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LABOR UNITY



AUGUST, 1928

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Stop The Murder of
Chinese Unionists

Lewis Smashes The
United Mine Workers

A Big New Textile Union
Grows During Strike



National Miners' Convention

"WORKERS! HELP US BUILD A STRONG MINERS UNION"

THE time has arrived when the rank and file in the miners' union must take matters in their own hands. The betraying policies of Lewis and his treacherous clique have crippled, beyond repair, the once powerful miners' union. At this moment the hundreds of thousands of miners in this country are at the complete mercy of the coal operators. Quick action is required to save the miners from the misery and slavery which faces them.

On June 12th, a conference of the recently elected executives of Districts 5, 6 and 12, and other nationally known miners was held in Pittsburgh, Pa. The result of this conference was the issuing of a call for a national miners' convention to form a new powerful union in the mining industry, to be held in Pittsburgh, Pa., on September 9-16, 1928.

Every worker must realize that it is of utmost importance that every local union of the crippled U. M. W. A. be represented at this historical convention. It is also very essential that the miners of the unorganized territories, so treacherously betrayed by Lewis, be well represented at the convention.

This convention must be made a huge success. This convention will give the knockout blow to the entire rotten Lewis machine. A successful national miners' convention, and the organization of a clean and strong miners' union, will mean new hope and life to the entire working class of this country.

But to accomplish this is a big, difficult task. A great deal of organization work has to be done and much money is needed. Already the reactionary forces of the Lewis machine, with the assistance of the state troopers, deputies and coal and iron police, have started a campaign of terrorism against the progressive forces in the mining fields. Mass meetings and conferences are being broken up and the miners attending same clubbed and arrested.

Workers! come to our aid. This fight is your fight also. Without the aid of the entire working class we are doomed to fail. We promise you that nothing will stop our bringing this struggle to a successful conclusion. You must give us your support. We need funds at once.

RUSH FUNDS TO CONVENTION ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE, 119 FEDERAL ST. N. S. ROOM 411, PITTSBURGH, PA.

JOHN J. WATT, Chairman

PAT. H. TOOHEY, Secretary

LABOR UNITY

Official Organ of the
TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE

Correspondent for Great Britain Charles Ashleigh, 7 Chapel St., Holborn, London, W. C. 1. England — Far Eastern Correspondent Earl Browder, Editor the Pan Pacific Worker, P. O. Box 65, Hankow, China.

Edited by Vern Smith

Vol. II. No. 7 AUGUST, 1928 Whole No. 26

Published monthly at 2 West 15 St., New York City, by the Trade Union Educational League. Subscription rates: \$2 a year; \$1.25 for six months; single copies, twenty cents; in bundles, fifteen cents. Entered as second-class matter December 23, 1927, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

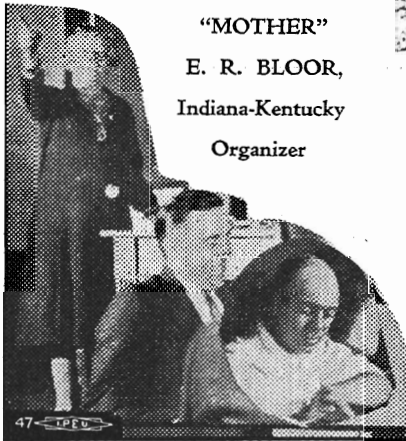
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ALL IN THE LIFE OF A MINER



ISACC ("Dad") MUNSEY
Anti-Lewis Vice Pres. Dist. 5



"MOTHER"
E. R. BLOOR,
Indiana-Kentucky
Organizer

"CUTTING A KERF"

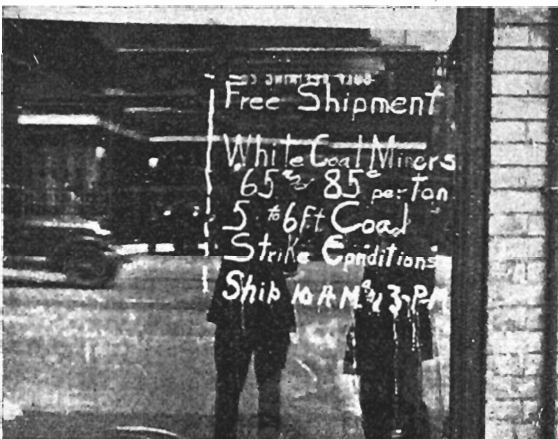
This is the kind of hard, dangerous, cramped, stifling work that miners have to do. They early saw the need of organization. Now when they are on strike against a wage cut amounting to a third of their income, their treacherous leaders are trying to sell them out.



CHAS. S. CLOSE of W. Va.
FRED SIDERS, Pres. Dist. 5.
(Anti-Lewis and for a New Union)

STRIKE BREAKING TACTICS

Above you see miners in the bull pen at Fredericktown, imprisoned for protesting in an organized fashion against the attempt of the coal operators to make paupers of them. To the left is the Pittsburgh office used for recruiting scabs for the coal strike area. These offices are scattered around over the country, and great efforts are made to gather up from the 5,000,000 unemployed under Coolidge Prosperity, enough strike breakers to man the mines and crush the standards of living of the coal miners.





LEFT TO RIGHT:—Top—Pat Toohey, John Watt and Tom Myerscough, editing amendments to the Call. Lower—Officers of Sub-District Five, Eastern Ohio; Dan McKinney, Board Member; Andy Plechaty, Secretary-Treasurer; Robert Matusek, and Frank Sapich, Vice-President. (New rank and file officials replacing Lewis' bureaucrats).

LEWIS SMASHES THE U. M. W. A.

But The Miners Build Their Own Union, Says John Watt

THE decision of the Lewis policy committee, which started sessions on July eleventh in Indianapolis, to authorize a wage cut in Illinois, and break the strike by sending the largest group of workers still in the union back to work, is no sudden determination. It is the latest step in a campaign of treachery by Lewis and his associates, and it was known to the operators that such a step would be taken, as long ago as March, at least."

So said John J. Watt, militant miner leader from Illinois, Chairman of the National Save-the-Miners' Union Conference last April 1 in Pittsburgh, participant in the conference which called the September convention to form a new and fighting rank and file union, and now in the Pittsburgh office of the Convention Arrangements Committee, functioning as chairman of that committee.

"The history of this policy committee meeting and its final act to stab the strikers in the back, is, as far as it appears openly, as follows," Watt continued, in his interview with a representative of Labor Unity. "In the March issue of Coal Age, organ of mining and mining machinery interests, an editorial appeared, of which the essential parts are as follows:

"The labor situation in Illinois has simmered down to watchfully waiting on the part of both sides—the operators and the miners. Indications are that a suspension of mining for at least 30 days will occur when the truce Jascsonville contract expires March 21.

"In the event of failure of the Senatorial investigation to benefit the union's position it is expected that the miners' officials will permit the next move to come from the rank and file of the Illinois membership. This is anticipated by the operators within a short time after the suspension.

"It is considered the only way out for the Union leaders. If the miners demand employment a conference of the policy committee of the United Mine Workers can be called out and informed that the miners of Illinois wish a reduction. Such a move would eliminate the stigma of the "no backward step" of the union officials, it is declared."

"Sure enough, the campaign by the Lewis-Fishwick machine in Illinois immediately developed, to have the "demands" come from the membership. First the Fishwick gang (the reactionary executive board and scale committee of District 12, U. M. W. A., formally ousted by the Save-the-Union convention, but pre-

tending still to function for the district) met at St. Louis June 11, and passed resolutions that the International (Lewis) Policy Committee should meet and consider a new (naturally a lower) wage scale for Illinois. They called on the miners of Illinois to back them up in this, but the miners of Illinois did not do it.

"This left the Fishwick district machine too much isolated, too much in the lime-light for this kind of dirty work, so they began a slower and more complicated maneuver. One after another, four locals, or those portions of these locals still recognizing Lewis and Fishwick, passed resolutions demanding that Lewis call the policy committee together to consider "demands" from the Illinois miners for a wage cut. The locals are headed by the one in Herrin, Klan ridden, and the home town of Sneed, vice-president of District 12, (Lewis machine administration) and right hand man of John L. Lewis when Farrington headed the district and fought with Lewis for self and power.

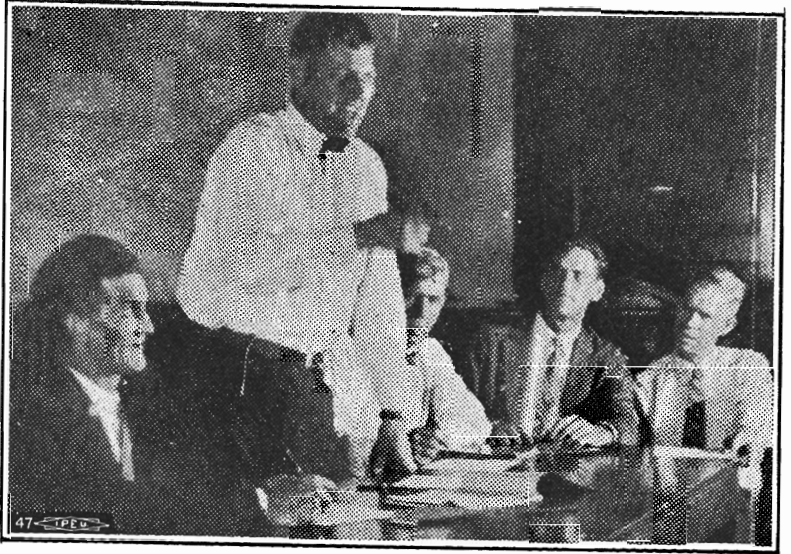
"Then Lewis proceeded to call his policy committee together, a hand picked bunch, selected by the great traitor himself, at the last international convention.

Did Their Consciences Hurt?

"And the policy committee, Lewis' other self, after some hesitation, several days in fact, hesitation which may have been merely stage play to give the miners the impression that they really debated over this step which the operators and their faithful Lewis had decided upon a long time ago, came out with a harmless looking statement, which just the same means that Lewis has broken the strike, definitely, and with it has liquidated the United Mine Workers of America as a national organization.

"The statement says, 'The committee has formulated an amended policy, designed to best cope with the depressed conditions in the bituminous industry', and authorizes the district administrations to go ahead and make any terms they want to with the bosses; different terms in each district probably, and different degrees of wage cuts. No national agreement, and no union is what it amounts to.

"The betrayal had to come in Illinois, because Illinois has hitherto been the backbone of the union, a strong solidly organized section of at one time 100,000 miners, a third to a half of the union membership.



LEFT TO RIGHT:—Dan Slinger, Geo. Voyzey, Luke Coffey—Secretary-Treasurer, Pres. and Vice-Pres. of D.ist. 12; Freeman Thompson, John Watt, Chairman Arrangements Committee. (New Miner officials, Anti-Lewis).

These miners were the most hopeful, the least hurt by the strike. In fact, they have been on strike only about three months, on account of the Jacksonville Scale "temporary truce" entered into by district officials, a strike breaking truce, hated by the men, but relieving them from the hunger of the 15 months strike the others underwent. Talk of need of a separate peace in Illinois to rescue the Illinois miners is nonsense.

"Our contention has always been that when the Lewis-Fishwick truce with the operators was concluded, the best chance to win the strike was thrown away. The surplus of coal then was lower than it had ever been. The separate peace puts the miners to work piling up that surplus again. The advantage was thrown away.

"What will the miners do?" said Watt, echoing a question. "Why they will leave Lewis and his traitorous machine. Lewis himself has sped the final death thrust into the heart of the old United Mine Workers of America. The miners will rally to the new union. Their representatives will assemble in September in Pittsburgh and organize it. Already real miner's officials are conducting the district administrations in Districts: 5 (Pittsburgh), 6 (Ohio), 11 (Indiana), 12 (Illinois), and 14 (Kansas). This is where the miners are, in numbers. The other, less populated districts will establish new administrations in time.

"Fifty thousand copies of the call for the September 9 to 16 convention, have already been circulated, through the new officials and rank and file connec-

(Continued on Page 26)



GEORGE PAPCUN

The Struggle in The Anthracite

By GEORGE PAPCUN

(Member of The National Convention Arrangements Committee From the Anthracite Tri-District)

WHILE the miners of the bituminous fields are preparing for their September National Convention to organize a fighting union not in control of the bureaucracy, and have in a series of district meetings formally ousted their old corrupt officials we find that in District No. 1 (anthracite, Eastern Pennsylvania) a convention has just been held which only took a step further in the betrayal of the miners.

Rinaldo Cappellini has ruled this district for Lewis and himself and immediate followers, through terror, a terror which has involved murder, discrimination and framing up of innocent miners.

New Set of Parasites

The opponents of Cappellini, the Brennen, McGarry, Harris forces who were in control of the special convention held in District No. 1, May 21 to June 1, fought the district officials only because they themselves were not in office, and tried to show Lewis that they could betray the rank and file more efficiently than Cappellini.

In spite of the fact that Lewis, while supporting Cappellini, has time and again kicked them in the face, they spent their time in the convention showering praises on Lewis for a wonderful leadership, which he is supposed to possess.

The rank and filers at the convention showed their contempt for Lewis by refusing to make any alliance with any part of the Lewis-Cappellini machine, defeating by an overwhelming vote a resolution which the Brennen-Harris, McGarry, Isaac combination tried to force on them, to unite with Boylan, Kmetz and Kosek. The rank and file elements there also forced the convention to adopt in part the program of the Save-the-Union committee.

But Only Promises

But no definite action was taken to insure its carrying out. All that was done was to make promises. The Save-the-Union provisions adopted are being sabotaged. No fight is put up against Lewis, the contractor system in the mines still goes on, the coal operators' policy of discrimination is continued. The

Pennsylvania Coal Co. has again locked out the miners of No. 6 colliery.

McGarry has again shown his weakness and how he intended not to fight the coal company by turning down a resolution calling for a general strike. When the rank and file lead by the left wing presented it to a meeting at the local he dared not put it to a vote, but through a motion to table he was able to confuse and defeat the resolution.

The left wing at this time has the tremendous task in the Anthracite of saving at least part of the miners' union for the miners and of overcoming the betrayal of the miners which Brennen, Harris and McGarry are at this time trying to now put over.

The miners of the Anthracite must not only struggle against the Lewis-Cappellini machine but must carry on a fight against Brennen, Harris, Isaac and McGarry, they must either force them to stop crawling on their knees before Lewis and to go along with the National Convention of the miners which will be held at Pittsburgh in September or get out of the union; the left wing must prevent the formation of a separate anthracite miners' union, which will be a company union if it is formed. The left wing must also prepare for the coming struggles in the Anthracite between the miners and the operators which all factors point to and which the operators want to turn into a final onslaught on the miners in the Anthracite.



Breaker Boys In The Anthracite Child Labor. The Miners First Job.

THE FUTURE OF COAL

By JOSEPH GIGANTI

THE present chaos in the coal industry and the revolt of the starving miners against their treacherous officials again focuses the attention of the entire working class on the question of coal. The plight of coal is not a national but an international phenomenon. This becomes evident when we view the conditions of the industry in the leading coal producing countries of the world. In this country, an indication of the growing sharpness of the crisis may be had from the fact that the average number of days lost by each miner, due to strikes, has progressively doubled each year since 1922. (1)

What is the reason for this state of affairs? The answer is found in the development of factors tending to create unfavorable marketing of coal. In other words: coal is losing a market. The Washington Correspondent of the "Electrical World" in June 1926 finds that due to the increase of economy of fuel during war time, in the United States, there has been a decrease of 18% in coal fuel consumed by freight locomotives for each unit of work done. In passenger locomotives there has been a decrease of 13%. Improvements in blast-furnace operation and coking practice has cut down by 9% the consumption of coke and coal per ton of pig iron produced. The use of water power has doubled while the use of petroleum has more than doubled. (2)

It is evident that considerable inroads have been made into the domain of King Coal when we consider that the increase in the use of water power is displacing 66 million tons a year and oil and gas another 172 million tons. Whereas the supremacy of coal was unchallenged as the fuel of industry before the war, today industry only uses up 76% or 13% less than in 1913. (3)

In order to keep pace with the strides of industry, before the war, the demand for coal created a regularly increasing output of 40,000 tons a year. Since then only three years have reached the 1913 production of coal. (4)

It is an undoubted fact that just now there is a slump in the coal market, there is overproduction if all the mines are to work, and oil and other fuels cut down more and more the quantity of coal needed—just now. Pessimists even in the ranks of labor rise to say that Lewis is right when he advocates the driving from the industry of 250,000 workers. They forget that shortening the work day would give jobs for all miners even at the present market.

This article is a careful survey of the situation, which shows that recent inventions are going to bring a strong coal market, and that what the operators are doing is to try and crush labor now, in order to make extraordinary profits out of exploitation of a disorganized mass of driven workers when the new uses of coal develop, in the near future. The miners and the operators fight now for future prizes almost beyond calculation.

New Uses of Coal

According to all this, one might conclude that the future of coal is dark, and that as fuel it is doomed. But this is only one side of the picture. The other side of the picture shows a counter development. I refer to the marvellous improvement of coal technology within the last decade. With this we must also consider the increasing usage and perfection of the internal combustion engine. While it is

precisely this type of engine which has been an important factor in cutting down the use of coal, singularly enough, it is to its further development that coal will, in great measure, owe its future.

That coal is winning a place in industry as a chemical base is a fact well known. Mr. R. S. McBride, Asst. Editor of "Chemical and Metallurgical Engineering", points out in a recent article on the subject in "Coal Age" that even today about 20% of the bituminous coal mined in this country is used in chemical engineering plants as raw material. He further estimates that ultimately from 70 to 80 percent of all coal mined in the United States will be powdered, gasified or processed. The industrial uses of products and by-products of coal are even at this time quite numerous.

From the carbonization of coal is obtained coal tar. From the distillation of coal tar are obtained, light oil, middle oils, heavy oils and pitch; and from these in turn are derived other chemical substances in demand by industry. For instance, light oils yield benzene, toluene, vylene and solvent naphtha. All of

(1) Average days lost on account of strikes in coal mines per man: From Statistical Abstract of the U. S. 1926, p. 727.

Year	Avg. Days Lost
1923	20
1924	41
1925	88

(2), (3), & (4).

(a). Figures from official sources quoted by the Washington Correspondent of "Electrical World" in June 1926 issue.

(b) Relative use of Fuels by Industry

	Year 1913	Percentage	1925
Coal	89	76	
Oil & Gas	7	16	
Water Power	4	8	
Total	100	100	

these are greatly needed by the chemical industries, while in a partially refined state they are used for motor fuels. Likewise the residual heavy oils after the extraction of anthracene, a raw material for dyestuffs, is used for fuel.

Mr. A. C. Fieldman, Chief Chemist of the U. S. Bureau of Mines, reports in the Annual Survey of American Chemistry, that no less than forty-four papers in coal technology were presented at the International Conference of Bituminous Coal in November 1916, sponsored by the Carnegie Institute of Technology. These papers covered the newest developments in the conversion of coal into oil, the low temperature carbonization of coal, the use of pulverized coal and the utilization of by-products of coal carbonization. This merely shows how great is the interest in this matter and the increasing attention given it by the representatives of chemical engineering with the aid of a section of the big capitalists.

Liquid Coal

The most promising development for the future of coal is its conversion into liquid fuel. After years of experimenting, Dr. Bergius, of Heidelberg University has found a method for liquifying coal by the addition of hydrogen under pressure. By this method only two to three tons of coal is needed to generate one ton of oil. The exact amount of coal is determined by the kind used. But even cheap coal dust may be used in the process.

This means that the conversion of coal into substitutes for petroleum is quite easily accomplished—and very cheaply too. Some opinion in this country holds that as the resources of petroleum are used up, oil will be produced from oil shale to meet the demand for liquid fuel. Oil shale is found in the heart of the Rocky Mountains. This is geographically undesirable, as transportation to industrial centers would be too great a cost.

On the other hand, coal deposits are found within the industrial area of the country. Further, the use of coal would be as cheap as shale inasmuch as the same amount of liquid fuel may be obtained from one ton of coal as from one ton of shale. The use of coal would therefore, be more advantageous.

Coal In The Diesel

Aside from all this, as we have intimated, another great factor for the perfection and production of liquid coal is the ever increasing use of internal combustion engines of the Diesel design. The Diesel engine is a complete power unit within itself, using oil as fuel. It is the most efficient engine produced so far. In Europe its use is universal. In the United States it is being introduced rapidly. It is supplanting the steam engine everywhere. One may note how steamers in the transoceanic service are being converted into oil burners.

R. C. Demary estimates from actual figures in the March 15, 1922 issue of "Power Plant Engineering" that the total cost of operation for a small plant for the period of ten months, using steam power, was \$32,801.39. Using Diesel engines this same plant's operation costs were cut to \$14,177.12. The output of Kilowatt hours was at the same time increased from 709,190 to 1,132,000 thus cutting the cost from \$4.69 to \$1.26 per kw. hour.

There is no question that the oil engine is superseding the steam engine. This means an increasing demand for oil fuel. Coal can restore its market on condition that it will become liquid. That such is the tendency, there can be doubt. But the question is, when will this be done on a sufficiently large scale to help relieve the coal crisis? The setting of a time limit would necessarily be speculation. The coal miners must in the meanwhile fight to regain their position in the industry and rebuild a mighty union from the wreckage brought about by the Lewis crew.

MILITANT WORKERS

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AUSTRALIAN TRADE UNIONS

And The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Congress

By CHARLES CROFTS

(General Secretary, Australasian Council of Trade Unions)

AUSTRALIAN Labor is passing through a very critical phase of development. This fact must be realized by every sincere and loyal trade unionist. The problems confronting Australian Labor today are of immense importance to the working class, and the way we set about to tackle these problems will be decisive in shaping the future course of growth and development of our movement.

We are faced with a series of brutal facts which cannot but clarify the central problem of Capital and Labor in the mind of every thinking worker, and which seem to indicate with historic force of determination the policies and actions of the Australian Trade Union Movement. These facts are: (1) An open capitalist offensive against the working class, aiming at the lowering of the standards of living and the worsening of the working conditions of the toiling masses; (2) The mobilization of all the forces at the disposal of the exploiting class, in the first place—the machinery of the capitalist state and of the press in order to strike a fatal blow at the Australian trade union movement; suffice it to mention in this connection the proposed Anti-Trade Union Bill which openly and cynically aims at reducing the effectiveness of our trade unions as fighting organs of the working class to nil; also the notorious Crimes Act which is now also being resuscitated as a class weapon against the workers in an attempt to cripple the activities of the trade unions; (3) The still existing division and discord in our own ranks and the lack of unity in the trade union movement.

Considering that the Australian Council of Trade Unions is only in its infancy, and the magnitude of the problems confronting it immense, it will not be an exaggeration to claim that we have made encouraging progress in the short period since the formation of the A. C. T. U. and that the various problems confronting our movement have been approached and dealt with by the A. C. T. U. with due seriousness and a sense of working-class responsibility. The mere enumeration of the main questions which came up for discussion at our April 23-28 session is sufficient to characterize the present period of our activities, while the decisions we reached on those problems may serve as an indicator of our policies, strength, and weaknesses.

Our April Session of the A. C. T. U. dealt with

such central problems as (1) Industrial Peace (as proposed by the Nationalist Premier, Mr. Bruce); (2) The proposed Amended Arbitration Bill (the Anti-Trade Union Bill); (3) The relationship of the A. C. T. U. to the Australian Workers' Union; (4) The Constitution of the A. C. T. U.; (5) The Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat and the Australian Edition of the Pan-Pacific Worker; (6) The Geneva so-called Labor Office, etc. etc.

The decisions reached at our A. C. T. U. Executive are, I believe, of far-reaching importance to the labor movement. The A. C. T. U. has re-affirmed its previous decision regarding the proposed peace conference, i. e., a condition "sine qua non" to any industrial conference must be the unconditional withdrawal of the Anti-Trade Union Bill. It was also decided to take concerted action to prevent this threat of the capitalist class to be put into effect. This requires an all-around mobilization of working-class forces. In regard to the Australian Workers Union we shall endeavor to make it clear to the rank and file of the trade unions that unity is essential if we are not to succumb to the attacks of the employers, and we shall do everything within our power to consolidate our ranks and to put an end to all divisions and splits.

Question of Life or Death

Unity is a life-and-death question to the working class not only nationally but also internationally. That is why the A. C. T. U. is taking its affiliation to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, at whose recent Shanghai Meeting we were duly represented, very seriously. The A. C. T. U. has endorsed the decisions and resolutions of the February Session of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. The A. C. T. U. has also decided to leave nothing undone in order that the next Pan-Pacific Congress may take place in Australia in 1929, prior to the Congress of the A. C. T. U. The Pan-Pacific Worker (Australian Edition) has also been endorsed, same to be issued by the A. C. T. U. Pan-Pacific Relations Committee. The question of the Geneva Labor Office has also been dealt with, and the issue of our further association with this organ of the League of Nations will be finalized at the next Congress of the A. C. T. U.

Stop This Murder of the Chinese Unionists!



The top picture shows a Chinese trade union leader beheaded by the armed forces of the employers and businessmen of China. The larger photo below shows bodies of workers flung on the streets of a city after mass execution of unionists. The small picture is that of a poor worker, shot down by the militarists who now rule in the Kuomintang "Nationalist" government of China. The "new militarists" the leaders of the Kuomintang have betrayed the workers and peasants by whom they rose to power, have driven the unions underground and hunt down and kill all labor leaders they can. The American, Japanese, British and other foreign armies in China help in the hunt, and deliver captives over to Chinese executioners.

Workers of America—Read and Act on the Chinese Unions Call for Help!

AID THE CHINESE LABOR MOVEMENT

The All China Federation of Trade Unions To Workers of All Countries

DEAR Fellow Workers: Again and again, from the deep underground into which we have been driven by the united counter-revolution of the Chinese capitalist landlords and militarists, and the imperialist robbers, we address to you our ardent appeal for aid.

We realize that all measures will be taken by our government and yours to prevent our groans and cries of anguish from reaching you. They understand that you would not be likely to look on calmly at the pain and suffering of your Chinese brothers. We know that this appeal will reach you with considerable delay and with great difficulty.

Nevertheless we address ourselves to you because you are our only reliable ally and friend, and we are convinced that having heard our voice you will pronounce your firm fiat to your government: "Hands off the Chinese Revolution!" We appeal to you because we are strangled, not only by our own counter revolution, but also by your governments.

A Double Bondage

We address ourselves to you because we wish to tell you about our conditions. You know that the Chinese workers, in common with all the toiling masses in China, have always suffered from the double yoke, the yoke of Chinese militarism and the yoke of the imperialist powers which send warships and airforces and arms of every kind to fight against the Chinese people.

On May 30th, 1925, the workers of Shanghai arose against this yoke; the Hongkong-Canton strike which lasted 16 months was directed against the same yoke, and it was in the fight to throw off this double yoke that we undertook the Northern Expedition upon a united front. It was for this struggle that we have borne big sacrifices. We expected our emancipation: we built up our trade union organization, and we helped the peasants form their peasant's unions.

Treachery of Kuomintang

We have been cruelly deceived by our bourgeoisie: having disposed of the Northern militarists with our aid, having captured the Yangtze-region, having occupied Shanghai and Hankow, the bourgeoisie decided to put an end to us. It betrayed the common struggle of the Chinese people and offered its services to your governments, and together with them it has been destroying and drowning in rivers of blood the workers' and peasants' movement during these last 15 months.

It is already 15 months that the abundant waters of the Chinese rivers are dyed more and more thickly with the red color of the blood of workers and peasants.

Do you know that in April of last year Chiang-Kai-shek in Shanghai and Li Ti-sing in Canton have murdered over 4,000 workers because they wished to "reorganize" the unions, i. e., to dissolve them, while the workers were against it? Do you know that since the April coup d'etat in Kwantung there have been over 2,000 workers killed in the course of six months?

Do you know that about 600 ricksha coolies, those been shot 20,000 peasants for the sole offence that they did not wish any longer to die from starvation upon their little plots of land and to give up the last cupful of rice to the militarists?

5,000 Killed In One City

Do you know how cruelly the Canton rebellion of the workers, directed against the yoke of the imperialist murderers, has been suppressed? Do you know that over 5,000 workers' corpses were thrown upon the streets of Canton? Do you know that working women were tied together in batches of five and burned alive?

Do you know that about 600 ricksha coolies those human horses whose existence is possible only in an oppressed semi-colonial country like China, have been shot down upon the public square in Canton for the sole offence that they preserved their red badges in memory of the revolt?

Do you know that in Changsha and Hankow where no revolts have taken place, nevertheless Pei Sun-chih and other generals have shot down over 4,000 people solely because they had work-soiled hands?

Do you know that Feng Yu-hsiang has beheaded 300 workers of the textile mills for the sole offence of striking to secure higher wages, and had their heads exhibited on poles outside of the factory?

Dear comrades, we have our heads chopped off, our trade unions have been dissolved over a year now, and we are forbidden on pain of death to take part in any strikes, even of an economic character.

The British, Japanese, and American authorities are hunting for the workers, handing them over to the Chinese hangmen. The English courts trade in the heads of our comrades. Nearly all the leaders of the trade union movement were arrested upon the ter-

ritories of the settlements and concessions and handed over to the Chinese bourgeoisie. All of them were beheaded, whilst the British and Japanese spies received thousands for the heads of our leaders.

All this does not satisfy the murderers of the Chinese people. Not all the sweat and blood of the Chinese people has been pumped out and turned into dollars for the imperialists, and the latter, having bribed the Chinese bourgeoisie, are pulling China to pieces. The Japanese government is engaged in open intervention in the North, having occupied Tsinan and Manchuria, whilst the Britishers are carrying on a masked intervention in Kwantung. Yet Chiang Kai-shek and the other generals, having sold themselves to the imperialists, keep silent on these things. All of them are turning their hungry eyes towards the Yangste Valley and are prepared to fight over the sharing out of China.

Not only is the blood of the Chinese people shed, but preparations are in progress for an even more terrible and bloody deed. Your governments, for the sake of sharing the spoils, are preparing for a new war in China.

Protest and Help

Dear comrades, fellow workers, you should not

allow such mockery over China, you should demand the discontinuance of the traffic in the heads of Chinese toilers, you should demand a prohibition on extraditing prisoners into the hands of the Chinese authorities, you should demand the withdrawal of all warships and armed forces from China, you should come to our aid, because just now your governments are preparing for a new war in China. You should demand that your governments give up all interference in the internal affairs of China.

We are firmly convinced that you will come to our aid and that you will help us in our struggle for right, life, and liberty, against the entire counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

We rely upon your fraternal solidarity and your fraternal aid. The cup of patience of the Chinese people is becoming filled. The Chinese peasantry is rising again, while the soldiers refuse to take up arms against the people and go over to the side of the toilers.

Help us in our struggle and thereby you will also dispose of the menace of a new world war.

With fraternal greetings,

The All China Federation of Labor Unions.

Shanghai, June 12, 1928.

Working Class Women and The Elections

By EVA SHAFRAN

“WOMEN VOTE PLAYS BIG PART THIS YEAR”, announces the press, and goes on: “In several states women will hold the balance of power”. Out of the 58,000,000 citizens qualified to vote, 28,500,000, or about 49 per cent, are women.

So both the Republican and Democratic parties are going to work overtime in the coming few months to win the women's votes, and no matter which of these two parties the women vote for will suit the business interests, the employers, back of both of them.

There is no doubt that the greater part of these millions are working women: in shops, mills, factories, or in kitchens and houses, or many of them, in factories and housework both. But neither party representing big business this year says anything about the hours, working conditions or state of employment of these women workers, or offers them any promise of bettering their conditions. Instead they talk to them about “prohibition”.

During the coming few weeks of the campaign, the kitchens of working women will be overloaded with the “literature” and pictures of capitalist party presidential and other candidates. It is therefore im-

portant that working women be informed and realize the game that is being played on them by these parties.

Mr. Simon Michlet, president of the “Get Out The Vote Club” has had printed recently in the New York Times a table showing the distribution of women voters, and in just what states they hold the “balance of power”. They are principally: Connecticut, where women work 58 hours a week, not to speak of housework too; Maryland, where they work 60 hours a week; Massachusetts, where they work 52 hours a week; Rhode Island, 54 hours with an average of \$16 a week pay; New York, 54 hours and an average of \$15 a week pay; Idaho, 63 hours, and Illinois, 70 hours.

What are these women voters going to do in the coming elections? Are they going to vote to continue these conditions? Or will they vote for the Workers Party nominees, Foster and Gitlow, who stand for abolition of the system of wage slavery and exploitation, for a new social order with vastly better conditions for all workers, and the specific needs of women workers taken care of?

T. U. E. L. Asks Help For Chinese Unions

To All Workers and Workers' Organizations:

THE Chinese trade unions need our help. The Chinese trade unions are appealing to us at this grave hour.

The Chinese workers are the most exploited in the world. The weekly wage of the best paid worker in the building trades does not exceed \$3.00. The weekly wage of a painter is hardly above \$3.50. The average wage of a railroad worker is \$2.50 a week. Common labor gets from \$1.00 to \$1.50 a week. The labor day is seldom shorter than 12 hours—often longer. Child labor is the rule. No age limit is set. No laws to protect the workers are in existence. The workers must protect themselves and you must assist them or your own standards will be lowered.

The Chinese trade unions must carry on in the face of the Chinese and foreign manufacturers and the Chinese militarists and foreign imperialist powers who protect with an iron hand the foreign and Chinese exploiters in China. There were times in the last few years when the workers, rising against their intolerable situation were helping the native business men to wrest from the foreign invaders the extraordinary privileges they had secured for themselves at the bayonet's point. At the same time the workers were also improving their own conditions. But the native capitalists afraid of the growing strength of the working class, decided rather to make peace with foreign imperialists than to make concessions to the workers. Thus the Nationalist movement, at first progressive and aggressive, surrendered to the U. S., Japanese, British, French and Italian diplomats and navies, and together they try to crush the working class.

The workers have not lost courage. They continue the revolutionary struggle in alliance with the exploited peasants. They are consolidating their forces. They continue vigorously the work of organization. They continue the struggle for economic demands. They do so under most trying conditions. Labor unions are persecuted. Labor representatives are being seized both by the foreign imperialist forces and by the native exploiters—and "seizing" in China means executing without much ado. Heads of workers are being chopped off without even a semblance of trial. 25,000 workers have been killed this year.

Send all contributions and make checks payable to:
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
 Trade Union Educational League
 2 West 15th Street, New York City



Still, the labor unions have become an established fact. The Chinese workers are carrying on a courageous and determined fight for their own lives and the lives of their families. They need money and the feeling that workers all over the world are coming to their help.

To help the Chinese labor unions, the Trade Union Educational League, representing the class-conscious workers of the U. S., has decided to set aside the last two weeks in July for action in favor of our Chinese brothers. It will be an international action simultaneously undertaken in all countries at the advice of the Red International of Labor Unions (Profintern). The world proletariat and all friends of the labor movement must extend a brotherly hand to the Chinese proletariat.

We appeal to all workers of the U. S.! Brothers and friends, rally to the support of the Chinese workers. Call meetings, organize conferences, make house to house collections, make shop collections, organize tag days, arrange affairs, create substantial sums for the Chinese trade unions. Make every worker understand the significance of the Chinese workers' struggle which is a struggle against world imperialism, the greatest enemy of the working class.

Begin Preparations at once!
Down With Capitalist Exploitation!
Down With Imperialism!
Long Live the Chinese Militant Workers!
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE

A New Textile Union

THE mill workers are rising; they are organizing a new union. The more than a million underpaid, disorganized toilers in the textile mills of America are beginning to see that only organization can help them, can stop the orgy of wage cuts that has spread through New England in recent months.

The Textile Mill Committees, new mill organizations of textile workers, are leading a strike of 26,000 New Bedford cotton mill workers, in spite of betrayals of the leaders of the United Textile Workers, who have attempted to sell out the strike. The workers have organized a union of their own there, now, the New Bedford Textile Workers Union. Their strike stands firm, despite the calling out of the militia by the Republican mayor of the town. They are determined not to take the ten percent wage cut handed to them by the mill owners. The Textile Mill Committees continue the work of organization. The committees are spreading throughout the textile areas among the small weak unions existing in parts of the country, and among these who as yet belong to no union at all.

In Fall River, not far from New Bedford, the mass meetings called by the Textile Mill Committees are more and more popular, more enthusiastic and determined, larger. Hundreds of workers are joining the Textile Mill Committees, and are preparing for struggle.

A series of local conferences is scheduled for the next two months, to be attended by progressive workers and delegates from mill committees and other organization among the textile workers.

In Boston, 36 Causeway St., July 29 at 10 A. M., will assemble a conference of representatives of Manchester, Nashua, Concord, Fitchburg, Maynard, Lowell, Lawrence, Adams, North Adams, Salem, Waltham, New Bedford, Fall River, Providence, Pawtucket, Woonsocket, Arctic, Natic, Taunton, Conn., Valley District, Boston and Blackstone Valley District.

The Philadelphia Conference is scheduled for August 5, at 2:30 P. M., at 531 North 7th St., and will take in also Chester, Trenton, Easton, Allentown, Bethlehem, Phillipsburgh, and some other towns.

The New York Conference is to be held at 26-28 Union Square, August 4, at 2:00 P. M., and will have representation from all the surrounding territory, including Passaic, Paterson, Rutherford, West New York, Corona, Bridgeport and Shelton, as well as New York itself.

The Textile Mill Committee continues an energetic preparation for the unionizing of the workers.

The National Office of the Textile Mill Committees, over the signature of Secretary Albert Weisbord, has issued a call for a National Convention of textile worker organizations, to meet in New York, Sept. 22-23, for the formation of a new union in the textile industry, a big strong, united organization, able to cope with the organizations of capital opposing the workers. The call is addressed to all textile workers' organizations, mill committees, textile workers' clubs and associations, and unions and reads as follows:

Greetings:—The textile industry is in the throes of re-organization. Intense speeding up, mass unemployment, longer hours, and wage cuts are the order of the day. Not satisfied with their tremendous profits, the textile manufacturers are doing everything possible to squeeze the workers harder than ever before.

At the present time the textile employers are planning a new drive. The drive has formally begun against the cotton workers in New England and over one hundred thousand workers have already received a ten percent wage cut.

But just as the Passaic workers in 1926 did not take a cut lying down, but under our leadership put up a great and memorable struggle, so today, again under our leadership, the textile workers are in battle against this new ten percent wage cut.

In New Bedford, Massachusetts, now for over three months, 26,000 textile workers have been on strike against the ten percent wage cut, for better conditions, and for the right to have their own union. Mass picket lines have closed the mills down tight in spite of the terror of the police and the militia which had been called in, and in spite of the treachery of the bureaucrats of the A.F. of L.

This brave fight in New Bedford shows that everywhere the textile workers are ready to move.

What has prevented the textile workers from carrying on an active fight is the fact that there was no militant leadership and no union to lead them. Outside of a few

tiny independent groups, the only union in the field is the small union of the American Federation of Labor, the United Textile Workers.

The officials of this United Textile Workers are of the most reactionary character, with a long series of betrayals to their credit. They have done their utmost to divide the workers and to defeat them. After many years of existence the United Textile Workers stands a small handful of skilled workers, pitifully helpless to resist the attack of the bosses.

This situation means that especially now, the textile workers must take things in their own hands and build a national textile union, that will be a real workers' union, organizing the over one million textile workers in this country and actively resisting the wage cuts and worsened conditions imposed by the employers. This is the immediate task at the present time, the building up of a national textile union that will mobilize the workers for effective struggles.

To accomplish this end, the National Textile Mill Committees, hereby calls all textile workers organizations to a National Convention to be held in New York City Saturday and Sunday, September 22nd and 23rd, 1928. The convention will be opened at 2 P. M. September 22nd at Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street, New York City.

All bona fide textile workers organizations are urgently requested to elect two or more delegates to attend this convention.



ALBERT WEISBORD SPEAKING TO THRONG OF STRIKERS IN NEW BEDFORD

Peculiar Sidelights On New Bedford

By ALBERT WEISBORD

(National Secretary, Textile Mill Committees)

TODAY, after almost four months of struggle, the left wing union in New Bedford, the New Bedford Textile Workers Union, affiliated with the National Textile Mill Committees, has a real achievement to its credit. In the face of great obstacles it has been able to mobilize the mass of unorganized workers and successfully to lead them in action against the powerful mill owners of that important textile center.

It is worth while to study the difficulties peculiar to the New Bedford strike which had to be overcome. These difficulties could be classified under the following headings:

1. Geographic isolation.
2. Composition of the working class.
3. Anti-working class trends and enemies within the ranks of the workers.

First. Geographic isolation. New Bedford is situated far off the main stream of travel, in the southern part of Massachusetts, facing the ocean, 157

miles south of Boston, 30 miles east of Providence and 240 miles north and east of New York City. Being so far from any large center, New Bedford has been rather stagnant, especially during the past years, and its workers have been isolated from the struggles that have taken place elsewhere. This geographical isolation has added many difficulties to effective organization and strike work. It is difficult to obtain speakers, difficult to get adequate publicity, etc.

Again, the layout of the city itself adds burdens to the work. The city is long and narrow, approximately 11 miles long and generally but 2 miles wide. Along this 11 miles of waterfront the cotton mills stretch except for an area in the center which is used for general business purposes. Thus the city is like a large dumbbell in form, with the workers clustered around the mills in the north and south parts of the city. This results practically in there being two cities,

one north and the other south. Each part has been independent of the other and with the fare 25 cents from one end of the city to the other and return, the workers of each section have remained isolated and stagnant each from the other.

A Decentralized Town

This situation made it difficult for the union to obtain general headquarters easily accessible to all the workers. At the same time the employers have utilized this geographical division to attempt to divide the workers of the north from those of the south and cause misunderstandings between them. Again because of this difficulty of coordination, within the ranks of the workers themselves there appeared a tendency for a time to form two strike committees and two policies instead of one.

Second. Composition of the working class. The working class in New Bedford is composed of those foreign-born groups which up to now have seldom if ever been brought into large struggles. Nor did they have general militant strike or union traditions. The main bulk of strikers are made up of French-Canadians, Portuguese, and English with smaller groups Poles and Greeks. None of these racial groups (with the exception of the Poles) had been involved in the large and bitter struggles that have recently taken place in America elsewhere, such as the mining textile and needle trades struggles. None of these groups had been accustomed before to an industrialized environment (with the exception of the English) and principles of unionism had been quite foreign to them.

The French-Canadians coming from the farm lands and even the back woods of Canada still retained to some measure the characteristics of people working in those places; self-reliance, individualism, penuriousness, complete lack of class-consciousness and ignorance of the elements of unionism were the main characteristics offering difficulties to the organizers of this section of the working class.

The Portuguese offered other difficulties. These Portuguese workers came not only from the mainland of Portugal but from the many little islands off the coast of Africa owned by Portugal. Each small island had its own customs, perhaps its own dialect, and its own patriotism and family ties. These peculiarities have been brought over to America. Some of the groups are Negroid, some not. The result was that many of the Portuguese workers had a "family" and "island" loyalty which tended to divide them and offered fertile field for friction.

Differing from the above groups both in having been organized and in belonging to the more skilled "upper" strata of the workers were the English. Most of these workers came from Lancashire, England,

and from childhood on had been brought up in a union and even socialistic environment. But American capitalism had corrupted them, given them better jobs and special privileges and had thus eaten the heart out of them. Their union organization was led by a set of reactionary tools of the employers who had divided them by craft lines from each other and entirely from the rest of the workers. Class collaboration had been the road on which they had plodded for many years. They belonged to the Masons, or the Elks, or the Moose, or the Knights or some such order which further increased their "exclusiveness".

Third. Anti-working class trends and enemies within the ranks of the workers. Militant unionism had to face in sharpened form the following obstacles and enemies.

1. The individualism prevalent among the backward hitherto unindustrialized sections of the workers.
2. Anarchistic tendencies obtained abroad and developed here.
3. Strong syndicalist traditions in some quarters.
4. The attack of the reactionary officials of the American Federation of Labor who have felt the ground slipping under their feet.
5. The virulent attitude of the Socialist Party reformists. These latter have definitely injected themselves into the strike, lending their "specialized" and "expert" knowledge (specialized and expert in methods calculated to defeat militants and revolutionists) to the reactionary officials. Every effort has been made to isolate the real fighters in New Bedford from the rest of the labor movement, to cut off relief and defence and to crush the militant new union.

However in spite of these special and extra-heavy difficulties the new union has forged ahead surmounting everything and has not only successfully defended itself but has definitely taken the offensive. It has the leadership in the strike field. It has more members organized. It has rallied the vacillating elements around it. It has extended the demands of the workers. And finally, it is making every effort to extend the strike inside New Bedford and in Fall River.

In Fall River the National Office of the Textile Mill Committees has opened up an office and sent in organizers Reid and Hegelias to extend the strike and to fight wage cuts. Already three magnificent meetings have been held and the terror of the police definitely broken. Hundreds of workers have now joined the Textile Mill Committees of Fall River. Soon, if all goes well, new reserves will be thrown into the fight, fresh reserves from Fall River that will carry the battle forward to victory!

TEXTILE NEWS : : :

Edited By ALBERT WEISBORD

Reports of the Textile International Committee of Propaganda and Action

Amsterdam Betrays Italian Workers

AT the Paris Conference convened by "Amsterdam" (The International Federation of Trade Unions) to discuss the Italian Question," held on October 28, 1927, Shaw, the Secretary of the Textile Workers International, informed the representative of the illegal General Confederation of Labor of Italy that he had nothing against setting up connections with the Italian Union of Textile Workers. He gave it to be understood, furthermore, that he had no prejudices against the views of the Italian trade union workers, that he was not afraid of the "etiquette of Communism" as "those who are carrying on activities in Italy in present-day conditions can, of course, not be monarchist."

In reply the Italian Union of Textile Workers (I.U.T.W.) sent Shaw a detailed report on December 26th, 1927, on the conditions that the Italian Textile Workers had to contend with and the position of their trade union organization.

Reporting that the bourgeois fascist bloc were continuing unremittingly their drive against the working class, and that the revolutionary mood of the broad masses was growing, the Italian comrades concluded their report by urging the Textile Workers' International to render material and moral support.

How did the International answer this call?

The spirit of their reply was indeed worthy of the Amsterdamites. Shaw, who first expressed the desire to set up connections with the I.U.T.W., seeing that these connections could not be confined to mere platitudes, but that something would have to be undertaken, hastened to retract his words, and answered the Italian Textile Workers that he was unable to recognize them officially as he had, in the meanwhile, received another report on the position of the textile workers and their organization from his "own trusted representative." This, of course, was simply a bureaucratic and pitiful excuse, for it is well known that besides the illegal union there is no textile workers' class organization in Italy at the present time. Reformist Galli, the former General Secretary of the I. U. T. W. is now in business, while the other old leaders of the I.U.T.W. (as for example, Maximalist Sciaavello, Communist Tettamanti, and others) are now either lying in the fascist prisons or have been exiled. The supporters of the "G.C.L. Abroad" are to be found anywhere and everywhere but not among the proletariat who are struggling and suffering in Italy.*

The leaders of the illegal I.U.T.W. sent Shaw a letter in which they said that (1) the only class organization of textile workers existing today in Italy was the I.U.T.W. and that (2) as Shaw had connections with other groups of organized textile workers in Italy the leaders of the I.U.T.W. would be very pleased indeed to set up contact with these groups as in present-day conditions in Italy the existence of two parallel working class organizations of textile workers would be simply absurd. They requested Shaw, therefore, to put them in touch with this organization.

In reply to this second letter Shaw dryly confirmed his former words that he was unable to recognize the Textile Workers' Union of Italy officially.

Like the whole conduct of Amsterdam in regard to the revolutionary trade union movement of Italy which is grow-

ing up illegally, Shaw's reply once again demonstrates that the reformists are not only reluctant to aid actively the Italian proletariat in its struggle against the bourgeoisie and fascism, but that they are prepared to hamper them in the struggle by artificially engineering splits whenever possible in the Italian class trade union movement.

Strike Near Venice

There is much unemployment in the Italian textile industry, and the employers take advantage of it to lower wages and increase the production required of each worker. The fascist terror was not able to repress a strike at Pordecone, near Venice, which involved at the beginning 6,000 workers. Three thousand starving textile workers paraded the town during the annual carnival, with placards: "We are hungry," "Down with masquerades, we want full time work and just wages."

The carabinieri attacked the procession, and in the fight the mayor and one trooper were wounded, also ten workers. The crowd then attacked the local fascist headquarters. About a hundred were arrested. The strike was still on at last notice.

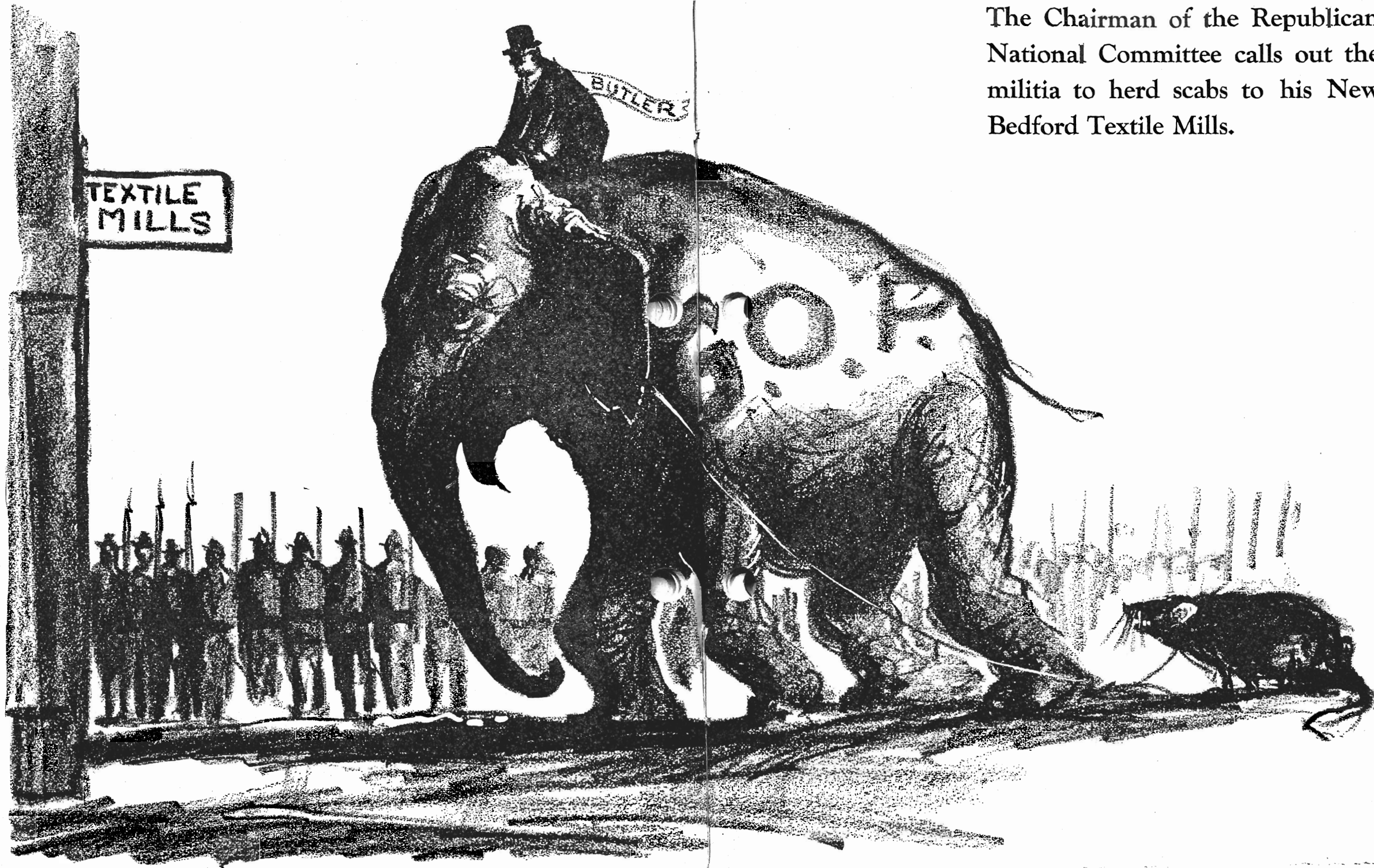
The Situation In Austria

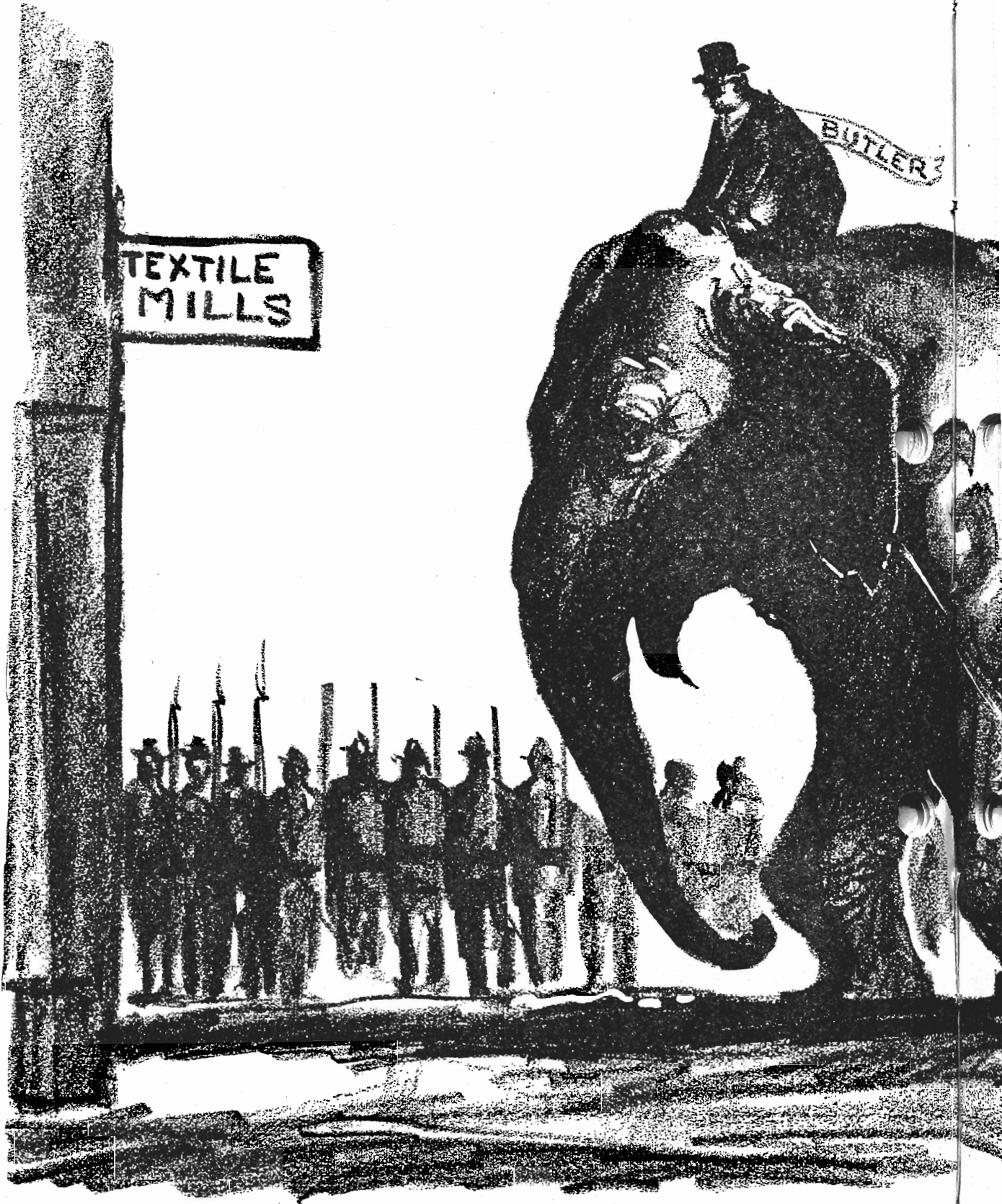
THE strike of the men and women workers of the Austrian jute industry is going on with unceasing vigor. At the present time a lack of yarn is already making itself felt, as, for instance, in the carpet industry. In many undertakings work is being stopped or cut down by the strike. General meetings in aid of the strikers are called in all districts where the strike is taking place, and are exceptionally well attended; a special flyleaf has been published.

During the last few days, it became known that the Trade Union Committee was carrying on secret negotiations with the Central Board of the factories. As a result of these negotiations, the Central Board agreed on a general increase of 4% for piece-workers, an increase from 4-5 groschen per hour for those engaged on time work, and an increase of from 3-4% for youths, instead of the individual 2% increase, which was offered before the commencement of the strike. At the same time, the workers were to immediately commence work and agree to work 12 hours overtime per week, without extra pay. The Union Committee called a general meeting of the workers of all four factories, on Monday the 7th of May. At this meeting they intended to make known their "success" with the Board, and by means of a secret ballot to find out the workers' opinion. These intentions became known to the opposition Saturday, May 5; on the same night flyleafs were printed off on a duplicator, and were distributed to the strikers on Sunday. The result was exceedingly successful. The workers refused to consider the proposals. The Union Committee was forced to retreat, declaring that it was a question of negotiations which were by no means binding. Our comrades called upon the workers not to go back on their demands for a 15% increase, and to demand that piece rates be determined in such a way that they be 25% above the basic hour rates. Further, the demand of equal pay for equal work was put forward—which has a special significance for women and you¹s.

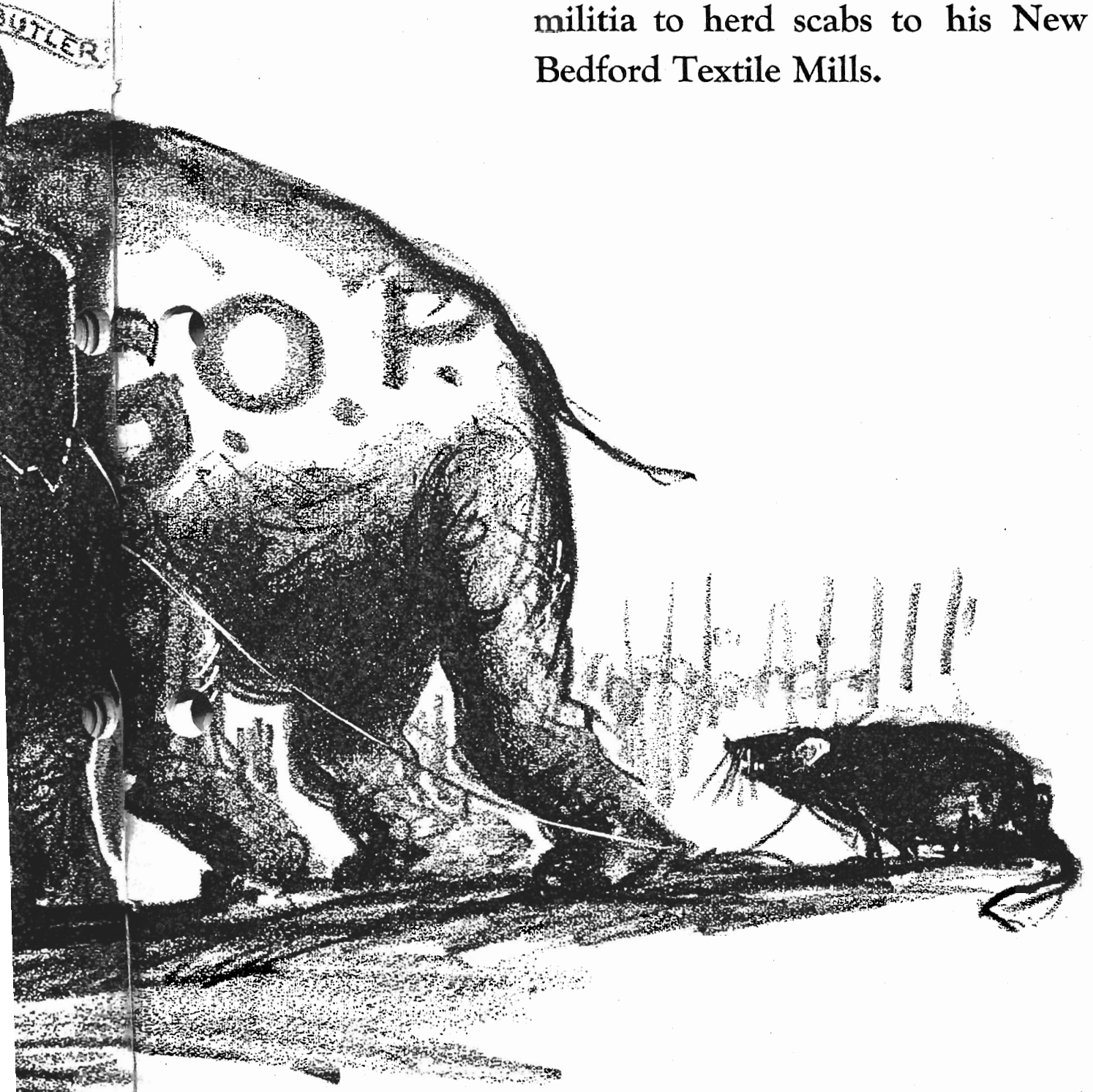
* The majority of the former reformist leaders fled to Paris.

The Chairman of the Republican National Committee calls out the militia to herd scabs to his New Bedford Textile Mills.





The Chairman of the Republican National Committee calls out the militia to herd scabs to his New Bedford Textile Mills.



THE OLD GLORY HOLE

By FRANK CURTIS

CONDITIONS on Pacific coastwise ships since the last strikes in 1923 in San Pedro and 1920 in San Francisco, have been getting steadily worse, and are going back to the old ones that existed on the ships and the docks. This is due directly to the activities of the bosses' blue card union and the blacklist established through the Pacific Coast Steamship Association and its "Marine Service Department" or "fink hall". This development is also part of the general attack against the workers and their organizations which was inaugurated by big business just after and even before the end of the world war.

The conditions aboard ship can best be illustrated by a concrete example. One of the "Floating Palaces of the Pacific" is the City of Honolulu, flying the flag of the Los Angeles Steamship Co., and running between San Pedro and the Hawaiian Islands (technically this is coastwise shipping). On this ship, and others like her, with all the improvements in ship building, the "Old Glory Hole", the sleeping quarters of the crew, is essentially the same as in the good old days at sea.

Fifty members of the crew are crowded in tiers of two bunks in a "hole", the sleeper in the top bunk having the steam pipes directly overhead. There are port holes, but at the least sign of rough or heavy sea they are screwed tight. The tired crew breathe and re-breathe the same air, and the stench from warm and crowded bodies. These conditions are especially bad in the tropics. They sleep, if they can, to the tune of the vibrations of machinery and the noise of the dancers and jazz music just overhead in the ball room, also the pounding of the sea against the port holes.

Yes, the crew may go up on deck for fresh air and exercise, but the tops of the hatches are the only places 240 members of the crew can use for this purpose. The hatches are small and exposed to the spray and wash of waves. Under no conditions can any member of the crew associate with the passengers, or come any place where he might possibly be in contact with them, unless assigned to some special duty.

"Chow"

The members of the steward's department know particularly the kind of food that they and the rest of the crew are "dished out". Everything that is left over, and the cheapest parts of the beef or mutton, is for them. The mess rooms for the crew are some

portions of the ship that can not be used for any other purpose, and are usually distant from the kitchen. It is not unusual for members of the crew to spill their grub or slip down the ladders on their way, several decks, to the mess rooms.

The crew can get better grub, but this is how it is done. The steward, the pantry men, and the waiters must be properly tipped if one of the crew wants an extra piece of meat, piece of pie, or any other consideration. A well known system has been evolved, and every member of the crew knows that he has to come across if he wants to make another trip.

Pay

In the steward's department, the men, with exception of the chiefs, get from \$30 to \$50 per month. The poor pay makes them fall in line with the practice which is anyway enforced by the stewards, pantrymen and chief janitor, of compelling tips. Men wanting better positions must be "on the ins" with the chief stewards. The pantrymen get their rake-off from the crew by giving a little extra food. The chief janitors determine the sanitary conditions, as much as the ship's construction will allow, in accordance with the amount of tips they receive. And the pantrymen and stewards watch the waiters very closely to be sure and get their percentage from the tips these receive from passengers or crew.

The effect on the crew is that the workers are divided against each other because of bad conditions for which the owners are responsible in the first place. Should any member of the crew fail to "come across" on pay day at the purser's office, the possibilities of re-shipment are gone. The chiefs keep an accurate check on all "slackers".

In addition to the above, the ship has regulations which interfere with the pay and the freedom of the workers. Any slight protest or minor infraction of rules is met with a threat to "put in irons" and "log". For every day in irons, two day's pay is deducted. A fight in the courts against such illegal punishment is useless, because of the difficulty to get evidence and the use by the owners of skilled attorneys and the political influence of the steamship owners' association. The Seamen's Institutes, and Good Samaritan organizations are worse than useless, for they only exist by co-operation with the steamship owners. Complaints, protests, or the coincidence of three or four men becoming sick at the same time bring threats from the ship's officers of filing a charge of

mutiny on the high seas. Even talking the matter over among themselves may bring such a charge against the seamen.

Getting a Job

At the fink hall, unemployment is so bad, that long lines of men wait to register. Each must have his ship's record book or discharge. If they have been lost, he is out of luck. The ship's record shows the "usefulness" of the man aboard ship, and in practise this means how few complaints he has made against intollerable conditions. The evidence of stool-pigeons assists in making up the record.

These conditions are common to most ships on the coast, and to most fink halls. At the present time the unions exist mostly on paper, and union officials are not making any real attempt to build them up into

strong fighting organizations. Any and all attempts to do away with the fink halls and blacklisting by seeking political favors or through the courts have failed and will fail.

Organization is the only remedy. The seamen need a strong militant union. They need ship committees, ship bulletins, and they need to keep in close contact with the workers on shore. They need organization. How much longer are seafaring men going to put up with such rotten conditions? How much longer will they play into the hands of the owners and allow themselves to be divided? How much longer will they put up with the present alleged unions that only exist on paper and are controlled by a few who never go to sea any more, and are no longer in close contact with the actual conditions at sea?

The Crew of the Yacht Rofa

By J. V. MORGAN

THE incident of the yacht Rofa, which nearly drowned her crew, just recently, proves again what is quite clear to the mercantile sailors, that the leisure class who amuse themselves yacht racing in the summer time know nothing about either seamanship or navigation, and care nothing for the lives of those who do.

On June 30, as a preliminary to the start of the second division in the cross-Atlantic sailing race for the King of Spain's cup, the crews of the yachts Atlantic, Eleanor, Rofa and Azra deserted, some of them swimming ashore, for the very good reason that inspection of their new job convinced them that they were risking their lives on unseaworthy craft, for the amusement of a few millionaires.

That they were correct is proved by the fact that a short time later the crew of the yacht Rofa had to be rescued 797 miles east of Ambrose light by an oil tanker. A slight squall had snapped both her fragile masts, and filled all the quarters with water. The Rofa sank a few hours later, while being towed by the tanker.

The interesting, and shameful, thing is that the bureaucratic officials of the Seamen's Union permitted the crew of union men to be shipped, after the first crews had deserted the yachts because they were unseaworthy. These officials will cater to the wishes of the millionaires even to the extent of risking the lives of union members.

Seamen on commercial ships are driven like dogs, and now we see yacht owners are so eager to enjoy their sport, at the risk of men's lives, that they decry as inefficient those who will not endanger themselves on their useless little schooners.

A movement is abroad to organize a group of so-called Sea Scouts who will be trained to man these sea-going yachts. The same argument is made that is made for horse racing, namely that it will train them for useful work. But the real truth is that these Sea Scouts are going to be used as gun fodder, eventually and as playthings of the rich at present. Just as horse racing has no purpose except to help the idle rich to while away the tedious hours, so also yacht racing. A good sailor now-a-days must know how to paint and chip decks, and the attempt to bring back the old sailing ship seaman is like turning back the hands of time. It can't be done.

SACCO AND VANZETTI

Under the auspices of the International Labor Defense, August 22, the anniversary of the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti will be observed by mass meetings in many cities.

New York's mass meeting will be held in the Central Opera House on Aug. 22. Cleveland will pay tribute to the martyrs on the same day at the Public Square. Denver, Colorado, Detroit, and Chicago also meet on Aug. 22. Philadelphia's International Labor Defense will have its Sacco-Vanzetti meeting at the Labor Institute on Aug. 24.

Meetings are in the process of being arranged in: Seattle, Portland, Spokane, Astoria, Oakland, San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Jose, Canton, Toledo, Flint, Grand Rapids, St. Louis, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Akron, Duluth, Martins Ferry, Wilmington, Newark, Passaic, Boston, Haverhill, Springfield, Providence, New Haven, Hartford, Stamford, Waukegan, Pittsburgh and Buffalo. It is expected that a minimum of 75 cities will hold memorial meetings this year.

THE CENTRALIA FRAME-UP

One affidavit after another presented to the Washington parole board for the eight Centralia prisoners proves that it was the American Legionnaires, led on their parade by Warren Grimm, who first attacked the hall of the I. W. W. with the intention of lynching the leaders of the organization.

Witnesses in the court, during the trial, whose testimony was twisted into conclusive proof of the prosecution's charges, now declare that their testimony was intended to prove no such thing, and quote from the court records to substantiate their present declarations.

A juror in the case, E. E. Torpen, swears that "if these men had not been affiliated with the I. W. W. organization they would never have been convicted of the crime."

PHILADELPHIA TAXICABS

By SOL AUERBACH

TRANSPORTATION is a key industry because of its importance to distribution of products and to travel. Taxicabs catering only to passenger service can be considered as a special part of the transportation industry. The highly concentrated monopoly of transportation in Philadelphia by the Mitten interests and the extension of those interests to other cities, the development of an inter-city Mitten-controlled buss system, and the extension of the Mitten power through the financial grasp of his bank, all point to a small group transportation monopoly that may include railroads too. As a result of this increasing trustification the workers have suffered and will continue to suffer.

The last few years in the Philadelphia taxicab business show many symptoms of the beginning of such trustification. Mitten, after breaking the carmen's strike and forcing them into a company union, has not released his controlling hand. With the purpose of controlling all transportation in Philadelphia he began to appropriate the taxi interests by buying out the smaller companies. Two years ago he purchased the largest, The Yellow Taxi Company, and a year later he bought out his only rival, the Quaker City Taxi Company. At present he controls all the taxi interests, except a few independent cabs. Recently he has also acquired the new subways at a ridiculously low rental from the city. He is master of transportation in Philadelphia, with strong controlling interests in other cities.

The Yellow Taxi Company Drivers.

Having worked for some time for the Yellow Taxi Company in Philadelphia I know something about the conditions under which the drivers work. A study of the conditions of work, the spirit of the workers, from the point of view of organization, is necessary in order to answer capitalist monopoly and prepare the workers for resistance to its crushing power; the answer at present is organization of a militant drivers' union.

The drivers of the Yellow Cab Co. of Philadelphia are supposed to work on ten hour shifts. The ten hours are counted from the time the cab leaves the garage until the time it arrives and the driver checks in. The time taken in filling and repairing is not counted. When a cab goes wrong while out on the streets the driver loses these few hours of potential earnings. There are four hours between the two

shifts of the one cab and the drivers usually use them out between themselves. Many of the regular shifts work twelve, thirteen or fourteen hours and this of course is not discouraged by the company since it means so much more profit. There is a special shift known as the "two to nothing shift" awarded to those married men who are willing to slave their skins off to earn a few extra dollars. This shift leaves at two in the morning and can remain on the streets as long as it wishes to.

The employees are paid purely on a commission basis, at the rate of 33 1/3% of the total fares. This is a simple way of manipulating a speed-up system. The longer the drivers are on the streets, the faster they are, the readier they are to take all insults from riders and submissively cater to them, the larger is their pay. At the time I worked, although it was an especially busy season due to the Sesquicentennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, the average pay was about twenty dollars, and I think that is a high estimate. The tips can be figured at an average of half of the salary, making an average earning of thirty dollars per week for from twelve to fourteen hours of work a day and six full days a week. While it is true that some drivers earned as high as forty or forty-five dollars per week they achieved this paradise by working fifteen or sixteen hours a day for the seven days of the week.

The work is far from pleasant. In all weather, the worse the weather the more business on the streets, in cabs that would not always run, always forced to be pleasant and polite to riders, no matter how cranky or unruly they may be, always looking out for the tip at the end of the ride (many times being left flat), depending upon the generosity of the customers for one third or more of the earnings, watched by company inspectors who ride around in their "crueler wagons" ready to report all misdemeanours such as smoking in the cab, reading a newspaper, sitting in back of the cab, "laying" with running motor, etc., heckled by the merit system which makes docile slaves out of the men for the sake of a few dollars bonus at Christmas time, like other job holders the taxi-drivers are kept in bondage by a severe economic system, ruled by their bosses.

Difficulties to be met in organization.

1. **Mitten Collaboration Tactics.** Mitten is perhaps the arch collaboration hero of American capital-

ism in transportation. His famous car-men's company union and his recent agreement with W. D. Mahon, president of the Amalgamated Ass'n of Street Electric Railways Employes, besides showing up the capitalist composition of supposedly labor leaders, also shows how easily unwary workers can be fooled into submission. He has wound the treacherous bonds of capitalism intricately into the very lives of the workers. He induces them to invest their savings in his bank, using their money to draw his bonds tighter in the form of further investments and by a spreading monopoly involving more workers. He induces the workers to believe that they actually have a share in the management by putting the most docile of them on various company committees. He bluffs them into believing that they share in the profits of their own labor by selling stock to them and paying dividends. By a few miserly dollars a year he has succeeded in creating in his workers petty bourgeois psychology, and accompanying submission to all sorts of degrading conditions. The worker who comes in line in front of Mittens' Bank to invest his slight savings and pay for his stock is only throwing fuel at his own burning-stake. This psychology must be counteracted by intensive propoganda, the workers must be inspired to the realization of their own importance and their key position, and they must be made to see the falseness of the collaboration tactic as far as they are concerned. It is a one-sided collaboration—profitable only to the bosses.

2. **The Company bourgeoisifying propoganda**
At the very beginning of employment in the Yellow Cab Co., and even before pay is received, the prospective drivers are submitted to a few days of business-making propoganda. They are told that they are salesmen, that they must sell transportation, that the only way they can make good is to go and get it, 'the best man wins.' They are lectured on the essentials of etiquette, and the all-prevading money-making power of politness (submission to the will of the public). This preparatory advice instills the competitive spirit, the driver with this advice still clinging to him finds when he rolls the streets for "business." Fellow workers become enemies in the rush for riders—many times cutting out other cabs who were hailed from the curb and in other ways stealing riders. The training acquired in the company school and in the struggle for fares, the conditions of their work, make for and enhance the competitive spirit. The driver is made to feel from the first like a petty bourgeois, with a store on wheels, out to get as much as he can and to let his fellow worker do the best he can.

The competitive spirit is strengthened by the in-

dividual character of the work. The drivers working singly are not trained in cooperation. Especially when times are bad is the individual character of the work exaggerated and the struggle for a living made sharper. The dependence on tips also makes for a more individual spirit, since the driver depends upon his own direct appeal to the public for more earnings.

The espionage system, in the form of inspectors who ride all over the city watching the workers for the company, always ready to report attempts at organization, is a tremendous retarding influence. When an attempt was made in the fall of 1926 to organize the Quaker and Yellow Cab drivers the inspectors were on the job, busily taking the numbers of the cabs, with the result that all those active and participating in the attempted organization were immediately fired.

The Blacklist

A further incident of the mollifying tactic of the Mitten Management may here be in order. When I wrote up my experiences as a Yellow Cab driver which appeared in *The Nation* (March 9, 1927) I immediately received a letter from Dr. Mitten (the elder Mitten's son) telling me that he was very much interested in my criticism and that he would like to see me. When I appeared he wanted me to act as an adviser for the Yellow Cab Company in introducing certain "reforms," offering me a salary of \$150 a month for a few hours work a week. The offer was too evidently a bribe and I of course refused it. Later when I met one of the assistant managers of a company garage he told me that as soon as my article appeared a notice had been sent around to all garages with my picture, ordering that I should not be rehired.

In spite of all these difficulties to be met in organization it is important to organize the drivers. An active propoganda campaign to open the eyes of the workers to the reality of their position will have good results. Taxi drivers are active and if their militant spirit is directed in the proper channels can be organized into a militant union. The dangerous propoganda of class collaboration, the enslaving power of company banks and stocks, the false competition spirit instilled in the drivers must be investigated by simple and straight analysis. That will directly reach the workers. The cab division of the Mitten System is its weakest point because the cab-drivers have not yet been drawn into company unionism. They offer a good starting point in an attack on Mitten-softened class bondage.

THE FUTILITY OF CRAFT UNIONISM

With Particular Reference to the Food Industry

By GERTRUDE WELSH

"WE are living in an age of transition and progress. The catering industry is passing through a period of evolution where more or less unskilled service is required and no gratuities called for.

"In connection with this type of institution, commissary kitchens are established and prepared food is delivered in thermos utensils ready for consumption. This method of operation reduces the number of skilled mechanics required in the preparing and cooking of food to a minimum, lessens the overhead cost, and makes their operation serious competition to service establishments."

One can scarcely help but agree with Edward Flores, president of the Hotel Restaurant Employees Alliance and Bartenders International, who has written the above paragraphs in a recent article of the union's official magazine, "The Mixer and Server." Here we have a far-sighted labor-leader, you might be tempted to say, noting his apparent recognition of the fact of "evolution" in industry, and that one type of production often gives way rapidly to another, due to improved technical methods.

So far so good! But what conclusion does President Flores draw from the increasing elimination of the old-style restaurants, with their bowing waiters and magic "tips" by the new self-service places, cafeterias and automats? Does Flores conclude that, since the formerly strategic waiters are less and less needed to conduct dishes, carve meats and serve wines, therefore, the basis of the union must be shifted from the small, home-service restaurants to the self-service, chain businesses?

Since the large-scale preparation of food in centrally located kitchens is doing away with highly skilled chefs and bakers, does Flores raise the slogan of "Organize the miscellaneous kitchen workers"? Since the unskilled labor of women and children, of Oriental and Negro workers, is now being more and more mobilized by the employers, does Flores make special efforts to draw these workers into the unions and to prevent their lowering the hard-won union standard of living? With the sudden reduction of the skilled



Gertrude Welsh on the picket line

few remaining employers under union agreements to recognize their craft in return for the privilege of greater exploitation of workers in other crafts on the job. Obviously, Flores cannot afford to be interested in all restaurant workers, but only in those who maintain him as a union official. It is logical that he should oppose the Volstead Act, as he does, and it is even more logical that he should oppose cafeterias and automats.

Let's read further. After paying his respects to our "age of transition and progress," he goes on to say concerning the evolution from waiter-service to self-service, that:

"In this transformation, service employer and employee have a community interest. We on our part assume the task of bringing the public back to the thought of former methods and environment; while the employer must assume the responsibility of paying his employee a wage worthy of his hire, with hours and conditions of employment which encourage his activity. That brings us down to the question of salesmanship and wastes." (!)

This paragraph, it seems to me, is a classic expression of one of the forms of modern class-collaboration: in Flores' words, "community of interest between employer and employee." That Flores wrote about a "wage worthy of the employee's hire" with his tongue in his cheek is evidenced by the fact that the emphasis of his article is placed on the need for

the workers "not taking advantage of the employer;" while the boss is assured that union workers will give him less wasteful, more efficient service than non-union; in fact, will be his commission men!

Economics of Class Collaboration

What is important, however, is not so much that American Federation of Labor officials have a class-collaboration psychology (this isn't hard to see); but the economic source from which this psychology springs. Flores wants to keep his job as a waiters' president; waiters, too, want to keep their jobs as waiters: that is patent. But underlying this is a "period of evolution" and a "new method of operation." It is this economic transformation, which labor "leaders" fight against so fallaciously, that is creating, on the one hand, the psychology of worker-boss cooperation; and on the other, the bankruptcy of craft union-

To take an example from another food trade: the baking industry. The last A. F. of L. Bakery and Confectionery Workers convention met its most vital problem, that of organizing the workers in the trustified factories, by passing a resolution "to continue efforts to secure from Congress effective action to protect American people from the development of the bread monopoly and to secure for workers in the baking industry the right to organize."

The official union bakers' journal commented on this resolution as follows: "If the cracker trust and the bread trust succeed in the intended absorption of the cracker and bread market for their exclusive exploitation, employment of union members becomes a matter of past history in the American trade union movement."

What a miserable spectacle our craft-union officials make! With Flores, the salvation of the culinary workers lies in uniting with the employers to fight evolution—to put the cafeterias and automats out of business, and to convince the public that it is better to eat in small restaurants than anywhere else (even if only the front half is organized). The bakery union officials are in an even worse plight: they admit that their organization is helpless until the trusts are busted!

Trustification Continues

Now let us ascertain the facts as to the advancement of mechanization and trustification in the food industry. The financial statement of a few leading enterprises will serve to indicate the general tendency. For instance, the largest profit gain for 1927 in the culinary business was made by the Silver cafeterias, whose annual profit increased 27.7 per cent, with sales totalling \$2,285,338 in six months! In just two cities, Philadelphia and New York, the Horn Hardart

automats made sales of over \$11,000,000 in the same period.

In the baking industry, take for instance the erstwhile Ward Food Products Corporation, whose recent "dissolution" does not affect the interlocking directorates of this trinity of trusts: the General Baking Co., capitalized at \$1,000,000,000; the Continental Baking at \$600,000,000, and the Ward Corporation, at \$150,000,000. The same stockholders also have controlling interest in the Atlantic and Pacific Tea Co., and in 45 dairy properties, yeast, sugar and machine factories, Pillsbury flour, Carnation milk, etc. Control of the biscuit industry is in the hands of the National Biscuit and Loose-Wiles companies, together capitalized at over \$100,000,000!

Government Aids Trust

The conclusion is incontestable that the food industry is more highly trustified than any other industry in the United States. It is a super-trust, with mass-distribution through chain-stores as the latest addition to its gigantic apparatus.

Bankers, drawn in through the necessity for big capital, cement the component trusts together, holding dominating positions on the various boards. Co-operating closely with U. S. government officials, especially since the days of "Bread will win the war," these bankers are able to use the industry for their own purposes,—for military mobilization, vote-getting, etc., In return, the government protects the food trust; indeed, helps it to consolidate.

Thus dictatorship is wielded by a few financiers. The fate of small food businesses is definitely sealed. Butchers, bakers, restaurant keepers, grocers: one by one are being driven into bankruptcy or forced to become agents of the super-trust. In 1925, there were 8,279 fewer bakeries than in 1914, despite the 112.8 per cent increase in use of horse-power!

Only Small Shops Unionized

The menace to labor unionism in the failure of these small businesses lies in the fact that only in them have existing unions any foothold. Not a single trust shop has a union agreement with either the culinary or bakery workers' unions. The number of union bakery workmen today is approximately 26,000 (divided into two internationals); but this number doesn't even equal the increase of workers since the war, nearly 40,000 factory workers having been added to the 300,000 already in the industry.

In the culinary trades, where almost half a million workers are employed, less than ten per cent are unionized. Of these, 40,000 belong to the A. F. of L. international and their strength is reduced to a minimum by a cross-section of craft splits. For instance,

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The Crisis In The British Mining Industry

By ARTHUR HORNER



Arthur Horner

Arthur Horner, Executive Member, Miner's Federation of Great Britain, member of National Minority Movement, is the most prominent Left-Wing leader of the British miners. A splendid speaker, and a writer of no mean ability, he is coming rapidly to the fore, not only in his native South Wales, but among the miners of all parts of Great Britain. He took part in the recent Miners' Unemployed March, and has often been the lone member of the Miners' Executive to support A. J. Cook, the Secretary of the Federation, in his militant stand.

THE economic condition of the British Mining Industry which is Britain's basic industry, still shows no signs of recovery.

While it is true that the total tonnage disposed of remains fairly constant at approximately 5,000,000 per week, it must be recognized that this is only possible for so long as the selling price is kept below the actual cost of production.

In substantiation of this contention it is only necessary to state that the ascertainment which are taken by Joint Auditors to determine wages, show that up until February, 1928, there is an outstanding debt due from future wages amounting to \$128,419,000, and even this huge sum which has accumulated since the beginning of 1927 does not include all districts. It is an under-estimation of the true position to say that to date the British mine workers are in debt to the coal owners under the terms of the existing district agreements to the amount of \$145,890,000.

The increase in the working day from 7 hours to 8 hours has been mainly responsible for increasing the output per man shift by approximately 4 cwt. or 25% of the previous output.

At the same time the processes of production have been intensified by the introduction of methods and machines calculated to secure a speeding up, and victimization of the most ruthless kind has been resorted to, in order to intimidate the mass of the workers into the expenditure of greater energy, and the undertaking of greater risks than ever before.

Wages have not been raised correspondingly with output, on the contrary a number of methods such as district wage cuts, local pit revisions of day rates, piece rates, etc., have been used to further depress wages; now even with a full week's work, it has become impossible for the average mine worker to earn sufficient to maintain his wife and children.

In most sections of the British coal field it is impossible to secure a full week of 6 days at work. The average for 1927 for the whole of the coal field was 4.81 day per week, which of course means that the daily wage must be multiplied not by 6, but by this very much lesser figure.

The average wage for mine workers, for 1927, including all pieceworkers, and most highly skilled workers was slightly less than \$2.40 per shift worked, which in the actual working out means that they were paid \$11.54 per week..

This figure paid to the grades as a whole implies that the day wage section of the workers which is 50% of the total were paid and are now paid less than \$9.18 per week, and a large number still less.

For 1927 the cost of living is given by the Ministry of Labor Gazette as approximately 66% above 1914, which

means roughly that a man earning \$9.72 per week in 1914, should, to be in the same position now, be in receipt of \$16.18 per week.

In addition to this lamentable condition of affairs in the pits, there are approximately 300,000 unemployed mine workers, many thousands of whom have been in this situation for two and even three years.

The income of the unemployed is admitted from every quarter to be insufficient to maintain life, and the result is that in villages where a part of the family is working, they have not only to maintain themselves, but in addition to assist in the upkeep of the unemployed relations, which again reduces the real wages of those in work who are thus called upon to carry a burden which by right should be borne by the capitalist state.

Horrors of Unemployment

Thus children are starving, while women and men are eking out a mysterious existence, in a fashion that staggers all who investigate the situation.

The unemployed mine worker locked out in the local village, searches in vain for an alternative form of employment. He finds that every other industry, has on its borders an army of unemployed workers, who eagerly await the opportunity to secure work.

His very skill, highly developed as it is, he finds, is no help to him in other industries, in which the processes are so different from those necessary in the operation of mining.

So in villages rendered derelict by the collapse of the mining industry, the people wait and starve hoping for the recovery which never comes. Sick with hope deferred, they sometimes fall victims to adventurers wearing the garb of scab unions, who promise, and sometimes succeed in securing, work for a distressed individual at the price of his manhood.

Frightened by past experiences of unemployment, good loyal trade unionists take risks in the pits which they would never take in normal periods.

In 1927, 1138 mine workers were fatally injured in British mines, while hundreds of thousands were injured more or less seriously, and most of these injuries and deaths are the direct consequence of fear of dismissal and the horrors of starvation through unemployment.

Capitalist elements fearful of the hate which they know burns in the heart of every suffering miner, are now trying to buy off, with so-called philanthropy, the effects of their own repression.

Side by side with these Red Cross methods, and functions, the coal owners are trying to escape from the contradictions inherent in the system whereby they live. Priding themselves on the tremendous value of free competition, they have

been endeavoring to eliminate competition on the coal market, by arrangements aiming at price control, and the elimination of price competition. The coal owners of the fields of Yorks, Lancs, Derbyshire, Notts, etc., embarked upon a scheme of output limitation, and the subsidising of foreign sales. Scotland and South Wales coal owners each had schemes which were calculated to have similar results, but the consequences to date have proved discouraging. The biggest scheme, that of the eastern coalfields, has so far only succeeded in producing a serious unemployment problem in Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, etc., where unemployment amongst miners was only slightly felt previously.

The South Wales and the Scottish schemes have practically broken down, and this is especially true of the first. The big coal owners in this district have from the beginning objected to any attempt to interfere with the process they are busily engaged in, of gobbling up the small fish, whom they describe as the "inefficient."

Little Fish Eat Mud

It would be exceedingly interesting to know how many small coal owners have been driven out of business since 1921, whose concerns have afterwards been bought up for a song by their bigger brothers. So it goes on "Big Fish eat little Fish and little Fish eat Mud."

This is beyond all question, that if the mine workers are to secure any improvement in their lot, it must be in spite of the opposition of the whole capitalist class anxious for cheap coal, and by their own efforts in conjunction with the workers in other key industries. How to organize this huge force, and how to direct it, these are the problems of those connected with the miners of Britain.

There are many schools of thought struggling against each other for supremacy, and for the support of a majority of the miners. The miner's demand is very simple, he merely requests to be shown a way, with a chance of success, and once that is accepted as being in existence, all theories will be flung on one side and action will begin.

There are various panaceas being advocated as royal roads to victory. The chief of these is of course the parliamentary method. In effect the miners are being told, that nothing is possible during the life of the Baldwin Government, and that the miners' only hope lies in the return of a Labor Government in 1929.

No "Easy" Method

Experience has taught the miner to be cynical of easy methods which are usually traps laid to catch unwary feet. First there is no foundation for the prophecy that in 1929 there is certain to be a Labor Government, and second there is no guarantee that there will be any fundamental difference if it did so happen, especially when regard is had to the last brief period of office, which gave birth to the Dawes Plan, which more than any other single factor has contributed to the ruin of the exporting coalfields of Great Britain, and to the other enactments, such as the Emergency Powers Act, etc.

So while the British miners generally do not subscribe to the scab opposition to participation in parliamentary and municipal affairs as trade unionists, as the non-political Spencer Union does, at the same time they do not see in parliamentary dominance, especially through the return of a so-called Labor Government, any certain way out of the morass. The view on this question is that while parliamentary methods of fighting are useful, they are not decisive even if the representation be sincere, if such a body

as contains the members of Parliament limits itself to this form of activity alone. The advocacy of 100% parliamentary representation as a solution is serving as a very useful excuse for those reformist elements who desire at all costs to avoid being called into industrial struggle to remedy things now. Inactivity or treachery is served up as a tactic which grows out of a long view of the situation, and thus is sabotaged every endeavor on the part of the militant elements to get a move on immediately.

There are the more crude individuals who have the audacity to advocate peace in industry, as the instrument through which industry might be reorganized and "rationalized," and so equipped to steal a greater part of the world coal market. They see the problem of the British miners not as a class problem, but as a national one, and so persist in the futile policy of the united front with the home capitalists against the workers and capitalists of other countries. This is unforgivable in the light of the experience we have had of international competition, which should have made it clear that every move we make in this direction merely serves as the justification of a similar move in the competing countries, and the final result has been throughout that the workers both at home and abroad have suffered reductions in wages, extension and intensification of the working day, only to find that at last they have not opened the doors to more employment, but have made the elimination of greater numbers of workers from industry possible.

To state the problem of the British miners is simple. How can the industry be so organized as to maintain the mining population? It is common ground that this objective cannot be realized while the industry is under the ownership and control of private persons, who aim to run it for private profit. What steps are necessary to take to force these persons out of the industry? Herein begin the wide differences which exist between the different schools of thought inside the Miners' Federation.

The Real Remedy

The most militant members, especially those organized inside the Miners' Minority Movement, claim as I do that only through the possession of superior might will it be possible to secure the control of the industry, and that the main line to power is in the direction of a class-based industrial organization, containing within its borders as near as possible 100% of the persons employed in and about the mines.

Such an organization must have a properly selected central leadership, of a character which will fight capitalism, and not collaborate with the capitalists.

The present Miners Federation of Great Britain is not such an organization. It is the opposite of what is required. Constituted as it is at present it is incapable of organizing or directing a national miners' struggle, and this at least has been learned, that when big issues are at stake, only nation-wide strikes have the slightest prospect of success in this period of glutted markets.

The Miners Federation of Great Britain is merely a loose combination of 20 separate and completely autonomous district associations and the result of this state of affairs is that it is always within the power of any district engaged in struggle or preparing for struggle to withdraw, and to desert the main army, thus rendering it impotent to attack or resist.

Therefore the urge for the immediate present should be in the direction of the transformation of the existing

district associations into one mine workers' union, built up for the purpose of struggle against capitalism, first of all in the mining industry, and to be capable of rapid adaption for participation in sympathetic fights to aid workers engaged in other industries.

The degree of opposition to this apparently reasonable proposal is surprising, having regard to its urgency, though it all emanates from officials of the district associations, many of whom will be rendered redundant when this essential step is taken as it must be in the end.

The year 1926 taught at least two further lessons, which the miners dare not forget.

The first is that it is imperative that some means be found to prevent a repetition of the blacklegging which took place both at home and abroad. The 1926 general strike is not the last in the history of Great Britain, for the simple reason that events render repetitions of that tremendous experience essential, in order that the masses may obtain bread.

The miners are particularly vulnerable in long struggles owing to the big stocks which are always in readiness to minimize the effect on industry in general of a strike or lock-out.

These stocks of coal must be moved where they are required before they can be of service, and it is therefore

of prime importance to the average miner that the workers of Britain as a class be organized under one single fighting leadership of the Trade Union Congress, in order that the class as a whole can support and effectively assist any section of itself engaged in struggle against the employers.

So while we say the General Council which betrayed the miners of Britain in 1926 can never again be trusted, especially after the open collaboration with Mondism, only united working class fighting can secure the victory, and this can only be when the workers have provided the movement with a leadership willing and capable of directing big mass struggles on fundamental issues.

The second lesson of 1926, was the effete and useless character of the existing Amsterdam International, especially in its miners' secretariat. Twenty million tons of blackleg coal was shipped into the country, mostly from Germany and America, as coal is freely sent from Britain into America in the miners' fight there. Nothing was done to prevent the miners of the different countries being used by the capitalists against each other.

In the whole 7 months experience of the miners' lock-out, after the first 9 days had passed, there was only one redeeming feature, one substantiation of class loyalty and that came from our Russian comrades, who by their sacrifices saved thousands of our people from actual starvation.

Lewis Smashes The U. M. W. A.

(Continued from Page 3)

tions and through local committees in the unorganized fields. These committees in some of the unorganized states, Kentucky, West Virginia, Arkansas and Texas, are practically skeleton district organizations, and will rapidly fill out and come into the open after the new union gets going.

"The miners know now that Lewis, while pretending to stand for the Jacksonville scale, has all the time been intriguing to have it smashed, and the union with it. Undoubtedly he is going to be taken care of by the operators. Lewis agents have been quietly urging the miners back to work in the struck districts. An international organizer in Sub-district 6 (Ohio) openly advised men to scab, and when charged by the miners with this, was able to escape penalties by claiming to have nothing to do with the sub-district, being an international organizer, he could be fired only by Lewis. And Lewis didn't fire him.

"There is also the case of Daugherty in Ohio, a Lewis agent, an official of the U. M. W. A., whose open speeches in an attempt to transform the Ohio union into a company union raised such a storm that Lewis had to remove him.

"But now the Lewis-Fishwick gang is itself making a wage-cutting, company union of District 12, and the Illinois operators have announced through the press that they consider meeting with them to cut wages.

"Now, in the process of saving their conditions, and creating the new union, the men on strike need relief as never before. If they get it, they will be able to escape the full consequences of Lewis' treachery they will put Lewis out, and they will have a union he can never control, a union that will grow, to be a national, militant, powerful body, able to repay the rest of the labor movement for any sacrifices it may make for the miners now.

"And not only is relief needed; the job of building the new union which must take the place of the defunct United Mine Workers of America, and by absorbing all the miners, prevent any vestiges of the Lewis organization to continue to exist as company unions, is a tremendously difficult one. Lewis will resist to the end, and he has on his side all the forces of state and courts. He will not only use his own gangsters to prohibit mass meetings, break up meetings of the real union, but will find ways to throw heavier expenses on the young, struggling miners' union. He is united with the judges who issue injunctions and levy fines; he will run off with the treasuries of the old union.

"Miners must send their dues to the new officials in their districts. All organized labor must send donations to the Convention arrangements Committee, 119 Federal St., North Side, Room 411, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Send all possible relief money to National Miners Relief Committee, 611 Penn. Ave., Pittsburgh.

THE RED INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM

This is the third installment of the main thesis adopted by the Red International of Labor Unions at its Fourth World Congress, Moscow, U. S. S. R., March 17, April 3, 1928. The first installment was published in the May issue of Labor Unity, and back numbers are available for those desiring them. Send 4c stamps for postage on each number desired.

VI. Intensification of the Economic Struggle and Our Tasks.

At the present time economic strikes involving the most important branches of production or large scale concentrated undertakings rapidly acquire a political character. The experience of recent years goes to show that the most important reasons for defeat in the economic struggles are: 1. Sabotage of the struggle by the reformist leaders. 2. Not enough of a skillful approach by R.I.L.U. supporters to the questions of strike tactics. 3. The disruption and disunity of the trade union movement. The major feature of all recent large scale disputes between the workers and the employers has been the capitulation of the leaders against the will of the masses, either before or during the very hottest moment of the struggle. In connection with the more frequent scabbing on the part of the Amsterdamites, the supporters of the R.I.L.U. are confronted with the task of directing strikes apart from and against the will of the reformist leaders, but in order to bring the masses with us not only against the employers, but also against the reformist trade union leaders, it is essential to develop a great deal of work in organizing the masses, for success in the economic struggle depends on plodding, steady, day-to-day, preparatory work.

In regard to strike tactics, it must be borne in mind that, according to the demands pressed at the beginning of a strike, it is essential in the process of its development to link it up with the general class tasks of the proletariat; that not every dispute must unflinchingly close with a strike, but the masses ought always to be got ready for the use of this method of fighting; that to be a revolutionary does not mean that it is one's whole duty to out-shoot the reformists in making demands on the employers; that the success of a strike depends on the economic situation, on the degree to which the masses are prepared and particularly on the activities of the revolutionary wing of the labor movement; that blustering phrases with no punch behind them will not be sufficient (the frequent "general" strikes in the Latin countries—France, Spain, etc.); that in the event of the union's refusing to take action in time and providing there is genuine enthusiasm in the masses, the initiative must be taken in directing the struggle through strike committees; that efforts ought to be made to obtain the election of special organs to run the strike and to fight against the appointment of strike committees by the reformist unions; that there must be no playing with strikes (France), but that once a strike has been begun, it must be carried out with the utmost determination; that the struggle must not be carried on till the forces of the strikers are completely exhausted, but one must be able in time to retreat in proper order (for example, strikes lasting 10 to 12 months despite the fact that the strikers had been replaced by scabs); that in the conditions en-

gendered by the concentration of industry, the strike weapon will prove all the more successful the more important the branches of industry involved in the strike; finally, that partial strikes as well must be resorted to and not held up (French Unitary Federation of Miners) if they involve all the workers of the undertaking, concern, group of undertakings or a whole district and providing such strikes can furnish direct results, or break the united front of the employers and reformists.

The chief thing to remember in the economic fight is this, that a strike is just like fighting a war and that in war you require the utmost straining of all forces and clarity of objectives. What is therefore essential is: 1. Clearness, simplicity and general comprehensiveness of demands. 2. Active participation of all strikers in the drawing up of demands, irrespective of the strikers' political outlook and trade union affiliation. 3. Minimum of slogans. 4. Slogans to correspond with the extent and importance of the strike. 5. Co-ordination of economic with political demands. 6. Creation of organs to direct a strike on the united front basis.

In view of the concentration of industry, strikes are more likely to be successful if militant alliances are concluded between the most important kindred groups of workers which enable the battlefield to be extended and greater masses of workers involved. The supporters of the R.I.L.U. must always remember that to secure victory for the workers in the economic fights means a systematic and stubborn struggle for the winning of a majority of the workers organized in the reformist unions as well as for the consolidation of the independent revolutionary unions. It is precisely in connection with preparations, the conducting and the results of strikes that the R.I.L.U. supporters must concretely and insistently confront the trade union members with the question of withdrawing from their posts the trade union bureaucrats sabotaging the strike and of replacing them by revolutionary workers. The R.I.L.U. adherents should clearly and practically prove to the workers that the more speedily and thoroughly the agents of capital in the midst of the working class are thrown out of their trade union posts, the easier and more certain it will be to secure victory for the workers over the employers.

VII. Trade Unions in the Workers' State

Whilst in all capitalist countries the political and economic offensive is being made on the working class and its trade union organizations, whilst all the inventions of modern science in capitalist countries are being directed against the workers, in the U.S.S.R. the role of the trade unions in the political light and industrial construction of the Soviet Republics is steadily growing, the economic position of the working masses is improving, and the socialist rationalization of production aims not at enslaving, but at freeing the working class. In the U.S.S.R. the rationalization of pro-

duction differs from rationalization in the capitalist countries in that it aims at increasing the power of the working class and raising its material and cultural standards. It is for this very reason that in the U.S.S.R. the rationalization of production is directly connected with the introduction of a 7-hour working day, with improved labour protection and better working conditions, etc., whereas in capitalist countries all the advantages of rationalization go to strengthen the power of the capitalist class and increase the employers' profits.

This destruction of capitalist exploitation and the transformation of all the means of production and exchange and of all the resources of the country into the true common weal constitutes a tremendous weapon for disintegrating the entire capitalist world. On the other hand, the fact that the working class is the ruling class on the territory of one-sixth of the globe cannot but raise the exploited masses throughout the world to the struggle against their exploiters. Thus, the very existence of the U.S.S.R. itself divides the entire world into two parts: into the ardent friends and the mortal enemies of the Rule of Labor. This explains the attractive force the U.S.S.R. possesses on the workers of all countries and the growing hatred of international bourgeoisie for the only working class government in the world, to defend which is the class duty of every exploited toiler, of every proletarian.

VIII. The Amsterdam International a Capitalist Weapon

In the last few years the Amsterdam International and the International Industrial Secretariats, of which it is leader, have particularly shown their dependence on the international bourgeoisie. In all campaigns undertaken by the bourgeoisie against left wing workers and against the U.S.S.R., the Amsterdam International occupies first place. Inside the Amsterdam International a fight is taking place along the cleavage-line of national and imperialist contradictions, which was shown most clearly at the last congress in Paris and at the Berlin session of its Executive Committee. The long struggle over the question of where the Amsterdam International is to have its headquarters and the endeavour of the German reformists to transfer the centre of this so-called International to Berlin reflects the growing role of the German bourgeoisie in world policy and economy. All Amsterdam's activities are characterized by the talk in Geneva of the value of social reforms and by its ruthless struggle against the revolutionary wing of the international labor movement. It may be said that the chief aim and object of the Amsterdam International's existence is that of fighting by all possible means for the recovery of capitalism, for class peace, that is, for the subordination of the workers' interests to the employers' interests. This explains the growing activity of Amsterdam and its sections in the struggle against the left wing danger. Hence, also its growing hostility to the working class of the U.S.S.R., its ceaseless struggle against unity; hence the split of all organizations where its supporters are in the minority; its refusal to negotiate with the trade unions of the U.S.S.R., and its absence of any desire to establish unity in the world trade union movement through the instrumentality of a democratically

convened world congress of trade unions; hence its refusal to help even those of its own organizations which by their actions threaten the recovery of capitalism (miners' lockout in Britain); hence its refusal to aid the struggle for freedom of the peoples of the colonial countries (China); hence its imperialist and anti-labor attitude; the participation of reformists in class collaboration conferences for the object of carrying out the rationalization of capitalist industry; hence, the efforts of the reformists to suppress and disarm the workers fighting against the consequences of capitalist rationalization, whilst this also explains why the reformists do not organize the unemployed, thus enabling the capitalists to make use of the unemployed against the workers on the job. The Amsterdam International constitutes an organic part of the bourgeois-capitalist system and it is by this fact that its tactics and policy are determined.

IX. Work of R.I.L.U. in Reformist Unions

At the present time reformism represents a serious force furthermore because: 1. It still has the backing of considerable sections of the workers. 2. It has a large bureaucratic apparatus at its disposal; and 3. in its struggle against the revolutionary wing of the labor movement it can count on the support of the whole machinery of the bourgeois state. Therefore, one of the big defects in the work of the R.I.L.U. adherents is the under-estimation of the forces of international reformism and its individual national sections. It is indisputable that: 1. International reformism is being torn by national contradictions. 2. A considerable step forward has been taken in the revolutionization of the working class in the most important capitalist countries. 3. The revolutionary elements of the working class have considerable successes to record in the work of winning the confidence of the broad working masses, but it is just as indisputable that in the most important countries (Germany, Britain), the reformists still stand at the head of the overwhelming majority of the trade unions and by their means—in spite of the low percentage of the organized workers in the main branches of production—can take the lead in big economic battles of the working class (general strike, British miners' lockout, German railway dispute, etc.) in order to smash the whole movement and make it easier for the bourgeoisie to punish the working class.

Taking this into consideration, the chief task of the R.I.L.U. adherents in these countries still remains that of winning a majority of the workers organized in the reformist unions. This work demands of the R.I.L.U. supporters the utmost tact, and able approach to the workers under reformist influence, a patient comradely explanation to the workers of the necessity for repudiating reformist methods, ability in their criticism of reformism to distinguish between the reformist bureaucrats and the working masses organized in the Amsterdam unions, ability in their criticism of reformism to distinguish between the reformist bureaucrats and the working masses organized in the Amsterdam unions, ability correctly to formulate not only general, revolutionary policy, but also correctly to manage practical activities in the unions, and the ability, not in words, but in works, to realize the united front of the workers of all views.

(To Be Continued)

A Brief Review of Events

Incidents Treated Elsewhere In This Issue Are Not Mentioned Here

General Motors Strike

Under the stimulus of general wage slashes, the workers of the General Motors Corporation and its subsidiaries and associates are striking, a few hundred at a time, in what may become a very large and determined revolt. The strike at present is in the Fisher Body Co., at Flint Mich. and in the Buick plant. The International Auto, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers Union is assisting the strike, and participating as far as it can. The strikers are electing strike committees. The A.F.L. is trying to stop the strike, refuses meeting halls, etc.

Piece Work For Amalgamated

The officialdom of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have forced through a joint meeting of all the executive boards of the New York locals a contract with the employers which abandons the fight for the 40-hour 5-day week, creates an insurance fund under control of the employers and the machine as a permanent source of ammunition for the support of the machine, installs a slave driving piece-work system, and sells the union for use in a fight between the organized bosses and their "independents." A strike is to be called in the independent shops.

At the meeting where the contract was "O. K.'d," the executive board members sat dumb and stupid, and let it pass through with a few nominal votes for it. No discussion at all.

The "Lynching" Convention

The Democratic Party convention assembled June 27 in Houston, Texas, where only a few days before a Negro had been lynched. The Democrats, the party of chattel slavery, made no protest about the lynching, and instituted Jim Crow division of races among the spectators to the convention.

A platform was adopted which is almost as much a masterpiece of evasion of every live issue as is the Republican platform, made somewhat earlier in the season. Smith, the Wet, was nominated to run on a nominally Dry platform, and other such incongruous combinations are plentiful.

I.L.D. Demonstrates Against Fascist Persecutions

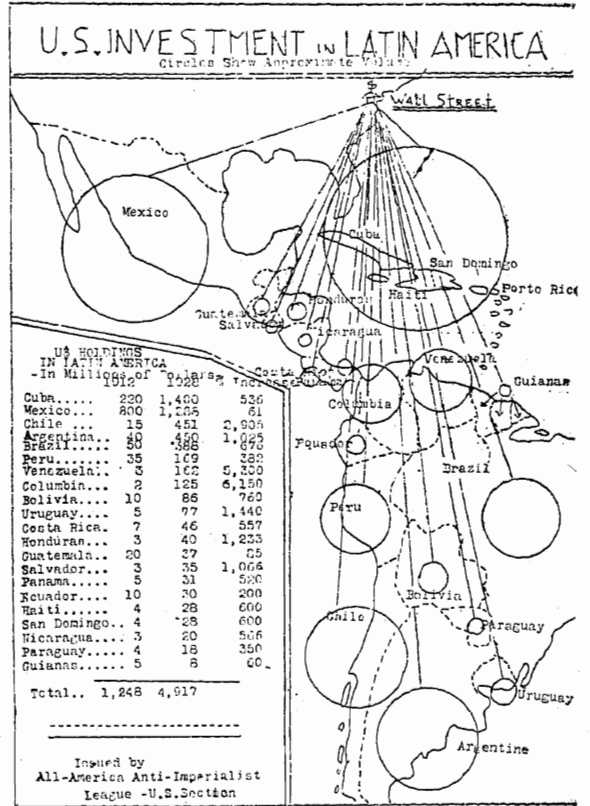
In the first of a series of demonstrations against the fascist terror in Italy, which is now imprisoning hundreds of workers and may execute some of them, American workers took part in a parade before the offices of the Italian Consulate in New York. The parade was organized by the New York branch of the I.L.D., 799 Broadway and was held July 14.

The police broke up the parade and confiscated placards carried by the marchers, but it took them three quarters of an hour to do it.

The placards read: "Wall St. Supports Fascism—Fascism Murders Workers—Fight Fascism"; "We demand Freedom for 6,000 Workers in Fascist Jails"; "Mussolini, Mass Murderer!" "Down with Fascism! Long Live Workers' Solidarity!" "We Demand the Right of Legalized Existence for All Political Parties"; and "To Fight Fascism in America, Join the International Labor Defense."

The fascist consul, from whose offices the call for the police reserves was sent in, gloated over the attack on the workers, and grinned when the police asked him if he was satisfied.

Why Police Attacked Workers In Wall Street



No Independence for Nicaragua

Several hundred workers walked into Wall Street on the day before the Fourth of July, to protest before the offices of J. Pierpont Morgan & Co. and the Stock Exchange, against the destruction of independence in Nicaragua by U. S. marines sent there by the Wall Street gang.

They carried banners demanding the withdrawal of marines, and such slogans as "Millions of Unemployed while the Funds of the United States go to Conquer Nicaragua."

The police flung themselves on the parade in full force, clubbing, kicking, knocking down the protesters. Fourteen were arrested. All were charged with disorderly conduct, except Nathan Kaplan, a young furrier, who is charged with felonious assault, because a policeman cut his finger on Kaplan's teeth while slugging him in the mouth!

Robert Minor, Rebecca Grecht, Harriet Silverman, Emanuel George, Robert Wolf were each given five days in jail or \$25 fine, and all chose jail. Fannie Plotkin, Anna Bloch and Phil Frankfeld were given two days or \$10 fine, and also served their term. These workers have better uses for their money than subsidizing the Tammany administration. Kaplan is held for the grand jury. Little Rose Plotkin, 13 years old, was ordered deported to Indiana. The other cases were dismissed.

International Labor Notes

Shoot Calcutta Strikers

In Calcutta, India, British police fired into a procession of jute mill workers protesting the discharge of a number of their fellow workers, and killed and wounded 23 of them, July 15. Over a hundred thousand textile workers have been on strike for a month in India. These strikers are tremendously excited over the killings in Calcutta. The peasants of Gijerat region have chased away the imperial tax collectors and harvested the grain declared forfeit to the crown for non-payment of taxes.

Arbitration Swindle in England

The "Turner-Mond" conference between the British Trades Unions Congress leaders and the representatives of a group of employers, belonging to the Federation of British Industries and the National Confederation of Employers Organizations, has resulted in the adoption of "class peace resolutions, and an arbitration scheme which embodies many of the aids to the employers through delays and red tape that the proposed American anti-strike law would have.

The conference adjourned after adopting a preliminary report made to it in a previous meeting, which was fought in both meetings to the bitter end by A. J. Cook, militant leader of the miners.

The report, which will now be passed on by the employers' bodies and the Trade Union Congress, provides for trade union recognition, also for rationalization, which means according to the report, merging of capitalist enterprises into trusts.

Aside from this it sets up a conciliation machinery composed of the Trade Union Congress plus an equal number of employers.

This common body, called the "National Industrial Council," will have a standing committee composed of ten members nominated by the Trade Union Congress, and ten nominated by the two big employers' organizations. This standing committee will provide "conciliation boards" whenever grievances are brought to its attention, to arbitrate, "meanwhile a stoppage of work or alteration of the conditions would be undesirable," the report declares.

Partial Amnesty In Germany

About 200 class war prisoners have been released in Germany, after great agitation by the workers, and a hunger strike by the prisoners. Thousands are still in jail, and the resentment of the working class at the gesture of releasing only a few is tremendous.

One of those released because of strenuous demands by the workers is Max Holz, a red guard leader. He got an enormous welcoming demonstration from the workers.

Fascist Fails The Test

During the week of July 9, the Soviet Union ice breaker *Krassin*, following directions from its daring aviator Chucknovsky, rescued two Italian naval officers, who had set out with Dr Malmgren, a Swede, to walk from the stranded Nobile North Pole party to land. The naval officers confessed that they abandoned Malmgren crippled but alive and without food to die in the ice while they tried to save themselves. The ice-breaker rescued the party the two had left, five men, on the way discovering two more of a rescue party, and then picked up Chucknovsky and his crew who refused to be saved, after his plane was wrecked, until the Nobile crew was safe.

Nobile, who some weeks ago fled to safety on the plane

of a Swedish-Finnish white-guard, leaving his own crew to shift for itself, is making excuses, but the facts have come out that the whole Nobile expedition was a gigantic piece of fascist propaganda, to throw a cross given by the Pope on the North Pole in commemoration of Italy's entry into the world war. It was a badly managed expedition, the commander deserted his men at the first sign of danger, and the officers left their scientist guest to die when it seemed safer for them to do so. These are the fascists.

Chinese Labor To Japanese

The All-China Labor Federation and the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat jointly have issued a manifesto to the workers of Japan and China, pointing out that the present Tanaka cabinet is evidently determined to carve off a huge slice of China for a slave state. The manifesto recites a long list of aggressions, starting in 1895, and coming down to the present, resulting in the seizure of Formosa, Liaotung peninsula. Penhu archipelago and Kiaochau: all original Chinese territory. At present there seems to be no doubt that Manchuria is on the list.

Three weapons, the manifesto says, are used by Japan: military force, economic penetration and exploitation, and running dogs hired among the Japanese militarists and capitalists. Among these later were Yuan Shi-kai, and Chang Tso-lin, and now the leaders of the Kuomintang. Active opposition to the leaders of imperialism in Japan and China is called for, a boycott of Japanese goods in China, strike in Japanese factories, abolition of Japanese concessions and of extra territoriality and unequal treaties; overthrow of the corrupt generals of the Kuomintang, expulsion of Japanese armed forces from Shantung and Manchuria; a workers and peasants government for China, and a mass protest in Japan.

The Struggle Hotter In Japan

The Japanese employers, evidently quite well organized and acting on a definite plan, have launched an offensive to wipe out the Japanese labor movement.

Throughout the year extreme resistance has been made to the demands of the Nippon Rodo Kumiai Hyogikai, the left wing trade unions, affiliated to the R.I.L.U. With the passive assistance of the right wing and center unions, whose demands were well received, and partially granted, who rendered no help, the Hyogikai was beaten in one hard fought strike after strike, and then was dissolved by legal fiat.

The joy of the leaders of the Rodo Sodomei, or reformist unions, was short, for as soon as the lefts were crushed, at least temporarily, the same drive was released against the right wingers. No more concessions were made to them, and their greatest strike, the Noda four months' strike, was crushed. This was a rank and file strike though right wing leaders had nominal control. Wages are cut, workers are arbitrarily fired, and the class war rages, against the reformists.

Meanwhile the political offensive goes on, too. The left wing workers and peasants' party, the Ronoto, which in the last elections polled 191,000 votes, has been outlawed. The extreme right wing leaders, Bunji Suzuki, Abe, Nishio, etc., are trying harder to be absolutely legal, and are becoming merely an appendage to the employers; the Japanese workers who originally followed them are turning sharply to the left. But their organizations are weak, and the next step is a series of amalgamations of left wing groups to create a new center of resistance is considered.

The Mikado Kills His People

A bill instituting the death penalty for "subversive activities" has passed the Privy Council in Japan. It is directed ostensibly at Communists, but will include any group of militant workers whose activity can be construed as showing a lack of confidence in the "divine" and permanent character of Japan's feudal-capitalist social system.

Hundreds Arrested In Spain

The working class of Spain is uneasy under the black dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. The government is an employers' and landowners' tool, and working conditions, wages, and employment are growing steadily worse.

In an evident attempt at mass terror, military officials on July 11 arrested 500 members of the Spanish Communist Party, mostly in Catalonia and Galicia, but some in all parts of the country. They are charged with a plot to overthrow the monarchy.

Labor Party Victory in Trinidad

Trinidad, British West Indies has a population of 335,000, largely colored. A Trade Union movement of 35,000 exists, and a labor party based on these unions at the last election won four seats in the government legislative council, the highest body, also other minor offices.

This is a somewhat left wing movement; representatives of the Trinidad unions and party walked out of the imperial labor conference along with the Indians, to protest the British Labor Party's treatment of Indian labor. The Trinidad labor movement also fought the governor general's proposed ruling to bar "undesirable immigrants."

Persecution Of The French Unitarian Trade Unions.

The Jouhaux-Unions have issued a programme in which they declare their readiness to participate in rationalisation at the expense of the proletariat, provided they are admitted to corresponding participation in certain organs of class collaboration; a programme which was worked out by the Executive Committee of the Radical Party and which has received the sanction not only of the Social Democrats but also of Poincare. At the same time the employers and the government have begun adopting sharper measures of persecution against the unitarian unions, and the responsible functionaries of the C. G. T. U. (Unitarian Trade Union Federation) are indeed more often to be met in prison than in the Unitarian Union House.

On February 4th the Government crowned its arbitrary measures against the right of association by dispatching a large detachment of police to break into the Unitarian Union House in order to arrest Comrade Gaillard, one of the Secretaries of the Paris Trade Union Federation, who had been recently sentenced to 4 months' imprisonment for anti-militarist action.

More dangerous than this brutal and open method of persecution is another method which consists in driving workers by force into the reformist unions and the blackleg organisations of the Fascists. The inventor of this method is the perfumery manufacturer Coty, a man who literally bought his seat in the Senate by bribing a robber chieftain of great influence in his province. In November 1925 he had the following notice placarded on the gates of his factories in Puteaux near Paris.

"In accordance with a conversation between the Directors and a certain number of men and women workers of the factory, the workers are hereby informed that in future 'applications' for engagement in the factory can be considered only from men and women workers who either belong to the General Federation of Labour, i. e. the reformist CGT. (CGT. Lafayette) or are unorganised.

"All those workers who belong to the CGTU. (Unitarian Trade Union Federation) are hereby formally called upon to declare their withdrawal from their Union and to hand over their membership card (i. e. the membership card of the CGTU-Ed) in the shortest possible time at the Director's office.

"Every worker that does not obey this order will be dismissed."

To M. Coty therefore belongs the honour of having emphasized the idea of driving workers by force into the camp of the reformists. He has in the meanwhile found numerous imitators. Especially M. Citroen, the proprietor of the enormous Paris Automobile Works, who is well-known as a political intriguer, has been making himself very conspicuous in this respect.

Another employer has now succeeded in perfecting the clever invention of M. Coty. We refer to the Builders Vanel in Thiais. Recently, 150 workers in the factory, who belong to the Unitarian Building Workers' Union, were given notice of dismissal. At the same time they were informed that they would be re-employed if they could prove that they were members either of a reformist Building Workers' Union or of the Fascist organization which in the great Preserved Food Workers' strike of Douarnenez supplied the blacklegs who shot down a number of workers on New Year's Day 1926.

The Esthonian Trade-Union "Congress"

The reformist press triumphantly announces that at their Congress the Esthonian Trade Unions declared their affiliation to the Amsterdam Federation of Trade Unions. But what this affiliation really amounts to may be seen from the following letter addressed by an Esthonian trade unionist to a Trade Union in the Soviet Union:

"We feel it is our duty to inform you and the unions of other countries of the actual facts relating to this 'Congress'".

"This 'Congress' was by no means a Congress of the Trade Unions of Esthonia, as most of the Unions of the industrial workers were not admitted to this 'Congress', although they had handed in to the Executive Committee—the convener of the Congress—the resolutions passed at their plenary sessions regarding participation in the Congress, and had even sent their delegates. In this manner the Central Committee constituted a gathering of Social Democrats, who not only excluded other delegates, but even obtained the help of the police to throw out by force those who had succeeded in entering the Hall. Most of the delegates to this 'Congress' were from the Agricultural Workers' Unions which are rather local groups of the Social Democratic Party than trade union organizations. It also turned out that the same delegates were members of several unions. From the industrial unions only a few delegates were present, and these voted against the affiliation.

EDITORIAL

The imperial Japanese Consular staff in America have hastened to assure the Los Angeles Police that they can go ahead cheerfully to lynch, railroad to prison, or do what they please with a group of Japanese arrested in the southwestern city and accused of belonging to the Communist International. Japanese "honor" so touchy when it is a question of the right of a Japanese capitalist to own land in U. S., doesn't seem to be injured when Japanese workers seek to exercise the right of a worker to organize against his employers, and to consider a change in the social system.

National honor, about which wars are supposed to be fought seems to be stained only when commercial interests are at stake. The workers who are expected to fight for it might appeal to it in vain when their lives and liberties are jeopardized.

The political campaign of 1928 is at least a step forward in the way of clarity and frankness. In the past the great capitalist parties, the Republican and Democratic, pushed to the front their hired politicians, "friends of labor", men of the ringing voice and glad hand shake. The direct control of big business, and big businessmen themselves kept somewhat in the background.

There now seems to be a conviction on the part of the ruling business interests of America that the working class is hopeless dumb, and will take anything lying down. The elimination of the middle man, already under way in industry can be extended to politics. And the one use of this, to the workers, is that they can now see better than ever who owns the Republican and Democratic parties.

Andrew Mellon, Coolidge Secretary of the Treasury, owner of distilleries and scab coal companies, ally of Morgan at times, keeper of a big independent fortune, was the unquestioned boss of the Republican National Convention. He named the nominee, or rather, in his supreme contempt for the voters, sent the unspeakable Vare, too rotten in his tactics even for the Senate, to announce that the next president will be Hoover.

Hoover, himself is big business, a rich man in his own right, always working for a consortium of bankers, as when he put through scheme of making the Mississippi Valley flood sufferers mortgage their land for relief, as when his limitation of wheat prices during the world war when he was food dictator made mortgages grow, and made the milling and flour interests wealthier, and their bonds better investments, as when he saved Hungary for capitalist exploiters by starving out the workers' republic there.

Then we have Wm. Butler, chairman of the Republican National Committee, and owner of the New Bedford cotton mills, "hero" of the ten percent wage cut that brought a strike of 26,000 textile workers: the head of the highest directing body in the Republican party, in open conflict with the workers, with his puppet, Mayor Ashley, also Republican, calling out the militia to open the mills for scabs.

Will the Democrats do better? Smith is an old time politician type, that is an agent of big business, and not openly a big businessman. But see who takes charge of the Smith campaign as chairman of the Democratic National Committee: John J. Raskob, head of General Motors finance committee, boss over 300,000 workers, recognized company

unionist. He forces 75,000 workers in his Flint, Michigan, factories to belong to a company union, and every year checks off from their wages \$1,755,000 as "dues" to the company union. An eleventh hour resignation from corporation office will not change the leopard's spots (or the tiger's stripes).

His workers are now on strike at Flint, and Raskob, like Butler, is in open conflict with the working class. Furthermore, it was Raskob who clubbed the Bertha Consumers' Co., a coal producer signed up with the miners' union into breaking its contract and locking out its miners in the present strike, telling them they would lose their 600,000 tons per year sales to General Motors unless they followed the lead of the scab Pittsburgh Coal Co. (In which Mellon is interested). These are the leaders, open and recognized, of the Republican and Democratic parties.

The leaders of the Socialist party are retired preachers, and a few other professional men, and some right wing labor leaders, anxious to oppress workers.

Only the Workers Party is led and controlled by a rank and file of workers. Only the Workers Party in this campaign has worker nominees: Foster and Gitlow, long famous in the struggle for better conditions through militant labor organization. Vote for them.

THE FUTILITY OF CRAFT UNIONISM

(Continued from Page 23)

there are 229 locals altogether. Of these, only 51 take in all crafts, waiters, waitresses, cooks, beverage dispensers and kitchen help. Eighty-four contain just one craft, with 40 of these for beverage-dispensers alone. As a rule, only one craft has a union agreement in most restaurants; the other workers are non-union!

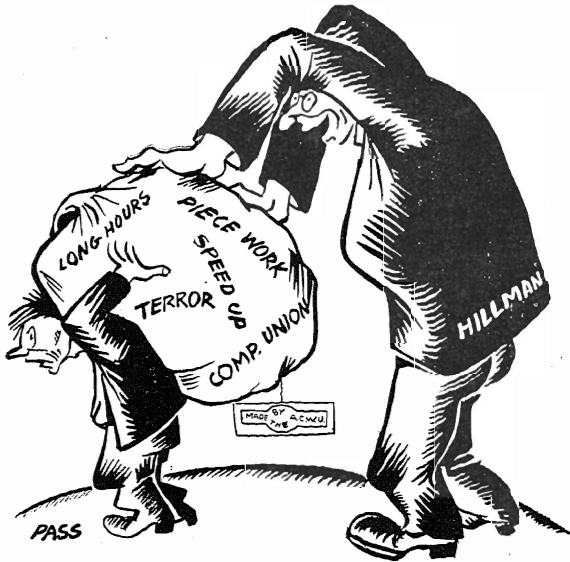
Worse than this, both bakery and restaurant unionists have been psychologized into believing that their welfare is tied up with small business, and that the success of large-scale production means the union's death-knell. So they allow themselves to be exploited with open-shop conditions under the delusion that they are helping the union by helping the boss!

The left wing's answer to the situation is: Workers, rebuild your unions. Rebuild them from the bottom up on an industrial basis, taking in the entire shop. Organize new unions in unorganized territory on a city-wide, nation-wide scale. Just as the bakery, hotel and restaurant employers are forming giant business unions, so must we form giant workers' unions!

Our demands to the present union mis-leaders must be: Out of our way! Open the union doors! Reduce the initiation fees! Form joint organization campaigns with all other food-workers' unions. Combine the two internationals on an industrial basis.

The alternatives of the food-workers are clear: union elimination or industrial organization. Only by industrial strikes, mass picketing, violation of the injunctions, can factory labor be unionized!

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PROGRAM OF THE TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, Adopted by the Third National Conference, New York, December 3-4 1927. An analysis of the crisis in the labor movement, and a complete outline for struggle on many fronts. The basis of T. U. E. L. activities. 5 cents

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