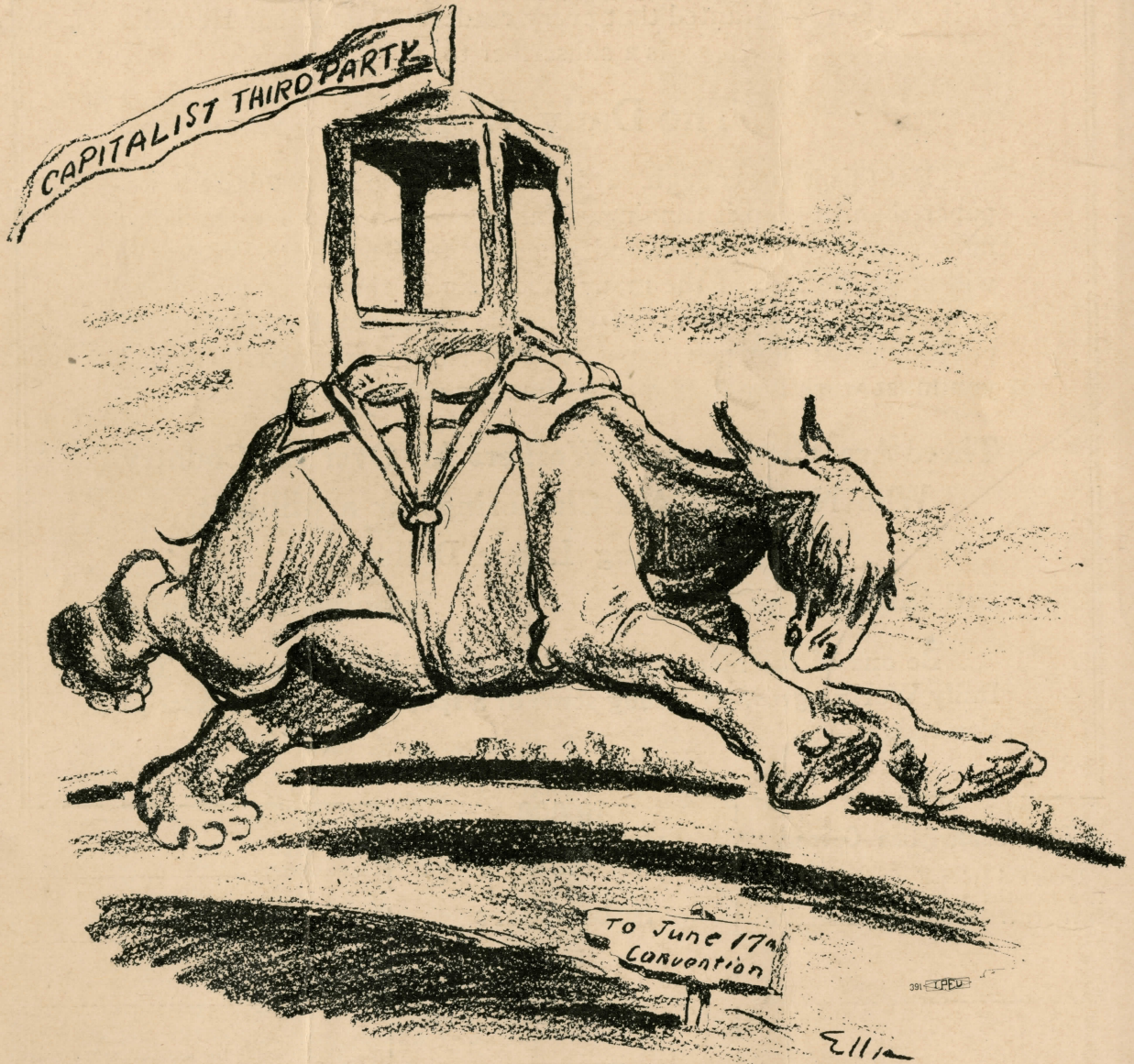


THE LABOR HERALD

Official Organ of The Trade Union Educational League



Workers and Farmers Conferences

By W. F. Dunne

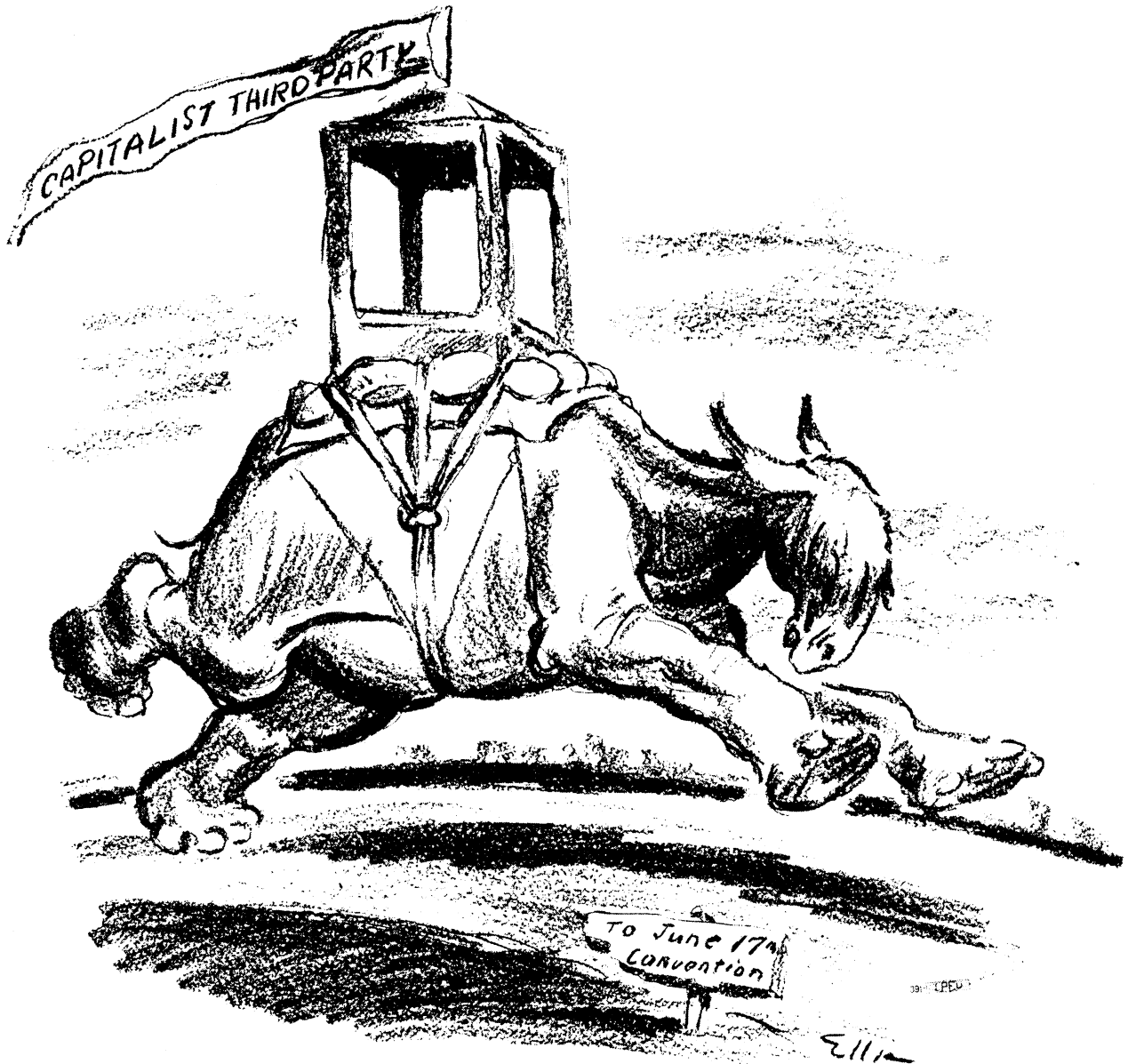
APRIL 1924



15 CENTS

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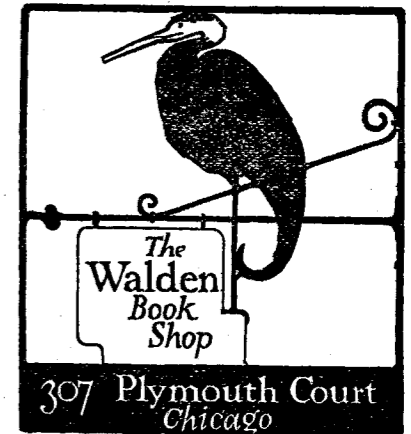
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NATIONAL FARMER-LABOR CONFERENCE THAT CALLED THE JUNE 17TH CONVENTION

Front row, left to right; Senator C. E. Taylor, Montana; Jos. Manley, F. F.-L. P.; Tom Ayres, So. Dakota; "Dad" Walker, No. Dakota; C. A. Schapper, Minnesota; Wm. Mahoney, Minnesota; Alice L. Daly, So. Dakota.
In back; (1) C. A. Hathaway, Minnesota; (2) Ralph Harmon, Minnesota; (3) James Campbell, Buffalo; (4) C. R. Hedlund, Minnesota; (5) C. R. Cramer, Minnesota; (6) J. C. Kennedy,, Washington; (13) Wm. Bouck, Washington; others are visitors and newspapermen.

THE LABOR HERALD

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APRIL, 1924



No. 2

Doings and Misdoings of the Month

Hot Stuff on Burns

HUNDREDS of confidential letters of the Burns Detective Agency have fallen into the hands of the I. W. W. and are being published in one of the greatest exposures of labor spy-dom ever released.

Over the signature of Bill Burns himself, upon letter head of the alleged "Department of Justice" bearing the government seal picturing an irritable eagle registering indignation, is proof that Burns lied to the Senate Committee when he said he had severed connection between himself and the Burns Agency as a corporation. "I don't even own a share of stock in it," he told Senator Walsh.

But proof shows that on May 23, 1923, he wrote the Burns Agency manager in Los Angeles advising him to send two Burns men to Globe, Arizona, to help the Old Dominion Copper Company to fight the I. W. W. and he added, "Let me know if you agree that I should send a man to Globe," meaning to send a government agent to help the Burns' agents deliver the goods. The letters show that Burns ordered government agents, paid by the public, anywhere they could help his agency's spies break unions at \$10 a day and expenses.

No one can tell where the Burns Detective Agency leaves off and the United States Government begins. A Burns spy called "W-1" even orders the United States mail addressed to union men stopped in the postoffice. All labor should demand Burns' discharge and prosecution for conspiracy and violation of federal postal laws. Graft in government is old stuff, but this is conspiracy against unionism. Even such mild unions as the Barbers of the A. F. of L. are shown to be watched by spies in its ranks.

Grafters All

"ZEV hocusing imagery commensual abad opaque hosier lectionary. Clot prattler lamb jaguar rovod timepiece nudity."

Deep stuff from "The Sign of the Four"? Not at all. It is only a message in Department of Justice code passed between Ned McLean, Harding's bosom friend and his agents at Washing-

ton, where, in the White House, sat Coolidge helping crooks cover their tracks and avoid exposure in the Senate inquiry of open oil wells secretly arrived at.

Petronius, it may be observed, was a devil in his own home town. But he and Nero were pikers compared to the gay respectables of Washington who throw dice every four years to decide which of the two old parties shall control the government shake-down machine.

An incomplete sketch of the exposures made in the Teapot Dome and Daugherty investigations shows some astounding pictures, such as the queer relations between Daugherty and Jesse Smith; the mysterious houses where corrupt cabinet officers and senators met to talk graft and to hold orgies with the proceeds; conspiracies to violate the nation's laws hatched at secret meetings in which sat the President of the nation and his Secretary of State; secret service men ordered by the President to shadow Senator LaFollette and burglarize his office to "get something on him so he could be stopped" from pressing the Teapot Dome inquiry; the same government sleuth ordered to act as go-between by Harding's agent in collecting huge sums secretly and turning them over to Harding's close friend—the money coming from corporations which had robbed the government of millions; the resulting withdrawal of prosecutions; the aloof and bewhiskered Hughes swimming in the same oil tank as the crafty-faced McAdoo; Bill Taft, ex-President and Supreme Court Czar, successfully intriguing to thwart prosecution of air-craft steals; every "great man" in both old parties rotten with boodle and booze.

All these items should be expected if we but remember the essential nature of capitalist government; if we but recall that Harry Sinclair gave a large share of a \$2,000,000 campaign fund to the Republican Party in the last election; and Woodrow Wilson was elected President by a fund of \$1,400,229, largely from Ed L. Doheny. Perhaps that was all right, because George Creel says that Doheny has "such beautiful blue eyes and child-like candor" that Creel wanted to write up Doheny's life "as an inspiration to the younger generation."

The only inspiration all this has given to LaFollette, however, is an assertion that he doesn't really want a divorce from the Republicans, but only a decree of separate maintenance which will allow him to step out of nights with Miss Democracy. It seems as hard to get LaFollette away from capitalist politics as to pry Daugherty out of office.

Much Bunk and No Biscuits

THE city workers ask for bread and LaFollette gives them another investigation. On 16 of February the Senate passed his resolution for an inquiry which recited in a preamble that "a huge merger of baking companies have a national monopoly and prices are maintained artificially at excessive height."

Meanwhile, western senators say an "unparalleled "farm strike" is coming, Secretary Wallace admits that in fifteen states of the wheat belt 130,000 farmers have lost their farms and 375,000 are keeping theirs only because creditors don't foreclose. Senator Ladd says that in South Dakota 40 per cent of farmers are bankrupt; in Colorado, 42 per cent; in North Dakota, 50 per cent; in Wyoming, 51 per cent; and in Montana, 62 per cent. Farmers' families are going without bread in Montana, where the finest wheat in

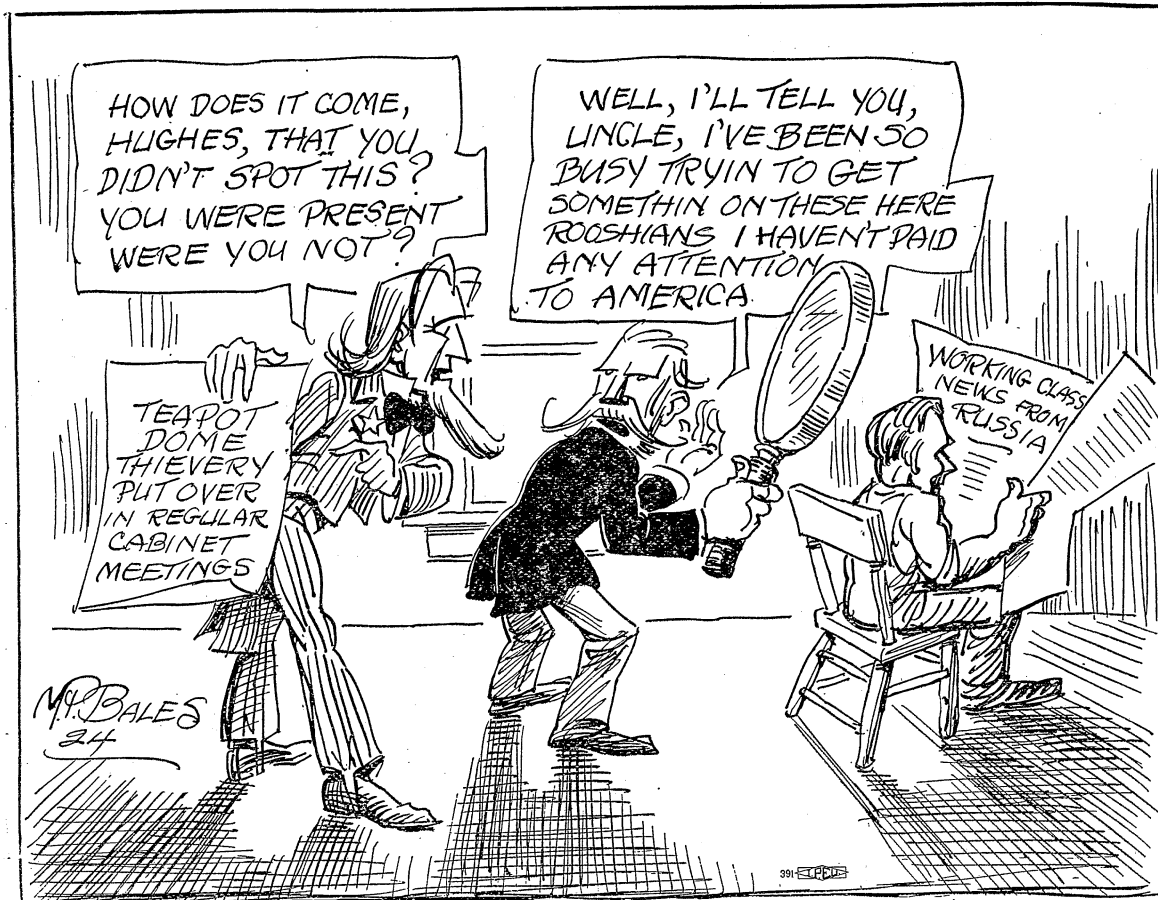
the world is grown, according to Dewey Dorman of the Farmer-Labor Party.

In the face of such calamity, all President Coolidge could say in his Lincoln Day speech was that "Agricultural production has outrun the consumption," which is no comfort to the hungry of the great cities and no cheer to the starving population of Central Europe. Dispatches say that, "The President did not discuss specific methods to relieve the situation, but expressed satisfaction at the way the banks were moving to supply money for agriculture." The trouble, Calvin, is that the farmers have been to these banks before. An antidote should, at least, be a different kind of poison.

Ramsey's "Brilliant Season"

DISPATCHES say that "Despite gloomy forebodings of the effect of a labor government on London's social life, there are already signs of a brilliant season. The King will hold two levees at St. James. And there will be two courts—perhaps three—with two receptions at Buckingham palace."

But poor Ramsey has his troubles. The rail strike had no sooner ended than the dockers' strike began. The coal miners may strike in two



months more. Unemployment is gripping a million workers and haunting the parliamentarians. The unions are restive and want to know what for they have a "labor" government. The pacifist who is under secretary for air has a difficult hour explaining that the military planes in Mesopotamia "carry medical aid to the natives" in off hours from the regular job of dropping bombs on them for non-payment of taxes.

Yet there are compensations. Ramsey says the conservatives oppose him because he is "becoming popular with sections of the aristocracy," and the dispatch goes on to say, "Such incidents as occurred when McDonald and J. H. Thomas traveled to Wales with the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York and appeared with them at a football match, adds to the worry of the conservatives." It seems to us it should add to the worry of labor.

Democracy is cutting funny capers now-a-days. Dispatches say that in Belgium "An ultimatum was issued by the Socialist party, which said that unless the king offered power to the Socialists, his conduct would be considered unconstitutional." Gracious me!

The only ones who really "talk turkey" to the bourgeoisie are the Communists. Zinoviev, recently discussing recognition, remarked that "One division of good fighters and five regiments of Budenny's cavalry are worth any recognition from a bourgeois government."

Ham and Imperialism

EX-SENATOR J. HAM LEWIS has pink whiskers but that is no reason why he should see red. "This lovely capitol," he wrote from Mexico City on February 23, "compares favorably with European capitols. Among the cabinet heads are men of high standing. I am impressed by the modernity of their outlook. Mexico is moving along modern lines of government."

Yes, sir; your worst suspicions, drawn from J. Ham's remarks, are confirmed. J. Ham was looking for and getting something in Mexico. He saw no Bolshevism. Federal troops chasing rebels around every mountain meant nothing to Ham. After talking privately with Mexican politicians, strikers carrying red flags were understood to be only happy workers expressing Latin exuberance. All was naught beside the fact that J. Hamilton Lewis was fixing Obregon up with a \$28,000,000 loan of American bankers, and was getting across a giant scheme for the taking over by American capitalists of the tobacco, sugar, cotton, fruit, cattle and other industries of the "sovereign republic" of Mexico.

One hitch occurred just before the loan was

signed up. A wily British lord rose in his seat and remarked that British government reports showed "Mexico is in a state of complete chaos." When Wall Street heard that on the ticker, a committee of bankers took the next train to the Mexican border where they stopped and met J. Ham, who explained that it was all a mistake, probably made purposely by British interests to scare American interests away. Imperialists *will* have their little jokes.

But while British imperialists are thus shown to have a sense of humor, our own kind are not without their subtleties. In a letter to Manuel Roxas, Chairman of the Philippine Independence Mission, President Coolidge used 3,000 words to say "No" to the request for the long promised and delayed Philippine independence.

"The world is in a state of high tension of economic and political disorders," said Coolidge, "calculated to bring disaster to the Filipino people unless they are strongly supported." Moreover, Filipinos had not "co-operated with or encouraged so good an administration as Gov.-Gen. Wood's," and this was a "testimony of unpreparedness." He cited what we had done for our little brown brothers in "cultural advancement," probably meaning the massacre by "our" constabulary of some 2,000 Filipinos in the last couple of months under the quaint justification that they are "religious fanatics."

But the romantic Luzon is not the only place where "economic and political disorders" calls for the "strong support" of our busy bankers. The wind oozing swiftly out of the inflated franc, Paris called on J. P. Morgan, who had been hanging around expecting something to gobble. The deal resulted in France selling her parliamentary form of government for a \$100,000,000 loan. This blocked, for the time, further depreciation of the franc, but the Poincare government has pledged its workers' productive power definitely to Wall Street. What these workers are expected to do is shown by Mr. Morgan's statement that he "has confidence in the industrious population," who, he is sure, "will accept the necessary sacrifices." Poincare, in this case, will be expected to shoot his own "religious fanatics" when workers strike against these "necessary sacrifices."

It may be observed that Japan, having no parliamentary government to sell, merely had to promise not to allow any in order to get a loan of \$150,000,000 recently from Wall Street. By murdering and jailing radicals Japan shows a mind obedient to Morgan, and besides she intrigues against Soviet Russia. It has been a busy month for our imperialists.

Workers and Farmers On the March

By William F. Dunne

THE series of conferences held in Minnesota beginning March 10 and ending March 14, ended also in victory for the left wing of the farmer-labor movement organized around the Workers (Communist) Party of America and shattered more than one hoary conception dearly cherished by the apostles of temporizing and timidity.

The fight in the Minnesota conferences—and Minnesota in this instance reflected the general condition in the Middle and Northwest states—was between the elements whose vision of the future includes nothing more definite than a shapeless political protest movement embracing everything from the manufacturers burdened by high freight rates to the jobless workers and bankrupt landless farmers as against the left wing of the labor and farmer movements who want to organize a class farmer-labor party based on the trade unions and economic organization of the farmers.

The struggle expressed itself in the controversy over the date on which an independent political movement directed against the two parties of American capitalism was to be held; May 30—afterwards changed to June 17—was championed by the left wing elements as against July 4 urged by labor officialdom and the middle class elements.

June 17 represented a class farmer-labor party with control and leadership in the hands of working class elements. July 4 meant a "third" party representing chiefly the discontent of the middle-class and controlled by that class. It must be remembered, however, that the lines of demarcation are not clean-cut and that there are middle class and working class elements in both wings of the movement.

Opponents' Theories Collapse

Two pet theories held by opponents of class organization were completely discredited by the result of the Minnesota conferences—the endorsement by all of them of the call for the June 17 convention in the Twin Cities. First, that mass political movements cannot be organized without the sanction of the official leaders, and second, that the official leaders are more progressive than the rank and file.

It was this delusion to which clung individuals like J. G. Brown of the defunct Illinois farmer-labor party whose organization signed its own death warrant by bolting the Federated Farmer-Labor convention in Chicago last July. In every

speech he made he elaborated upon this idea and associated with him were Buck of the Chicago New Majority, ex-Alderman Rodriguez and Gifford Ernst who bolted the bolters—and William V. Mahoney of Washington, D. C., ostensibly representing a farmer-labor party of that city but actually representing nothing but red-baiting officialdom.

To St. Paul for the March 10 conference, in addition to the above-mentioned group, came representatives of live farmer-labor parties in Nebraska, South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana, Washington and Minnesota. The Federated Farmer-Labor Party was represented by its national secretary, Joseph Manley.

From the start of the conference it was evident that upon the Minnesota delegation's acceptance of a date for the convention depended the success of the movement. Minnesota, because of the initiative shown by the movement there, was looked upon as the natural leader of the campaign for the establishment of a national organization linking up state farmer-labor parties and local groups. In addition to waging two successful campaigns the progressives in Minnesota had begun to build an economic basis for the organization by organizing the Farmer-Labor Federation consisting of delegate representation from unions, co-operative societies, etc.

Unity on Date

One third of the Minnesota delegation to the St. Paul conference was for May 30; this one-third consisted of the left wing and was chiefly a labor group. The farmer-labor parties of the Northwest states were also for May 30 as was the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. Had it been simply a question of votes—a mechanical majority—May 30 could have been selected as the date for the national convention, but the question of unity had to be considered; it was felt by the left wing that if the center group of the Minnesota movement could be prevented from uniting with the purely middle class elements by concessions involving no sacrifice of principle and thus won to the left wing position, the whole movement would be greatly strengthened and a mass organization of working class elements made possible. Postponement of the convention from May 30 to June 17 was the concession made; that the left wing had sized up the situation correctly was proved by the enthusiasm with which the center progressives, from the moment the arrangement was accepted, threw themselves into the or-

ganization work of the succeeding conferences.

Additional proof of the left wing's correct strategy was furnished by the rabid denunciation of the compromise made immediately by Rodriguez and Mahoney of Washington. It is necessary to waste a few words here on these two individuals and the forces that they represented at St. Paul. Rodriguez, Mahoney of Washington, Ernst, Buck and Brown, united by a common hatred of the Communists, came to St. Paul, not to help to build, but to disrupt and destroy. That they did not succeed is in itself a tribute to the desire for unity in the farmer-labor ranks and to the equanimity with which the left wingers and Communists bore, under extreme provocation, the attacks of this element.

"Red" Cry Laughed At

The obstructionists had firmly fixed in their minds the idea that they had but to yell "red" a few times to stampede the farmer representatives; Rodriguez read for forty-five minutes from *The Daily Worker* and other publications of the Workers (Communist) Party of America; he read extracts from articles by Foster, Ruthenberg, Cannon and Pepper; he read statements by Manley; he read editorials by Dunne and Lovestone and caustic comments by O'Flaherty; all were intended to prove to the trembling farmers that the Workers (Communist) Party of America believed in and advocated force and violence but when he looked up to see what effect this had had on the farmers he discovered that they were trembling not with horror but with laughter. William Mahoney of Washington had discovered somewhat earlier that the farmer delegates did not scare easily for he wasted one whole morning exposing the Communists through the medium of their written statements to farmers who treated him kindly as one mildly insane.

The call for the June 17 conference was adopted after Manley of the Federated had explained that he and the farmer-labor party representatives from other states were in favor of the change as a basis of unity. This ended the efforts of the obstructionists in St. Paul—their efforts to disrupt the movement and exclude the Workers Party from the call for the convention.

Then came the conference of the Farmer-Labor Federation in Minneapolis. It was a representative gathering of farmers and industrial workers elected from local organizations and designed to unite the whole farmer-labor movement on a class basis with each organization sinking its identity in the mass movement.

William Mahoney of St. Paul, R. H. Harmon and Clarence Hathaway, all well-known in the Minnesota farmer-labor movement, have taken

the lead in organizing the federation and they did a good job. Only on the question of representation to the state convention was there any dissension and this was removed by a change which was satisfactory to the farmer elements who had felt that they might be out-voted under the committee plan and to the workers in the larger industrial centers. The federation endorsed unanimously the call for June 17 convention and the basis of representation.

The convention of the Working Peoples' Non-partisan Political League, held the next day, voted to join the federation and in the afternoon the amalgamation took place with the two bodies meeting as one and awaiting the action of the convention of the Farmers' Non-partisan League in session in another building.

The officials of the farmers' organization—the Townley element—assisted by discredited careerists who had deserted the left wing Twin City labor movement, and the obstructionists from Chicago, united their efforts in a desperate attempt to prevent the farmers joining the united front in Minnesota. The Communists were made the target of attack and their affiliation with the movement used as an argument for the farmers to remain out and loyal to their old leaders. Telegrams were read from Magnus Johnson to substantiate the arguments of the obstructionists but after a telegram to Magnus signed by Henry Teigen, secretary to Johnson, and well-known progressives of Minnesota, advising him to keep his hands off, had been read to the convention, and after Dad Walker of North Dakota and Charles Taylor of Montana had told the delegates what had been done in St. Paul, the convention voted to join the Federation and marched into its hall amid wild enthusiasm.

Federation for June 17th

The affiliation of the farmers was an unexpected victory; it showed that the desire for unity was too strong to be overcome by the reactionaries and opportunists and it made the federation the actual representative of all organized labor elements in Minnesota.

The Farmer-Labor Federation then re-affirmed its endorsement of the call for the June 17 convention, the program and basis of representation, thus putting the whole force of the organized workers and farmers back of the decision of the St. Paul conference. It elected William Mahoney of St. Paul as state chairman, R. H. Harmon, secretary, and a state committee consisting of two representatives from each congressional district.

The Federation decided also to publish a state paper to be known as the Farmer-Labor Advocate.

The convention of the official Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota was held in St. Cloud on the 15th. In the convention were all the Minnesota groups that had participated in the previous conventions with the addition of the official machine dominated by State Chairman Pike. It was felt by the delegates from the Farmer-Labor Federation that an endorsement of the June 17 convention by this body would be a desirable thing but that the success of the farmer-labor party movement did not depend upon it since the Federation itself with its hundreds of working-class organizations was its real basis. The left wing wanted the farmer-labor convention to support the movement and beyond all else to issue no separate call for a convention at some other time. The reactionaries, consisting of the old Non-partisan League officialdom had joined with Chairman Pike to prevent endorsement and Pike showed their intention to continue their disruptive tactics by trying to force a discredited league official on the convention as temporary chairman.

Unity Saved by Left Wing

The attempt was defeated because the left wingers were on guard. Had it been successful there might have been a different story to tell but this defeat discouraged the disrupters to such an extent that when William Mahoney, reporting for the resolution committee, moved the adoption of the recommendation for endorsement of the June 17 convention, its program and basis of representation, it was adopted unanimously although a little group of disgruntled delegates did not vote at all. Mahoney's advocacy of a class basis for the Farmer-Labor Party got more applause than his mention of LaFollette.

No more remarkable series of conferences have ever been held in the history of the labor movement. They were remarkable not only because of their historic character and their evidence that great masses of workers and farmers are moving rapidly toward class political organization but because of the part played by the left wing led by the Workers (Communist) Party of America.

It is generally admitted in Minnesota that only for the efficient organizational work of the left wing, their brilliant strategy and devotion to the working class, the reactionaries would have succeeded in wrecking the entire class farmer-labor party movement and betraying it to the middle class and capitalist elements.

The left wing not only out-guessed the reactionaries and showed a clear understanding of every phase of the movement but by organizational ability and parliamentary skill was able to forestall all attempts to sabotage the work.

The complete unity that prevails in the farmer-labor movement of Minnesota and the Northwest is peculiarly the achievement of the left wing. It was accomplished in spite of what appeared to be insurmountable obstacles and it is a living refutation of the reactionary claim that the attitude of the rank and file of the workers and farmers is accurately represented by officials who differ in no wise from the agents of the capitalist class.

Onward to June 17th

The Minnesota conferences and the results thereof demonstrate with crystalline clearness the fact that millions of workers and farmers of America are ready to discard forever all adherence to the fraudulent doctrine of identity of interest between exploiter and exploited; that they are preparing to build a gigantic mass movement directed against capitalist industry and capitalist government and that an officialdom which opposes instead of leading the movement will be thrown on the scrap heap.

June 17 will be a great occasion for the workers and farmers of America. On this date the discontent of the working masses will be given organized political expression and because the movement is so vast and menaces capitalism so much the left wing of the labor and farmer organizations must redouble their efforts to prevent the strenuous attempts to check its meeting with success.

The Workers (Communist) Party of America, the Federated Farmer-Labor Party and all the left wing elements organized around them, have won their spurs in the Minnesota conferences. The experience and prestige gained there are of immense value and with renewed organizational efforts constitute the best guarantee to the working class of America that June 17 will see arise a powerful class political organization drawing its strength from the economic organizations with which the workers and farmers wage the daily war against capitalism and its tyrannies.

Are you helping to extend the circulation of THE LABOR HERALD? If you believe in amalgamation, recognition of Soviet Russia, organization of the unorganized workers, and the labor party, there is no better means to establish these burning issues. Subscriptions are easily secured with a little systematic effort. Bundle orders sell readily in all union meetings. Can we expect your co-operation?

Ladies' Garment Workers In Struggle

By I. L. Davidson

IN their participation in the Chicago strike of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the members expelled last summer for their educational work in behalf of amalgamation and the labor party have once and for all killed the hypocritical charge of dual unionism. They are serving on strike committees, walking the picket line, going to jail and serving the strike in every way. Once again they have demonstrated their complete devotion to the union and also the complete confidence in which they are held by the membership.

On Feb. 22nd, when it had finally been decided that the action of the employers in refusing to negotiate a new agreement made a strike necessary, the expelled members sent the following letter to the union:

Joint Board of the I. L. G. W. U.
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:—

In view of the impending strike action in the Ladies' garment industry, we, the undersigned expelled members of the I. L. G. W. U., wish to state again our determination to do everything in our power to make the cause of the workers victorious over the employers, and to this end we again declare our willingness to undertake whatever tasks the organization may assign to us.

We state, at the same time, that the action which will do most to solidify and encourage the members of the union, and render the best fight possible, will be the complete reinstatement of the expelled members in full rights within the union.

When this communication came before the Joint Board that body demonstrated its understanding of the falsity of all charges against the expelled members, as well as their value as practical workers in the union, by accepting the proffered services. On Feb. 27th, when the strike began, the expelled members were all at their posts at strike headquarters, and have served steadily since then in some of the most important work. Dora Lipschutz, one of the expelled, is secretary for the strike committee at the downtown headquarters.

Injunctions and Police Brutality

The clothing employers quickly called in their allies in the city and county government, particularly the police and the courts. Judge Dennis Sullivan, a notorious enemy of labor, issued injunctions covering most of the shops effected by the strike involving about 3,500 workers. Large squads of police and hordes of private gunmen were thrown into the battle. Arrests of pickets have been daily occurrences, more than 350 men and women being taken from the picket line and

hauled to jail in the police wagon. Among these have been the expelled members.

Police brutality is increasing in the strike as this is written. The employers seem determined to teach the workers the lesson that the present government in all its phases is a bosses' government. Sophie Altschuler, one of the left-wingers and an active militant, was beaten up by policeman No. 3181 so badly as to be confined in bed for some time. Dozens of other girls have felt the policemen's fists and clubs and bear their marks. After being subjected to official violence, they have all been thrown into jail. Nine of them have been convicted of violating the Sullivan injunction, and one, Florence Corn, has already been sentenced to 30 days in the county jail.

The Department of Labor is reported to have sent Benjamin Marshman, a "Federal conciliator," to attempt arbitration. He is supposed to have approached the employers but they refused all intervention. They are evidently counting upon the disruption of the officialdom for the past eight months having weakened the union so much that they can treat it with contempt. Marshman was evidently sent only for use if the employers needed him, however, because he never approached the union.

Support from the Chicago Federation of Labor was requested at the meeting on March 2nd. The Federation appointed a Committee of Fifteen to mobilize the forces of the labor movement behind the striking girls. This Committee has been calling upon the City Hall politicians in an attempt to convince them that the police should be more gentle. Such efforts have not accomplished much as yet, for the police have intensified their rough tactics rather than otherwise.

Mass Picketing to Defy Injunction

On March 14th, the beginnings were made of an application of mass picketing when 100 union men and women from other trades marched in a body to the strike zone to join the union pickets. The effect of this was to put even more energy into the strikers, and at the meeting of the Chicago Federation on the 16th the demand was made that the C. F. of L. itself endorse and organize mass picketing, both as a demonstration of the solidarity of the whole labor movement with the garment workers and as one of the most effective weapons of the strike itself.

Del. Johnstone of the Painters' Union pointed out that the injunction is threatening the very life

of the labor movement. He showed that if the Chicago Federation were to allow the garment workers' strike to be strangled by this legal weapon, that the rest of the labor movement could expect the same treatment. This is a fact recognized by the whole American Federation of Labor for many years. Johnstone quoted the declaration of the 1916 Convention of the A. F. of L. at Baltimore:

We, therefore, recommend that any injunction dealing with the relationship of employer and employee . . . be wholly and absolutely treated as usurpation and disregarded, let the consequences be what they may . . . Kings could be and were disobeyed, and sometimes deposed. In cases of this kind judges must be disobeyed, and should be impeached.

The Daily Worker in the Strike

As usual in strikes, the capitalist press has been carrying propaganda for the employers, discouraging the strikers and charging them with all sorts of crimes. Not a single capitalist daily has mentioned the police brutality or explained the reasons for the strike. The garment workers, however, have suddenly awakened to the fact that they are no longer dependent upon the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Daily News*, or the Hearst papers. For the first time in years Chicago has a daily paper that carries the workers' own story of the struggle—*The Daily Worker*. At every strike meeting and on the picket line, as well as into the homes of the garment workers generally, *The Daily Worker* has carried the message of the union and reported every day all the important events of the battle. Even the hostile union officials have been forced to admit the tremendous effectiveness of *The Daily Worker* in making this a real strike, and to call upon it for assistance which has been immediately forthcoming. There is no doubt but that the new working class daily has proven its value to the Chicago labor movement in this strike.

The Trade Union Educational League has been throwing its full influence into support of the striking garment workers. It has been mobilizing its members to distribute *The Daily Worker* at the various meetings, in cooperation with the Young Workers' League and the Workers' Party. It is preparing to furnish groups of its members for mass picketing as soon as the Chicago Federation of Labor gives its approval and calls for this move against the injunction. While exerting every effort to strengthen the union and help win the strike, it has not for one moment forgotten those expelled members who were victimized because in time of peace they pointed out the only means by which the union could effectively prepare for war. The attitude of the League is well

expressed in a statement issued during the strike which read as follows:

The exposure of States Attorney Crowe as an agent of the clothing employers to crush the Garment Workers' Union, it but another proof of the policies advocated by the Trade Union Educational League. With all the Employers' Associations united against them, using in addition to private thugs and gunmen the officials of the Government, the garment workers should more than ever realize the need of amalgamation of all needle trades unions into one powerful organization, and the political unity of all labor into a great Labor Party. Those same members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, associated with the T. U. E. L., who were expelled for propaganda within the union for amalgamation and a Labor Party, are now proving by their sterling services to the strike, that they can fight for the smallest needs of the workers as well as for these larger needs of industrial unionism and political solidarity which are now more than ever the crying necessity. Workers, the Trade Union Educational League calls upon you to support the strike, and at the same time to unite your union more closely by reinstating the expelled members.

League Goes Into Action

That the T. U. E. L. is willing to give more than formal support and lip-service to the struggle of the garment workers was proven by the manner in which the Chicago Local League militants followed up the above statement with action. Regardless of what trade they follow they joined in the organization of support of the union pickets with volunteers from other unions. This sharing in the daily battle by League members and their stand on the picket lines with the girl strikers, defying with them blizzards, police, and injunctions, going to jail in solidarity with them, has raised a great demand that the C. F. of L. committee of 15 should organize mass picketing in the name of the entire Chicago labor movement.

While the struggle against the employers is thus going on in Chicago, the militants in the I. L. G. W. U. have not for one moment forgotten the necessity for those large policies advocated by the Trade Union Educational League, which are more than ever necessary for the needle trades unions if they are to live and grow. Above all they have not forgotten the necessity of securing again the right to carry on educational activity which has been denied to them by their officials. The expelled members in Chicago have appealed their case to the Sixteenth Biennial Convention, which meets in Boston early in May. The elections of delegates for this Convention are now going on and every militant garment worker should be exerting all possible influence to see that only those are elected who are pledged to restore working class democracy within the union.

What's Happening In Germany

By Wm. Z. Foster

THE great task now being performed by the German working masses is the breaking of fetters placed upon them by the yellow Social-Democratic Party in its 50 years of leadership. Or, to use another figure, they are hacking at the last dike protecting the capitalist system, the pseudo-revolutionary organization of Kautsky, Crispian, Noske, and Ebert. Once this is cut through, and the cutting is now far advanced, a great flood of proletarian revolution will be loosed and the final assault upon German capitalism will begin.

In the past 10 years the Social-Democratic Party and its closely related trade unions have given a whole series of demonstrations of their pro-capitalistic character and utter inability to protect the interests of the working class. They have completely betrayed the masses into the hands of the exploiters and have ruined themselves in the process. The capitalists, having used them to their hearts' content, have now cast them aside like squeezed out lemons.

The Great War Betrayal

Before the war the Social-Democrats of Germany made a great parade of their anti-war spirit. Time after time tremendous demonstrations were held on the streets and in the parks of German cities to protest against war, in which hundreds of thousands of Party members and trade unionists held up their hands or carried banners to show their opposition to the organized slaughter of workers on behalf of imperialistic capitalists. In the various national and international conventions the Social-Democrats followed out the same policy. In high voice they declared that they were willing to use "every method within their power" to prevent war, even though they did skillfully avoid endorsing the proposition of the declaration of an international general strike by the workers simultaneously with the declaration of war by the capitalist governments.

But when the great war crisis came in August, 1914, they turned tail upon all their fine revolutionary protestations. They lined up solidly behind the imperial government. They flatly repudiated the proposition of a general strike on an international scale by the workers and committed their fate along with that of the capitalists of Germany. They acted as recruiting sergeants de luxe for the Kaiser. They swept millions of German workers into the bloody slaughter. They broke the international solidarity of the working

class and made all effective opposition to the war impossible. Nor were their political brethren of the other countries long in following suit. All through the terrific struggle the German Socialists lent themselves to every measure calculated to defend German capitalism from the working class and from the rival capitalists of other countries. For this gigantic work of Judas, their Party and unions were petted and pampered and the leaders flattered with attentions from the capitalists.

Betraying the Revolution

When at last, in November, 1918, the German working class, goaded on to desperation by the defeat in the war, rose up en masse and overthrew the government, took charge of the army and navy and otherwise placed themselves in control of society, the Social-Democratic Party remained on hand to continue its work of betrayal. The Socialist leaders had no faith that the workers, then controlling the country through their Soviets, could organize society anew upon a revolutionary basis. They could not conceive of a social order independent of capitalist control. So they proceeded to sell out the revolution and to turn society back to its erstwhile masters.

This betrayal, the worst that working class history with all its record of false and treasonable leadership can show, was carried out deliberately and systematically. The first great move in the process was when the trade union representatives, under the leadership of Karl Legien, sat down with the industrial representatives, headed by Hugo Stinnes, right in the midst of the November revolution, and drafted a trade union agreement which practically established the terms upon which the revolution was to be killed. In return for permitting the capitalists to rob the German workers, the trade unions were granted the right to organize in all the industries, the establishment of the universal eight hour day, the organization of shop committees, and other industrial and political reforms. For this mess of pottage the Socialists bartered away the German revolution. With their Eberts, Scheidemanns, and Noskes they proceeded to turn back to the capitalists the government, the army, the navy, the industries and everything else of value that the workers had gained in the November revolution. And when the Communists, led by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, dared to protest, they were shot down in thousands. For this further treacherous betrayal of the German workers,

the Socialist leaders, political and industrial, were taken to the very bosom of the capitalists. The former flattered themselves that the fortune of their movement was made.

Faced by a most desperate situation, German capitalism could not rest content with the record of treason to working class interests so far made by the Social-Democrats. Though the latter acted as bell-wethers to entice the masses into the world war butchery, it was not enough. Nor was their sell-out of the 1918 revolution sufficient. Further treason was demanded of them. The next great task of the Social-Democrats was to hold the masses inactive while capitalism struggled to gain its footing under the operation of the Versailles treaty, and they went willingly to their destructive work. It mattered not what the complexion of the government was, nor what the make-up of the ruling bloc of parties, the Social-Democrats could always be depended to use their power to the utmost to crush back the rising revolt of the workers and to hold the situation secure for the capitalists. Their power was tremendous. At the Leipzig trade union congress, the leader Leipart declared that no German government could last 24 hours without the sanction of the trade unions. This was true, but, unfortunately, the great power of the Socialist movement was not used in behalf of the workers but in defense of the capitalist system.

Betrayal Upon Betrayal

German capitalism, struggling against French imperialism, demanded that the German workers accept a lower standard of living, which it brought about by a wholesale depreciation of the currency. The Social-Democrats agreed and made no effective resistance. Capitalism then demanded more production and insisted upon the abolition of the eight hour day, the last remaining conquest of the November revolution. Even to this the Social-Democrats consented, although they covered their shame with camouflage. And finally when the workers, driven to desperation, at the close of the Ruhr adventure, rose in revolt, once again the Social-Democrats were on hand to demoralize and defeat them. When the left-Socialists and Communists set up their united front government in Saxony, the right-Social Democrats allowed it to be violently overthrown. Under the pretense of the danger of an attack from reactionaries on the right, they voted to abolish all constitutional guarantees and to make dictators of the Fascists Gessler and Von Seeckt. They applauded and lent their support when the latter suppressed the Communist Party and drove it underground. Their record of treason is complete. They have made every concession of working class interests de-

manded of them in their effort to maintain capitalism upon a working basis.

Bitter, indeed, has been the price paid by the German working masses for their faith and confidence in the Social-Democrats. Conditions in Germany beggar description. Not only have the workers been balked in their efforts to establish a new society, but they have been thrown into the deepest abyss of poverty and despair. Germany, once one of the most prosperous countries in the world, has been reduced to a state of chronic starvation and misery. Industry is completely paralyzed. In November there were 5,000,000 workers totally unemployed and 6,000,000 working part time. For want of proper food and clothing the whole working class is degenerating. Tuberculosis has increased 300% and a wave of suicide is sweeping the country, great numbers considering death as the only exit from their misery.

Unions Wrecked by Leaders

Along with the ruin of the workers' standards of living has gone a complete smashup of their unions. In the revolutionary period following the war, the German trade unions took on a tremendous growth, running up to the grand total of almost 13,000,000 members. Never in the history of the labor movement has the working class of any country developed such an enormous organization. Properly handled, this terrific force could have easily been the means, in cooperation with the political organizations, to overthrow capitalism. But the Social-Democrats never dared to use the full strength of the great movement. They frittered away its power and followed out a constant policy of repression and retreat. The consequence is that the movement is now demoralized and broken up. The treasonable policies of the Social-Democrats, aided by the great industrial depression, have ruined the once splendid movement.

Disgusted and disheartened by the hopeless policies of their leaders, the German workers have been streaming out of the unions in millions. Especially strong has this exodus been since the betrayal of the left-Socialist-Communist government of Saxony. Exact figures are not available to show the precise amount of the defection, but it is estimated that at least 6,000,000 workers have deserted the trade unions in the last five months. In Berlin, out of a former membership of 168,000 in the local Metal Workers' Union, 130,000 have quit—and these are among the most advanced and best disciplined workers in the whole German labor movement. Financially the unions are bankrupt, even as they are bankrupt in leadership. There are no funds on hand for strikes or

insurance. Educational work has been abandoned, and many of the unions have called off their congresses, being unable to finance them. At least five-sixths of all paid trade union officials have been laid off, with the result that the normal business of the organizations has been thrown into a chaotic state. Even the official organ of the German Federation of Trade Unions, the *Korrespondenzblatt*, has been abandoned. The great German trade union movement, once such a promising weapon for the workers in the class struggle, now lies practically in ruins, grace to the yellow, petty bourgeois policies of the Social-Democrats.

Together with the destruction of the industrial movement has gone the break-up of the old political organization and the sinking of its prestige to zero. Formerly, when they were being hard pressed by the revolutionary proletariat, the capitalists lavished favors and honors upon the Social-Democrats. They were glad to accept their proffered policy of class collaboration, as exemplified by the infamous *Arbeitsgemeinschaft*. But now, when the employers, with the active assistance of the Socialist leaders, have manouvered themselves into power and have succeeded in wrecking the workers' organizations and discipline, they are now repudiating the Socialists. The latter have nothing further that the capitalists want. They have sucked the working class dry for the benefit of the exploiters. And as a reward, they and their beloved *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* are being shown the door. The prestige of the old Social-Democracy is irretrievably ruined. It will be smashed as sure as fate in the coming general elections for the Reichstag. The leaders of the organization foresee this. Already Ebert, the arch-traitor, has announced that he will resign after the May elections. And well he may, for his job of treason to the working class is complete. Under the guidance of him and others of his kind, the old German movement during the past ten years has been led from one defeat to another and finally brought to the present tremendous smash-up. Never in the history of the world's working class has there been developed such a complete bankruptcy of a movement as that of the German Social-Democracy.

Building the Movement Anew

As the yellow reformist Social-Democracy has pursued its policy of treason to the real interests of the working class, thereby gradually alienating from itself the support of the best elements amongst the German workers, the Communist movement has gone ahead expanding its organization and steadily winning the leadership of the masses. This growth of the Communist movement at the expense of the old Social-Democratic

organization, has taken place on both the political and industrial fields. So rapid and far-reaching is it that the supremacy of the old organization as the leader of the working class has been practically overthrown. What we are witnessing in Germany is the transference of the movement from a reformist to a revolutionary basis. This fundamental change is of inestimable importance to the world's labor movement. It portends the opening of the final struggle against German capitalism.

Communist Forces Growing

The political reorganization of the German working class is developing under two forms, the building of a new party outside of the Social-Democracy, the Communist Party, and the honeycombing of the old organization from within by the left-Socialists. Ever since the November, 1918, revolution the German Communist Party, tracing its origin back to the old Spartacus Bund, headed by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, has been constantly growing. Its influence amongst the masses is already tremendous and is rapidly increasing. It controls the factory councils in at least 2,000 cities and towns. It was powerful enough to take the lead in the great movement which culminated in the general strike that forced the resignation of the Cuno government. Only the bitter opposition of the old Social-Democratic bureaucracy, political and industrial, prevented it from seizing control of the working masses in a great revolutionary effort to overthrow capitalism during the upheaval following the Ruhr debacle.

Although the most vital phase of the political reorganization of the German workers is that part of the movement crystallizing in the Communist Party, an important phase is the revolt developing inside of the old organization. This is so extensive as to threaten the disruption of the whole movement. The left-Socialists are making tremendous inroads upon the forces formerly dominated by the rights. The core of their movement is the old Independents who split away from the right-wing in 1916 and formed a separate party of their own, but who reaffiliated with them in 1922. Immediately this amalgamation took place, the lefts found themselves in violent conflict with the rights over many questions. The fight has raged constantly ever since, with the lefts making rapid progress towards winning over the masses in the party. At the recent congresses in Saxony, Thuringia, the Rhine province, Westphalia, Pomerania, Silesia, the Ruhr, Berlin, and other places, they overwhelmingly defeated the right-wing. At the present time probably four-fifths of the party rank and file are following their lead.

The Communists look askance at this left movement within the old Social-Democracy. From

bitter experience they have learned its unreliability. The left-Socialists are led by such men as Crispian and Levy. These are typical "word-revolutionists." They indulge in the most violent criticism of the right-wing policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, but, in practice, they have only the same thing to offer. Always in the crisis, when the choice is between compromising with the right or fighting side by side with the left, they always chose the former. They betrayed the workers in the famous March action in 1921, and they broke up the left-Socialist-Communist united front government recently in Saxony when pressure was put upon them from the right, thereby doing incalculable injury to the revolutionary movement. The seizure of the control over the masses in the Social-Democratic Party by the left-Socialist leaders would mean the inauguration of a new period of betrayal. The Communists are warning the workers of this eventuality and are insisting that they affiliate with an organization that has the courage not only to face the real problem but to take the necessary drastic steps to solve it.

The Revolt in the Unions

Side by side with the uprising against the domination of the yellow-Socialists over the workers' political organization, is proceeding a profound revolt against their control of the trade unions. This revolt against Social-Democracy on the industrial field is likewise under the leadership of the Communist Party. Already it is far progressed. Great numbers of local organizations have been won over from the old control. At the recent congresses of the Metal Workers and Textile Workers' Unions, the left-wing demonstrated clearly that the mass of the rank and file stood in support of them and in opposition to the bureaucracy.

The first substantial crystallization of the trade union revolt took place on Nov. 25-26, 1923, in Weimar. At that time 273 delegates gathered to represent 350 local bodies in a general conference to consider ways and means to save the fast disintegrating trade unions. This conference, which promises to have big consequences in the near future, outlined a whole program to rejuvenate the German labor movement. The essence of this was to abandon the fatal Social-Democratic policy of class collaboration, which has led the trade unions to their present debacle, and to adopt a policy of militant class struggle leading straight to an open clash with the bourgeoisie for social rulership. An important part of the program adopted provided for the reorganization of the whole trade union movement upon the basis of industrial unionism. The proposed industrial unions would be one each for the following indus-

tries: metal, mining, communication and transport, building, textile and clothing, food and amusements, printing, leather, wood, chemicals, land and forest, health, and state and municipal workers. The conference demanded a special congress be called of all the trade unions to consider the proposed fundamental changes in policies, structures, and management of the unions. It elected a committee to confer with the heads of the unions to arrange such a congress. This committee was rebuffed by the bureaucrats. Now the revolutionaries in the unions are popularizing the idea of a general congress and will probably call one, on their own responsibility, in the near future. Great numbers of unions, of all shades of political opinion, have expressed their determination to participate. Such a congress would undoubtedly result in a veritable upheaval throughout the whole trade union movement.

The Factional Struggle

The shifting of the basis of the German labor movement from a policy of reformism to one of revolutionary struggle, which is the process now going on, is marked by an exceedingly bitter struggle between the factions. The reactionary right-wing bureaucrats, although they have shown by many years of mismanagement and failure their total inability to lead the workers, are desperately resisting the efforts to deprive them of that leadership. Consequently the whole movement is torn with strife. Against the Communists, whether upon the political or industrial field, the Socialists stop at nothing. They did not hesitate to cooperate with Von Seeckt in driving the Communist Party underground and in confiscating its property, suppressing its newspapers, etc. The Socialists are especially anxious to cripple the Communists politically at this time as the Reichstag elections are coming along and they dread the power of the Communist Party in the electoral struggle. But the disgraceful cooperation with Von Seeckt has failed to accomplish the end they wanted. The Communist Party is more active than ever, even though reduced to the status of an illegal organization. An illustration of this is the fact that in Berlin the illegal Communist papers have a greater circulation than the *Vorwärts*, official organ of the Social-Democratic Party.

On the industrial field, the resistance is no less bitter. The bureaucrats refuse to give up their positions even though the left-wing scores great majorities against them. They are carrying on an expulsion policy, driving hundreds and thousands of militants out of the organizations. Their program is to split up the movement and to save what they can from the rising tide of revolution-

ary revolt. The National Committee of the German Federation of Trade Unions have outlawed all the organizations that participated in the Weimar conference. They intend to fight to the last ditch regardless of the fate of the movement as a whole. Faced by such desperate resistance, the left-wing militants are confronted with the problem of whether they shall continue the struggle inside of the organizations or rally the tremendous number of sympathizing elements into a new movement. So far the determination is to continue the policy of working inside of the unions, the method by which the Communists secured their present strong grip upon the trade union masses. But a continuation and intensification of the resistance of the Social-Democrats to the expressed will of the majority, coupled with their expulsion policy, may easily provoke a great split in the trade union movement. Such a split in fact is almost certain.

Only slightly less ruthless are the Social-Democrats in their opposition against the left-Socialists within their own ranks. They are expelling them in many quarters upon flimsy pretexts and are arbitrarily removing them from office and from editorship of the papers. They are disregarding left-wing majority votes in the various congresses, much the same as they are doing in

the trade unions. The consequence is much bad blood and a tense situation all through the organization. Forces are making everywhere to produce a split. This will probably develop at the coming Social-Democratic Party Convention. It will be far more disastrous to the old organization than was the split in 1916, especially if the Social-Democrats are defeated in the approaching elections to the Reichstag.

At the outbreak of the world war, the German workers were deeply permeated with the thought that they would achieve their emancipation through reformist methods. It has taken a whole series of terrible experiences to drive this notion out of their heads, and to convince them that the only way to the new society is by a policy of revolutionary struggle. But these experiences have been had, and the lessons have been learned, at least by the most intelligent and progressive of the workers. What is going on now is the registering of this new understanding. It is being accomplished with travail and strife, which is threatening to break up much of the organization already achieved. But whatever the cost, the change will and must be made. The German workers are through with the fatal policy of class collaboration. They are now embarking upon the road of revolution.

The Miners Must Fight

By J. W. Johnstone

ALL over the country the miners are voting on the acceptance or rejection of the Jacksonville agreement, which extends the present agreement for three years. Official propaganda is busy predicting peace and plenty for the mine workers if they accept the three-year contract. Lewis is boasting of what a great achievement he has won without a fight; and at the same time the employers seem equally pleased. The truth of the matter is, as every intelligent miner knows, that when Lewis and the employers agree that a settlement is good, it is sure to turn out very bad for the men in the mines. This settlement is no exception. It was agreed upon between Lewis and the coal companies even before the Convention, and the trip to Jacksonville was merely to put up a sham-battle, away from where the rank and file could peek into the room where Lewis and his committee were fraternizing with the employers.

It is already apparent how the referendum will be put across by the officialdom. In addition to their control of the ballot counting, they have tried to prevent all gatherings which might have

discussed the agreement from more than a local viewpoint, for fear of a movement getting under way to defeat the settlement. Thus the Illinois District Convention, scheduled for March 4th, was postponed until late in May. The reason given out was that Frank Farrington has been ill, and unable to prepare for the Convention. The real reason was that postponement helped to put across the Jacksonville double-cross without discussion on a convention floor.

The agreement is all in favor of the coal operators. Not a word has been said about the 6-hour day, although the shortening of the work-day is the most burning issue before the coal miners as a step to relieve unemployment. Division of work, a question that means bread and butter to the miners, played no part in the Jacksonville love-feast. Nationalization of the mines, increase in wages, the shorter day—all things that the miners have been demanding for years—were not even discussed by the officers of the union.

The miners in Illinois are already learning what the three year agreement means. Union mines are to be shut down, production thrown to non-union

fields, a drastic "cleansing" of all militant union men from the industry, bringing back production to the union fields when all fighters have been eliminated and their places taken by slavish and broken men who will accept cuts in wages, loss of working rules that protect life and health, and the complete subjection of the union to the companies. That is the program of the mine owners. They think it will take three years to put it across entirely, three years in which the union is tied up with an agreement to prevent it from fighting, three years in which they can use the 200,000 "surplus" miners in the industry to break the organized power of the men who dig the coal for the country's industries.

Using the Agreement for Bosses

Even in the past, while the miners still had the strike threat as a weapon, they found it almost impossible to enforce the agreement against the bosses although it was rigidly enforced against the miners. More and more it has become impossible to obtain redress of grievances through the District union machinery, as the policy of the U. M. W. of A. has become more and more a policy of co-operation with the mine owners.

The union machinery for the handling of grievances is slow, cumbersome, and anything but harmonious. Illinois is a well-organized district, standing at the head of the U. M. W. of A. but there also the same conditions prevail. The pit committee generally tries honestly to protect the workers in the mine, and to enforce the agreement. Very often they are supported in their efforts by the sub-district officials. But the companies have an appeal to the District Joint Group Board, which they almost always use, and there the decisions are generally tied up with red tape or reversed in favor of the company. Seldom indeed are the pit committees or sub-district officials able to enforce decisions against the companies.

If it were not for the militancy of the miners, the readiness of the pit committees to take up all grievances, and the presence of many militant sub-district officials, the miners would find themselves in the unique position of being 100% organized and yet working under "open shop" conditions. But as bad as the conditions are, they could yet be much worse, and as long as the miners keep fighting and kicking the agreement cannot be completely ignored.

But even under the agreement the miners are subject to the most petty discrimination that accumulates into a crying grievance, now to be perpetuated for three years by extending the agreement without remedying it. The guarantee against dirty coal is one of the most abused sections of the agreement. The companies use fines

against the miners as a regular tax upon them. In one mine alone in Illinois, in one pay, 130 men were fined for dirty coal. One miner reported that he had not had a black mark for seven months until he had a row with a pit boss; the next day he was fined \$1 for dirty coal. By means of this practice a method of fines for anything and everything is carried on to terrorize the miners and make them submit to all conditions.

There is not another union in the country of any strength that allows its members to be fined wholesale in the manner that the coal operators are doing under the present agreement. With an average of but two work days per week, and already on the verge of poverty and overwhelmed with debts, the miners feel this system of fines as an intolerable abuse. Yet nothing was done at Jacksonville to relieve the situation.

Labor Laws No Longer Enforced

The fine system is also used to prevent the enforcement of mine inspection laws. At Marissa, Illinois, recently the miners refused to work until the mine was inspected according to law. When this was refused the mine was laid idle for a day. The coal operator demanded that the pit committee place a fine upon those who refused to go down, but the committee refused. The operator appealed the case to the Joint Group Board, which upheld the operator. Fishwick, vice-president of District 12, U. M. W. of A., rendered the decision which fined each miner \$3., and stated that it was an emergency and the miners were wrong for refusing to work. When a high official of the Union levies fines upon the men who pay his salary, because they demand the enforcement of a State law, what can be expected will be done with an agreement which has hundreds of loop holes for the operators?

The present working agreement and wage scale is an insult to the memory of the militants who fought and died to establish the U. M. W. of A. It is an insult that is resented by the militant members who today want to carry on the great work of the Miners' Union. But the U. M. W. of A. is today in the hands of men who, instead of battling against the operators, turn all their guns against the progressives in their own ranks; it is under the control of Lewis, Farrington & Co., who use their high office to put into effect the will of the coal operators.

The right to hire and fire is vested exclusively in the operator by the present agreement. This is being used systematically to root out of the industry the militant members of the miners' union, to blacklist them, and replace them with "card men" whose organization can be smashed when the opportune moment arrives. A long, long

story could be written about how this clause has been used against the miners who dare stand up for their rights. For years the demand has been going up from the local unions to limit this right to hire and fire, to put some check upon the companies, to protect the union fighters. But nothing is done. Instead the miners are now asked to renew the present agreement for three years with this condition unchanged.

Unemployment and Debt

It had long been a mystery to me how the miners were continuing to exist on two days work per week, the average time in the Illinois field, and in travelling through District 12, I made inquiries about it. It was hard to get an answer except, "Oh, we get by somehow." One night I insisted that my question be answered, and bit by bit it finally came out. They are all in debt, to the grocer, the butcher, the doctor, the landlord, to relatives, and to the world generally. Some had been in debt for years and had given up hope of getting out. When a miner dies the family inherits the debt and continues the hopeless struggle.

While we were discussing this, a whistle blew. As if by command the conversation ceased. Something has happened at the mine, I thought; but the miners shrugged their shoulders, and remarking that it was the south mine, continued the conversation. Shortly another whistle blew, and again the conversation abruptly ceased. This time it was the east mine. I never saw men so interested in a whistle before. On inquiry I found that three blasts of the whistle meant "Come to work in the morning," while that one note had been saying "No work for you tomorrow." It was a silent tragedy to watch the men become almost rigid at the first sound of the whistle, and although they covered their disappointment by resuming the conversation again, one understood what they felt when each night the whistle carried the message, "No work for you tomorrow."

A terrifying poverty is slowly enveloping the miner. He gets into debt, and if he has a family there is no hope of getting out again for years to come. The operators capitalize even this poverty; the miner, hard-pressed, draws some of his wages before pay day, and receives a note, negotiable only at a certain store for merchandise at 10% discount, half of which is returned to the operator. More unemployment, more debt, more slavery, more hopelessness. Gradually and inexorably the mine operators, assisted by John L. Lewis and the union administration, draw the cord tighter around the neck of the union miners of America.

The present three-year agreement proposal means to give the operators a free hand to crush the miners' union with the weight of the 200,000 miners in the industry that the capitalist management of the mines does not need except to break the union. Lewis has no program whatever, except to deliver the Union up to this wholesale slaughter. He has rejected the six-hour day, which would relieve the situation. He has abandoned field after field to the non-union operators. He has stopped all serious efforts to extend the organization to the unorganized coal fields. And now he proposes, as a great achievement, to sign a contract that continues this choking, crushing process for three years.

The mine owners and the capitalist press are jubilant. Here is a labor leader to their liking. Just what the miners get out of it to be rejoiced over is hard to see. The 200,000 "surplus" miners who are to be slaughtered in the operators' warfare against the miners' own organization are left helpless. Who is to go, and who stay? How are the operators to be prevented from using them to smash the union? Where are the miners who leave the industry to go? Lewis has no answer; he is interested only in giving the bosses a three-year free hand.

The unemployed miners cannot go to the farms. There are more farmers being driven from the land to the city than miners from the mines. They cannot go to the cities, for there already more than a million unemployed are being swelled by the farmers escaping from their mortgages. They cannot go back into the mines, because the operators, using the 8-hour day and the non-union fields, have no place for them. John L. Lewis, with all the power of the U. M. W. of A. in his hands, gives them no answer except a contemptuous sentence of elimination from the industry.

The Miners Must Fight

If the U. M. W. of A. is to escape destruction in this dilemma, there is but one course: To fight! To accept the three-year agreement now means to abandon all hope of relief until the operators have had time to smash the Union. A great campaign of organization, the launching of a mass Farmer-Labor Party, demands that the mines be taken out of private hands, unemployment eliminated, and decent living conditions established, is the only program that holds out hope to the American miners.

A united and solid organization of all the miners, employed and unemployed, in the fields now unorganized as well as the union fields, in a great campaign for higher wages, the six-hour day, and nationalization of the mines: these, with the readiness to fight, are the needs of the miners.

Our Timid Progressives

By Earl R. Browder

BENJAMIN STOLBERG writes, in *Hearst's International* for March, in an article entitled "The Mouse That Frightens Hughes," about the left-wing movement in the trade unions. He comes to the conclusion that the left wing has done "irreparable damage to the American labor movement by driving all the liberals and progressives in it under cover of the official oligarchy." This is interesting, if true, and as the judgment is not confined to Brother Stolberg, nor original with him, it may be worth while to examine its validity.

Brother Ben has a superficial keenness in observing facts, and a certain honesty in setting down some of them, that is commendable. Who, for example, could better describe what is happening with our timid progressives than does Ben, when he points out that they are all getting "under cover of the official oligarchy?" And how many of them are honest enough to admit it? Stolberg's article, therefore, has some merit in these respects, even though on the whole it records a contemptible cowardice on the part of the "progressives" and liberals in the American labor movement.

It is true that most of the so-called progressives have run to cover of the official oligarchy. They have frantically broken away from all commitments not 100% "official." Some of them have even gone Wm. J. Burns a point better in denouncing the left wing. They have been frightened by something, quite evidently, and Stolberg says that red-flag-waving and Bolshevik ritual is the "mouse" that caused our progressives to run to Mamma Gompers' arms. If that were true, it would constitute a most damning indictment of the progressives; it would convict them of an immaturity, a timidity of shadows, that would make all their pretensions profoundly ridiculous.

It is not true, however, that the panic-stricken

progressives are running away from shadows. Stolberg maligns them. They are frightened of *reality*, the first peep at which was given them when they saw the left-wing militants actually fighting for the things the "progressives" had talked for. Suddenly it was apparent that Amalgamation, the Labor Party, and other mild measures of progress could easily be achieved by those who said they were for them, provided only a little fighting spirit was displayed, with a willingness to accept a responsible and leading part by the progressives. But it meant a real break, not the old platonic sham-battle, with the Gompers bureaucracy. The glimpse of reality was too much for the progressives; they ran, shrieking in fear back to the maternal shelter. They never meant really to get away from home; they were out only for an evening's lark, for a bit of harmless sporting, with everything perfectly respectable the next day. They could not bear to be taken seriously.

There is one fundamental trouble with these progressive friends of ours—they want progress only if they can get it for nothing. They will not pay any price for it. In fact, they become as indignant at a suggestion of risking anything in a fight, as they do at a suggestion that they are not genuine progressives. But sadly it must be recorded, that these timid progressives are not progressives at all. Always, when they come up squarely against a situation that calls for decision and action, the only real test of progressivism, they halt, waver, and run away. They fly to the "cover of the official oligarchy." They make the same decision that Ben Stolberg makes in his article: "Gompers is right." Their progressivism is a fake.

There must be, however, a deeper reason for



the wholesale flight of the progressive chickens to Gompers' sheltering wings, other than merely a fear-reaction away from the primitive stirrings of the rank and file and away from all positive action. That more fundamental explanation is to be found in the growing bitterness of the class struggle, in the crisis now developing within the entire capitalist system, which draws the class lines ever tighter. Our "progressives" who are now progressing backward do not want to be on either side of the barricade; they want to be on friendly terms with the whole world; but the fight has grown too hot, so they choose—capitalism and its agents in the persons of Gompers, Lewis, et al.

Stolberg merely voices the infantile judgment of this whole class of progressives, when he sides with Lewis against the left wing of the Miners' Union. The Progressive Committee was organized in the U. M. W. A., he complains, although that is already an industrial union; but the left wing "hates and distrusts the ruthless tactics of President Lewis. This reason is as inadequate as it is foolhardy, for Lewis is a bad man to be against."

Brother Stolberg should know (if he does not) that the left wing is not against Lewis because he is ruthless—it is because he is ruthless against the militant membership of his own union but soft as mush to the coal operators. It is because he ruthlessly adopts the employers' program of exterminating 200,000 members of his own union, while he softly whispers his confidences into the ears of the Civic Federation, President Coolidge, and Wm. J. Burns. "Lewis is a bad man to be against" says Stolberg, and his liberal friends approve. Gary is a bad man to be against, also, but if one is not against Gary then one is against the steel workers; and if the left wing is not against Lewis, then it is against the best fighters in the miners' organization, against Howat, McLachlan, the West Virginia militants, the battlers of Fayette County, the unionists of Herrin. Lewis uses the same argument: "The Coal Kings are bad men to be against," and so he joins them. The timid progressives may be willing to allow Lewis to sell out the industrial union of the miners, and to crush the militant rank and file, but the real progressives within the United Mine Workers will spit upon such progressivism.

Inner-Union Struggle is the Class Struggle

Struggle between the official oligarchy at the head of the trade unions and the militant section of the membership is becoming more bitter, not because anyone has decreed that it be so, but because the struggle between the working class and the capitalist class is becoming more intense. Unemployment is increasingly entering American in-

dustry again, and with it comes the pressure by the employers to reduce wages, destroy union safeguards, and break down unionism generally. The official oligarchy in the unions is more than ever afraid of struggle against the employers, because the membership is more conscious of its interests than before; the officials are more than ever subservient to the employers, because they are more afraid of the rank and file. As a result, in almost every industry where unemployment is being felt, the union officialdom is giving way to the employers.

It is precisely in the mining industry and the needle trades that unemployment is most felt today. It is in these two industries that the officials are surrendering most to the employers. This is the reason, which Stolberg cannot see, why the left wing is more active in these two "advanced" sections of the labor movement than in other more backward ones; with the added stimulus that the membership of the needle trades and coal mining are the most active and class-conscious sections of the working class. The inner-union struggle is a primary fact in the class struggle, because the workers find it impossible to attack the employing class while the union bureaucracy stands in the way. If the official oligarchy protects capitalism against the workers, then the class struggle will inevitably find its first expression in struggle against this union officialdom and its treachery.

Good-Bye to Fake Progressives

Timid progressives, who have been scared away from all progressive measures because the wicked Communists insist upon fighting for them also, will probably have to be allowed to go their way. The loss is not so great as some may imagine. They made a great show of strength in times past, but it was all a bluff. They had no intentions, at any time, of really doing anything serious in the way of progressive *action*—they were but progressive *talkers*. Let them but get one touch of reality, of the bitter conflict of classes fighting for control of society, and they scatter and run for the sheltering wings of their guardians, the Gomperses, the Lewises, the Johnstons, and the whole tribe of official oligarchy.

For the real progressives, the revolutionists and Communists who take progress seriously and fight for it, the result is on the whole a good one. It clears away much misunderstanding. It takes away a rotten support upon which we, to our own danger, might lean in a more critical moment. We know more precisely our own strength, which is the first step toward making the effective fight for industrial unionism, the Labor Party, and the other measures necessary for any progress toward the emancipation of the working class.

All-Russian Union of Railwaymen

By Charles E. Scott

THE All-Russian Union of Railwaymen was founded during the First Congress of the employes of ten railways held in Moscow in April, 1905. This congress elected a Central Bureau and laid down the principles of the union organization which were essentially as follows: a local railway committee of representatives of all the groups of railway employes is organized on every road; by a group is meant every administrative unit: depot, shop, junction, station, section, etc. The union funds consist of one half of one percent of the wages paid in dues. These funds are divided up between the local committees, the Road Committee and the Central Bureau. Between April and November 1905, the union widened its scope, taking a prominent part in the economic and political struggle of the Russian working class. The reaction which ensued at the end of 1905 destroyed the entire organization of railwaymen, which was revived only after the February revolution of 1917.

Development of the Industrial Union

After Czarism was overthrown, the trade union movement on the railways began to develop very rapidly, two tendencies of organization being prominent: 1) industrial organization which would unite all the railwaymen, regardless of craft, and 2) sectional organization, aiming at the organization of the workers of each separate craft. The two tendencies thus represented the struggle between the industrial and the craft spirit. In 1917 these two systems of organization developed simultaneously. Both Committees of all the workers of the particular road and section executives uniting the workers of specific crafts, were created simultaneously on the railways. Soon the number of sections on some roads grew to as many as twenty, and even more.

In July, 1917, an All-Russian Congress of Railwaymen was held in Moscow. At this congress the industrialists prevailed, upon which the sectionalists (chiefly Mensheviks) withdrew and held a separate conference.

By December 1917, the following sections of railway workers were organized on an All-Russian scale: 1) locomotive brigades, 2) Telegraphers, 3) office workers, 4) shop workers, 5) dispatch agents, 6) exchange agents, 7) freight agents, 8) technicians and draftsmen, 9) conductors, 10) junior officials, 11) doctors, 12) teachers.

This co-existence of a united industrial union of railwaymen and of separate All-Russian sec-

tions, continued until July 1920, when the first industrial congress of railwaymen was called. By the time of the congress, the sections both in the center and locally, liquidated themselves.

The next stage in the railwaymen's union was its amalgamation with the water workers' union, which was necessitated by the administrative merger of the railway and water transport within the Peoples' Commissariat of Ways of Communication.

The amalgamation continued until the end of 1921, when owing to the new course adopted by the trade union movement, which put the problem of wages and working conditions at the head of the trade union activities, the two unions separated, forming on the one hand the All-Russian Union of Railwaymen, and on the other, the All-Russian Union of Water Workers.

Present Condition of the Union

At the present time the All-Russian Union of Railwaymen has a membership of 760,158, which according to the figures on October 1st, 1923, is divided up as follows: men 663,634, women 80,226, young workers, 23,298. The organizational structure of the union is as follows: the union is headed by a Central Committee, elected at the All-Russian Congress. The trade union activities on the various lines are directed by Road Committees, followed by section committees, and local committees or representatives of the local committee in enterprises with a small number of workers, as the lowest union cell. On July 1st, 1923, there were altogether in Russia 976 local road committees, whose membership was 72.6% of the total employees of the railways, 23.8% being catered for by representatives. One local committee is elected on an average by 605 workers; one local committee representative has under his charge an average of 64 men. Of the 2,430 members of the local committees, 61.1% are members of the Communist Party, 2.4% are members of the Communist Youths' League, the other 36.5% being non-party members. The connections between the local committees and the rank and file are well organized, and the contact between them is never broken. There is a permanent institute of delegate meetings which bring the local committees and their representatives in touch with the enterprises under their charge. Along with delegate meetings, the local committees call general membership meetings, which are well attended, especially of late.

Among the organization tasks of the union, is the organization of mutual aid funds. According to the data on October 1st, 1923, supplied by ten roads, whose union personnel amounts to 288,447, 57.1% of the members are also members of the mutual aid funds.

The Central Committee is constantly in touch with the local organizations. This contact is aided in a large measure by the splendid press of the Central Committee whose daily, *Gudok*, has a circulation of 200,000, thus being the most widely read union newspaper in Russia.

Wages and Working Conditions

The railwaymen's wages are regulated and fixed by a general collective agreement between the Central Committee and the Peoples' Commissariat of Ways of Communication. However, owing to the variations in the local conditions and to the impossibility of making provisions for them in the general agreement, local agreements are entered into by the union and the railway management on the various lines. The average wages of the railwaymen are equal to 16 "goods" roubles, amounting to 45% of the pre-war wages. This great difference between the pre-war and present wages is due to the general critical state of the country and particularly of the transport industry, which is only approaching the prospect of a final liquidation of its deficit, which will make higher wages possible.

The economic work of the union is well handled. The union organs receive regular reports from the road management, participate in the selection of managing officials, nominate candidates for official posts in the Peoples' Commissariat of Ways and

Communication, have a voice in the planning organs of the transport, carry out and take part in investigations of the various railway enterprises and institutions, etc.

Unemployment and Education

Unemployment is the scourge of the railway union. There were 14,849 unemployed railwaymen on September 1st, 70% of them being unskilled workers. The main cause of unemployment is the reduction of the personnel. The union is taking various measures to mitigate unemployment, such as the organization of artels of unemployed, the employment of unemployed in loading and unloading operations and in the supply of fuel for the railways, etc. Unemployment relief funds are also provided, and the labor laws carry many exemptions for unemployed workers.

Another aspect of the union activities is protection of labor. In this sphere the union has achieved great progress, both in providing its members with sanatoriums, and with general medical aid. It should be pointed out that the railways employ special inspectors whose number on October 1st, 1923, was 180.

The educational work of the union occupies one of the main places in its activities. The center of the educational work is the workers' club, organized at all the main railway junctions. The railway unions give much attention also to the work of school education, and to the students who come out of their ranks. Transport workers entering universities always resort to the aid of the union, whose recommendation is of great importance.

The Volstead Fascisti

By Harrison George

INTERNATIONAL Fascism is a chameleon. It changes its slogans and its shirts to conform to local conditions. When the cohorts of Mussolini marched on Rome, when the "black shirts" of Benito arrived triumphantly at power, they thanked no Protestant God and gave no reverence to sacred constitutional amendments. Rather did they make peace with the Pope and celebrate the burnings of Chambers of Labor and their murder of Communists over many goodly flagons of red wine. But the American Fascisti operate upon a different moral plane; wherefore, though the Italian "black shirts" may have their wine, and the Bavarian "grey shirts" their beer, the Episcopalian Ku Klux Klan, the "night shirts" of America, raise the slogan of cold water and the Volstead Act as a way to national and racial

purity. They have adapted this slogan to fit into union wrecking and class terror.

Of course the preachments of the Klan against violators of the Volstead Act have nothing to do with the taste for strong drink on the part of the Klan leaders themselves. Prohibition talk is for public consumption as a cloak to cover raids on the homes of workers suspected of radical ideas. It is not for Kleagles and Grand Goblins.

"Hell and Maria" Dawes, whose Pure Oil Company stock greased the hands of Daugherty in turn for unexplained favors, marshalled his first company of the "Minute Men of the Constitution" from among the wealthy citizens of Chicago's exclusive "North Shore," where well-stocked cellars inspire the most definite and most ruthless plans for violence against the workers. But when

action is needed, a basis for operation is found in alleged "prohibition enforcement" campaigns. This is most glaringly illustrated by the sortie of violence directed by the Klan's agent, Glenn S. Young, against the miners of Williamson County, Illinois.

This is not to say that the miners of Williamson County are the first to feel the blows of the Volstead Fascisti. During and after the Seattle General Strike, authorities made wide use of warrants authorizing a "search for liquor" to conduct raids upon the homes of radical workers. Once inside the house, a thorough ransacking for "seditious literature" was carried out. If such was found, trial for "criminal syndicalism," or deportation of aliens, followed the "prohibition" raid.

In Texas, where the Klan sets the price for cotton-picking, it uses terror without legal mask or moral disguise; but in Oklahoma the Klan has whipped revolting farmers of the Farm Labor Union which opposes the bankers and the Cotton Growers' Association monopoly, pretending that the farmers were "boot-leggers and moonshiners."

Why is it that an extraordinary zeal for "prohibition enforcement" follows so closely upon any militant outbreak of exploited workers and farmers? Is it, for instance, because Williamson County, Illinois is an outstanding oasis of booze in the desert of what is supposed to be water-

drinking and law-abiding America? By no manner of means is such the case.

Openly aided by police and "prohibition agents" every city in America is flooded with illegal liquor, while "home brew" is the topic of most conversation in middle and upper class houses. While the writer was in Leavenworth prison, a place surely supposed shut off from all worldly guile, whiskey could be purchased by prisoners for \$12 per quart.

But what is more important, the Daugherty investigation has shown that the Department of Justice has issued orders "not to investigate" violations of the dry law, except where specifically ordered to do so. That such special orders were given only where Daugherty might stand to turn an honest penny for halting the prosecution, or where he could sell his services to some labor-baiting campaign of the great corporations is somewhat more than an inference. Certainly Daugherty was not moved by any puritanical consideration in making prosecutions or in stopping them. Witnesses have told of Daugherty's touching and rather peculiar affair with Jess Smith, and how they transported great suit-cases of liquor from Washington to Ohio in violation of law and shared in the drinking of it.

The reason that Williamson County, Illinois, was selected as a place to "enforce prohibition," is not because it was wetter or because it was

more "criminal" in other ways than other localities. Rear Admiral Charles P. Plunkett, commandant of Brooklyn navy yard, recently charged that Washington, D. C., was "the wettest city in the United States." Extending the field, a congressman claims that it is "wetter than Paris and more murderous than London." This seems in timely corroboration to the shooting down of another congressman on the Washington streets by someone supposed to be chasing boot-leggers.

In addition, Major Daniel Sullivan, superintendent of police for the city of Washington, reports that crime in the national capital has increased 107 per cent over the record of 1910; that crimes "against morality, crimes of murder, manslaughter and thieving" are growing in great bounds and that arrests for drunkenness have increased 121 per cent over the record of 1910. Why pick on Williamson County, Illinois? Why not send Glenn S. Young, "hill billie" bad man of the Klan, to clean up the national capitol?

The answer may be found in the fact that while Major Sullivan reports that in Washington the "new type of criminal created by prohibition has the support of persons in highest society," the miners of Williamson County are only working-men; and, besides that, they are organized workers who dared to defend themselves with arms against the brutalities and assaults of gunmen of the coal operators two years ago at Herrin.

Immediately following the battle fought around the Lester strip mine at Herrin in June, 1922, which battle arose over the murder of miners by gunmen and resulted in a score or so of these gunmen being incontinently hastened to rest in Abraham's bosom, the Illinois Chamber of Commerce raised a fund of \$50,000. to "wipe out the spot." By this they meant to convict members and local officers of the U. M. W. of A. on charges of murder; they wanted to wreck the Illinois District which is the heart of the U. M. W. of A., just as the U. M. W. of A. is the center of the A. F. of L. Throughout the country the capitalist press began baying for the blood of the Illinois coal miners. Capitalist editors who simply couldn't remember Ludlow, moralized endlessly about the "Herrin Massacre." They demanded in chorus that Williamson County be punished.

But in spite of all the fury of the bourgeois press, in spite of the detectives and costly lawyers sent into Williamson County by the Chamber of Commerce, juries would not convict. Immediately arose the cry in the press, particularly the *Chicago Tribune*, for "other means" of revenge against what was termed "Bloody Williamson County." An economic boycott was agitated, tried and failed, for the same reason that it often

fails as a weapon of labor—material interests of some elements broke class solidarity.

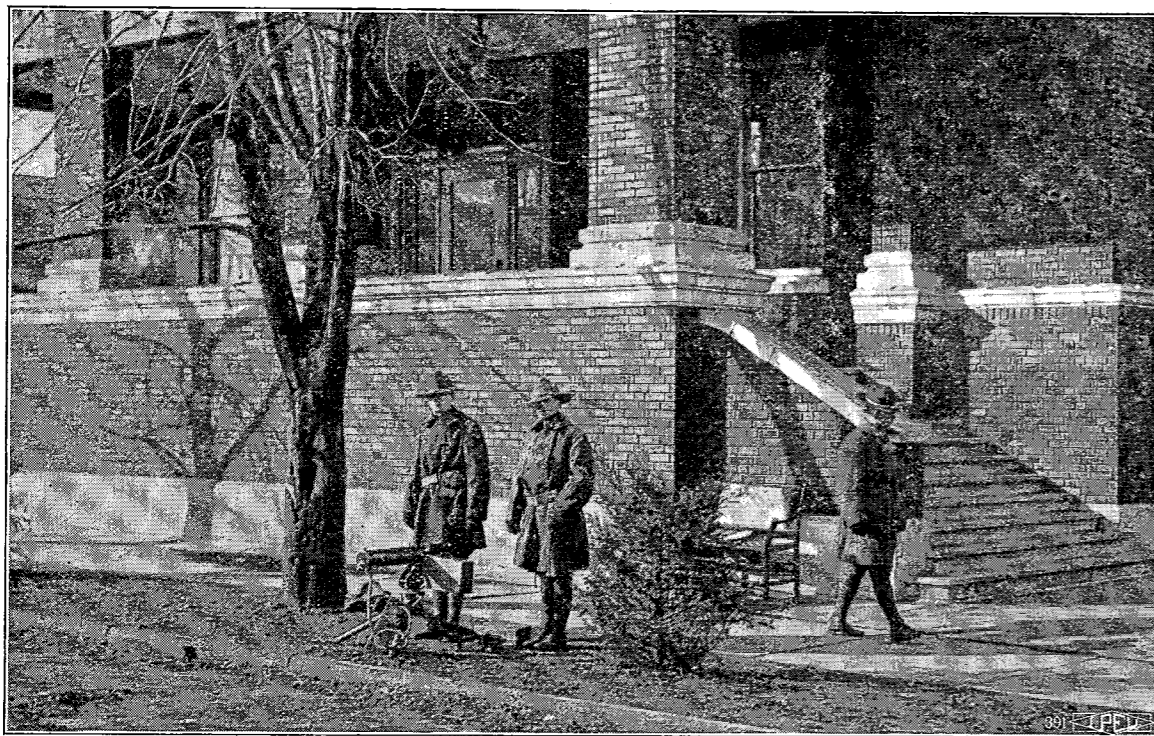
As soon as legal efforts were proven futile, Glenn S. Young, a federal government raider with a record as a man-killer, was taken over by the Ku Klux Klan, strongest and most secret of the American Fascist organizations and unofficial suppressor of discontented workers. After many shady "trips" to Washington" and conferences with Klan chiefs and prohibition officials, Young swung into action in Williamson County at the head and in pay of the Klan. With a 44 six-shooter in each hand he led mobs of hundreds of Klansmen in raid after raid upon homes of union men, native and foreign-born alike. He was "searching for booze," but if none was found that fact did not save the miners' families. They were beaten, kicked, robbed of their money and valuables. Men were kidnaped and taken away from their frightened families. Pregnant women were beaten by the chivalrous Klan's sluggers, and houses were burned to the ground if inhabitants showed resistance.

While some of the workers had the customary bottle or so of home-made wine, those whose homes were raided swear that Young brought along his evidence to "find" on the premises as justification of the raid. Many testify that these crusaders drank the whiskey they confiscated. In any case the poor victims were hauled into court and made to spend their life's savings to defend themselves against those who had assaulted and robbed them in the name of law.

Williamson County miners are not radicals and no "seditious literature" could be discovered, in spite of the lurid lies of Ellis Searles in the official organ of the U. M. W. of A., published in suspicious concurrence with the frontal attack of Young's Fascisti. The tales of Searles and Lewis that the 1922 gunmen were slain by, or by order of, Communists were published in timely assistance to Young, but they were too fanciful to be credited.

Resistance arising to Young's bands, a spontaneous growth of an anti-klan organization took place. The Knights of the Flaming Circle became very prominent, began counter-demonstrations and followed the naive and natural idea of armed defense. City businessmen, and hence the city police, were pro-klan. Miners of the coal camps scattered about the county are generally anti-klan, therefore they elected an anti-klan sheriff who appointed deputies of like tendency. Both sides armed and civil war opened.

Questions arose as to Young's authority. The French Consul, asking protection for French subjects who had been terrorized, demanded of Washington to know by what authorization



State troops guarding the Elks' Club at Herrin, Illinois, in which they held the anti-klan sheriff, in danger from the Volstead Fascisti.



State troops guarding the Elks' Club at Herrin, Illinois, in which they held the anti-klan sheriff, in danger from the Volstead Fascisti.

Young was engaged. Prohibition Director Haynes denied Young represented Washington. But the federal prohibition agents in Chicago, in charge over the State of Illinois, said that Young held a commission from Washington, that he worked directly from Washington and was out of their control. By conspiracy between official and unofficial tools of vindictive capitalism, the miners of "Bloody Williamson County" were being punished by "other means."

Young's Klansmen started to "clean out" a meeting of the Circle. A Klansman was killed and an anti-klansman wounded. Reinforcements came for both sides and battle raged for hours in Herrin. Young, though not a citizen of Williamson County, seized the county government, arrested the sheriff and fortified the court-house. State troops came in with martial law and ousted

Young—but permitted the Klan to keep it arms.

Under rule of the troops a sort of coalition government was set up, ninety-nine indictments were returned in the county courts, among them many against Young charging assault with intent to murder, conspiracy, kidnapping and false imprisonment. But Young maintains his nest of Klansmen guarded with machine guns. He fondles his "44-s" in front of admiring capitalist reporters and photographers in Chicago, and after submitting to arrest at his own convenience, he takes "trips to Washington" with the same mystery and frequency as oily cabinet officers do when they go to Florida. Meanwhile, in addition to the staggering sums previously paid for dry law enforcement, a recent federal appropriation of \$50,000,000 gives more power to—the Volstead Fascisti.

The Labor Movements of Japan

By A. Popov

JAPANESE labor unions appeared simultaneously with the development of the Japanese factory industry, which began to spread after the victorious war against China. However, originally these organizations were really mutual aid societies rather than labor unions, and only during the second decade of the twentieth century were trade unions of the contemporary type organized. In 1912 arose the *Uai-Kai*, Federation of Unions, rechristened in 1921 as the General Federation of Labor (*Nippon-Rodo Sodomai*) which now plays a dominating part in the general labor movement.

The economic crisis in the grip of which Japan has been struggling since 1920, affected all the Japanese industries and left its mark upon all the aspects of the economic life of the country. In search of cheaper production, the Japanese industrial barons resorted first of all to cutting wages and to the use of woman and child labor.

The government whose imperialist designs stimulated its interest in foreign markets, completely sided with the employers, supporting them not only by legislative means, but by administrative persecution of the labor organizations and of their active members and by arresting both the leaders and ordinary strikers.

The growing industrial depression brought about a general concentration of industry, leading to the bankruptcy of numerous manufacturers.

A Fascist society *Kokusui-Kai* was organized for the struggle against labor and has now about 30 branches in every industrial section of Japan.

The capitalist offensive was gradually increasing, reaching its culmination at the beginning of September when Japan was suddenly afflicted by the tremendous earthquake.

The terror against the labor organizations and individual leaders of the labor movement which followed the earthquake was thus merely in keeping with the entire previous policy of the Japanese capitalist government, following logically out of it.

The government persecutions bore fruit in the form of a decrease of the number of unions adhering to the class struggle and of the membership. However, the persecutions aroused and intensified among the progressive workers the realization of the necessity of the organized struggle and of taking part in the political life of the country. This is evidenced by the character of the strike movement, which in 1919 reached its greatest development (497 strikes), gradually falling in number in the succeeding years but assuming a more and more organized character, some of them having all the aspects of important political events.

The labor movement of Japan today can be said to run along three channels: 1) the channel of co-operation between labor and capital, 2) the socialist movement which believes in carrying out its program by parliamentary methods, and 3) the revolutionary movement, which stands for direct action. The first two wings dominate the Osaka Industrial area, while the revolutionary movement is strong in Tokio. The most revolutionary elements of labor are recruited chiefly from among the metal workers, the ship building workers and the miners. The number of organized workers in Japan is small in comparison with the total mass of workers, amounting only to about three per cent. The number of organizations has been decreasing lately, in view of the government terror; for this the movement is com-

pensated by greater internal cohesion and by a growth of revolutionary consciousness.

From the middle of 1920 and until the beginning of 1923, the Anarcho-Syndicalists had almost complete sway over organized labor in Japan. However, since the beginning of 1922, a feeling of disillusionment began to penetrate the labor organizations and the Communist influence has gradually developed. When, at the beginning of 1922, the Japanese government introduced a bill for the struggle against "extreme ideas" which was directed against the Communists, the workers took little interest in it and the failure of the Bill was due chiefly to the opposition of the intellectuals. In 1923, however, when the government made another attempt to pass the Bill through parliament, it met this time with the opposition of Labor, led in the majority by Communists. At the same time the idea of the recognition of Soviet Russia is gaining widespread popularity among the proletariat, indirectly influencing the government, also.

At the congress of the western unions, held in the spring of 1922, the question of the united front was raised for the first time; in October of the same year, 106 delegates from 59 of the most important unions, representing 60,000 workers, assembled at Osaka, to come to a final decision on this question. The meeting was a very stormy one, leading only to the widening of the gulf between the adherents of autonomous federalism and of strict centralism, upheld respectively by Anarcho-Syndicalists and Communists.

The following organizations have expressed themselves as favoring the creation of a federation of all trade unions:

The Japanese General Federation of Labor (*Nippon Rodo Sodomai*). This Federation is divided into an Eastern (Canto) and Western (Cansi) section.

The Canto section includes, among others the following unions: 1) *Kanto-Tecko-Kumia* (The Eastern Union of Metal Workers), an organization of workers employed in and around Tokio. The Union has nine branches, consisting of the workers of nine factories. This union is the bulwark of the General Federation of Labor, and the center of the Communist movement of Eastern Japan. Its membership is not large, (1,500) but from the point of view of its class consciousness and discipline, it represents the best union in Japan.

2. *Kanto Dziodsku Kumiai* (The Union of Eastern Salt Workers), membership 3,300 led by Communists.

3. *Naukatzu Rodo Kumiai* (The Labor Union of Naukatzu). A small militant organization of about 250 Communist workers.

4. *Seiboku Rodo Kumiai* (The Fraternal Labor Union) consisting of 500 workers of a car building factory.

5. *Ibara Rodo Kumiai* (The Labor Union of Ibara) a small organization of workers of an electrical lamp factory.

6. *Kogaku Kogikai* (Union of Optical Instrument Workers) membership 600.

The Cansi Section includes the following unions (among others):

1. *Osaka Kikai Rodo Kumiai* (The Osaka Union of Machine Building Workers) membership 2,400.

2. *Osaka Dengisu Kumiai*, (Osaka Union of Electricians) with a membership of 1,000.

3. *Osaka Godo Rodo Kumiai* (The Amalgamated Labor Union of Osaka) consisting of 1,000 workers of various plants.

4. *Denkino Kumiai* (Union of Electrical Implement Workers), with a membership of 600.

5. *Todziko Kumiai* (Crockery Workers Union) with a membership of about 1,000.

The total number of unions affiliated to the General Federation of Labor is 37, with a membership of 17,000.

Besides these there is a considerable number of unions whose affiliation to the General Federation of Labor is only a matter of time.

The following two union federations oppose the united front, adhering to the idea of autonomous federalism:

1. *Rod Kumiai Domakai* (Labor Union Federation). This is an Osaka federation, with a total membership of 2,700.

2. *Kikai Rodo Rengokai* (Metal Workers' Federation) a Tokio Federation of 3,500 members.

There is also a number of large reformist unions opposed to the revolutionary movement.

The attitude of the Japanese government towards the labor organizations can be seen from the fact that it has been persecuting not only the revolutionary unions, but the organizations believing in the possibility of reconciling the interests of labor and capital as well, and has opposed the organization of factory and shop committees. The struggle against the labor unions continues unabated. No members of trade unions are employed in rebuilding the areas devastated by the earthquake. The General Federation of Labor issued an appeal at the end of September, urging the trade unions of Europe and America to support it in its struggle against the government.

The Japanese proletariat is undoubtedly facing difficult times; in the coming struggle, however, its forces will only become steeled and its energies strengthened.

Coal Diggers Come Back Strong

By John Dorsey

THE ides of March bore no cheer for "Cæsar" John L. Lewis. Neither did it contribute anything except disrepute for dualists in the labor movement. Progressive forces in the U. M. W. of A. have responded splendidly to every opportunity. The fact that Alexander Howat was received with wild acclaim by the Convention of District 14, and that Jim McLachlan, stalwart leader of the Nova Scotia miners of District 26, came home from prison greeted by great throngs of miners and steel workers with brass bands, and was carried on the shoulders of his "boys" to speak at Glace Bay town hall—all this shows that behind these two grizzled old coal-diggers is the social force of a rank and file revolt against the Lewis bureaucracy and all it stands for.

The certificate of successful rank and file revolt is found in the action of the Kansas miners' convention where every man and every measure of the Lewis machine was torn to pieces, in the support of the Michigan District Convention which seconds Kansas in demanding a special convention of the International to give Howat and his brothers a fair trial, and in the referendum on the contract drawn by the provisional administration with the British Empire Steel Company for the Nova Scotia miners—which contract was repudiated by the referendum by overwhelming majority in spite of its tricky grant of an increase in wages which was offset by concessions to the company. Everywhere the rank and file understands the issue, the Lewis machine is completely discredited and Howat and Myerscough as leaders of the real coal-diggers are as completely strengthened.

Howat is a thousand per cent stronger for having refused and opposed a split, just as the Nova Scotia miners are stronger for having paid no attention to the talk of a member of the G. E. B. of the I. W. W. who attended the Indianapolis Convention to court the discontented miners into dualism. Such dualists have no more realistic program than to hang about like vultures around some wounded lion, hoping for a chance to pick the bones. They help the machine, or stand indifferent in the fight made by the progressives for the practical measures that must bridge over the gap between the present and their future utopia—hoping only for the spoils of a union collapse that would mean tragedy to hundreds of thousands of workers. So much for the significance of late events.

As to details, the District 14 Convention which took place at Pittsburg, Kansas, from March 10th to 15th, symbolizes the whole situation. Lewis had revoked the district charter and installed his tool, Van Bittner, in Howat's place in 1921. Howat was not only deposed, but he was expelled by Van Bittner's lifting the charter of Howat's local union. In addition, throughout the whole district a "reorganization" was carried out whereby every miner who wanted to belong to the union had to sign a "yellow dog" contract with Van Bittner, promising to be a good, "loyal and silent member without right of voice or vote."

Greater tyranny could hardly be imagined than that thrust upon the Kansas miners. Discouragement and dualism crept into the ranks and only the stalwart stand of Howat, who had won the hearts of the rank and file by his defiance of Governor Allen's "Industrial Court" even to a jail term conclusion, kept Lewis and the dualists from wrecking the Kansas district.

Although the 12,000 members of 1921 are now reduced to 9,000, the lost ones are mostly "lame ducks," pensioners and the like; while the militants stuck with the union and even swallowed the "yellow dog" contract rather than help Lewis and the operators wreck the district organization. By this tactic Lewis' "victory" has slowly turned to defeat and Howat and his program are now in full control of District 14 again.

This convention justified every sacrifice made. Out of the 147 rank and file delegates, all but a group of 13 stuck with Howat against Lewis at every step. These delegates themselves directed their own parliamentary battle, and they are worthy of the highest praise.

For the most part previously unknown, young, inexperienced, native-born American types, with no theory of the class struggle to guide them beyond the immediate fight against the machine, they instinctively found the right tactic in every battle between themselves and the officials of the District who were heavily reinforced by a dozen or so organizers and officers sent in by Lewis to hold down the convention.

Pompous and pot-bellied, the "representatives of the international" swaggered into the convention hall, attired in fine raiment and white linen, with Elks' and Masons' baubles dangling over their abdomens and fingers girt with rings. They were going to take the floor at will and advise, cajole and frighten the rank and file delegates.

These delegates presented a marked contrast in manner and dress. In old clothes from the pit, worn and often ragged, a bit unkempt and showing the hell of poverty the coal-diggers know, they rose undirected but straight to revolt the minute the gavel sounded. In their dress and in their demeanor toward the Lewis gang one could scent the odor of revolution, despite the fact that these young fellows, young and un-schooled, knew of W. Z. Foster only as an opponent of "the crooks in the unions" and therefore probably all right. They even objected to being called "insurgents." Yet they fought, and fought nobly and successfully for measures advocated by the Progressive Miners' Committee, which shows how profoundly the Committee's measures are imbedded in the life needs of the coal miners.

When the Convention opened and the parasites imported by Lewis began to monopolize the floor, revolt began. "These fellows will speak only by permission of the majority vote of this convention," was the sense of the delegates who rose to shut off the Lewis gas, and a resolution was carried making that the law. When the District President started to say that he ruled the convention should be closed to outsiders, the rebuke of a vote for open meetings followed charges from the floor that "something dirty was trying to be put over by the gang from the international."

Remembering Lewis' action at Indianapolis and watchful of their rights, the delegates carried a motion that "this convention shall not adjourn except by majority vote of the delegates." This angered Frampton, one of the imported officials, who, after getting their consent, launched into a long, rambling speech attacking the delegates as "Fosterites" who had been inspired "by the Communist Party." He told of "red plots" and "Communist control at Indianapolis." The delegates were patient, but when he finished they laughed him out of court. "This fellow claims," said one delegate, "that this opposition is being directed by the Communist Party. I just want to tell them that the actions of the delegates here are being directed solely by the crooked tactics of John L. Lewis and the conditions he and the operators have imposed on the Kansas miners."

To seal their friendship for Howat and the other old district officers by deeds, the delegates voted them payment of several months back salary. Advised by his spies, Lewis sent in long telegrams forbidding the present officials to sign the checks. The present officials were glad of the excuse and an impasse occurred which might have led to another wrecking of the district. But

Howat, learning the facts, obtained the floor and refused to accept his back pay at such price. "To hell with the money. All I want from the miners of this district is their confidence, and knowing I have it and that John L. Lewis can't take that away, I'm satisfied. Anyway, we are all poor down here." This natural nobility won him even greater support.

When the Myerscough case and the Nova Scotia matter came up near the end of the convention, the delegates, although confessing their lack of all and full particulars, gave evidence of sound sense in opposing the attacks made by the Lewis gangsters.

International Organizer Ferns, obtaining the floor by their vote, slandered Myerscough in the dirtiest way possible, calling him a "scab" and other epithets equally unfounded. When he had done, an opposition delegate pointed out that while the Kansas miners don't know much about Myerscough, yet "this fellow's attack on Myerscough is a high recommendation that Myerscough is the kind of a man we need in our union." And the Convention voted in favor of Myerscough getting a square deal by re-instatement.

Again, in the Nova Scotia case, the Kansas miners' delegates found their best guide to action in the speech of Lewis' representative, Dave Watkins of Iowa, who in a witless and ignorant speech against the old officers of District 26, said, "Why, they even joined the Third International. Now, I don't know what that is, but they joined it!" A delegate from the floor took him up with, "This is the kind of intelligent officers Lewis sends in to tell us what to do." And a resolution upholding District 26 as against Lewis was passed by the solid vote of all except the 13 anti-Howat delegates who voted all the time with the District officers.

The international officers finally gave up and left the convention. But not before the most bitter pill, the calling for a special convention of the international to give Howat a fair trial, had been approved and Howat called on for a speech, in which he greeted the actions of the convention as marking a new day in the U. M. W. of A. and the passing of crooks and reactionaries from power. The efforts for clean unionism, said Howat, must be accompanied by efforts to build up a powerful political party of farmers and workers. So closed the Kansas District Convention, a real accomplishment of the rank and file and a total repudiation of both Lewis and the dualists.

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The Trade Union Educational League**IDAHO FEDERATION JOINS PROGRESSIVES**

LAST month we had hoped to carry the story of the Convention of the Idaho State Federation of Labor held in Pocatello Jan. 14-16, because, coming at a time when reaction rules among most of the higher bodies of the labor movement, it was a demonstration of the continued radicalization of the great rank and file. The story arrived too late for our publication, however, so we can now only summarize its results and significance.

The Convention took a progressive stand on practically every question that came before it. It endorsed government ownership of the railroads, recognition of Soviet Russia, amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial unions, the labor party, and repeal of the Idaho Criminal Syndicalism law. The full significance of the measures that were being passed. Every delegate was aware that these propositions were advocated by the left-wing of the labor movement and bitterly opposed by the Gompers officialdom. The expulsion of Bill Dunne from the Portland Convention was brought up to intimidate the delegates, but without effect. The gathering of delegates from the local unions of Idaho realized that the progressive resolutions expressed their real needs and they acted accordingly. It was a real victory for progress.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the Idaho Convention was the fact that only a handful of the delegates were avowed radicals. The overwhelming majority were plain rank and filers without any particular philosophy. They were simply disgusted with the lack of program and initiative on the part of the A. F. of L. officialdom, and therefore, turned to the only ones who had anything positive to offer. The Convention was another demonstration that the American labor movement, if it wishes any leadership, must find it in the left-wing, the only group that offers a fighting program to the trade unions of this country.

PROPAGANDA FOR COLLABORATION

THE Johnston scheme for systematic collaboration of the railroad unions with the companies, which involves the transformation of the workers' organizations into company unions, is being propagandized far and wide. The true nature of this program is shown

by the fact that the same articles in advocacy of it, appear indiscriminately in journals of the labor organizations and of the employers. Thus an article by O. S. Beyer, Jr., on "The Employee Morale Problem of Our Railroads," published originally in the *Railway Age*, a capitalist journal, is now going the rounds of the railroad union magazines accompanied by choruses of approving comment. Tons of printed matter are being circulated among the railroad workers in an attempt to convince them that the real problems of the industry are the same for those who do the work and for those who collect the profits.

The *Railroad Trainman*, in its current issue, goes as far as to boast that the unions are not getting as high wages for the workers as they easily could. In an editorial on wages this official organ of one of the Big Four Brotherhoods, commenting upon "the comparatively low wages of railroad transportation men," says that if the railroad unions were militant, "ready to force their opinions rather than have them decided by public judgment; in short let them become radical fighting organizations, there is no question but what wages of transportation employees would be the best in the country." It boasts that the unions content themselves with arguing their cases, not fighting for their demands. It agrees with the employers that the first consideration of railroad operation must be the continuous flow of profits to the stockholders.

Our liberal journals have lined up completely with the collaborationists. For example, the *New Republic* for March 12th, carries an approving story of the so-called B. & O. plan which chides the radicals for opposing it. A significant sentence, however, says, "In spite of their (the radicals') blindness, they will be partly right and will begin to carry conviction to the rank and file unless the management brings its share of the undertaking to a logical conclusion." In other words, the great "success" of the Johnston plan has been in increasing profits; according to its own advocates, it remains to be seen what benefit the workers are to get. But we can be sure that the railroad companies themselves will convince the workers that they have not even slight temporary advantages to gain from the poisonous system of class collaboration.

THE LIBERALS COMPLAIN

THE liberal intellectuals are becoming perturbed over the wholesale desertion of progressive labor leaders to the camp of Gompers. They do not understand it, and in searching for an explanation they have seized upon the charge that Wm. Z. Foster and the Trade Union Educational League are responsible. The argument runs, according to the *New Republic*, that Foster had everything working for progress in the American labor movement until he got associated with the damnable Communists, which disreputable connection immediately ruined everything.

It must be comforting to rationalize a retreat so easily. It is clear, however, to those who prefer harsh facts to liberal sophistry, that all the progressives and liberals in the labor movement who have abandoned their programs have done so for the simple reason that they are half-hearted about them. If it is a choice between the united front with Gompers against progress or a united front with the Communists for such mild measures as amalgamation, the labor party, etc., they have been choosing Gompers and abandoning their principles. Their present complaints are really not "good form." Do they actually expect the revolutionaries to abandon support of progressive measures just to make

them respectable for the liberals? If the pseudo progressives had any kind of a fighting record, such a demand would not be quite so ridiculous as it is. So far as we can estimate the character of these liberal progressives today, however, to abandon amalgamation and a labor party to their tender mercies would condemn both these vital issues to innocuous desuetude.

The *New Republic*, strangely enough, closes its comment upon a constructive note. It says, "The opinion which Foster has already created in favor of amalgamation and independent political action can be captured by those who do not share his ultimate aims." Now, that's what we call talking business. Go to it, boys, and we will guarantee that all the backers of THE LABOR HERALD, Communist and non-Communist, will cheer you on and back you up with all their power.

DOLLA MUST BE RELEASED

WM. MUMFORD, one of the tools used by the Steel Trust to frame-up Jacob Dolla and send him to prison for 17 years, was released from the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania early in March. He is the last of the stool pigeons who were used against Dolla and sent to prison with him. Dolla alone of those involved in the case is still in prison.

Mumford was one of the first to confess to the frame-up. On Dec. 30, 1922, he wrote a thousand word confession, which was published in THE LABOR HERALD for February, 1923, in which he acknowledged that the evidence he gave against Dolla was absolutely untrue. He said that he was unwilling to send an innocent man to prison. "But what was I going to do? I was in a weakened condition and could not stand the torture any longer. I was forced to say things against myself that were not true. They beat me and tortured me continually until I said what they wanted me to say. I could not stand it any longer. They struck me on my wound. There was no truth in the story they dictated to me although they forced me to testify to it."

Another confession of the frame-up was made by Robert Boyer, published in THE LABOR HERALD for March, 1923. The evidence gathered by Dolla's friends and presented to the Pardon Board of Pennsylvania through the Committee organized by Clinton S. Golden of Philadelphia, and assisted by Francis Fisher Kane, former United States District Attorney, proved beyond the shadow of a doubt, more than a year ago, that Jacob Dolla was completely innocent of any wrong doing.

Why is Jacob Dolla still in prison while all the confessed perjurers and stool pigeons are released? Does the Steel Trust still own and control the government of Pennsylvania, including the governor, Gifford Pinchot?

NEW ATTACKS UPON THE LEAGUE

ON March 1st, in Los Angeles, Calif., the police, acting under the direction of local labor officials, entered the meeting of the Trade Union Educational League, confiscating the literature and arresting 30 men and women who were present. No charges were filed and all those involved were immediately released. The purpose of the outrage was then made manifest by a great campaign of "exposure" of the T. U. E. L. in the capitalist press, in conjunction with the expulsion of 11 members of the Carpenters' Union by orders of President Hutchinson from Indianapolis.

California has long been noted as a state where civil rights are violated by labor-hating government officials with impunity. For the past several years the I. W. W. has been subjected to the most bitter persecution under the so-called Criminal Syndicalism Law. Under the infamous Busick Injunction, hundreds of men have been sent to prison without even a trial, merely on the basis of a membership card in the I. W. W. The menace of this practice, threatening the entire labor movement, was pointed out by the Second General Conference of the T. U. E. L. This latest development shows that the corrupt union officialdom is partner to the systematic use of the capitalist laws and courts against all who do not bow their heads in unqualified submission to Gompersism.

But if the reactionary trade union officials and the capitalists of California think that they can prevent all progress by terrorizing and intimidating the militant spirits of the labor movement, they are going to be sorely disappointed. The process of education now permeating the California labor movement, in common with that of the entire country, will go on in spite of them. Indeed, it is just such flagrant violation of every principle of civil rights that is going to open the eyes of the great masses of workers to the absolute necessity of amalgamation, the labor party, and the other items of the T. U. E. L. program.

THIRD CONGRESS OF THE R. I. L. U.

JUST as this issue goes to press announcement is made that the Third World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions is called for June 25th, at Moscow. The order of business is:

- Report of the Executive Bureau.
- Immediate Tasks of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement.
- Trade Unions and Shop Committees.
- International Struggle for the Eight-Hour Day.
- Strike Strategy.
- Tasks of the R. I. L. U. in England.
- Tasks of the R. I. L. U. in Germany.
- Tasks of the R. I. L. U. in America and Canada.
- Attitude of the Revolutionary Unions Towards Industrial Internationals.
- Organizational Structure of Militants.
- Tasks of the R. I. L. U. in the Near, Middle, and Far East.
- Trade Unions and Cooperatives.
- Miscellaneous.
- Elections.

There can be no doubt that the Third Congress, summarizing as it will the most fruitful year of revolutionary development within the trade union movement of the world, will be an epoch-making one, carrying the International labor movement forward past another mile-stone and toward new achievements.

THE INTERNATIONAL

ENGLAND ONE of the objections advanced against fusion of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen with the National Union of Railwaymen is that locomotivemen's interests would be submerged in a union catering for all grades. An important statement on this matter is made in the current issue of the "Railway Review," the official organ of the N. U. R. That journal declares:

"It is recognized that with a huge industrial machine departmental specialization or autonomy is necessary. This position was made clear at the Crewe A. G. M., and further by the N. U. R. request to the General Council of the Trades Union Congress.

It has been repeated in the public utterances of the leading officers, and that is that there is no objection to locomotivemen having autonomy on matters which are their own concern inside the N. U. R.

The General Secretary has stated that, given fusion, he would welcome Mr. Bromley at Unity House to take charge of locomotive questions.

The benefits the men have paid in for would be guaranteed. What more is required? There is equal facility, and with due modesty greater efficiency inside the industrial union.

What more is required we do not know, but if this offer is not accepted we can only suggest to the rank and file of the A. S. L. E. and F. to ascertain the cause."

ON Feb. 16th, 120,000 dock workers went on strike throughout Great Britain in support of the demand for two shillings per day increase in wages, and a guaranteed week for all registered dockers. The dispute began when, on Nov. 30th, last, a national delegate conference of the dockers met at York and formulated demands calculated to regain a part of what was taken away from them in the past three years. The dockers gave notice on Jan. 1st that the agreement in force would have to be revised. At a joint meeting of dockers and employers on Jan. 16th, the latter summarily rejected the demands without hearing the workers' side of the case. The union promptly called another delegate conference on Jan. 29th and issued strike notice for Feb. 16th.

Upon issuance of the strike call, the employers changed their attitude and called for conferences. These were held on Feb. 5th and 11th, but the employers still held out with the result that the strike went into effect. It was the most effective tie-up of the British ports in history. Not only did the entire 120,000 dockers in the Transport and General Workers' Union respond to the call, but they were joined and assisted by the National Union of Railwaymen and the Amalgamated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. Commercial road transport members of the union were instructed not to haul merchandise to or from docks, wharves, or warehouses during the period of the strike. Every port in Great Britain was completely tied up for nine days.

In support of their demands the dockers pointed out that the port employers were making profits of 38,000,000 pounds sterling (more than \$160,000,000) per year. The employers pleaded poverty but re-

fused to allow their books to be examined. The Trades Union Congress supported the strike through out, while the labor government pursued its established policy of "neutrality." The Minister of Labor, Shaw, made several futile attempts at mediation, which were contemptuously rejected by the employers. Prime Minister MacDonald went to the country for the week end, denying that he intended to interfere in the struggle although "he is quite willing to intervene if it is thought that his intervention would be useful." A mass meeting of transport workers of Gloucester passed a resolution calling upon MacDonald "to use at once emergency powers to take full control of all shipping and docks and pay the increase asked for by the dockers until the employers and the union have reached a solution to the difficulty."

The strike was so effective, however, that the dock employers quickly made an offer that was finally accepted by the strikers. This included immediate increase of 1 shilling per day and another shilling by June 2nd. The strike was settled on Feb. 26th on these terms, which, although a compromise, are looked upon as a great victory marking the beginning of a general forward move of the entire British labor movement. The miners have already served notice of the termination of their agreement and will doubtless make their demands stronger and be more ready for a militant struggle if refused, as a result of the successful dockers' strike.

GERMANY THERE are two seamen's organizations in Germany: The Seamen's Section of the Transport Workers' Union, affiliated to the I. T. F., and the German Seamen's Union (Deutscher Schiffahrtsbund), which is affiliated to the R. I. L. U. Negotiations between these two organizations are now going on with a view to fusing them into one, in order to be able to offer a united front against the unparalleled onslaught of the capitalists. Towards the end of November, 1923, the German Seamen's Union (DSB) presented the Seamen's Section of the T. W. U. with a proposal to amalgamate the two organizations, the headquarters of the new organization to be in Hamburg, with all officials and employees elected by the membership, all class collaboration to be abandoned and the principle of the class struggle accepted in its stead. That the new organization would consider itself a member of the International Transport Workers' Federation (Amsterdam), and use all its influence to unite all similar organizations accepting the principle of the class struggle in the I. T. F.

On Jan. 8th, the conference took place in Hamburg at which these proposals were discussed. The name of the new organization is to be "The German Transport Workers' Union, Seafarers' Section, pending the final action to be taken by the next conference. They considered the publication of an independent seamen's paper as most urgent; the elections to be postponed until the actual amalgamation has been effected; that all co-operation with the employers be abandoned; with their chief aim to see that a well organized and solid front be put into action against the capitalist offensive and the German White Terror instituted by Gen. von Seeckt.

The last joint conference was held on Jan. 29th, and they were in agreement on all points except as to the publication of an independent seamen's paper, which they considered impossible just now because of technical and financial difficulties, and that when published it should be in Berlin and not Hamburg. A final decision is yet to be reached on this last point.

RUSSIA THE steady improvement in practically all branches of Russian agriculture and industry is shown by an extended report made by Rykov on Dec. 29th, 1923. The following excerpts give a general picture of the situation:

"In the year 1923 agriculture reached almost two-thirds of its pre-war level, while industry (as far as the manufacture of finished articles is concerned) attained 40.3% of the production of 1923. During the past year, while agriculture has only increased its total production by 4% in comparison with 1922, industry as a whole can show an increase of 21.8%. And if we compare the development of big and little industry from 1923, we shall find that while big industry has increased its production of finished articles by 22.04% in comparison with 1922, small industry shows an increase of 20% during the same period. These are minimum figures.

"The whole textile industry, if we take the production of the year 1920 at 100%, increased its production to 323.9% by the year 1922-3—and as compared with pre-war production (1912) it has attained 39.9%. The chemical industry, taken collectively, has risen from 18% of the pre-war production (1912) in the year 1920, to 46% in the year 1922-23. The production during the past year, in all districts, is estimated at about 160% as compared with the year 1920. The Donetz basin has been able to record an increase in production. Naphtha production has reached 56.6% of pre-war production. Thanks to the successes obtained in the naphtha and coal industries, Russia has now a secure basis for the fuel supplies of the country. As for fuel supplies for the railways, while in Jan. 1921 the railways had a stock sufficing for 11 days (although there were times during this period when there was fuel for only two days), on Oct. 1st, 1921, there was a reserve for 26 days, Oct. 1st, 1922, for 39 days, and on Oct. 1st, 1923, for 70 days. In 1920-21, wood formed 75% of the total fuel transport, naphtha 11%, and coal 16%. In 1922-23, for wood 57%, naphtha 14%, and coal 20%. Thus our mineral fuel has increased from only a quarter to nearly a half of the total amount.

"If the data on the metal industry in 1922-23 be compared with those for 1920, we have more than doubled our production of cast iron and the production of the Martin's furnaces has been more than tripled and that of rolled metal more than doubled. The whole industry, including the working up of metal, attained an average of 20% of pre-war production last year. But, if absolute figures be taken with regard to cast iron, Martin's furnaces, and rolled metal, and compared with pre-war production, the results show that we are only just beginning the restoration of the metal framework of our industry. Thus, cast iron production last year was only about 7.9% in comparison with 1912, the produc-

tion of the Martin's furnaces 14.8%, and rolled metal 13.7%. Transport is still being carried on at a loss, but the deficit is being rapidly reduced. In 1922-23 transport was subsidized to the extent of 115 million roubles, while in this year negotiations are being conducted with reference to a sum of 40 to 80 million roubles; that is, the amount required from the state for the support of transport has been reduced to at least half that of last year, although this subsidy covers the cost for the harbor construction, river protection, etc., expenditure having nothing in common with the railways. If we take the railways alone, these will be working almost without deficit next year.

"According to the statements of the economists, working wages have risen by 87%, but, according to the statements of the trades unionists, by 63%. The Party Central Committee issued special instructions to the effect that categories of workers who had remained behind with respect to wages should be brought nearer to the general level."

CZECHOSLOVAKIA THE ONE BIG UNION has been in existence only one year. During this period it increased its membership from 75,000 to 230,000. Its membership is increasing monthly by five to seven thousand new recruits. The entire apparatus of the One Big Union is rigidly centralized. There are about 820 local branches. Each province has a secretary (a total of 81 secretaries) who handles the union work of his particular province. Its total personnel is 110, including the secretaries. The organization consists of the following sections: Chemical Workers, 82,000; Textile Workers, 32,000; Metal Workers, 23,000; Leather Workers, 13,000; Glass Workers, 7,000; Pottery Workers, 6,000; Municipal Workers, 2,700; Food Workers, 1,700; Agricultural Workers and Domestic Servants, 60,000. The relations between this body and the independent unions of wood workers, transport workers and building workers have been more or less regulated. The independent unions are generally invited to send representatives to the meetings of the Central Executive Board. The One Big Union engages in extensive cultural work. Each secretary has a library for his province. The organization publishes a large periodical press, including the "Delnik," circulation 87,000 (soon to be raised to 100,000) with a supplement for each industrial group. A special paper is published for women. The German organ has a circulation of 13,500 and there are publications in Polish, Hungarian and Slovakian.

THE TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE FINANCIAL STATEMENT

for the period
December 1st, 1923, to February 29th, 1924

RECEIPTS:

Subscriptions	\$ 382.96
Bundle orders	2,046.24
Advertisements	368.00
Books and Pamphlets	426.75
Sustaining Fund	1,018.17
	\$4,242.12
Balance to begin	645.93
	\$4,888.05

DISBURSEMENTS:

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Amalgamation and a Labor Party

By James Harris

ADOPTION of the principles of amalgamation and a Labor Party, two outstanding points in the Trade Union Educational League program, has taken on a systematic character only since the League began its work. It will be of interest to those who have taken part in the great educational drive, to sum up the results briefly by noting the organizations that adopted the left-wing resolutions.

There were 17 State Federations of Labor that adopted the amalgamation resolution, forming a solid block of territory from coast to coast. The states are: Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, New Hampshire, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska, Colorado, So. Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Utah, Oregon, Washington, and Alberta, Canada.

Among the International Unions, 14 went on record for amalgamation along industrial lines during the progress of the first campaign. This included some of the largest unions in the American labor movement, as well as some of the smaller ones. The names of the organizations are: Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, Railway Maintenance of Way Men's Union, International Molders' Union, International Typographical Union, Lithographers' Union, Fire Fighters, Amalgamated Butcher Workmen, Bakers' Union, Amalgamated Food Workers, Brewery Workers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, United Textile Workers, American Federation of Textile Operatives, Amalgamated Shoe Workers.

Several unions, not formally on record by convention action, are yet participating in amalgamation negotiations; this is true particularly in the Shoe and Textile industries, where amalgamation movements are resulting in actual consolidations.

State Federations and International Unions are, of course, only the high spots where the great rank and file movement succeeded in overcoming the opposition of the union officialdom which is universally against any progressive measure. The actual spread of this great idea of industrial unionism through amalgamation is seen in the local unions and city central bodies which are close to the rank and file. It is impossible to give a list of the multitude of such bodies that endorsed amalgamation. Scores of city centrals, and literally thousands of local unions, are convinced supporters. Some idea of the extent to which this is true

is gained by examining one industrial group—the railroad unions. Among the 16 standard organizations not less than 3,377 local lodges have endorsed the Minnesota Plan, a document that has been the T. U. E. L. program from the beginning, and they have so notified their International Unions, and the International Committee for Amalgamation in the Railroad Industry in St. Paul.

Action toward a Labor Party has been even more wide-spread and sweeping, but it is much more difficult to summarize in definite facts and figures, as the movement is less definite and less crystallized into positive programs. Names of a few labor organizations endorsing a Labor Party movement within the past two years will indicate how deeply the movement has rooted itself in the trade unions. Among a host of others are: the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, Utah Federation, Detroit Federation, Central Labor Councils of Buffalo, Portland, Butte, Toledo, Los Angeles, Seattle, Utah State Federation, Amalgamated Assn. of Iron, Steel & Tinworkers, Minnesota Federation, West Virginia Federation, International Molders Union, Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

State Farmer-Labor Parties, with the participation of large sections of the labor movement, are active in the States of Minnesota, Montana, So. Dakota, No. Dakota, Washington and West Virginia. State Conferences to prepare for launching Farmer-Labor Parties have been set up in other states and in many cities. The successes in the Minnesota elections last fall of the Farmer-Labor Party of that state stimulated the labor forces to organize more thoroughly with the farmers, resulting in the formation of the Farmer-Labor Federation within the F. L. P. to put the party on the basis of the economic organizations rather than of loose legal committees. Everywhere new labor party organizations are in process of formation, and old organizations are being tightened up and improved.

Altogether the progress on the two basic issues of amalgamation and a labor party has been substantial. The part played by the T. U. E. L. in guiding and stimulating these movements and putting them upon a national basis has been an effective one. Every member of the T. U. E. L. may well feel confident that even greater achievements are in store for the left wing.

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