in spite of terrific persecution by the police the conservative gangsters polled a big vote, is a sign of the future. The combined vote of all proletarian parties was according to Yamagata, 471,190 and they elected eight members to the Diet.

Hungarian Strikes

A wave of strikes sweeps Hungary, in which up to the present practically all the factory population has participated, and about half of the rural proletariat. In most cases partial victories were gained. The strikes are wholly spontaneous, except in so far as they are prepared by left wing and revolutionary underground organizations, the social democratic party and the trade union bureaucracy intervening only to check them as much as possible.

The strikes were brought about by increased exploitation during a period of prosperity, an average dividend rate of 3 per cent, for the employers and of real wages still 20 per cent below pre-war standards.

Philippines Organize

According to a report to the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat meeting of Feb. 3, Shanghai, a widespread reorganization movement is being instituted in the Philippines, intended to unify the scattered mutualist societies and craft unions on a base of militant class action, and industrial unionism. The initiative is being taken by the Congreso Obrero de Filipinas (81,137 members) and has already some co-operation from the rival trade union center, the Federacion del Trabajo (22,738 members).

The rivalry and splits in the labor movement of these islands has resulted during recent years in a capitalistic offensive, reducing the wages of tobacco workers, for instance, from 20-24 pesos a week to 12 or less, and the wages of other workers similarly.

The decision to appeal to all workers for reorganization and unity was reached at the last meeting of the C. O. F. which also decided to try and overcome the isolation of the Filipino movement, and take part in world organization. Sending delegates to the Pan Pacific Congress was a first step.

The newly organized Labor Party of the Philippines also appeals in an open letter to the workers, for class political action on the following platform: independence of the Islands, judicial and legislative reform (one house legislature instead of two, and cheaper justice), universal man and woman suffrage, substitution of the present army by a people's army, nationalization of banks, land (with distribution of haciendas among the peasants), abolition of peonage, a modern labor code, eight hours work, minimum wage, insurance against old age, sickness and accidents.

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