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What the Miners Should Do?

The coal miners of the United States have had to fight most often and most bitterly in order to defend themselves against the efforts of the bosses to beat down their wages and to smash their union.

In 1919 the bosses forced a general strike in the bituminous field by refusing the grant wage increases to meet the mounting cost of living. During this strike Federal Judge Anderson issued his injunction, trying to destroy the miners' organization by tying up its funds and later an effort was made to declare the United Mine Workers a conspiracy in restraint of trade.

Two and half years later, when the open shop coal operators thought they had the miners by the throat, another effort was made to destroy the union and to beat down wages. The 1922 strike included both the hard and soft coal fields.

This year the anthracite miners were again forced out on strike for a brief period in the struggle over wages and working conditions.

The stories of the struggles in the coal field are stories of evictions, of hunger and cold. Tens of thousands of miners have been thrown out of their homes because they dared strike for a decent standard of living. They have lived in tents through the cold winter months. They have gone hungry and poorly clothed. They have been brutally beaten by the armed thugs employed by the coal operators. Some have been murdered in cold blood. Massacres, such as that at Ludlow, Colorado and shooting up of the tented villages of the miners, as in West Virginia, are part of the story of this struggle.

No group of workers in the United States have had to make so heroic a struggle to defend themselves as the members of the United Mine Workers of America.

And in spite of all the heroism they have shown, in spite of all the battles fought and won, the struggle is not over.

The conditions in the coal fields are worse today than any time in recent years. Un-

employment and the short workday are in evidence everywhere. The wages the miners are earning will not feed, clothe and house them, to say nothing about providing opportunity for education for their children and some degree of comfort in other respects.

Add to this another great struggle impending. The coal operators are preparing for the expiration of the miners' contract next Spring. They are preparing to deal the blow to the miners' union, which they were prevented from driving home successfully by the heroic struggle of the miners last year.

What are the miners to do?

Are they to go on fighting and suffering the privations which go with every strike, only to have to fight and suffer those privations again?

Is that the only thing the future holds out to them?

The answer is "yes," they must fight, but they must fight more effectively and for a greater goal than merely to beat back the attack of the bosses.

They must build a stronger organization. They must develop a leadership which will not sell them to the bosses. The program of the Progressive Miners' Committee outlines the means which must be adopted to strengthen the union.

But strengthen the union is not enough.

That alone will not end the periodical struggles over wages and working conditions and to defend the union.

If the experiences of the past four years prove anything, it is that miners must develop a broader program than that of a struggle for better wages and working conditions. If they are to free themselves from the conditions which now prevail in the mine fields they must BEGIN THE FIGHT TO TAKE THE MINES OUT OF THE HANDS OF THE BOSSES.

So long as the bosses own the mines, there will be a fight over wages and working conditions. The bosses are interested

in themselves alone. They will beat down the workers' standard of living whenever they can, in order to secure greater profits for themselves.

TO TAKE THE MINES OUT OF THE HANDS OF THE BOSSES THE MINERS MUST CARRY ON A FIGHT UPON THE POLITICAL FIELD AS WELL AS UPON THE INDUSTRIAL FIELD.

Nationalization of the mines is the next step for the miners. To bring about the nationalization of the mines the miners must join with other workers and the farmers to build a great farmer-labor party to fight the political battles of the industrial workers and farmers.

The National Convention of the United Mine Workers has indorsed the idea of a labor party in the past, but the officials have done nothing about it.

On May 30, 1924, a great convention of workers and farmers will be held in St. Paul to nominate a labor candidate for President and adopt a national platform. The miners should see to it that the Indianapolis Convention endorses and sends delegates to this convention.

It is only by thus becoming part of a great Farmer-Labor Party that the miners can hope for relief from the present conditions in the mining industry. The Farmer-Labor Party will fight for nationalization of the mines. Its final goal must be a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

It is only through a Workers' and Farmers' Government that the miners can finally end the intolerable conditions in the mine fields. A Workers' and Farmers' Government will nationalize the mines. That will mean the end of the fight over wages and working conditions. It will mean the end of the fight to destroy the union. It will bring to the miners earnings which will enable them to live comfortably.

There is only one road for the miners to follow. That is the road to the Workers' and Farmers' Government. Everything that stands in the way of reaching that goal must be thrown out of their path.

Will John L. Lewis Explain?

Two months ago the Lewis Machine of the United Mine Workers sent the capitalist and labor press of the country a series of articles on the Communist Movement in the United States. The introduction to these articles declared that they were "the result of an independent, searching investigation."

On November 10th the New York Leader (the successor to the Socialist New York Call, which had no use to love the Communists) carried the following special dispatch from Washington, D. C.:

"A publicity agent for non-union coal operators wrote the articles on 'Reds in the Miners' Union' recently sponsored by Ellis Searles, of the United Mine Workers.

"The agent's name is Bert Clarke. He had peddled the articles to various open-shoppers without succeeding in selling them. When Searles took the articles, Clarke's former employers did a lot of chuckling.

"Now some of these open-shoppers profess righteous indignation. 'They say,' used to write good attacking the miners' union puts it all on the Reds, us staff out of our files a ment of Justice and washing slant in it." "According to"

Coal Association, Clarke was employed last year by the West Virginia non-union operators, whose most active unit is the Logan County Operators' Association. They say he is no longer in their employ. Last Monday Clarke returned from West Virginia and left immediately for Indianapolis. During last year's period of employment he spent considerable time in Logan County and talked freely in connection about experience of operators."

That is the truth independent and

A handy coal mine the Co suc'

When the president of the coal operators' association, John C. Brydon, issued a statement challenging the charge in the articles the Communist everything

Program of the Progressive International Committee of U. M. W. A.

The Progressive International Committee of the U. M. W. of A. was formed by delegates of various districts of the U. M. W. of A. during a National Conference of Progressive Miners held in Pittsburgh, Pa., February 10, 1923.

General Situation.

As an aftermath of the war, coal mining is an overdeveloped industry, capable of producing 800,000,000 tons annually, while only 500,000,000 tons are actually needed. Gigantic subsidiaries of railroad and steel corporations, operating as great coal syndicates, are found side by side with herds of petty operators equipped with only insignificant capital. This situation has produced an orgy of political corruption, judicial usurpation, strikes, riots, bloodshed and general disorder, which has become the scandal of industrial America. Such an insane condition in the most basic industry of the country must not continue.

Under the guise of reorganizing the industry, the large-scale operators see an opportunity to crush their weaker competitors on the one hand, and to wipe out the last vestige of unionism on the other, and thus, by trustification, create a great Feudalism of Coal. By this means they hope to render absolutely helpless both producers and consumers of coal.

Those who have lived in the shadow of the feudalism of the U. S. Steel Corporation know what a nightmare such a situation would mean for the miners. The crushing of the United Mine Workers of America, the only large industrial union in the United States, would be the great possible disaster to the workers of this country.

Nationalization of Coal Mines.

To meet this situation of demoralization a radical change must be made in the coal industry. There is only one solution at this moment that is possible, and that is NATIONALIZATION OF COAL MINES.

Against this plan will be marshalled all the forces and resources of plutocratic America. The capitalist press and its journalistic hirelings, together with an army of retainers composed of the intellectual and political prostitutes of Wall Street, are flooding the country with an avalanche of lies, slander and misrepresentation against NATIONALIZATION. Corrupt and reactionary labor leaders are also opposing this plan, and every honest trades union who espouses the cause is marked for persecution.

In advocating NATIONALIZATION OF COAL MINES, the Progressive Coal Miners mean the operation of the coal mines under the direction of competent union miners, and not under a commission composed of the usual lawyers, bankers and politicians. A political bureaucracy sitting at Washington as directors of the coal industry would be a monstrosity worse even than the abortion known as the "Railroad Labor Board" and would never be tolerated by the rank and file of the United Mine Workers of America.

Nationalization of coal mines, as a political program, will be a failure if it does not include genuine democratic control of the mines. Since the

bor party based upon the trades unions. Composed exclusively of workers and working farmers, and all working class parties without regard to political differences, such a party would be able to fight the battles of labor effectively on the political field. The conduct of the government in the recent strikes of the mine and railroad workers proves conclusively that the government is under the complete domination of the plutocrats of Wall Street. A labor party worthy of the name will fight to put the government in the hands of the workers, and thus end the exploitation of the producers by the parasites and profiteers.

Aggressive Organization Campaign.

Plans must be laid immediately to bring into the organization the great army of non-union miners. Over one-third of the miners in the United States are outside of the union.

A comparison of the ratio of the producing capacity of non-union mines to the total consumption of coal in the United States reveals a startling and dangerous situation. In 1921 the total non-union mine capacity was 295,000,000 tons yearly, while the total consumption of coal in the United States in the same year was only 407,000,000. The situation is now worse. Due to the disastrous Cleveland agreement, much territory, formerly union, has been lost to the organization. It can be conservatively stated that in case of a general strike of the union miners of the country the non-union mines can now produce over three-fourths of the coal needed in the United States.

This situation threatens the U. M. W. of A. with disaster unless remedied immediately. During the war every miner in the country could have been organized had the administration of the international put forth the proper efforts. But the international officials found it profitable to keep many districts in a demoralized condition. The representatives of such districts at the national conventions seek to curry favor and support by voting as they are told without regard to the issues or principles involved. The progressive miners demand that an aggressive organization campaign be launched, to the end that this condition be remedied and that an honest and sincere effort be put forth to enroll all non-union miners, under the banner of the U. M. W. of A.

Alliance Between Miners and Railroad Workers.

There must be created a real fighting alliance between the men who dig the coal and those who haul it. This must not be a weak affiliation such as exists at present, which produces merely an exchange of friendly telegrams of sympathy when either group are on strike. The miners and railroad workers must actually join forces for united action and fight side by side in times of strikes.

Reinstatement of Howat and Other Kansas Miners.

Of all the crimes of the Lewis administration, none has been more flagrant and cowardly than the brutal expulsion of Alexander Howat and the fighting Kansas miners. While lying in jail battling against the Industrial Court slave law of Kansas, Howat and his fellow officers of District 14 were stabbed in the back by Lewis, who arbitrarily removed them from their official positions and expelled them from the organization for alleged charges preferred against them.

They were given a trial, but it was an open violation of the constitution. They were given a trial, but it was an open violation of the constitution. They were given a trial, but it was an open violation of the constitution.

the development of the industry and the appearance of great coal corporations operating in several states, national agreements were arrived at. This was accomplished only through years of suffering, privation and strikes, and is the priceless heritage of every union miner, bought with the blood and self-sacrifice of a great army of martyrs to labor's cause. It was a steady progress onward and upward. Yet in the 1922 strike, with victory in our grasp, Lewis, by signing the bituminous and anthracite agreements, reversed this tendency, and by splitting the ranks of the miners, pushed the organization back to where it was years ago.

Direct Election of Organizers.

A most necessary reform in the U. M. W. of A. is to bring about the election of organizers by the rank and file. At present the big staff of international organizers are appointed by the administration, with the result that they are largely an electioneering machine to keep the present officialdom in power. They spend most of their time running around the organized districts playing politics and seeking to develop sentiment in support of the administration. When the conventions assemble, they flock in and literally swamp them. The unorganized are entirely neglected. The only remedy for this state of affairs, which is extremely demoralizing to the union, is to amend the international constitution to provide for the election, by the rank and file, of all organizers and traveling auditors. The "pay roll" vote must be abolished in the United Mine Workers of America.

Amalgamation.

The progressive miners heartily endorse the movement to amalgamate all the craft unions of the country into a series of industrial unions. In its early days the coal mining industry was afflicted with craft unionism, but the miners saw fit to combine all their unions into one organization to cover the whole industry. In the great fights that have since occurred the industrial form of our union has proved us in good stead. Had we been so organized that one part of the working force remained at work while the rest were striking, we would have been defeated and our organization broken up long ago. Speaking from experience, we heartily recommend industrial unionism to the labor movement as a whole, and we pledge ourselves to do whatever we can to bring it about.

Six Hour Day and Five Day Week.

The progressive miners demand the 6-hour day and the 5-day week. The sacrifice and devotion of the miners to their industry for the benefit of society has resulted in such rapid mechanical and organizational improvements that the average American miner produces 3 1/2 times as much coal in an equal space of time as his English brother. Of the total possible 300 eight-hour working days in a year, or 2,400 hours, the average miner spends only one-third, or 800 hours, at remunerative labor and loses 1,600 hours. The operators and their henchmen would make the miners pay for their great efficiency in production by closing down hundreds of mines and throwing many thousands of miners entirely into the army of unemployed, there to engage in a desperate struggle for work against the employed miners, and to serve as a reserve force for the employers in times of strikes. Meanwhile these same operators, in many parts of the country, are fighting to aggravate the situation by establishing a longer work day and by increasing the task of their men. As against this brutal alleged solution, the progressive miners urge and demand the application of the practical common-sense remedy, a substantial shortening of working time. We demand normally the 6-hour day and the

and defeat. It weakens the organization and, by withdrawing good men, leaves the reactionaries in undisputed control. Efforts of reactionary officials, such as John L. Lewis, to force secession movements among men they cannot whip into line, must be vigorously resisted. A pattern to go by are the Kansas miners, who, notwithstanding the bitterest provocation, loyally refused to split the union. From the beginning Alexander Howat has stood like a rock against starting a dual movement. Any stories in the press to the contrary, are simply propaganda of the employers. Howat has stated time and again that he will have absolutely nothing to do with secession movements. All progressive miners should take the same stand.

International Affiliation.

Capitalism is international in scope and the organization of the miners must be as wide as the world. In the great 1922 strike, coal was shipped into the United States from various countries, which made our fight that much harder. In the big British strike of 1921, the same experience was had, coal being sent in from many countries to break the strike. This proves conclusively the necessity for united action among the miners of all nations to prevent coal being shipped into countries where the miners are on strike. We demand the closest possible affiliation of the United Mine Workers of America with the organized miners of the world.

Lewis Violates Miners' Policies.

The solemn duty of every official of a labor organization is to loyally endeavor to put into effect the policies laid down by his union. Lewis has violated this duty in without number. Nationalization of coal mines, a basic policy, was endorsed by the Cleveland, 1919, convention, and later a committee consisting of John Brophy, Chris. Golden, and William Mitch, was appointed to work out the proposition. Then, when the committee reports were repudiated, the whole project (and thus brought about the resignation of Brophy and Mitch), two sincere advocates of nationalization. Ellis Seavies, editor of the United Mine Workers' Journal, a henchman of Lewis who is not now and never has been a member of the U. M. W. of A., refused to permit the publication of the nationalization report, or any part of it, in the official journal of the organization.

The United Mine Workers of America are clearly on record for the formation of a labor party, having endorsed the proposition at the Indianapolis, 1921, convention. Yet at the recent conference for progressive political action in Cleveland, the delegation from the United Mine Workers, who claimed they were acting under instructions of Lewis, failed to vote in favor of independent working class political action when that proposition was before the conference.

Likewise, the U. M. W. of A. has unqualifiedly endorsed industrial unionism many times. It was the solemn obligation of the Lewis administration to see to it that the miners' delegates to the A. F. of L., 1922, convention should fight for a wide program of industrializing the other unions represented in the A. F. of L. But when the Railway Clerks submitted a resolution to amalgamate all the existing craft unions into industrial organizations the miners' delegates did not vote for the proposition.

Despite the bitter fight in the U. M. W. of A. conventions over the 6-hour day, in which Lewis was decisively beaten, that official has never hesitated to belittle and neglect this demand of the miners. It is common talk in mining circles that it was not even mentioned in conference before signing the New York agreement, January, 1923.

Corruption in Elections.

The district and international elections at the present time in the U. M. W. of A. are a shame and a disgrace to the cause of unionism. "Pay-roll" agents of the various administrations employ bribery with money and liquor, and the most brutal forms of intimidation, to accomplish their corruption of the ballot. They have so disgusted a large part of the membership that more and more the honest members are losing interest in the elections and fail to take part in them. It is the duty of all progressives to arouse these members to a sense of their duty and to prove to them that there is a splendid opportunity now to cleanse the org-

and Dual Unionism.

The miners heartily endorse the movement to amalgamate all the craft unions of the country into a series of industrial unions. In its early days the coal mining industry was afflicted with craft unionism, but the miners saw fit to combine all their unions into one organization to cover the whole industry. In the great fights that have since occurred the industrial form of our union has proved us in good stead. Had we been so organized that one part of the working force remained at work while the rest were striking, we would have been defeated and our organization broken up long ago. Speaking from experience, we heartily recommend industrial unionism to the labor movement as a whole, and we pledge ourselves to do whatever we can to bring it about.

Lewis' Policies Victimizes Maryland Miners The Issues That Will Be Fought Out

By JAMES P. CANNON.

The strike of the mines of the Georges Creek, Maryland district, which had been in progress since April, 1922, has now been officially called off, and the miners' greatest effort to make this a union field has resulted in failure because of the false leadership of the Lewis machine. The miners of District 16 kept up the battle for a year and a half, bearing the most heroic sacrifices with unsurpassed fortitude. The report of Secretary Green for the six months' period ending August 1st, 1923, shows that the strike cost the U. M. W. of A. \$291,000, or approximately \$50,000 per month. The international executive board last week called the strike off without consulting the miners involved. Another group of miners is thus given another bitter example of the impotency and treachery of Lewis and Co.

Let us see how the whole system works to the detriment of the miners. The coal mines in the Georges Creek District are owned largely by the Consolidated Coal Company, which also owns mines in West Virginia and in Somerset County, Pennsylvania. Instead of fighting this company along the entire front, Lewis allowed it to play one district against the other, the miners against the miners. Two of them have been defeated and compelled to work on an open shop basis. When the 1922 general strike was settled the Consolidated Coal Company signed up for its 37 mines in West Virginia and refused to sign for the mines in the Georges Creek district. By accepting this proposal, Lewis allowed the company to fill its orders with union mined coal from one district in order to fight the organization in Georges Creek and Somerset County. With the help of District 2 in Central Pennsylvania, which Lewis arranged to support them, the miners in Somerset County continued the strike until the sabotage of the Lewis organizers, who were sent into the district, finally broke down their morale and virtually compelled the district executive board to call off the strike last summer. This left the miners of the Georges Creek District to fight alone against

the company which was now strengthened by the operation of its mines in the other two districts. These miners fought bravely against heavy odds until the international executive board stepped in and put an end to their struggle. The suicidal policy of Lewis has led to the victory of the company in two out of the three districts and left it in a strong position for the next fight with the union in its West Virginia field.

It is such actions as this that create the tremendous revolt of the rank and file of the U. M. W. of A. against its present leadership. If Lewis wants to find the real source of the great "Red" sentiment in the miners' union he does not need to hire the press agent of the open shop coal operators to find it for him. The radicalization of the coal miners is the direct result of his own treacherous policy which hamstringing the fighting miners and delivers them to the coal companies. Lewis himself is the manufacturer of the rank and file revolt that is destined to overthrow him and his whole rotten regime. The greatest danger is that the bitterness and disillusionment of the miners will lead them to unwise and desperate actions. The cold-blooded betrayals of Lewis are deliberately calculated to provoke the rank and file to extreme measures which will disorganize the national movement for the regeneration of the union. It is necessary to speak a word of caution against this. The anger of the rank and file must not dissipate itself in futile and isolated revolts, but must be carefully and systematically organized on a national scale and driven home to victory throughout the entire nation.

A miner in the Georges Creek District writes that "there are in this field real progressives who, at a district meeting held yesterday in Cumberland, Md., protested the action of the executive board at Indianapolis last week in declaring the strike off. Some of these progressives vehemently denounced the policy of the international executive board for such action without putting the question to a vote of the miners directly concerned, and advocated the organization of an independent union. They

are not willing to surrender and ignominiously leave the field of battle at the bidding of their autocratic officials."

No, fellow workers, you cannot leave the field of battle. But the field of battle for the militant miners of America is inside the U. M. W. of A., not outside of it. The deep grievances you bear in Maryland are the common grievances of the fighting miners in every other district. Your fight is a common fight, not only against the Lewis machine, but against its masters, the coal operators, who are organized on a national scale and who must be fought on a national scale. Secession movements, in separate districts would only play into the hands of Lewis and his masters. They would separate the most advanced and militant elements on the national organization. The courageous miners of the Maryland district must join forces with the revolting elements in the other districts for a national fight to put honest leaders of the type of Alex Howat at the head of the U. M. W. of A. and to make it a real power for the defense of the interests of the men who dig the coal. No secession movements! No splitting of forces! No district independent unions! These must be their watchwords.

The Lewis-Scarles great "exposure" of "Red plots," which were written by a publicity agent of the open shop coal operators, and for which the U. M. W. of A. paid more than \$17,000 tries to picture the Communists as the disrupters of the U. M. W. of A. But Lewis knows this is a fake. He knows that the Communists are fighting everywhere to preserve the unity of the organization in spite of his efforts to destroy it. That is the real reason why he hates and fears them. Lewis wants the outraged miners to leave the organization in small sections and save themselves out in futile secession movements. But the Communists say to them:

"Do not fall into this trap. Do not allow any provocation to force you out of the U. M. W. of A. It is your union. Stick to it and make it what it ought to be. If anybody has to leave the union let Lewis and his gang of fellow-traitors leave it!"

What Are Your Dues and Assessments Used For ?

The Treasury of the Miners' Union Belongs to You! You Must Stop!

Wifful Extravagance!
Twenty-seven districts, comprised of 3,866 local unions paid into the treasury of the United Mine Workers of America the sum of \$1,692,378.62 during the period Feb. 1 to Aug. 1, 1922, according to figures submitted by Secretary-Treasurer Wm. Green in his report to the membership. He also submits the figures for the same period the grand sum of \$1,772,563.15 was paid out, which means that in six months the expenditures exceeded the receipts by \$80,184.53; whenever, "where do we go from here."

The membership of the Miners' Union, whose dues and assessments make possible these large sums of money, have a right to ask "where" and "for what" these vast sums are spent. It is not that any member is opposed to paying his hard-earned money into the organization provided he knows that it is being used for legitimate purposes, because the vast majority of them recognize it as a duty to provide the necessary funds with which to extend the scope and power of the U. M. W. of A.

However, since this vast sum has been spent with no tangible results visible, we feel the incumbency, yes, feel that it is absolutely necessary to dissect the report of your international secretary-treasurer so that you may know what is done with your money. Most of you are familiar with the outcome of the last strike of course; that is, you know that you emerged from the strike with your schedules intact, because the vast non-union fields were made impotent as a result of the manner in which the miners of those fields came to our assistance, while one of the southern UNION (?) fields was permitted to work, but more than that, you know that March 31st, 1924, and the expiration of our present contract will soon be here, which will be immediately followed by the famous Mitchell (8-hour) day, and may (?) a new contract.

What if we are forced into a strike? Will we be able to gain our assistance? These are serious questions, because there is

ability that we will be compelled to again enter into combat with our common enemy, the COAL OPERATOR, and if you are, where will you get the FUNDS to fight with?

This should be cause for concern on the part of every thinking miner, and just as great should be his concern for the vast sums that he has helped to pay in the past, especially wherein it relates to the things for which this money was spent. If you are one of those who wants your money spent for strictly legitimate purposes, let your mind wander over these figures, ponder over them, and then say what you think about the manner in which your money is squandered.

Listed as aid is the sum of \$445,431.00, of which \$20,000.00 was given to District 5, the Pittsburgh district, when its own financial report (Oct. 1st, 1922, to Mar. 31st, 1923) shows total receipts, including balance and interest, of \$215,627.57. It is true that there is a little strike situation in that district, but despite the fact that there is a vast army of district and national organizers there, few of them are engaged in the field along the Kiskiminnis River.

The facts are that the large corps of organizers (?) are kept there for "Machine" purposes, and not as supposed, for the purpose of organizing the Kiski or the Butler fields, nor for the Payette (Coke Region) field, for which an additional \$50,000.00 was donated.

In District No. 16, Maryland, a sum of \$291,000.00 was given, not bad at all if the money was used for the purpose of organizing the company against the miners in that district. It was conducted by the Co., had signed by the miners in that district, and it was a success.

of course, that was not what he wanted to do, for his only concern is to save the rule of the miners' Union to John L. Lewis and the job he himself holds. The financial records show that he received more than \$17,000 for "publicity" and "advance" purposes, in addition to \$2,299.98 for six months' salary.

This is without doubt MUCH more than he got for dishing up news for the capitalist Indianapolis News, and will help to keep broad black braids dangling from his spectacles. The purpose of the Miners' Union though, is not to make it hard for observers to distinguish the difference between our representatives and the operators when they meet in conference, or in the hotel lobbies, but it is to win for the miners the "full social value of their product," as outlined in the preamble of the union's constitution.

If you are concerned about the money you pay into your organization, you should prepare to register your complaint at the coming convention by seeing to it that you are represented there by a real science delegate, who can be elected or browbeaten by a roll-ers," such as I have seen in the fire of

By THOMAS MYERSOUGHL.
"All Aboard for Indianapolis" is the cry that will soon be heard by the men who have been fortunate enough to be chosen as the "Delegates" to represent their respective constituencies at the great convention at Indianapolis, Ind.

That it will be a welcome sound, there is no room for doubt, for in this convention things are going to happen that will stamp it as the greatest gathering ever held under the auspices of the U. M. W. of A. and when future historians add to the present volumes, they will be able to find plenty of material for the pages to be written of our organization in the records made at the January, 1924, convention.

We who are charged with being everything that a union man should not be, who bear such titles as "Bolsheviks," "Union buster," "Labor Party agent," "Apostate," "Apostles," "Bolshevik" and every conceivable title of "Bolshevik" and "COMMUNIST," will be of hand, to let the representatives of the rank and file decide "Who" the real "Bolshevik" is.

I do not mean by this that we will accept a "Pay-roll" verdict such as was rendered in the Howat case at the last convention, for this is one of the things we are determined to put a stop to, and this is the convention that is going to stop it. We are determined to bring our issues into the convention and we don't intend to allow the "gang" to ride-track "Real" labor issues for their 50-50 measures with "Capitalism."

What are those issues and why do we go to such extent to give them publicity. They are such things as "NATIONALIZATION" of the mines, the "Labor Party," an aggressive "Organization Campaign," an "Alliance" between "Miners" and "Rail-roads" and other classes of labor, the "Reinstatement" of Alex Howat and the other Kansans, the demand for "National Agreements," the total abolition of the "Pay Roll" as now constituted, to be replaced by the "Election of Organizers," the "Shorter work-day,"—the only real answer to the cry of capitalism that there are too many miners—our stand against "Dualism" and "Secession" either by spasmodic action on the part of the membership or by "OFFICIAL DICTATOR" of President Lewis, and numerous other things, principal of which is "International Affiliation."

This latter issue is a vital one, because we frankly declare that it is necessary in order to enable labor to successfully cope with its arch-enemy, Capitalism, which already is international in scope. We must fight with a vigor such as has never been shown before, for it is to be expected that Lewis, Green and Co. will dig into your limited finances to defeat the aims of the membership at this convention, charging it up to the miscellaneous column, and it is our duty to ourselves and to our posterity to rid ourselves of such rules, for these and "MISCELLANEOUS" reasons.

The

Fred Mooney Puts His Foot Into It

Fred Mooney, Secretary-Treasurer of District No. 17, has gotten himself into a pretty mess.

At the A. F. of L. convention at Portland, Mooney was selected to do the dirty work of the Lewis gang. He made a vicious speech attacking William F. Dunne. In his articles in the October 28th issue of the "Voice of Labor," Dunne wrote, "I feel sorry for Fred and bear him no ill-will for the lies and misrepresentations of which his incoherent speech consisted."

Mooney evidently doesn't like the position in which he got himself by his Portland speech. He has unquestionably heard from the rank and file of District No. 17. For he has found it necessary to issue a four-page circular letter to the local unions of District No. 17 in an effort to clear himself.

In place of clearing up the matter through this circular Mooney has merely put his foot into it. He tries to make a case against Dunne by telling how Dunne stopped at a certain hotel at Charlestown, W. Va., during the treason trial, being there as reporter for "The Worker," the official organ of the Workers Party. Most of the miners of West Virginia know that Dunne's articles in "The Worker" were the best defense of the West Virginia miners which have been written and when Fred Mooney brings up the Charlestown question he is only helping to prove to the miners of his district that Dunne, who he helped to expell from the Portland convention, came to West Virginia to help give publicity to the miners' fight in that district and to thus help them win their battle for the right to organize and for decent wages and working conditions. Will Fred Mooney explain to the miners of District No. 17 why he spoke for the expulsion of a regularly elected delegate to the A. F. of L. convention who had dared to come into West

Virginia in order to tell the workers of this country the truth about the heroic struggle of the miners of that state and thus to help keep their leaders out of jail?

Mooney does even worse than that. Evidently he does not read much of the labor press. He didn't know when he issued his circular letter that the Lewis-Searles attack on the Communists had been exploded. He didn't know that the New York Leader had told the truth about the source of the Lewis-Searles articles and that the Federated Press had carried the story to practically every labor paper in the United States.

So Mooney, in an effort to begmirech Dunne and the Communists, prints a statement by John C. Brydon, president of the National Coal Association, giving his views of the Lewis-Searles articles. Mooney tries to convey the impression that Brydon is defending the Communists. Any one who reads his statement can see through that insinuation. Brydon is attacking the United Mine Workers.

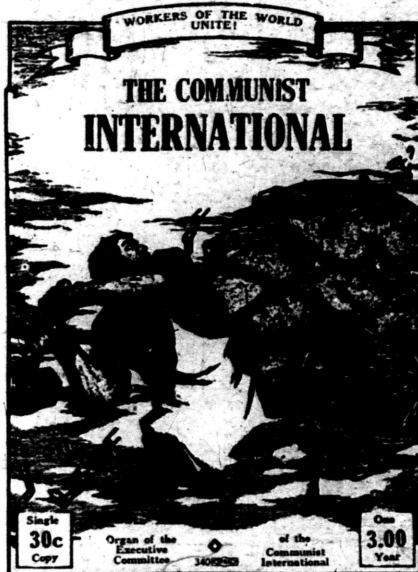
But the laugh is on Mooney. For since Brydon gave his statement to the press, which Mooney innocently reprints, it has been proven that one of the newspaper lackeys who works for Brydon and his gang, wrote the Lewis-Searles articles. Brydon probably saw them before Lewis and Searles paid out the good money of the miners' union for them. He didn't buy them because the capitalist papers had already run the same lot

of lies, and why should he pay good money to have the story repeated. But the Lewis-Searles-Mooney machine is more glibble. They were desperate because the rank and file was revolting against their leadership and anything would do to attack the Communists, even it was stuff prepared for the operators. And after this whole fake has been exposed Mooney is still trying to convince the

miners of District No. 17 that there is something to this stuff. Mooney had better wake up. He ought to read something else but the Lewis-Searles lies. If he had he wouldn't have tried to make his story go down after every labor paper in the country knew the truth about Lewis and Searles buying anti-Communist articles from the coal operators' publicity man.

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