

# VOICE OF LABOR

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No. 3

## Expelling the Revolution

BY WM. F. DUNN

With all the rites, ritual and ceremonies—including bells, books and candles—betting so solemn an occasion, the forty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor expelled the social revolution.

The revolution, in the minds of the A. F. of L. officialdom, was perpetrated in myself. The mere presence of a Communist, so far as they were concerned, nullified all of the carefully prepared and widely circulated resolutions of 100 per cent American devotion to babbittism that had preceded the gathering of the high-salaried faithful in Portland.

Unless one can believe that from Gompers down the high priests of what they are pleased to call trade unionism give credence to the horrendous tales of Communist activity and objectives it is hard to understand the almost fearful hysteria of which the atmosphere of the Portland convention was largely composed. It is hard to believe that with the Communist movement scarcely four years of age in the United States, with two years of that brief period consumed in finding its bearings, that the American Federation of Labor should deem it necessary, in the forty-third year of its existence, to use the first six days of its annual convention in preparing to un-

delegate who was also a Communist, one day in unseating him in balance of the time—four days expelling to the world why this drastic action was taken. The facts, however, speak for themselves.

I doubt the hierarchy of the American Federation of Labor is generally worried over the spread of abstract Communist doctrine or that it is greatly concerned with the effect his might have on the stability of these institutions of American capitalism. It is worried, and gravely worried, however, by unmasking manifestations of sympathy on the part of the dues paying membership for very decided changes in the structure, policy and tactics of the American labor movement advanced by Communists.

### Victory For Communist Proposals

When, just as the A. F. of L. convention goes into session, word comes from Cleveland where the Molders' Union is holding its national convention, that a labor party and recognition of Soviet Russia have been enthusiastically endorsed by this organization, of which Joseph Valentine, a member of the A. F. of L. executive council, is president, a thrill of apprehension goes down the spine of every international union president whose organization has not yet held its convention. As for Sam Gompers, who assured the employers at after-dinner speeches and thru the employers' press times without number, that the American labor may be and often is pale from hunger it will never, never turn red or even pink; that it much prefers the pallor of pauperism to the crimson of Communism and that it loves our free institutions, including the supreme court and international treaties, it will love that will last, if not forever—Mr. Gompers is a careful soul—at least as long as he is returned as president of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Gompers feels that something must be done, and quickly.

Kicking out a lone Communist does not seem on the face of it to be a difficult task, particularly if the Soviet-American delegate is a Communist official of the most offensive and slightly more ignorant and reactionary than the members of a Rotary club in a middle-western town of 2000 population; the task appears still easier when it is understood that delegates from central bodies and state federations can muster but 90 votes out of the 2000 odd in the convention. One would think that in this sort of a situation officials would seat the offending delegate head. Not so, however.

before the inquisitors made any charges against the heretic in the convention the correspondents of the out-of-town capitalist papers and the reporters of the local press were called in by the A. F. of L. publicity men, the date of the witch-burning was confided to them and they were sworn to keep the secret locked in their breasts until permission for release had been given.

### Framing the Expulsion.

Three days before the proceedings for my unseating began the local capitalist press published in detail the events that followed, giving the names of the international officers that were to lead the attack. This was the only source from which I received intimation that I was to be unseated and it strikes me that his is an illuminating example of the hearted cooperation that prevailed between the leaders of American labor and the bitterest enemy of the labor movement—the employers' press.

Up to the day of my expulsion I had uttered not a single word in the convention so it could have been nothing but the presence in that sleek and select gathering of a Communist that precipitated the storm. As long as I sat there it is probable that visions of revolutionary uprisings for which they might be blamed were constantly in the minds of labor leaders whose united front with the capitalist press and the employers seemed certain of consummation. Their eyes were turned over my shoulder kindly received and in the case of John L. Lewis, head of the U. M. W. of A., fresh from the banquet table of the worst enemies of labor in America, the situation was intolerable.

The case as outlined by the prosecution was not without humorous features. William Green, secretary of the United Mine Workers, had as the basis of his indictment, a letter or two from Jim Cannon, national chairman of the Workers Party, to Fred Merrick, organizer for the party in the Pittsburgh district, advising the latter that I would be in Pittsburgh (the letters had been furnished by the department of justice agents who raided Merrick's office last April), a copy of the Butte Bulletin containing an article relative to the accusations of bribery made against each other by Farrington and Lewis and which was headed "The Cry of Red Menace Cannot Hide the Smell of Corruption," an editorial in which I referred to the Herrin affair sponsored by Lewis as "an attempt to turn his own members over to the hangman," the report of a meeting at which I had spoken the night before, published in the Portland Oregonian, in which I had referred to the labor leaders as "fat boys," was also introduced as evidence of subversive activities.

### Green Speaks Truth.

Green, with a tactfulness for which I was grateful, read from the documents at great length and it is my honest opinion that most of the delegates actually agreed with the sentiments expressed therein so far as the Herrin affair and the Lewis-Farrington charges were concerned; there was a dead silence during these periods that showed a deep interest in the disclosures. Green closed with a reference to the expulsion of Louifer from heaven and the expelled thought that for the act of convention had been established one but myself seemed a thing funny in what would ally the leaders to the thought would be me.

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statements I had made in the articles read and calling the attention of the convention to the fact that the charges of corruption in the United Mine Workers emanated not from me but from two responsible officials of that organization. I outlined the Communist position and commented on the weakness of the American labor movement, the coming depression, the lack of preparation for it and the wide difference in the standard of living of officialdom and the dispassionate membership; I told them that the discovery of a biblical precedent gave the affair a religious atmosphere that was in keeping with the heresy-hunting nature of the entire proceeding.

I took issue with Frank Hodges of Black Friday fame on the American standard of living and reminded him that the workingclass standard was not the standard of the Vancouver and Mulnomah hotels, where he had been living during his three weeks stay on this continent.

There were no interruptions while I was talking except occasional applause from the gallery which Gompers quickly quieted.

### Prosecution Resumes Attack.

The prosecution resumed its attack at the beginning of the afternoon session with Fred Mooney of the United Mine Workers furnishing what was supposed to be the rank and file viewpoint. I felt sorry for Fred and bear him no ill-will for the lies and misrepresentations of which his incoherent speech consisted. He stated that only for the defiant and contemptuous nature of my reply to the accusations that he would have been opposed to the motion; that I was being framed in West Virginia but that I should be unseated because of my views and general attitude of superiority.

It is not hard to understand how Mooney was whipped into line. He is dependent upon the Lewis machine for his defense and a hint of the withdrawal of that support was enough. He showed every indication of a man who was doing something he hated, working himself into a denunciatory frenzy with his voice often raising to a scream in which no words could be heard.

Tracy of the Brick and Clay workers contributed an eulogy of John Walker of the Illinois State Federation of Labor as his part of the pro-

secution and also took umbrage at my blue flannel shirt.

The vote on Murray's motion was overwhelmingly for unseating me as was natural; the machine would never have raised the issue without first lining up its support. A few courageous delegates voted against the motion with every method of intimidation in evidence in an effort to secure a unanimous expression.

In the Portland press the Gompers machine was rewarded handsomely by column after column of congratulatory publicity in both the news and editorial departments. The respectability of the convention and the American labor movement had been vindicated, the social revolution cast into the outer darkness, employers and labor leaders slobbered over one another in delicious ecstasy. Labor had at last come into its own, its objective—the approval of the employers—had been gained. No action of the American trades union movement has ever before received such unanimous commendation from labor's enemies. Therefore all is well.

From all over the nation come reports of the slowing down of industry in Europe, outside of Russia, things go from bad to worse; the Walkersan injunction still stands; the United Mine Workers fight a losing battle against non-union coal which means the death of the biggest unit of the American labor movement unless organization is expanded speedily.

The American workingclass enter a revolutionary period with the economic and political weapons forged in the days of competitive capitalism and with those weapons rusty from disuse.

William F. Dunn, Communist has been denied the right to participate in the deliberation of the official gathering of the trades union movement but a voice louder than this, louder than all who hold his beliefs protests and will be heard.

It is the mass voice of the American workingclass forced into action by the relentless pressure of capitalism, a voice that because of their consistency, with mass heads, will one day voice the communist slogans whose enunciation by one lone figure in an A. F. of L. convention aroused the fear and hatred of the most ignorant and servile section of American society—the corrupt, cowardly and uniformed professional labor leaders who are today American capitalism's thickest bulwark.

THE NOVEMBER 5th ISSUE

## "Hands off Workers' Germany"

The next issue of the VOICE OF LABOR will be devoted to the break down of capitalism in Germany and the struggle of the German workers to rid themselves of their oppressors and exploiters

Articles treating every aspect of the "Voice of Labor"

Each issue of some special

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# Butte Central Labor Council Protests Ousting of Dunne

**BUTTE, MONT.**—The Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council had a lively session last Tuesday night. Delegates scored the ousting of Dunne and the high handed action of the A. F. of L. officialdom. The czaristic attitude of the reactionary labor leaders who refused to hear the constructive criticism of the rank and file as expressed by Dunne on the floor of the Portland convention was denounced. The council instructed the secretary to send the following protest telegram to the secretary of the American Federation of Labor:

**Mr. Frank Morrison,  
Secretary American Federation of Labor,  
Multnomah Hotel, Portland, Oregon.**

The Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council, having learned thru the press that our delegate to the convention of the A. F. of L. has for some reason been unseated, hereby protest such a high handed outrage by an officialdom that apparently cannot stand before an enlightened criticism. We selected our delegate, Brother W. F. Dunne, not on account of his political views, but because of his intense loyalty and devotion to the cause of the workers in this community and the state in all our struggles against the powers that derive pleasure from the act of the convention that deprives him of a seat as delegate and would if they could destroy every organization of labor in this state. They have succeeded in laying some organizations of labor prostrate, but happy to relate not one in Butte owing to the sincere efforts of Dunne and others. We would like to suggest that the officials of the affiliated organizations get in closer touch with the rank and file before it is too late and efforts be put forth to prevent losses in membership instead of attacking persons that have put forth the best that is in them fighting the open-choppers.

Signed:  
**J. C. WHITELEY, President.  
CLEM BURKARD, Secretary.**

## THE EXPULSION OF DUNNE.

(Editorial from the Minneapolis Labor Review.)

William F. Dunne, editor of the Butte Bulletin, feared by the Anaconda Mining Company more than any man in Montana, ever faithful and true to the rank and file of organized labor, was thrown out of the A. F. of L. convention Monday at Portland.

But he was not cast out, the hearts of the humble toilers for whom he has labored and sacrificed as few men in the movement.

Dunne's credentials were cancelled on the ground that he was a "Red," and because he had criticized officials of the A. F. of L.

The action against Dunne was an exhibition of intolerance that has seldom been equaled.

Dunne lives in Butte, keeps the flame of the radical labor press burning, and leads the fight for organized labor with its life constantly in jeopardy.

When the great strikes have been under way in the copper mining properties at Butte, it has been necessary to constantly guard the plant of the Butte Bulletin, the official organ of the Butte central body and the Montana State Federation of Labor, to prevent the mining companies from dynamiting the building and assassinating the Bulletin editor, Dunne.

Certainly a man whose courage and faithfulness to organized labor has won such bitter enmity from the ruthless, labor-crushing copper trust, is not the enemy of organized labor, and the action of the convention cannot convince those who know Bill Dunne and the magnificent work he has carried on that such is the case.

There will be great rejoicing in the offices of the Anaconda Copper Company and in the offices of United States Attorney General Daugherty at the action of the convention. Dunne is indicted under the criminal syndicalist law of Michigan and faces a term of from one to ten years if convicted.

It seems that the reactionary control of the A. F. of L. has become frenzied with temporary power.

Workers throout the nation had hoped to see a spirit of more harmony come out of the Portland convention. A determination of all elements of organized labor to work together to build up the movement.

Except to increase strife and bitterness within the ranks of organized labor, it is difficult to see what the convention action against Dunne has accomplished.

## THE MARTYRIZATION OF WM. Z. FOSTER.

(Editorial from the Minnesota Union Advocate.)

Between the public press, the courts and the labor officials, William Z. Foster manages to occupy the center of the stage, and is gaining in popularity each day. An increasing number of persons, particularly members of organized labor, are asking just what this "terrible" man is advocating that everyone seems to be jumping on him.

Everything he touches or advocates is shunned as a plague by the prominent labor leaders, and regardless of their virtue worthy measures are fought viciously when espoused by Foster.

The idea of industrial unionism was considered and advocated and even embraced long before Foster was heard of, yet men who have long been classed as progressive have renounced their advanced views to oppose Foster.

Foster advocates an independent political party of the farmers and workers; now this movement is taboo.

We suppose some of these reactionaries will change their costumes because Foster wears pants!

We do not know what Foster has in the back of his head as to future plans and forms of working class activity; but we do not see anything about the program of the present that any sensible person should shy at.

## REPORTING AT A. F. OF L. MEETING (Minn.)

ties—came in for  
he A. F. of L.,  
he British  
breakers.

# Gompers Glories in Banker's Applause

By J. LOUIS ENGDALH.

Much applause has been heaped upon Samuel Gompers and his regime that dominates the destinies of the American Federation of Labor as a result of the standpoint position taken by the recent Portland convention. At times this applause reached into an ovation, but always it came from the old party politicians, from the bosses and their press, from the lovers of things as they are.

Art Shields, staff correspondent at Portland, Ore., for the Federated Press, wrote that:

"Every single outstanding act of the administration was applauded by the same press which has often adopted a highly critical attitude. This admiration was reciprocated by the more prominent delegates and not a single big newspaper was criticized from the platform by anyone close to the administration with the exception of the Chicago Tribune, which was censured by William Green of the miners."

The bosses have praised their "labor lieutenants" in the past. The kept press, even the Chicago Tribune, has eulogized Gompers and his cronies of the Chicago Tribune, which were so-called labor officials so openly accepted the bosses' approval, and gloried so much while basking in the sunshine of the enemy's favor.

Let us view the one instance of James John Davis, Secretary of Labor in the Republican cabinet at Washington, D. C.; of Cal Coolidge, the strikebreaker president. Secretary Davis is president of the American Bond and Mortgage Co., of Pittsburgh, Pa., and reputed to be a millionaire. Davis, the banker-mil lionaire, from the steel and coal czarism of Western Pennsylvania, has surely the right kind of a secretary of labor for the republican administration of Harding, and he fits in even better with the Coolidge policies.

Secretary of Labor Davis, who is supposed to represent the workers in the Coolidge administration, didn't even go near the Portland A. F. of L. convention. His predecessor, William B. Wilson, at least felt that this was one of the duties of his job. But Davis did send Gompers a message at Portland, the words of which oozed approval. They sounded sweet to Gompers' ears. This is not our own conclusion. It is in evidence, in big headlines, in the regular issue of "The A. F. of L. Weekly News Service," dated Oct. 13, as follows: "Davis Approves Organized Labor's Anti-Radical Stand."

Let us reproduce the brand of propaganda that this Gompers "news service" sends out. Here is the item:

**PORTLAND, ORE., Oct. 13.**—Secretary of Labor congratulates the American Federation of Labor on its firm stand against 'new political beliefs and nostrums,' in a message to the Federation of Labor convention here.

"Declaring that in European countries, which are under control of and approaching dictatorship, 'millions of men are walking the streets seeking employment, and those who are able to find work are recompensed by a mere subsistence wage,' Secretary Davis continues:

"It is to the eternal credit of the American trade union movement that the false notions of the old world have been unable to obtain a foothold in this country. Here the working man is in demand, jobs are plentiful, and wages are at the peak. Here, too, labor has its full share in government.

"More and more are we coming to a realization of the mutuality of interests between the men who manage industry and the men whose labor makes industry possible.

"We must do all we can to foster the principle of mediation and conciliation in industrial disputes, substi-

tuting the settlement of the council table for the settlement by force."

This is the kind of open shop propaganda that Gompers has his propaganda agents put into the "Weekly News Service" that cost the workers affiliated with the A. F. of L. last year, \$12,218.80, or more than \$1,000 per month.

It was Davis and Gompers who supported the capitalist war that devastated Europe and forced its people into hunger and misery. Davis and Gompers fight Soviet Rule, but Davis with his friends, Judge Elbert H. Gary, of the Steel Trust, and Julius Barnes, head of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, openly advocate that America follow in the footsteps of Mussolini's bloody Fascist dictatorship over labor in Italy. Davis dodges discussion of Gary's 12-hour day and his own Pennsylvania steel mill. Davis will thank Gompers, however, for giving publicity to his ideas about "mutuality of interests" and "mediation and conciliation," all of which sounds good at the banquet table of the National Civic Federation, but which was repudiated by the United Mine Workers of America in their recent struggle with the mine owners in Pennsylvania's anthracite coal fields. The union miners will surely have something to think about when they learn that Gompers is using their per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor to distribute the propaganda of the open shop bosses among the "safe and sane" labor publications of the country.

Davis is the enemy of the foreign-born, altho he uses himself as a subject of the British king, like Sam Gompers. But Davis, like Gompers, is now a 100 per cent. Davis leads the war on the foreign-born, the same foreign-born who make up 62 per cent of the workers in the coal mines, and 58 per cent of those who labor for Davis and his friend, Gary, in the steel mills.

It is Davis, in whose eulogy Gompers glories, who is urging the revocation of the citizenship paper workers are using their per capita duct or disloyalty occurring subsequent to naturalization." Even a man, in his sober moments, knows that this means trying to organize the workers into unions and helping to win better conditions for the workers and their families.

Davis ridicules, and Gompers spreads his ridicule of the organizing workers of Western Europe. Davis attacks, and Gompers publishes his attacks on the workers of Eastern (Soviet Russia) Europe. Davis is the mouthpiece of the open shop interests in their attack on the thinking workers among the 14,000,000 foreign-born in the United States, or the 36,000,000 who are either foreign-born or whose parents are foreign-born, and Gompers chimes in with this spokesman of the union-destroying bosses. The enemy of the foreign-born must also be the enemy of the native born workers of the United States.

When Gompers accepted the applause of the Pittsburgh millionaire banker, Davis, he wrote himself down, more definitely than ever before, as the ally of the interests that live and fatten off labor. This unmasking of the Davis-Gompers exhibition of "To scratch my back and I'll scratch yours" is one of the victories of the rank and file, incidental to the American Federation of Labor convention. It is a big victory if the membership of organized labor will realize the full significance of this entente cordiale between their so-called officials and the worst exploiters. Gompers glories in the applause of the banker, Davis, and other millionaires. Let labor awaken and force Gompers to glory alone and outside the organized labor movement.

# High-Priced Labor Leaders and Big Interests Getting Together Against Railway Workers

By JAY LOVESTONE.

held in Washington... more acute... the most important issues... over in the coming Congress... big business interests are preparing... first step to put over their program... against the workers... freight rates on the rail... it is high time that the rail... kers should call a halt to... joining hands with the... (continued on Page 4)

# Samuel Gompers Bid for Partnership With the Capitalists

BY C. E. RUTHENBERG

In the hubub created by the witch-hunting of Communists and the expulsion of William F. Dunne from the American Federation of Labor convention at Portland, Ore., the new statement of principles issued by the Executive Council has received scant attention.

This document is worthy of careful study by the American labor movement. In the labor press, inspired by the Gompers press service, it has been acclaimed a declaration for Industrial Democracy and many labor editors are hailing this pronouncement as a new departure for the American Federation of Labor and a great step forward.

Carelessly read, the words and phrases of this Gompers' document sound as if the A. F. of L. were declaring itself for democracy in industry, but when more carefully examined, the democracy demanded is found to be a sham and a fraud.

## Industrial Democracy.

The declaration for Industrial Democracy is contained in the following excerpt from the manifesto of the Executive Council:

"We feel that we shall not labor the point if we review what we have repeatedly said and what all students know, that our national life today is becoming more and more industrial and that the decisions that most vitally affect the intimate daily lives of our people are the decisions that are made in industry, in the workshops and factories, in the mines and mills, in the commercial establishments, on the railroads and in the counting room. The decisions that caused more than five million workers to be for months without work were not decisions of Congress. The decisions that quickened the wheels and brought men and women back into service were not decisions of Congress."

This statement is followed by the declaration: "Labor now participates more fully in the decisions that shape human life than ever before and more fully in America than in any other nation on earth; but our participation must be gradually brought to completion."

With the statement that the decisions made in industry are the decisions which vitally affect the lives of the people of our age, no one can quarrel. Some capitalist newspapers find in this declaration something having a semblance to the Sovietism of Russia, and it consequently arouses alarm in these circles. One might find minor causes for disagreement in the suggestion that somewhere a decision was made "that caused more than five million to be for months without work" and again a decision was made that gave these workers employment." This statement ignores the fundamental fact of the capitalist system that its functioning is beyond the control of even the capitalists themselves. The five million workers were thrown out of employment not because of the decision of any capitalist or group of capitalists, but because the working of the capitalist system inevitably produces periods of depression in which the machinery of capitalism slows down and the workers are thrown out of employment.

On the other hand, capitalism has developed a situation in which the lives of the masses are intimately connected with the operation of the industries and the failure of industry to operate smoothly is a matter of concern to every man, woman and child in the United States.

## How Gompers Proposes to Attain Industrial Democracy.

The important point in the Gompers declaration, however, is not this statement of the need for industrial democracy, but in the method of achieving industrial democracy. The Gompers way appears in the following quotation from the Executive Council's manifesto:

"It is not the mission of industrial groups to clash and struggle against each other. Such struggles are the signs and signals of dawning comprehension, the birth pangs of an industrial order attempting thru painful experience to find itself and to discover its proper functioning. The true role of industrial groups is, however, to come together, to legislate in peace, to find the way forward in collaboration, to give of their best for 'satisfaction of human needs.'"

That is the Gompers method of achieving industrial democracy. No struggles against capitalists, no more fighting, but co-operation. In these words, his machine make their bid for partnership with the American Federation of Labor and the capitalists, who run industry.

There is behind this philosophy which the

Labor has repeatedly expressed of "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work."

Gompers and his machine know, as well as every member of the rank and file of organized labor, that the hope of achieving industrial democracy thru collaboration and co-operation with the capitalists is an illusion. Labor in the United States has never been able to achieve even its "fair wage" thru this method. It has had to fight continually and desperately for everything which it has gained. During the past three years it has been compelled to fight a life and death struggle against the capitalists, even for the fundamental right to organize.

If the Gompers machine has any hope that the capitalists of the United States are going to collaborate with them in the establishment of industrial democracy, that hope is bound to meet disillusionment. The capitalists of the United States are not in the mood to yield anything to labor. The newspaper representatives of the capitalists, while hailing the conservatism of the A. F. of L. in throwing out the Communists, are lukewarm in dealing with "collaboration" to achieve industrial democracy.

## Against State Power.

While the capitalists have not warmed up toward even the Gompers brand of industrial democracy, there is one point in the Executive Council's statement with which they are in full agreement. The American Federation of Labor manifesto expresses fear because of the encroachment upon industry by the government. The Esch-Cummins Act, the Kansas Industrial Relations Act and the Colorado Industrial Commission Act are cited as examples of the use of governmental power to interfere in industry.

Out of these laws passed for the purpose of using the governmental power against the workers, the Gompers machine draws the conclusion that all interference by the government in industry is harmful.

With this principle the capitalists are seemingly in full agreement, for the capitalist press hails with delight this principle enunciated by Gompers' machine.

What the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. does in setting up this principle, is to ignore, as it attempts to ignore, in its method of achieving industrial democracy, the fundamental fact of class divisions in capitalist society. Of course, state interference in industry when a capitalist government is in power, is bad—for the workers. Such state interference must be fought by the workers. Industrial courts and Esch-Cummins laws express the use of governmental power by the capitalists to subdue the workers.

On the other hand, the use of governmental power in industry, when the workers control that power, is bad—for the capitalists.

Today, in Russia, the governmental power, in the hands of the workers, is their mightiest weapon against the capitalists. The viewpoint expressed in the American Federation of Labor declaration for industrial democracy in regard to the governmental power would be agreed to by every syndicalist organization the world over. Gompers and the I. W. W. are in agreement in their attitude toward the use of governmental power. What both are trying to do is to skip the revolution.

## Real Industrial Democracy.

Industrial democracy will never be won by the American Federation of Labor method of partnership with the capitalists to achieve industrial democracy, but by the organization by the I. W. W.

There is only one road to industrial democracy and that is the road of smashing the autocracy which is upheld thru the capitalist system. Before there can be any industrial democracy, the workers must pass thru the road of smashing the autocracy which is upheld thru the capitalist system.

## Flashes

"When the Soviet Government undertakes to destroy the Republic of the United States, that is another matter," shouted Samuel Gompers at the A. F. of L. convention. The Republic of the United States is very dear to Mr. Gompers. It put him in prison for a short time because of his support of the labor movement, it issued the Daugherty injunction against the same movement and has been known to use even soldiers against striking workers.

The abolition of child labor is one demand made by Mr. Gompers with which the whole labor movement will agree. But remember, Mr. Gompers, two attempts have been made to abolish child labor by law and both have failed because the constitution which you charge the "reds" with desiring to destroy has been so written as to protect the inalienable right of the capitalists to exploit children.

Progress was expressed at the convention by the reported loss of 269,167 members from 11,222 to 19,300. Organize the unorganized, amalgamate the craft unions, form a labor party and reorganize the I. W. W. and the next year will show a million increase because the workers will see some hope of getting somewhere thru the A. F. of L.

"Can we expect a nation 80 per cent of whose population is illiterate to be the leader of thought in the world?" inquired Delegate Gompers in his speech against Soviet Russia. The membership of trade union of "illiterate" Russia exceeds that of the A. F. of L. by two millions. Russia leads in the movement which is Mr. Gompers' specialty.

Fred Mooney, a miners delegate from West Virginia, boasted that he had fourteen indictments standing against him and had come to the convention under \$10,000 bond, was put up by the I. W. W. gang to help the attack on Dunne. Why didn't Gompers use him as an example of the working of the boasted American democracy?

Freedom of speech was illustrated at the Portland convention by the ultimatum to the Seattle Central Labor Council that it must retract its views on the question of amalgamation, a labor party and Soviet Russia or get out of the A. F. of L.

"The work performed by the convention of the A. F. of L. just closed ought to bring satisfaction to every forward-looking American," was newly re-elected President Gompers' swan song at Portland. The change of just one little word to "backward" would make that about right.

Gompers brought the most of the 400 delegates three thousand miles across the continent and kept them two weeks at Portland to regulate amalgamation, the labor party and Soviet Russia. The Communists should feel flattered at this tribute to their strength.

When a wild animal is cornered and is in fear of death it strikes out blindly in every direction. It is most ferocious in its last fierce lunge to save itself. Gompers at Portland looks much like that.

"Having cleared its deck of all proposals deemed radical," writes one reporter of the convention, "the convention turned the question of demanding the return of Lee

# High-Priced Labor Leaders and Big Interests Unite

(Continued from Page 1)  
hard-boiled railroad presidents in a campaign whose sole purpose is to force low wages and intolerable working conditions on the rank and file of the employees in the railway industry.

**What is the Chamber of Commerce?**  
The Chamber of Commerce, the organization behind this drive, is the one big union of our most powerful bankers and manufacturers. It is an out and out anti-labor group. When it started construction work on its new home in Washington it heralded far and wide the fact that it would not employ union labor. Amongst its officers are Willis H. Booth, vice president of the Guaranty Trust Company, Harry A. Wheeler, vice-president of the Union Trust Company, Chicago, Richard F. Grant, vice-president of the Hanna Coal Company, Phillip H. Gadsden, vice-president of the United Gas Improvement Company, Homer L. Ferguson, president of the Newport News Shipbuilding Company, and Julius H. Barnes, President of the Barnes, Ames Company of Duluth and New York.

The United States Chamber of Commerce was at the head of the "open shop" drive that swept the country in 1920. Its notorious "open shop" resolution, which served as a model for all union-smashers, was adopted by its constituent bodies by a vote of 1,676 against 4.

While the American workers were being shot down on the battle fields of Flanders and France, the Chamber of Commerce organized the "dollar-year-men" system, and put over 3,014 contracts for shells, powder plants, nitrate gas, and other military needs, totaling nearly four and half billion dollars in value.

### A Fascist President.

Julius H. Barnes, the president of the United States Chamber of Commerce and the moving spirit in the transportation conference, is an avowed champion of fascism and all its brutality and terror. On his return from the last international congress of the Chambers of Commerce, Mr. Barnes made an address before the executive council of the American Bankers' Association in which he lauded Mussolini in the following glowing words: "Mussolini is without question a great man. Today he is the one real living force not only in Italy but in all of Europe, and the conversion of that man with his strength and his following to the principles of the so-called capitalistic system that we believe in, is the most extraordinary encouragement to us. He is approaching the major problems of putting the railroads back into private hands."

That is exactly what Barnes is planning to put through at this transportation conference. The Chamber of Commerce wants the railroads to remain forever in private, capitalist hands.

### Reactionary Labor Leaders Help Big Bosses.

All in all, three officials of the railroad unions have been chosen to speak for the two million workers employed on the railways. These officials who have been chosen by the railway presidents and bankers to represent the workers at this so-called public conference are: L. E. Shepherd, president of the Order of Railway Conductors; W. W. Dank, vice-president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, and Arthur J. Lowell, vice-president of the Locomotive Firemen and Engine Men.

Though these three high-priced labor leaders are amongst the blackest tie break bureaucrats infesting the

twenty-one railroad companies, five newspaper associations, three coal companies, five steamship corporations, and a group of directors of the beef trust, tobacco trust, harvester trust, and corporation and government officials.

### Union Officers Unite with Open-Shoppers.

Amongst the kingpins of finance and industry with whom the above named labor leaders are joining hands against the workers we find the most bitter enemies of the trade union movement and the working class. Mr. Doak, of the Railway Trainmen, will be working hand in glove with Mr. Samuel Rea, president of the strike-breaking Pennsylvania Railroad Company, whom the workers are now suing for fifteen million dollars in wages robbed from them by this corporation. In the campaign against the railway unions, the Pennsylvania went even too far for Strike Breaking Hooper's Railway Labor Board.

Then, in the company for labor leader Shepherd there will be Mr. Carl R. Gray, president of the Union Pacific Railway Company; Gerrit Fort, vice-president of the Boston and Maine Railroad; and F. A. Delano, formerly president of the Wabash Railway Company. It is to be recalled that these railroads were amongst the bitterest enemies of the shop crafts in the last strike. They were called the most hard-boiled roads fighting the workers.

The well-known banker, Paul M. Warburg, of the anti-labor Western Union Telegraph Company, and owner of big railroad interest; E. M. Poston of the New York Coal Company, Thomas E. Wilson, president of Wilson & Company, of the Beef Trust; Alexander Legge, president of the International Harvester Company; E. T. Meredith, the millionaire publisher whom Senator Brookhart has pointed out to have served as an agent of Wall Street while he was occupying the office of Assistant Secretary of Agriculture; O. E. Bradford, president of the American Farm Bureau, subsidized by the millionaire grain gamblers; H. H. Raymond, president of the Clyde Steamship Company, and Mr. S. M. Vauclain, president of the Baldwin Locomotive Workers, are amongst the luminaries in the galaxy of "open-shoppers" whom these railway labor leaders will help to put across a strike-breaking program against the American railway workers. This Mr. Vauclain is the same union-smasher who boasted before the New Orleans Association of Commerce last April that he would "like to see any union labor leader start something among" his employees, and that "in twenty minutes every damned one of them (labor organizers) was in jail," when they did come around.

The railway workers must act quickly. Let the trainmen, con-

ductors, and firemen and engine men immediately serve notice on their officials to keep their hands off this workers whom they are supposed to anti-union conference. It's high time serve.

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