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# THE LABOR HERALD

Official Organ of The Trade Union Educational League



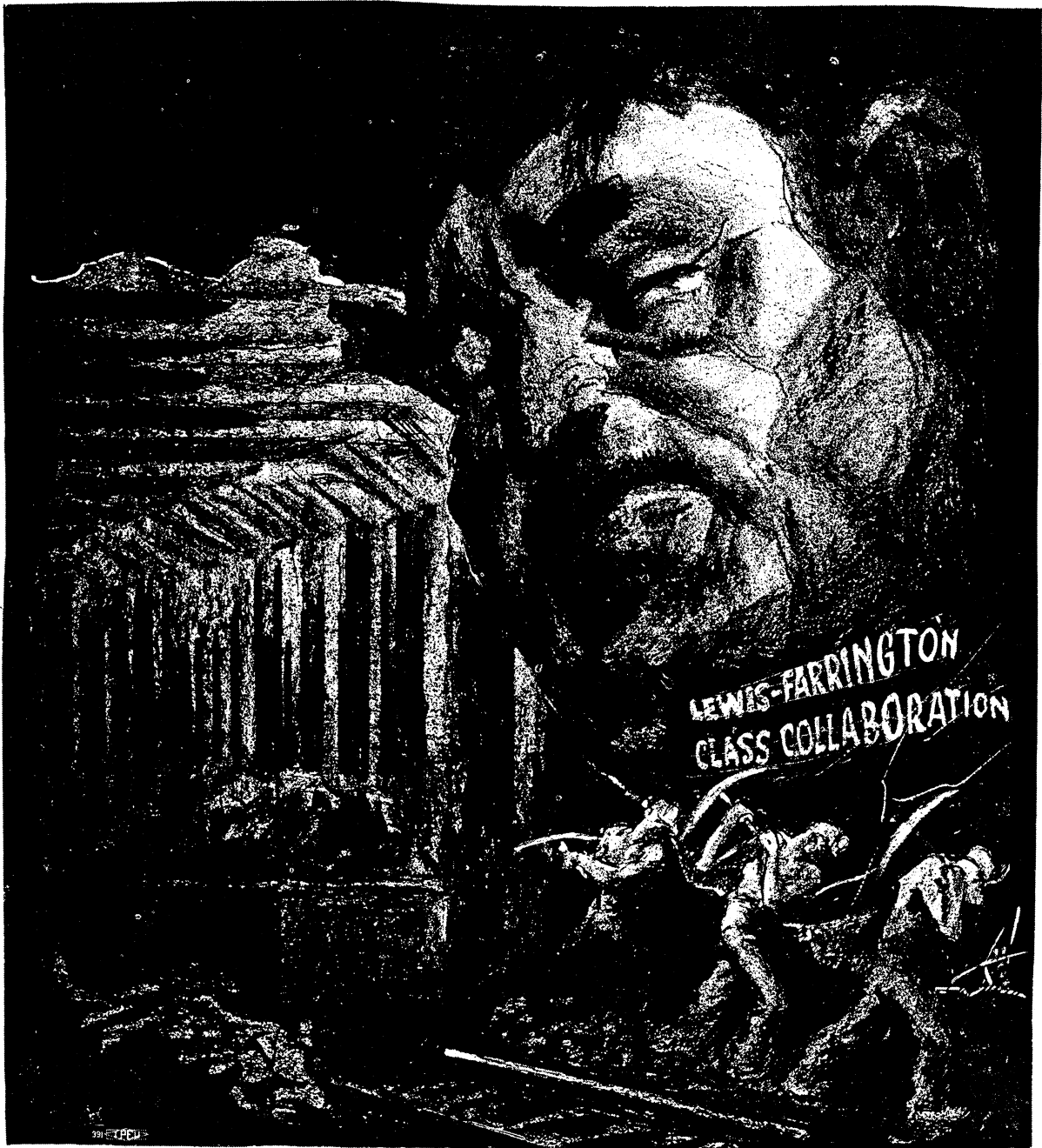
JULY, 1924



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# THE LABOR HERALD

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JULY, 1924

No. 5

## Doings and Misdoings of the Month

### Some Striking Facts

CONGRESS adjourned just as the Republican Convention convened. As Congress adjourned Coolidge vetoed the bill which provided for a few more cents a day for the underpaid postal workers. He added insult to injury by coldly remarking that there were plenty of workers who would take the jobs. As the Republican Convention convened the officials of the carmen's union called off the strike of the motormen and conductors in Cleveland because the Republican politicians asked them not to commit a "breach of hospitality."

These things are typical. The postal workers, who are forbidden to strike and haven't got enough courage so far to strike anyhow, are both robbed and insulted by one man, and that one pretends to speak for a democracy!

The Cleveland street car men, on the other hand, are not bound by some silly law or custom to remain loyal to the government, even though they starve for it, like the postal workers. But they are bound to the wholly despotic idea that officials of the union have the right to call strikes on or off regardless of the will of the rank and file.

In both these instances the striking features of the actions taken are the hostility shown by the highest authority of government toward the workers and the same hostility and indifference by the highest officers of the unions towards the workers. Not until the postal workers create a real union of militant rank and file action, and not until the carmen learn to control their own union, will this class persecution and class collaboration be wiped out.

### Modern Methods of Hara Kiri

TO make a demonstration of protest, the patriotic Japanese attracts attention to himself by slitting his tummy with a knife on any crowded street corner and, as his innards ooze out, delivers his first and last oration to the multitude, and his spirit to Buddha.

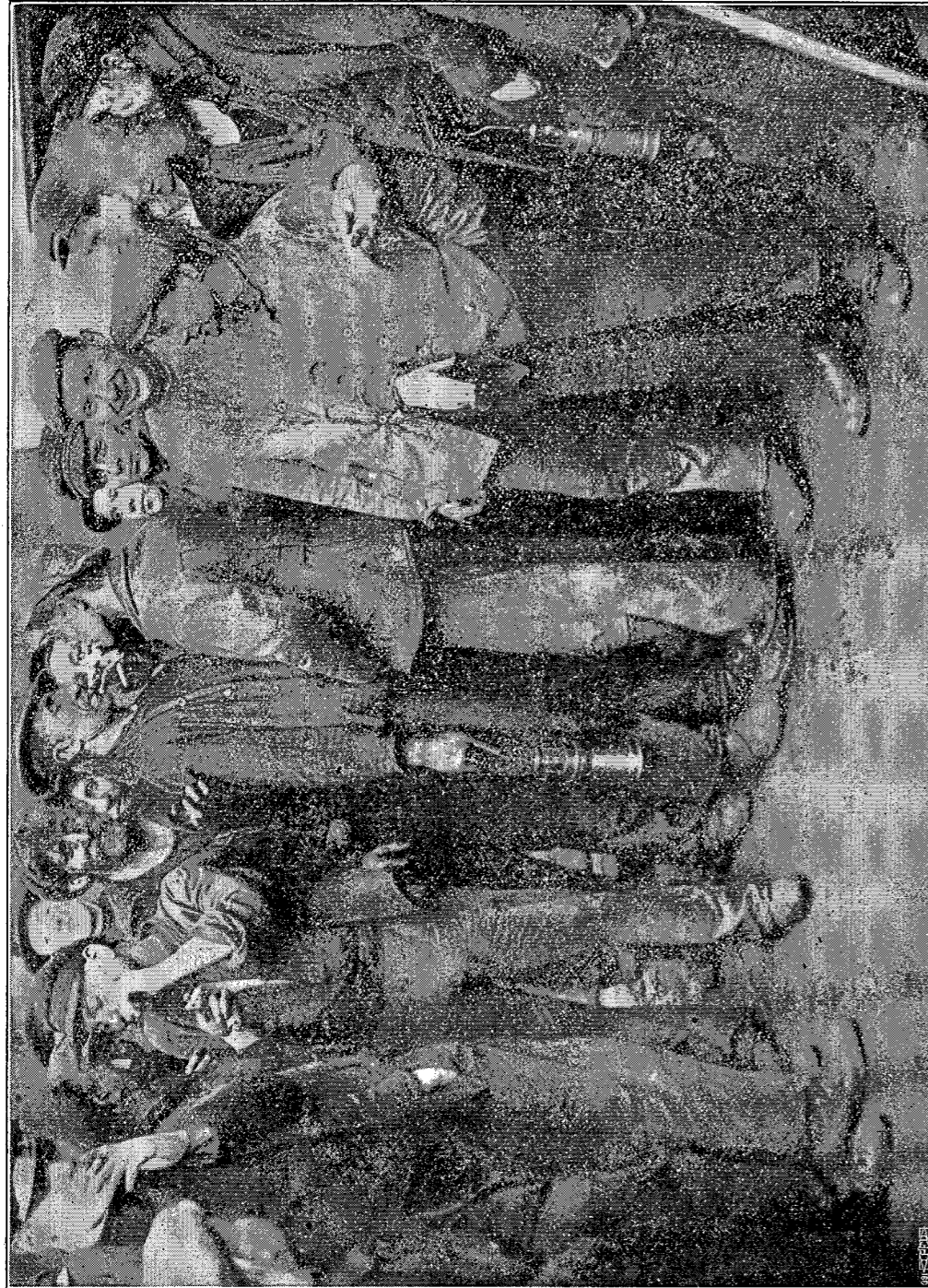
About 75,000 people attended the funeral of one such chap in Tokyo the other day, and the Japanese Fascisti who call themselves the "Japanese Forward Society" showed their forwardness by adopting American Legion methods of making trouble for "the damned foreigners," raiding a dance at the swell diplomatic Imperial Hotel and giving the Americans present a little Major Berry-Secretary Davis medicine. All as protest against the exclusion clause of the immigration law recently passed by the Teapotters.

Which shows that the Japs are learning how to turn the old hara kiri habit to nationalistic uses, as well as copy the Fascist raiding styles of the American Legion. But we are not letting the Japs beat us, and all America recently witnessed an unexampled case of political hara kiri.

LaFollette, who had deluded millions of workers and poor farmers into thinking he represented their interests, on May 28, stepped before the public in a declaration of protest against the "evil influences" in the old parties. To demonstrate his protest against such disgrace LaFollette politically disembowelled himself by making a vicious attack on the Communists and the St. Paul Convention. Events have shown that the workers and farmers know that the Communists are the heart of the effort for a Farmer-Labor party while LaFollette hesitated between fear and treachery, but never gave the least aid.

### "On the Ascent of High Mountains"

UNDER the above title, Lenin, in an article found among his papers after his death, compares the efforts of the Russian workers to seize and hold power to a man attempting to ascend a high and hitherto unclimbed mountain. The climber, says Lenin, "arrives at a position where to go forward appears not to be only difficult and dangerous but downright impossible. He is compelled to turn back, to go downwards, to seek new paths, even if longer . . . to waste whole



COAL MINERS OF THE RUHR STRIKING AGAINST LENGTHENING THE DAY TO 10 HOURS. (See Editorial)

hours in order to hew out steps with an axe."

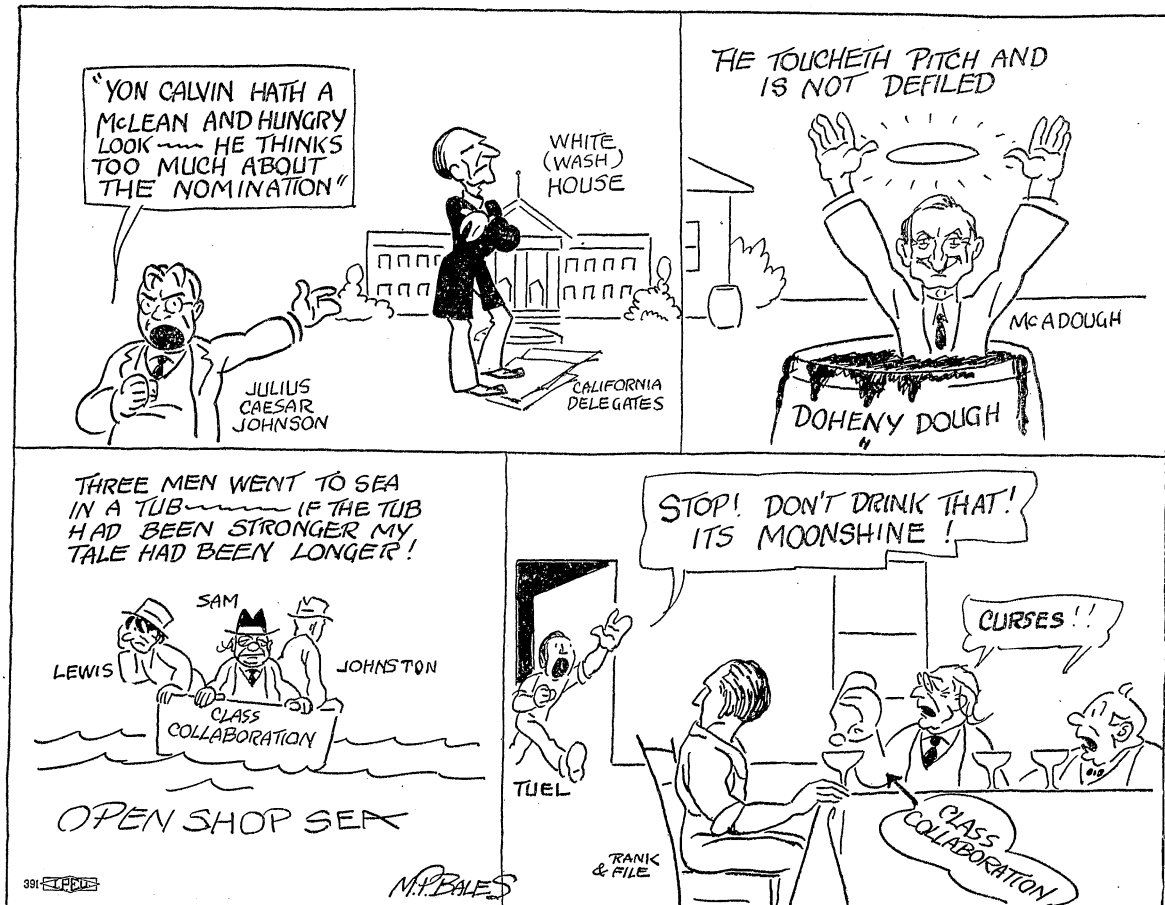
The enemies of the revolution and the philistines who call themselves revolutionists are pictured by Lenin as watching the climber through field glasses from the valley below: "Some shout: 'He will break his neck, it serves him right, he should not have been so hare-brained.' Others are trying to conceal their malicious attitude, they pose as being sorry and say: 'We regret to state, that our fear has been justified. Had we not, after having devoted all our lives preparing a reasonable scheme for the ascent of this mountain, demanded a postponement until our scheme had been definitely elaborated? Look, he is turning back. If we have condemned the mad-man and warned everybody from imitating or helping him, we have acted exclusively out of our love for the great plan for the ascent of this mountain.'"

The delightful irony in this can now be appreciated since the end of the 13th Congress of the Russian Communist Party on June 1st. The climber, who had to retreat in 1921 to the New Economic Policy, is finding a new path on which to proceed more

boldly and rapidly on the ascent towards a Communist society. The advance is again begun.

Reliable reports show that private trade in the cities is disappearing in amazing fashion, being unable to stand before the cumulative taxes heaped upon it and in competition with the state owned industries. Statistics show that on April 1st, Russian peasants were producing 76 per cent of pre-war totals. More astounding is it that in relation to the chervonetz, the new gold backed money unit of Russia, the English pound sterling fell 23 per cent from January 1 to April 5, and, wonderful to behold but not to mention to those who still think Russia is in ruins, our own American dollar, matched against the chervonetz rouble of the soviets, fell 12 per cent during the same short period! Also, a trade balance in Russia's favor of \$64,000,000 from last October to January shows the soviets' commercial advance.

The Bolsheviks have stopped their retreat to capitalism and are again ascending the mountain.



### Fainthearted or Faintheaded

IN the comparison by Lenin of the mountain climber to the workers in revolutionary struggle he mentions that it is only natural that a man in such a situation "would experience periods of faint-heartedness." The time is rotten ripe for observation that this can fittingly be applied not only to the revolutionary struggle as a whole, but also to its subordinate part of revolutionizing the existing unions.

Voices of those in the valley below, those who watch the struggle in the trade unions through a field glass, even voices of some Communists, who want an escalator on every mountain, complain over the stony and devious path of the revolutionary minority in the trade unions. So it is, as Ilyitch observed, natural that the climber has periods of faint-heartedness.

Some climbers, having barked their shins on the first boulder, want to go back and build a mountain of their own, a nice smooth mountain with shaded, asphalt winding drives of not over five degrees' slant to the mile. Others, having lived all their lives in the valley, get faint-hearted even at the suggestion of mountain climbing. Agreeing "in principle" that somebody must do the climbing, these latter volunteer to direct the climber by megaphone; but the climbing, ah, that is sweaty proletarian work, and they are flabby-muscled and short of wind. Besides, their sphere in the mountain climbers' association is that of esthetic interpretation and higher criticism. That can be done best from the valley. Really approaching the mountain would ruin the perspective. And so on.

Those who think that any mountain besides the A. F. of L. would be easier, are recommended to note the unbelievable reaction, censorship and even ballot-box stuffing going on in the I. W. W.—a whole range of mountains whose climbing we suggest to those who would build "revolutionary unions." With the most cynical indifference to the rights of the membership, the Chicago headquarters of the I. W. W. and every paper of that organization have concealed from the members even the news that the Red International of Labor Unions sent an important communication to them on May 8th, which was acknowledged and then ignored by the Chicago officers.

As to those who believe in trade union work—for somebody else—instructions just received from the International Mountain

Climbers' Association advise that membership therein not only entitles but obliges one really to climb mountains.

### The Helpless and the Hopeless

*"Petition me no petitions, sir, today;  
Today it is our pleasure to be drunk."*

THIS line of Fielding seems to have been what the highbrows call the *leitmotif* (the big idea) behind the manifesto entitled "American Labor in the Campaign" issued by the Executive Committee of the A. F. of L. on May 6, 1924.

Starting off bravely, by speaking for "American Labor", Gompers and company says, "American labor asks no favors from the government. It asks nothing from the government which men and women can do for themselves." Hurray! We, Labor, can take care of ourselves! We petition no petitions to your old government, except for what we can't take by our organization.

But Gompers makes a discovery. "Nevertheless," he says, "Government exists for a purpose." Be quiet, children, Wisdom speaketh... "Laws are necessary to the maintenance of civilization." The last word is spelled c-a-p-i-t-a-l-i-s-m.

But Gompers is not so brave as his words. He wants laws from the politicians. He pleads to the government to stop immigration. American labor is helpless on this score, by this admission. But only because so many unions do not organize the immigrants, nor open their membership even to the millions of native-born unorganized. This job-trust idea of Gompers merely wants a protective tariff on labor power. But it is helpless even in this.

The most surprising law Gompers asks, is a constitutional amendment giving labor "the right to organize" and "to bargain collectively through representatives freely chosen." Here, if anywhere, is the very heart of Labor's strength—or helplessness. Capitalist government, the enemy of labor, is asked to help! But if Gompers really wanted to organize the workers, amalgamation of the crafts and open membership would make such a powerful movement that in six months labor would not have to beg for "rights." As to "representatives freely chosen" Sam had his blind eye toward the I. L. G. W. —and others, that day.

There are other things in this wastebasket of laws Gompers wants from politics. But the eleventh point is the demand upon government for beer. Give us beer and class collaboration and we, Labor, will be emancipated! Helpless and hopeless are the Fat Boys.

## The Illinois Miners' First Step to Power

By J. W. Johnstone

NEVER in the history of the American labor movement has class collaboration been so brazenly and brutally advocated as by Frank Farrington, president of District 12, U. M. W. of A. at the Peoria Convention May 13 to 27. There was no camouflage.

With 150 great mines closed down and the other 224 working less than half time, with thousands of families actually destitute and the whole situation getting worse daily, the only analysis Farrington gave is the operators' analysis—that there are 50 per cent too many miners. Farrington's recommendation is the recommendation of the operators; that this 50 per cent of the miners must leave the industry and bear all the tragic results to thousands of families; but, if the union miner wishes to remain, he must firstly submit his neck to the yoke of a three year contract, and secondly he must produce more and cleaner coal for less than the non-union miners. In other words the union miners must suffer worse conditions than the non-union miners or get out of the mines and hunt for other work!

It is difficult to draw a picture of the state of mind of the delegates when they read this treacherous recommendation; when they saw every recommendation presented by themselves shoved aside because they had allowed themselves to be fooled into accepting a three year agreement, the basis of which is the atrocious provision that no changes can be made, even in the mining laws of the state to safeguard life and limb, without first getting the consent of the coal operators.

The rank and file had voted that there should be no reduction of wages, and are only now beginning to realize that they have also been tricked into agreeing to a contract that makes industrial slaves out of them for the next three years if they accept Farrington's and the operators' interpretation of it.

### "Nothing to Offer"

Few conventions take place in such an atmosphere of pessimism, where the leaders show such complete bankruptcy and utter disregard for the welfare of the members. With over \$500,000 owing to the miners in wages they cannot collect, they beg for food, delegate after delegate pleading for relief for starving families of their districts. But when they turned to Farrington who wanted "exceptional

power because he had to bear exceptional responsibility"—he had nothing to offer. He admitted that he did not know of any relief, except of course, the operators' scheme of the union mining coal cheaper than the non-union fields.

### Left Wing Immature.

The proposal of the militants for a six-hour day, an unemployed insurance financed by the operators and controlled by the workers, the nationalization of the mines, state unemployment insurance, the organization of the unorganized miners, participation in the June 17th labor party convention, the establishment of a workers' republic, all were sneered at by officialdom as was expected.

Upon these proposals the bulk of the delegates looked with unseeing eyes. Blinded by their misery they could not see the immediate need of applying these measures. They had no better suggestions to offer than these of the left wing; in fact they did not know what to do. They were in distress and wanted immediate relief. Certainly they were willing to fight for what they wanted. But they could not see how to fight for the left wing proposals when their three year agreement forbid any sort of a fight. Along with their officials who are squarely responsible for this damnable condition, the majority of the delegates could only shake their heads and correctly prophesy that the future looked black.

For the left wing it was a new experience to find itself ranged in battle formation against the hitherto unchallenged and powerful machine. Although the Communists fought desperately to crystallize the whole left wing group and clarify their own program, the immaturity and inexperience of the left wing generally created much timidity and faltering, all to the benefit of the machine. Their inexperience accounts for much, but candor must condemn the lack of discipline, the childish desire to appear "constructive" and the role of insurgent rather than of revolutionist which crippled the left wing and lost many opportunities. Yet however lacking in incisiveness and the discipline of experience, the raw recruits of the left wing fought stubbornly, and on a few big issues whipped the machine to a standstill.

The convention was in a state of mental chaos and the delegates were unwilling to accept the reality of their worsened condition

and adopt a revolutionary program. All agreed that conditions were terrible and getting worse. The delegates naturally rebel against the idea of competing with non-union miners as a solution. They did not understand the left wing program because, although they feel the class struggle they are not yet conscious of their mission in relation to it. But they are militant and their experiences in the coming months will certainly drive them still further to the left.

Despite Farrington's effort to set the stage for melodramatic attacks on the "reds" by himself and all the reactionaries such as Lewis, Murray, Green, Olander, Walker, McCarthy and Oscar Nelson, the red hysteria failed miserably. When Farrington tried to incite assaults on the *Daily Worker* representative, the delegates warned him that he, personally, would be held responsible for any riot. He subsided, but declared a motion to expel the *Daily Worker* reporter from the hall carried when it was obviously lost.

### Machine Whipped on Howat Case

The first sign of revolt was the unanimous vote to invite Alexander Howat to address the convention. Before Howat could arrive Farrington tried to railroad the case by jamming through a substitute for the many resolutions demanding a special international convention to give Howat a fair trial. This substitute was so evasive it did not even mention Howat's name, and the delegates refused to act until Howat had spoken. So action was postponed.

Howat's appearance was the signal for the only real demonstration of the convention. Farrington trickily stated that he had quit fighting for Howat only because Howat had lined up with Foster and the Progressive Miners' Committee, which Farrington charged was a dual organization. Howat gave a crushing rejoinder when he declared the charge of dualism false and ridiculous. He himself endorsed the Progressive Miners' program, and he was no dualist. If it were submitted to vote of the rank and file, he felt sure the miners' union would also endorse it; and, in answer to Farrington, said, "If the time ever comes that I have to vote to crucify some poor devil to uphold the International president in order to stay on the payroll, I hope someone will blow my head off."

Although both Lewis and Murray spoke the next morning, their attempts failed, the machine substitute was killed and by overwhelming majority the delegates voted for a special

convention to give Howat a fair trial and instructed the Executive Board to write other districts urging them to concur. This makes the third district taking this stand, and two more districts are needed to make it mandatory.

Another decisive victory for the left wing was the endorsement of industrial unionism, carrying with it instructions to the delegates to urge their local unions to send their full quota of delegates to the next convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor and wipe out the defeat amalgamation received at last year's packed reactionary convention at Decatur.

Although the left wing went down to defeat on the issue of the Labor Party and representation at St. Paul, the decision was not the one claimed in the convention report. Farrington won only by a narrow margin in reality, by his tellers knocking off at least 100 votes for and adding them to the votes against, the false count being 105 to 385. But the labor party movement will receive support of the miners in spite of this and the various reactionary speakers who talked five hours for Gompers' pro-capitalist party policy.

On the question of the recognition of Soviet Russia the machine did not dare flatly to oppose it. Recognition was carried in spite of trickery on a silly condition and in this, as in other things, Farrington was shown to have lost control.

### Farrington's Power Smashed

The main fight was on the appointive power. Over 100 delegates bore instructions to take this club from Farrington, and only after he was twice defeated by the left wing would he admit defeat. Under the Committee on Officers' Reports the appointive power was first defeated, so decisively that the machine's attempt to question the vote was met by the derisive dare to take it to roll call.

Farrington was determined to reverse this defeat. Every delegate was approached and Angus Kerr, chief counsel for the union, was brought on in defiance of the rules to ask the delegates to violate their instructions and let the so-called "legal investigators" be appointed. At once, the machine moved an amendment to this effect and although Farrington spoke in favor, he allowed no discussion from the fifty delegates clamoring for the floor. He forced the vote and declared the amendment carried, but discussion on the motion as amended was wrung from the steam roller and although Farrington again tried to bully the delegates and

declare it carried the machine was wrecked. For 30 minutes the convention was in an uproar demanding roll call. Farrington had to yield and for the second time was flatly defeated.

In spite of Farrington's plea not to discuss the Ku Klux Klan, the convention reaffirmed its drastic opposition. If Farrington is not a Kluxer he is seeking support from this anti-labor menace. The Klan is a Fascist terror threatening the miners, but not until local and

central labor bodies force the state Federation and U. M. W. A. officers to act, will the Klan peril meet opposition.

On the whole the convention was a splendid victory. On account of inexperience the left wing victory was not as great as Farrington's defeat. The *Daily Worker* was a wonderful asset in the fight. While many opportunities were overlooked by the left wing, the Illinois miners have taken their first step to rank and file power.

## No Wage Cuts! No Increase of Hours!

**T**HE Trade Union Educational League must everywhere take up the challenge of the employers. Everywhere the slogan must be sounded: "No wage cuts! No increase in hours!"

With industry slowing down, with unemployment clutching the workers in ever larger numbers, the employers of the United States are preparing to make another great drive against the labor unions, hoping to break them completely and throw the working class helpless into their machinery of exploitation.

Into each industry unemployment is creeping. The bosses are using it to pit the workers one against the other, to shift production from center to center, to discharge and re-hire at lower wages, to lengthen hours, to reduce wage-scales generally, and to throw labor conditions into a chaos. "Squeeze greater profits out of Labor" is the capitalist slogan.

Not content with their partial successes against the railroad workers, the miners, the clothing workers, the textile workers, and in many other fields, the capitalist class is preparing to deliver a smashing blow, organized and directed centrally by the agents of big capital, to smash the labor movement in another great "open shop" drive.

"Resistance", is the slogan for the workers everywhere; "Resistance to the last ounce of our energies."

No wage cuts! Let every great union, every central body and district council, every local, and every individual worker, resolve that wages shall be maintained at all costs, in preparation for a great at-

tempt to raise all wages to a standard approaching decent living costs. No wage cuts!

No increase in hours! The 8-hour day must be established and maintained as the maximum, with the 6 and 7-hour day for unhealthy industries. Hours of labor must be shortened instead of being lengthened. No increase of hours!

Whatever may be the handicaps to successful struggle, whatever conditions may seem favorable to the employers, the workers must sound a militant challenge to the capitalist offensive. Better to go down fighting than to surrender without a struggle. Any worsening of conditions that is accepted without a fight will be but the prelude to further intensification of the crushing policy of the capitalists. The bosses will force the fight; we can resist them better now than later on.

There is no excuse of any kind for the workers not to have increased wages and shorter hours. The capitalists are rolling in wealth, created by the workers. Their greed is insatiable, however, and the workers must face the bitter fact that nothing but struggle, organization, determination, and more struggle, will protect their interests against the blood-sucking crew.

Rally the unions! Rally the workers, organized and unorganized, into one mighty body of working-class will and determination!

No wage cuts! No increase in working hours!

NATIONAL COMMITTEE  
Trade Union Educational League.

# Russia in 1924

By Wm. Z. Foster

**I**T is my good fortune to have visited revolutionary Russia twice. The first time was in the spring and summer of 1921, the second time was within the past couple of months. When I returned to this country in 1921, I stated that in my judgment the Russian revolution was a success. So dark and gloomy was the outlook at that time that many accused me of being carried away by revolutionary optimism, of mistaking my desires for realities. But this time I must reiterate, and with even more emphasis, what I said in 1921. Unquestionably the Russian revolution is a success. The foundations of the new society have been definitely laid; now the task is the building of the superstructure.

In order to measure the progress that had been made in Russia, I, during my latest visit, constantly compared the situation with that which prevailed in 1921. That year was perhaps the darkest in the history of the Russian Revolution. It is true that the counter-revolution had by then been definitely defeated. But the internal situation of the country was frightful. The industries were paralyzed, the great famine was just developing, and the morale of the people was at its lowest ebb. I arrived in Russia shortly after the Kronstadt revolt, an uprising which showed a most dangerous discontent among the working masses upon whom the revolution had to depend for its support. The problems confronting the workers were many, strange, and complicated. So hopeless appeared the situation that only with difficulty could the elements of victory be discerned.

### The Dark Days of 1921

The progress achieved by the revolution during the past three years can be gauged pretty much by the degrees in which the various problems confronting the Russian workers in 1921 have been solved. These problems were of the most unusual and difficult character that ever confronted any people. Basically they were industrial in character and related to the establishment of the new revolutionary economic system. The two other great problems of the revolution—the establishment of the Soviet system and the defense of the new society against

the counter-revolution—had already been solved. The great task confronting the workers was to build up the industrial system and to raise the standards of living of the people. The fate of the revolution depended upon its being accomplished.

What a terrific problem this was, needs no enlarging upon at this time. All the world thought that it was insoluble. The industries were at a standstill. Food, clothing and other vital necessities of life were almost unprocurable. Demoralization existed in large sections of the proletariat. Only the Communists held fast. It is my opinion that if at that time the discipline of the Party had been relaxed and the masses allowed to give expression to their weakness, the revolution would have been lost. The starving masses would have yielded to some "man on horseback" who could have given them bread. It was a desperate situation for the revolution and a great test of the working class. The capitalistic intellectuals of the world did not believe that the revolution could survive. They expected and hoped that the Russian workers, starved into submission, would be compelled to abandon their desperate effort to establish a Communist society upon the ruins of the capitalist system.

### Starvation Period Over

But the croakers who flocked about Russia like hungry vultures awaiting the unholy feast which they felt sure would come with the early collapse of the Soviet government, reckoned without their host. The Communist Party, holding in discipline the working class, has proved equal to the impossible task. It held the discouraged masses together and made them fight on long after they had lost heart and would have quit. Its unflinching courage, boundless idealism, and unlimited resourcefulness has battered a way through the forest of problems confronting the revolution. The great crisis, which came so sharply to a head in 1921, has been vanquished. Starvation has been overcome, the industries have been set going, the standards of living of the people have been raised, the great economic problem has been started on the way to solution, the revolution has been deeply entrenched.

On every side in Russia one can see visible



signs of the improved economic conditions. In 1921 there was hardly a street light burning at night in Moscow or other big cities. The street car service was paralyzed, it only being occasionally that one would see a forlorn car threading its way doubtfully through the streets. But now this is all changed. Moscow is as well lighted as any city in eastern Europe, there are even electric signs beginning to appear. The street car service is operating stronger than ever in the history of the city, and the cars are in at least as good trim as those in New York City. The dilapidated buildings, which were such a dismal feature of Russian cities three years ago, are rapidly being painted and repaired. The streets are full of vehicles, to such an extent that it has been necessary to establish a regular traffic squad at the street intersections.

#### Workers Visibly Better Fed

In the general appearance of the people the improved conditions are especially noticeable. The workers are stronger and healthier. To prove this it is not necessary to have recourse to statistics. It is patent to the naked eye. In 1921 the workers were thin and starved, and the crowds on the streets were listless and slow-moving. But today the average man in Moscow and Leningrad is at least 20 to 30 pounds heavier than he was in 1921. The crowds are full of life and energy. The typhus epidemic is an historical memory. Everyone who was in Russia during the starvation period of the revolution and who returns there now is immediately struck by the improved condition of the people.

Along with the raising of the general standard of living has come a greatly added faith in the revolution. In 1921 pessimism was everywhere. The starved workers for the most part had very little hope that the great struggle would be a success. Their attitude now has changed fundamentally. At the present time it is practically the unanimous opinion of the working masses that the revolution is a success. Rare are even the Nep-men who have real hope of one day seeing the dictatorship of the proletariat break down and be succeeded by a capitalistic regime. By this I do not mean to say that there is no suffering and discontent among the masses. Such exists, but the suffering is mild indeed compared with what it was three years ago, and the discontent is entirely lacking in the counter-revo-

lutionary tendencies which it had at that time. In 1921 I saw a great demonstration of the workers in Moscow, and I also saw another on May 1st, of this year, in the same city, fully 700,000 being in line in the parade, which lasted nine hours in passing a given point. The two demonstrations were vastly different. The one in 1921 had the air of dogged fighters, struggling along desperately in the face of overwhelming odds; while that of 1924 was the march of the happy, consciously victorious proletariat. Although the parade was held in the midst of a driving rainstorm, at least 98 per cent of the workers stuck to the ranks. They were determined to demonstrate for their revolution, which all felt had lived through its worst days.

#### Problems Being Solved

But one does not have to depend simply upon general impressions to realize that the revolution is a success. This is shown definitely by the progress that has been made in the solution of the tremendous problems which confronted the revolution when I was in Russia in 1921. A few of these were the breaking of the economic and political blockade which was strangling Russia, the establishment of a stable currency in place of the debased rouble which made all real accounting systems impossible, the establishment of a state budget and the balancing of the same, the utilization of the dangerous experiment of the New Economic Policy for revolutionary ends, the stoppage of the so-called declassing the proletariat through the hungry workers scattering out upon the land, the abolition of sabotage by the supporters of the capitalist regime, the establishment of a new and effective system of proletarian discipline in place of the old slave-driving methods that the workers had suffered from time immemorial. These problems, and many more that might be mentioned, went to make up the general economic problem, which manifested itself by a complete prostration of industry and agriculture, were so complex and difficult in 1921 as to stagger credulity. Industrial experts all over the world said that they were so overwhelmingly difficult that there was not a chance that the Bolsheviki could solve them.

It is quite evident now, however, that not one of these problems has proved insoluble. Definite progress has been made towards the solution of all of them. One of the most serious and one that pressed hardest for

solution was the breaking of the blockade. So long as the capitalist nations of the world were able to maintain their "sanitary cordon" around Russia, the latter could hardly recover. It could not export its agricultural products, basis of all its industrial life. Nor could it import the machinery, chemicals, and other products absolutely indispensable for the carrying on of its industrial system. In 1921 the breaking of the blockade set up by the capitalist countries was recognized as one of the prime problems of the revolution. Now it can be said that this is practically accomplished. By playing one nation against the other and taking advantage of the rifts in the capitalist ranks, the Russians have succeeded in forcing their way into the world markets again. England, Germany, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Sweden, Japan, Norway, and many other countries have been compelled to grant either partial or complete recognition to Soviet Russia. The consequence is that the export and import trade to the latter is rapidly increasing. So much so that at a recent meeting of the Moscow Communist Party Kamenev was able to say, "The government export has been so developed by us during the last year that we completely carried out the program laid down last spring. Last year we decided upon the renewal of the export operations which had been in abeyance for ten years. We worked out a program for the exportation of 225,000,000 poods of grain this year. We can confidently state that we will carry out this program in full, and in such a manner that we will surely knock out the American grain. In fact, we have reconquered our old positions in Europe in the course of one and a half seasons." Russian trade recovers as the blockade collapses. This collapse is taking place rapidly. Even France and the United States, the most bitter enemies of Soviet Russia, will have to give it up in the near future. The blockade, the supreme means by which the capitalist world hoped to starve revolutionary Russia into submission, has been defeated.

When I was in Russia in 1921 the rouble was on the toboggan. Its value was falling rapidly, and the inevitable result was demoralization of industry in all directions. Accounting systems became practically impossible, whether inside of the state industries or between them and the peasants. The stabilization of the rouble, while advocated by some of the bolder spirits, was looked

upon generally as an utopian project, not only by Communist economists, but by financial experts all over the world. Yet this seemingly hopeless problem has been almost completely solved. The present money system in Soviet Russia is based upon the gold standard. The chervonetz ranks with the pound and the dollar in the money markets of the world. Russia was the first country in eastern Europe to go back to the issuance of silver coins, which are now in general circulation. All the old degenerated rouble notes have been cancelled. Strangely enough the debasing of the currency in the first place was a revolutionary necessity, as that was the only way that the deficit in the government budget could be made up, and now the stabilization of the rouble has also been carried out as a revolutionary necessity. The effect upon industry is bound to be far-reaching. It is one great problem solved.

Next to the stabilization of the rule, the most vital financial problem was the establishment and balancing of the state budget. Financiers all over the world, giving consideration to the desperate state of Russian economic life, declared that this could not be done. Yet it has been accomplished. A



M. Tomsky, Chairman, Central Executive Council of the Trade Unions of Russia.

scientific budget has been worked out and almost balanced. This year the deficit in the budget is only 10 per cent and next year it is hoped to wipe it out altogether. The accomplishment of these two financial measures, the stabilization of the rouble and the balancing of the budget, will greatly stimulate industry and further the introduction of economies generally. They are contributing very much to the economic recovery of the country.

In 1921 the burning need of the revolution was an immediate stimulation of the productive forces, so that the starvation, which threatened the life of the revolution, could be relieved. The plan proposed to do this was the so-called New Economic Policy, which gave free trade to the farmers and allowed a certain latitude for individual initiative in commerce and industry. Immediately this plan was proposed all the capitalist hangers-on and pseudo-revolutionists throughout the world declared that the revolution had come to an end as the free-traders, later known as Nep-men, were bound to smother it. But the Russian workers have defeated these dolorous prophecies. They have unquestionably exploited the increased productivity, bred of the Nep, for the benefit of the revolution. The Nep has contributed considerably to relieve the economic pressure and thus give the revolution a breathing spell. No one in Russia looks upon it as a serious menace. In retail and wholesale trade it has somewhat of a grip. But its very presence stimulates the state and co-operative machinery into more efficiency. With the basic industries and full control over foreign trade in its hands, the Soviet Government has amply demonstrated its ability to utilize the Nep institutions as a stop-gap proposition, pending the time when the government and the co-operatives will be able to take over all industry. Such capitalism as has come in with the Nep has to obey its master, the revolutionary workers.

A problem which greatly alarmed the revolutionary leaders in 1921, was the so-called declassing of the proletariat. The workers, practically starving in the factories, tended to scatter out to the villages, where they could at least hope to get enough to eat. Great numbers took this course. The practical effect was to demobilize the working class. Leningrad, the home of the revolution, was weakened to the extent of losing about 1,000,000 people, most of them workers and their families. It was manifest that



A. A. Andreyeff, Chairman of the Railway Unions of Russia and Secretary of the Russian Communist Party.

if this tendency kept up the revolution would simply collapse by the melting away of the working class. But now this insidious danger has been entirely overcome. With the picking up of industry the workers are flocking back into the cities. Not only does this strengthen the revolution by reforming the ranks of the proletariat, but it also furnishes the industries the supply of skilled labor they so badly needed. The unique problem of the declassing of the proletariat is now happily a matter of history.

Another great obstacle to the rebuilding of industry was the intense and widespread campaign of sabotage carried on during the early years of the revolution by the industrial experts and technicians. This did incalculable damage. To overcome it and to secure a reliable force in the strategic points of industry was a great problem. Many believed it totally insoluble. But, like so many of the other problems that the pessimists believed impossible a few years ago, this one has also been practically solved. The resistance of the technicians to the establishment of the new social order has been definitely broken. Most of them have finally come to the conclusion that they must work efficiently in industry. Only a comparatively few bitter-

enders still keep up the sabotage campaign. Many factors have contributed to the solution of the sabotage problem. For one thing the revolutionary workers placed in charge of many industries are learning the technique. Besides this the factory schools are turning out many red engineers. In addition the workers are now better able to check up on and punish the saboteurs. But, whatever the reason, the main thing is that the problem is well on the way to solution.

The final problem that may be mentioned as a burning one when I was in Russia in 1921 was that of creating a new discipline amongst the workers. The latter, just released from capitalistic slavery, found it difficult to discipline themselves to such an extent that industrial efficiency could be achieved. This, also, was a unique problem, and industrial experts everywhere declared it completely insoluble. They maintained that only the coercive methods of capitalism could hold the workers to their tasks. But this problem was also practically solved. Even the most casual observer of what is now going on in Russian industry must recognize that fact. The workers have definitely come to understand that they must work diligently and effectively if the present society is to grow and prosper. Efficiency systems of various sorts have been introduced all around. The productive capacity of the workers is steadily rising and undoubtedly in a year or two it will far surpass that of pre-war times.

#### Reviving Industry—Better Wages

The general effect of the solution or partial solution of the many problems that confronted the revolution, such as the breaking of the blockade, the exploitation of the Nep, the suppression of sabotage, the reclassing of the proletariat, etc., has been to stimulate industry and to raise the standards of living of the workers. Agricultural production has now reached 70 per cent of pre-war quantity, as against about 30 per cent at lowest point of the crisis. Heavy industry is now about 35 per cent of the pre-war level, and light industry 69 per cent. Industry as a whole is now producing at approximately 40 per cent of the pre-war standard. Compare this to a general production of 12 per cent in 1921. A steady improvement is taking place. In 1922-23 the following industrial gains were made over the same period in 1921-22: Coal,

11 per cent; coal coked, 216 per cent; oil, 40 per cent; gold, 66 per cent; iron, 75 per cent; steel, 88 per cent; textile, 68 per cent. Production in 1923 averaged about 50 per cent higher than in 1922.

The present day Russia production is not carried on for the benefit of a few social parasites. Consequently the increase in general output is automatically followed by a raising of the standard of living for the workers. In all other countries of the world wages fell rapidly in the past year. But in Russia the wage increase averaged 25 per cent for all industries.

#### Workers 97 Per Cent Organized

The trade unions are sharing the growing prosperity of the working class. On Jan. 1st, 1922, they totaled 4,546,000 members; on Jan. 1st, 1924, the figure amounted to 5,621,000. The unions actually engaged in industry, except transport, gained 35 per cent in membership. Prior to the introduction of the New Economic Policy in 1921, membership in the unions was virtually compulsory. Now it is entirely upon a dues paying voluntary basis. Fully 97 per cent of all workers belong to the unions. Approximately 85 per cent of them are financially in good standing in their organizations. At least 90 per cent of the total trade union membership work under collective agreements.

In 1921, confronted by the appalling state of collapse then existing, many Russian leaders estimated that the economic recovery of Russia would take from 10 to 20 years. But, upon returning to Russia after only three short years, I was astounded to see the great progress that had been made. The most encouraging feature was that most definite results had been achieved in the solution of every important problem which confronted the revolution in 1921. I have no hesitancy in saying that within 10 years Russia will exhibit the greatest social and industrial progress of any country in the history of the world in a given period. The Russian Communists have confounded all their critics, Socialist and otherwise. The proletarian dictatorship not only carried the workers successfully through the stormy period of the revolution, but it is also carrying them through the period of reconstruction. It is now stronger and better organized than ever. The Russian workers have pointed out the way which the world's workers must travel if they are ever to achieve emancipation.

## Workers' Education--or Mis-Education?

By Earl Browder

**A** NNOUNCEMENT of conferences on labor problems at the Brookwood summer school, at Katonah, N. Y., raises again for revolutionary workers the question—what is workers' education?

Brookwood was organized as a working-class college. It was launched and is supported by a group of well-intentioned middle-class and intellectual elements. It has the endorsement of several unions, and makes much propaganda in the labor press. It is becoming of some importance to enquire into the nature of the education Brookwood is giving.

Vivid light is thrown on this question by the program for the conference of the summer school. Thruout the list of subjects and the leaders of discussion it is made plain that Brookwood is fast committing itself, lock, stock, and barrel, to the propaganda of class collaboration.

A special course is given, for example, to the study of the infamous "B. & O." plan in the railroad industry, a scheme that is being used to poison and maim the railroad unions. The leader of discussion on this subject is Otto Beyer, technical expert who is credited with originating the plan. Such a course can be nothing but a school for methods in suppressing the class struggle.

Study of the amalgamation movement is under the direction of Ben Stolberg. Whatever his other qualifications may be, Stolberg is certainly not qualified to expound the amalgamation movement from its dynamic working-class angle. His knowledge of it is confined to reading, and his approach to the matter is that of the middle-class intellectual, having found expression principally in special articles for capitalist or liberal newspapers and magazines. The amalgamation movement is nothing of consequence to the working class, not worth studying at all, unless it is seen as one small, tho important, part of the great upsurging will of the working class to power. To teach it from the dry-as-dust, intellectualist, middle-class point of view is to suck the revolutionary life out of it, and reduce amalgamation to an organizational expedient, indifferently valuable to the revolutionary worker or the reactionary class-collaborationist.

The whole outline of the summer school courses would indicate that Brookwood is becoming the center of a crystallized philosophy

of class collaboration, and an institution for its systematic propaganda.

Class collaboration has long been the official policy of the American labor movement. But in the past it has been of a rough, rule-of-thumb nature, based upon temporary expedients. Thus it has been possible for the unions, in spite of the character of their leadership, to develop tremendous mass struggles against the capitalists, by the simple pressure of mass demands. The old bureaucrats, with their crude and unintelligent methods, could not organize their betrayal on a long-time and systematic basis. They were too stupid to be able to completely choke the unions.

What we see now, however, in such institutions as Brookwood, is the combination of a keen intellectualism with the old-line bureaucracy of the trade unions, that threatens to render the new class collaborationism much more deadly than the old.

An American Fabianism is being born. In such institutions as Brookwood, the League for Industrial Democracy, and the like, a system of "workers' education" is being developed that runs directly counter to the interests of the workers as a class, which is calculated in all its aspects to confuse class lines, to dull class antagonisms, to instill a bourgeois attitude toward life, and to weed out and destroy the healthy proletarian instincts of antagonism and struggle against capitalism. Where it takes effect it means death to all genuine working-class spirit and action.

Gompers has, in the past, symbolized the most evil influence upon the working class of America. His day will soon be gone. But the American Fabians are preparing to take his place with a philosophy, an "educational" system, a method of thought, which will perform the same services to capitalism, and which will require even more earnest efforts to destroy.

The Stenographic Ad Verbatim Report of  
**THE INTERNATIONAL DEBATE of the DAY!**  
**BERTRAND RUSSELL** versus **SCOTT NEARING**  
 Subject—Can the Soviet Form of Government  
 take hold of America, England and  
 France? \$1.00 Postpaid  
 Mr. Russell says NO. Mr. Nearing Says YES.  
 Held in New York City, May 25, 1924  
**THE LEAGUE FOR PUBLIC DISCUSSION,**  
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## "Socialist" Union Wreckers

By Harrison George

**T**HE International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has been made the private property of the Sigman-Cahan "socialist" reactionaries. It is an absolute monarchy, a perfect picture of despotism. In many particulars it duplicates the "socialist" dictatorship of Germany under Ebert and Von Seeckt and parallels the unprincipled, union-wrecking leadership of the German trade unions.

It will be noted that the German unions under similar leadership have been nearly ruined and are being deserted by their betrayed membership. But just as conditions force the German workers to organized resistance, and the Communists to continue and redouble their efforts to win the rank and file of the unions to left wing leadership, so the vital needs of the workers in the ladies' garment industry are compelling resistance by the union in spite of all the obstacles to effective action placed in the way of the membership by the Sigman monarchy. And just as in Germany, so do the Communists and all left wing elements in the I. L. G. W. U. fight against the impulse of the masses to leave the union; they continue and redouble their work to win the rank and file.

### Facing the New York Strike

From the beginning of the expulsion policy it was recognized that the motive of the officialdom was the desire to conceal their own programless bankruptcy in face of the crisis in the industry. Behind the turmoil and disruption which they created by the expulsion attack on the left wing, they hoped to restore their lost hold on the membership. To maintain a semblance of struggle for union conditions, they could not expel the left wing and ignore the trade demands at the same time. So the ten demands, originally made by the left wing, were taken up by the officials and a pretended fight made to put them into effect.

The result of the disruptive expulsion policy is seen now that the New York cloakmakers, driven by the most crying needs to face the crisis of a great strike, are dependent for official direction upon these black reactionaries, upon Sigman and his gang who are doing all in their power to obstruct, compromise and defeat the efforts of the membership.

Few unions in the world are dominated by such black reaction as the I. L. G. W. This is illustrated by the disgraceful Boston convention the high point of which was a demonstration against Soviet Russia. In the hands of such officials have been and are the negotiations with the New York manufacturers for demands long ago formulated by the left wing.

It must be reiterated that the left wing has long agitated for these demands being made a part of the union program. A forty-hour week, unemployment insurance, guaranteed employment for a minimum number of weeks, increase of the minimum wage scale, limitation of the number of contract workers, etc., have been and remain trade demands of the left wing. It shall continue to fight for them and other demands not yet adopted by the union, and only by the energy of the membership inspired by left wing leadership can they be won. Any victory will be won only by the rank and file smashing all the obstacles laid down by Sigman, and by vigilant punishment of all treachery and compromise.

It is a fact which condemns the officialdom that just as the union is about to face the terrible crisis of a great strike, a strike for demands which are required by the very life needs of the workers yet which the officials have always neglected if not opposed, the left wing, which agitated for these demands, is expelled and the union tragically weakened by provocative tactics of the Sigman bureaucracy. It is a clear case of defeating the demands and helping the bosses disrupt the union.

### Premeditated Class Treachery

The rank and file have no reason to trust the officials; they have every reason to be closely vigilant over their conduct in this strike. The provocative expulsion policy, clearly intended to create internal trouble and disrupt the fighting ranks as they approach battle with the bosses, could benefit nobody but these bosses. Moreover, a revolt against the outrageous expulsions at the time the union faced a strike, could be used as an excuse by the official gang for playing traitor and accepting defeat. A settled policy of benefitting the bosses at the expense of the membership is behind all this policy of expulsion. It is the fixed policy of renegade socialists in the unions both here and abroad.

The expulsions are only part of a preme-

ditated policy of class collaboration with the capitalists against the workers. For months it has been known that a fight would have to be made in New York. Weeks passed after the bosses refused to discuss the demands. Yet no adequate preparatory measures were taken at any time, and even the make-shift measures now effective were not taken until days after the old agreement expired. Meanwhile Sigman dilly-dallied with apologetic letters to the State Industrial Commissioner who, in spite of his chatter of how "parties to this controversy should sit around a table and discuss differences" has no rebuke for the bosses that declared the demands "undebatable." Besides, the officials propagate defeatism by cautious talk of the "grave event" and the "honorable means" and "peaceful methods" it uses to dodge a strike against greedy exploiters whom it servilely calls the "virile and living factors" in the cloak industry.

The militants will not allow Sigman's desired disruption to succeed. Neither will they allow him to avoid complete responsibility for the strike situation. They will continue, as in the Boston and Chicago strikes, to fight for the union and union demands. With the backing of the membership they will fight for the New York demands against both the bosses and the treachery of Sigman. They will not allow themselves to be separated from the masses even for a single day.

#### Officials Renounce Class Struggle

However, stupid and ruthless though the Sigman-Cahan machine was at the Boston convention, it cannot but defeat itself by such means as were used to wipe out the last vestige of workers' democracy in the union. These "socialists" went over to capitalism so completely as to strike out the whole I. L. G. W. preamble, which contained a recognition of the class struggle and an endorsement of a "system of society wherein the workers shall receive the full value of their product."

This renunciation of struggle against capitalism was fittingly accompanied by a typical Fascist-reactionary assault on the left wing. Those who struggle against capitalism and try to realize the society the preamble described, were unseated, and membership in the Trade Union Educational League declared illegal. Moreover, the constitution was so altered that the present officials are self-perpetuated, made absolute despots, and all methods of the membership removing them by constitutional means were carefully

cut out. Like the Supreme Court of the United States, the Sigman gang are practically ruling for life. The I. L. G. W. is, to all intents and purposes, Sigman's private property.

#### The Lesson of History

But history has proven the failure of such tactics. The Communists in the German unions have shown how to combat such treachery. They have found a way to stay in the unions in spite of expulsions and rapidly win the masses away from just such "socialist" traitors as Sigman. Rickert, in the United Garment Workers, also tried the same game that Sigman is trying, also with the help of Gompers—but he failed miserably. Sigman's failure is only a matter of time.

No matter how successful Sigman might think he is in eliminating the organized left wing as a factor in the immediate life of the union, the deep needs of the workers toiling in the sweatshops, the needs of the struggle itself, make inevitable in one form or another an organized expression of opposition to capitalism and its agents in offices of the union. Sigman cannot abolish the class struggle by abolishing mention of it in the preamble, nor can he avoid organizational expression of that struggle by the formation of a left wing. A few militants have been expelled, but two will appear where one appeared before. The left wing is the modern Hydra! . . .

The left wing has been through the battle and reaction is still in the saddle. But one battle is not the whole war—and the war is not over. The left wing is not dismayed by difficulty. History, running swiftly, is on its side. Sigman's tactics of attempting to provoke ill-judged actions will not succeed, neither will the left wing submit to force. For the left wing is not an artificial, arbitrary creation, but the crystallized needs of the industrial workers. When, as is sure to happen, the socialist monarchy succeeds in defeating every effort of the workers against the bosses, the disillusioned membership, however bound under the constitution, will find a way to choose new and left wing leaders to direct their struggle.

The left wing is patient, but not silent. It will continue to point out the responsibility for failure to lead the struggle, and will fight for the demands of the workers in the trade, for amalgamation, a real labor party, unconditional recognition of Soviet Russia, and for a Communist society.

## Among the Coal Miners of Canada

By Tom Bell

THE coal diggers of District 18, U. M. W., have been on strike since April 1st, fighting against a wage cut of \$1.17 a day. They are receiving no financial support from the International and have appealed to the labor movement of Canada for money to continue the fight against the operators.

In Nova Scotia the miners have just finished a rank and file convention which demanded the restoration of district autonomy and immediate district elections. It also adopted a policy on the fifty-cent weekly levy placed by Lewis on the men to pay the debts contracted during the strike last January. To explain the situation in the light of these events is the purpose of this article.

Last July the miners of Cape Breton Island, comprising half the miners of District 26, U. M. W., rushed to the assistance of the striking steel workers of Sydney, N. S., by striking in protest over the use of troops by the government against the steel workers. Unsupported by the labor movement, with the exception of the Drumheller sub-district of District 18, faced by the full strength of the British Empire Steel Corporation, the provincial and federal governments with troops and mounted police, and ordered back to work by the reactionary Lewis administration, the miners were forced to abandon the strike. This allowed the steel workers to be beaten. Thus the miners of Nova Scotia had a real demonstration of the function of the capitalist state.

#### Lewis the Real Strikebreaker

During this strike the Lewis administration acted as a strike breaking agency. At the request of the corporation Lewis deposed the officers of the district, cancelled the district charter and appointed a "provisional government" of men who had been rejected in the previous district election, such as Dalrymple and Houston. The miners were ordered back to work under threat of expulsion from the union.

Knowing the history of Kansas district and District 18, the militants decided that to save their ranks from disruption and to prevent a "reorganization" of locals under Lewis' dictatorship, the best thing to do was to return to work. This was done, and since then the militants have been in the front of the campaign to prevent a split. All attempts at

building dual unions have come to naught owing to the leadership of the rank and file militants having benefitted by the experiences of the mines of District 18, who attempted to organize a dual union in 1919.

The provisional appointees of Lewis confidently predicted that when the contract expired under which the miners then were working, the corporation would raise wages to the 1921 standard, because those who would negotiate with the corporation were recognized as "fair and reasonable" men—not "reds" and advocates of the Red International of Labor Unions, as some of the deposed officers had been.

On January 15, last, the contract expired and the corporation posted notice of a 20 per cent cut in wages. This took place after the Lewis appointees had negotiated for nearly two months, and so flabbergasted the appointees that they were at loss what action to take. However, the miners settled the matter by quitting the job. Later on the "provisional government," afraid to declare a strike outright, compromised between their cowardice and their fear of the miners by declaring a "suspension of work." This was in reality, of course, a strike, but they were fearful of that term lest they lose their reputations as solid conservatives.

#### Lewis Breaks His Promise

The miners were informed that the policy of Lewis—"no reduction under the 1921 rates" would be applied to the district, and to carry it out the International would support the district to the limit. But in February a contract was signed which, while giving the datal laborers an increase of ten cents a day, and the contract miners an increase of about seven per cent, had an elaborate set of rules and regulations which bound the miners to the corporation like so many chattel slaves.

Prohibition of quitting work in order to force the management to adjust a grievance, forcing the pit committees to supply miners to take the places of those who quit because of grievance, placing the "working force" at the complete disposal of the management, and setting up arbitration machinery with "impartial chairmen"—these were some of the shackles the Lewis administration placed on the miners in the interests of the corporation.

Ignoring his own brave phrase of "no reductions" Lewis resorted to threats of expulsion to get the miners back to work. To sugar-coat the pill, the Lewis appointees promised the miners that a referendum vote would be taken on the contract. Not that this would alter the contract, since that had been ratified by the International, but to attempt to place responsibility for its acceptance on the miners. But in the referendum, the contract was overwhelmingly buried by adverse votes of the outraged miners.

During the "suspension of work" over \$100,000 was spent on relief, and the miners understood that this money had been donated by the International to aid them, since Lewis had declared at the Indianapolis convention that the strike in Nova Scotia would be fully supported by the administration. But at the last International Board meeting Lewis repudiated the debts contracted in Nova Scotia and those who had given the relief were censured.

At the end of April the locals were notified that the provisional officers of the district had made arrangement with the operators that fifty cents weekly would be deducted from each miner's wages until the debts had been paid. This arbitrary method naturally created unrest and the miners viewed it as another instance of the high-handed methods of the Lewis appointees. It was ostensibly to discuss this question that the rank and file convention was called on May 15th.

#### The Convention Decisions

The call for the rank and file convention was issued by Stellerton Local. This is one of very few locals in Pictou County which have never been reconciled to the progressive policies adopted by the miners of Cape Breton Island. But today these locals, under leadership of men who apparently long for a purely Canadian union, are doing their best to create a split from the U. M. W. The so-called "revolutionary" One Big Union is spreading literature among them.

The levy to pay the debts contracted during the strike was seized as the issue upon which to call the rank and file convention. While there is a sentiment for "national unionism" among the miners of Pictou County, it is vague, and they have been unable to foist it upon the miners as a whole because the majority, on Cape Breton Island, are advocates of the policy of the Miners' Progressive movement and heartily subscribe to the anti-secession policy.

Representation at the convention was not complete. Seven locals aggregating about 3,000 members were not represented. About 9,000 of the 12,000 in the district were represented. The main points of discussion were the payment of the debts, the restoration of district autonomy, immediate election of district officers, and appointment of a Committee of Action to demand of the corporation that the levies be paid to the local union secretaries instead of the district secretary.

On the question of the debts it was decided after opposition from the Pictou County delegates that the miners would pay the debts but that the corporation should hand the money to the local union secretaries. Failing this, the Committee of Action would apply to the courts for an injunction preventing the corporation deducting the money from the miners' wages. The utility of this policy cannot readily be seen, unless it is understood to be a compromise between those who would refuse to pay the levy for the purpose of getting Lewis to cancel the local charters, thus furnishing an excuse for the start of a dual union—and those on the other hand who are determined to stay inside the union and conduct the fight against Lewis from the inside, the only place it can be waged.

It is a farce to talk of the miners securing an injunction against the corporation in the courts of Nova Scotia since they are manned by hirelings of the Corporation. The essence of the stand taken on the debts is that there is a struggle being waged between the class conscious militants and the confused, vague "national unionists" who want a dual union because they cannot see how they are going to trim Lewis otherwise than by running away from him.

#### The Lesson of District 18

The demands for the restoration of the district autonomy and immediate elections are the positive results of the convention. The majority of the delegates opposed any split in the union. It was demonstrated that the militants still have leadership of the rank and file and that they are conducting the struggle against the dictatorship of Lewis on lines laid down by the Progressive Miners in the union as a whole. The rank and file convention was the first skirmish between the progressive majority and the conservative minority of District 26.

The miners of District 18, U. M. W., comprising the mines in Alberta and eastern

British Columbia, went through a split starting with the organization of the O. B. U. in 1919. The result was the establishment of a "provisional government" by Czar Lewis, and the miners were in the curious position of being outside the U. M. W. but paying dues to it through the check-off. The situation lasted until 1922, when the miners again began to take an active part in the U. M. W. locals. After the strike of that year, district elections were held in December and a great campaign was waged for the election of militants to offices.

The present president of the district, Sherman, was a great militant in those days. Because of that he was elected to his position by a big majority. Today Sherman is one of the puppets of Lewis. He has demonstrated that he was insincere in his pre-election militancy. He revoked the charters of locals in Drumheller that dared strike in sympathy with Nova Scotia last July. He has expelled militants, had them black-listed by the operators, and has denounced those who elected him to office. He is of the same stuff as Capellini, who expressed murderous hatred toward the militants at the Indianapolis convention.

#### Lewis Lied at Indianapolis

In December, 1922, the contract containing the 1921 standard of wages was renewed until April of this year. At the time of the O. B. U. split the operators granted a "war bonus" of \$1.17 a day as a demonstration of the willingness to co-operate with the U. M. W. When negotiations began, this year, the operators demanded that the "war bonus" be abolished, in return for which they would sign a contract for one year. To secure this reduction of wages, the operators used the excuse that they wanted to capture the Ontario market. The representatives of the miners rejected this, with the result that a strike began on April 1st. The officialdom of the district is demanding no reduction in wages and a three-year contract similar to the Jacksonville agreement, Lewis' "peace program"—at the expense of the miners.

At Indianapolis when Lewis was arguing for an acceptance of the three-year contract, he stated that his main purpose was that this long term contract would free the hands of the administration to aid the outlying fields maintain their wage standard. That this was merely a convenient argument to enable him to carry out the instruction of the Republican Party (which did not want the

embarrassment of a coal strike in a presidential year) is demonstrated by the fact that when Sherman asked for strike relief, he was told that the International could give no relief, and that only a small loan was available.

This has increased the antagonism of the rank and file against Lewis, because they are without money, the stores have stopped relief, and in some camps the miners' families are being evicted from the shacks owing to non-payment of rent. Abandoned by their International they are appealing to the labor movement of Canada, particularly to the Nova Scotia miners, whom they financed last summer during the arrests there, for funds to continue the strike and preserve their wage standard.

The district officials in this situation have adopted the ruinous policy of signing up agreements with individual bosses. Nothing will so quickly split the ranks of the miners as this. If the operators only get sufficient miners at work to assure them a steady supply of coal for their railway customers, they would be in a position to keep the rest of the miners out until they were starved into submission. Then would come the turn of those who were sent back to work under the separate agreement.

It has been advocated that the miners should bring out the maintenance men to bring greater pressure on the operators. Even if the district officials would do this (and it can be safely predicted that Sherman and his crew would not do so), it is doubtful if this would do more than afford the operators an excuse to bring troops into the district and thus increase the pressure on the miners. The only hope of victory for the miners of District 18, is that the workers of Canada will rally to their support and aid them with money to continue the struggle.

#### Both Canadian Districts Persecuted

Both Canadian districts of the U. M. W. have felt the heavy hand of the Lewis administration. District 18 has gone through a split and this experience has forced them to see the barrenness of the dual union policy. District 26 has thus far been spared the tragedy of a split, owing to the untiring efforts of the rank and file militants. If their policy is continued the ranks of the miners will remain solid and they will be a valuable section in the struggle of the whole rank and file of the U. M. W. against Lewis.

The recent victories in Kansas and Illinois  
(Concluded on Page 160)

# The Struggle in Germany

By Karl Schmidt

SINCE January of this year there has been a steadily growing strike movement throughout Germany. The proletariat seems to be recovering rapidly from the defeat of last October, when it was generally felt that the revolution would be brought about. Many of the strikes now taking place are of great size and long duration. These indicate a new determination on the part of the oppressed workers.

The report of the reparations experts has precipitated these strikes, because all the measures which the united German and Entente capitalists have agreed upon provide that the reparations costs shall be taken out of the hides of the German workers. For the German proletariat, the report of the reparations experts means the destruction of the eight-hour day and the lengthening of the working time far beyond that prevailing in pre-war times, the destruction of the labor unions and of the right to organize, the elimination of the rights of factory councils, wholesale reductions in wages, worsening of working conditions, added tax burdens for the workers and enormous increases in the cost of living.

As the employers, all along the line, launch into their offensive against the workers, the latter respond with strikes. The pressure naturally made itself felt soonest and hardest in the Ruhr district. There the German and French police powers and bureaucratic officialdom united in order to give the strongest expression to the dictatorship of the industrial magnates. They have a free hand, after the government, supported by all the capitalist parties and the Social-Democracy, gave their acquiescence to the report of the experts. The German big industry, high finance, and great land owning interests have united to throw the reparations costs upon the backs of the workers. Pursuing their plans, they are abolishing the eight-hour day, locking out the workers, reducing wages, and shutting down factories.

Since the 8th of May, 600,000 miners have been in a struggle, partly a strike and partly a lockout. Their number has lately increased to almost a million. This movement of the coal miners had, as a consequence, the locking out of hundreds of thousands of metal workers. Everywhere the workers involved are taking steps looking toward a bitter-end

struggle. As usual the government is lending its active support to the employers and bending all its efforts to breaking the strike. The blue and green police have taken charge of many plants and mines. Fruitless efforts have been made to get strike-breakers. The women are especially active in cleaning the plants of all workers, imported or otherwise, who refuse to go out upon the strike call being issued.

But the Ruhr strike is only one of a great many now going on. In Upper Silesia, 50,000 miners and metal workers were driven into a strike and lockout. By May 11th their number had increased to 170,000. In the other mining districts many thousands of workers are also involved in struggles. Other categories of workers, besides miners and metal workers, are likewise battling against the employers in various cities. In East Prussia 60,000 agricultural workers have been on strike against the big land owners. In Munsterland the rulers of the textile industry are attempting to crush 30,000 workers, and a strike is expected momentarily. Every day reports come in from industrial districts all over Germany indicating that great numbers of strikes have started or are about to do so. It is a veritable strike fever, such as the German workers have not evidenced for a long time.

The employers, believing that workers are discouraged after the big defeat of October, are on the offensive. They have taken a leaf from the book of the Italian employers. They saw how the latter, following the defeat of the metal workers in 1920, were able to engage in such a vicious attack upon the unions as to practically break them up altogether. Hence, their attack is united, determined, and far-reaching. They aim at no less than the complete destruction of the labor movement and all the rights of the workers. In all the strikes that are taking place the employers are attempting to cripple the factory councils, those last lingering remnants of the 1918 revolution. They are also developing the Technical Aid, the notorious government strike-breaking agency. They are spending vast sums of money to give structure and substance to the Fascisti movement. If they are successful in their plans we can look for the development of a

clear cut "open-shop" movement, a la America.

In this critical situation for the German working class, the Social-Democracy does nothing on behalf of the workers. On the one hand, it is so completely tied up with the capitalist class and so bereft of revolutionary spirit, and on the other hand, it is so appalled and demoralized by the advance of the Communist Party, that it cannot and will not take the lead in this critical moment for the workers. Its policy is one of betrayal and treachery. Although great numbers of the workers involved in the strike movements are still members of the Social-Democratic trade unions, these organizations take little or no part in the present struggles. They are bankrupt morally and financially. The whole burden of leading the struggle falls upon the Communists. In spite of the fact that the latter are not fully in control of the unions, they are providing the practical leadership for the same. In every battle now going on, the Communists are the backbone and soul of the struggle.

When the working class of Germany received its big setback in October, by the failure of what was looked upon as a supreme revolutionary effort, many believed that it marked the end of militantcy among the workers for a long time to come, that a period of depression was bound to set in

during which the workers would lose the conquests won by them with so much difficulty in the bitter struggles of the past few years. Quite evidently the employers shared this opinion. That is the reason they took courage to make their present big drive against the labor movement. But their calculations are being very much disappointed. The first big blow was in the recent Reichstag elections, where the Communists polled almost 4,000,000 votes. Now comes the big wave of strike resistance against the offensive of the employers.

These tendencies cannot be mistaken. They mark a rebirth of revolutionary spirit amongst the workers. They show that the determination of the workers to put an end to capitalism has suffered only a very temporary eclipse as a result of the October defeat. Likewise they show that the prospect for the revolution is good. Unless all signs fail, the present strike wave will take on greater breadth and depth until finally the great masses of workers are once more in alignment for a final clash with capitalism. And when that time comes, as it promises to in the near future, the mistake of last October will not be committed. The German workers will make a supreme effort to follow the path so successfully traversed by their comrades across the border in Russia.

## Workers Party Branches to Boost Labor Herald

(A Letter Sent Each Branch Sec'y. May 21.)

COMRADE: The LABOR HERALD is the official organ of the Trade Union Educational League, the organization embracing all revolutionary and left wing workers in the American labor unions, an organization in whose success the Workers' party is vitally concerned.

Circulation of the LABOR HERALD is a party duty. It is your duty as Branch Secretary to bring this duty before the membership of your branch at the next meeting. There is no branch which cannot take at least five copies of the LABOR HERALD each month and distribute them. There are many branches which can and should distribute many more than five copies.

In bundles of five or more, the LABOR HERALD costs only nine cents a copy. It sells for fifteen cents. Any branch can dispose of at least five copies to its own members, whose

primary duty it is to inform themselves upon the program and work of the left wing union movement in which the Communists are fighting a bitter but victorious struggle. It is the second elementary duty of every party member to aid this struggle by circulating the LABOR HERALD among the unions and among workers who belong to unions. Even those members of the Workers' party who are not yet connected with unions can and must circulate the LABOR HERALD among union men and women.

The Workers' party expects every branch to arouse itself to the necessity of this work. Each branch must circulate the LABOR HERALD among its own members and among workers generally.

Fraternally,  
**C. E. RUTHENBERG,**  
 Executive Secretary,  
 Workers Party of America.

## Break with the Capitalist Parties!

By John Dorsey

IT is the parting of the ways. With the Republican and Democratic parties openly espousing the suppression of the labor movement, through strike-breaking candidates and Wall Street programs; with the bankrupt farmers struck in the face and thrown to the bankers by both old parties, there is no longer any excuse or possibility for the toiling masses to delay the complete break, and the launching of a great struggle to take control of government.

But the capitalists are playing a last desperate card to head it off, to confuse, and to break up the mass revolt against their hitherto undisputed rule. If they can prevent the workers and farmers from organizing themselves, into a party of their own, with the control of workers and farmers firmly established over it, then they have averted the danger for the time being. They will then be able to keep their iron grip upon the situation.

### The Enemy's Trump Card

The trump card of the enemies of Labor was played by the LaFollette effort to destroy the Farmer-Labor party movement. Taking advantage of his personal popularity, the senator from Wisconsin is endeavoring to side-track the whole promising movement into the blind alley of support for a "good man" without regard to the rotten and capitalistic organization which will really rule.

Thru all his bombast against Wall Street, all his demagogic tricks, all his denunciations of corrupt politics, the fact stands out clear and strong today, that LaFollette is against the movement of the workers and farmers. He is for the capitalist system, he wants no fundamental change, he does not want to establish the political power of the workers and farmers; he fears even the mild proposals of the farmers of the Northwest. LaFollette is acting today as the protector of the capitalist parties.

Many times in the past the workers and farmers, goaded on by some great crisis, have revolted against the political institutions of capitalism. The "populist" movement, the "greenbackers", the many labor and farmer movements of the past, have been attempts, more or less definite, to break the chains of the capitalist parties. And they all failed, because the workers and farmers were not class-con-

scious enough to realize that they must organize on the basis on their class interests, in a distinctive party of their own, pledged to the struggle all along the line against the parties of their enemy, capitalism.

LaFollette and his satellites are attempting to repeat this old history of futility and failure. They try to blot out the class lines, and thereby they serve the class interests of Wall Street bankers and trust magnates. If they succeed then the workers and farmers of America have again been betrayed into political slavery and subjection.

It is time for the great decision. A break with the capitalist parties can only be accomplished by founding a Farmer-Labor Party. Every one of the thousand threads binding the masses and their political leaders to the Republican and Democratic Parties must be cut. Complete severance with the Republican and Democratic parties must be enforced with an iron hand. Every agent of capitalism must be discredited and thrown out of leading positions. Without this drastic and revolutionary course there is no effective action for relief of the workers and farmers.

Those who hesitate today are lost in the maze of capitalist intrigue and corruption. All those "practical" people, so called apparently because they have completely failed in the past to find a way for the workers and farmers to fight against the exploiters, who now plead for half-measures and temporizing, are conscious or unconscious agents of the enemies of the workers. Hesitation means defeat.

### Forward to a Class Party!

Forward to the party of the workers and exploited farmers, is the watchword of all class-conscious elements. Smash the political instruments whereby the robbers of Wall Street suck the life-blood of the toiling masses! Destroy the domination of the imperialist cut-throats who have led the world to destruction! Establish the power in industry, in government, in every social institution, of the oppressed masses, of the workers and farmers! These are the slogans which will make a reality of the break with the capitalist parties, which will create a fighting political organization of the world upon a new and better basis.

## The Program for the T. U. E. L.

HEREWITH is presented a draft of the program for the Trade Union Educational League, which has been prepared for the Third World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions which meets in Moscow, July 5th. It will be subject to modification in the light of discussions at that gathering, but on the whole and in the important points, it is expected to stand as presented here.

### 1. GENERAL POLICIES.

a) **Revolutionary Goal:** At all times and in all its campaigns and publications, the League shall emphasize the revolutionary aims of the Left Wing. It shall carry on a ceaseless warfare against the bourgeois ideology and organizations. It shall seek to destroy the workers' faith in the capitalist system and to turn their eyes towards the establishment of a Communist society through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

b) **Wages, hours and working conditions:** In all movements of the workers to improve their standards of living, or to resist attacks upon the same by the employers, the League shall take an active part. In each case it must develop a complete program of its own and popularize this as against all other programs. The League shall carry on an intensive campaign for the shortening of the labor hours, increasing of wages, improving working conditions, and it shall stimulate the workers, both organized and unorganized to conduct an effective struggle against exploitation. In the coming industrial crisis in America, the League must raise throughout the labor movement, the slogan of "No reductions in wages and no lengthening of the working day."

c) **Organize the unorganized:** This campaign must be pushed with unrelaxing energy, because the organization of the many millions now outside of the unions is one of the supreme tasks confronting the working class as a whole and the Left Wing movement as representing the real interests of the working class. "Organize the unorganized" is not a temporary slogan that may be cast aside when industrial depression sets in. It must be continued constantly, in good times and bad, until the masses are organized. In periods of prosperity this slogan builds the unions, and during the industrial depressions it holds them together. The campaigns should take the following general forms: 1) to stimulate the A. F. of L. unions to take in the unorganized. 2) to build the present independent mass unions, 3) to support the foundation of new unions wherever practical, by utilizing the Workers Party industrial nuclei, local branches of the League, shop committees and such other connections as can be made use of. Not one of these methods shall be used to the exclusion of the others. All must be employed as expediency dictates. Every means must be given to the organization of the agricultural laborers.

d) **Labor Party:** The League shall take an active part in the building of the Labor Party. This movement not only teaches the workers their first

lesson in class political activity, but it also furnishes a favorable vantage ground for the left wing to fight the trade union bureaucracy and to bring about trade union progress generally. The League must take full advantage of the favorable situation created by the Labor Party movement.

e) **Unemployment:** In the industrial crisis now developing in the United States and Canada, the League shall take an active part in the work of organizing the unemployed into national and local councils, and other necessary formations. Wherever possible, these bodies shall work in close co-operation with the trade unions. The League shall stir up the trade unions everywhere to interest themselves in the question of unemployment. However, when the trade unions are unwilling to take up the organizing of the unemployed, or wherever they offer resistance, the League shall create Unemployed Councils, etc., and conduct the work among the unemployed independently. It shall demand that the employers and the government shall provide work and funds amounting to full maintenance of the workers. It shall also demand that the unions themselves share their funds and work with those of their members who are unemployed.

f) **Amalgamation:** The amalgamation campaign is not a temporary one, to be abandoned in periods of industrial depression, it must be continued relentlessly and until the various craft unions are consolidated into industrial unions. Organization by industry, instead of by craft, is a burning need of the workers, in good times and bad. Under the flag of autonomy, small unions and federations continue their miserable existence, having neither the strength nor the means to fight against capitalism, and yet refusing to amalgamate with kindred trades. A vigorous struggle should be carried on for the creation of centralized industrial organizations. It is necessary to strive towards concentration of the means and methods of struggle for a national utilization of all the forces of the working class. The independent unions shall also be included in the League's amalgamation program. A leading principle in all amalgamation plans is to put revolutionaries in control of the amalgamated unions.

g) **The United Front:** The T. U. E. L. shall pursue the policy of the united front. It shall seek to unite all the workers for revolutionary action along class lines. The united front shall not consist of alliances or blocs with trade union bureaucracy—though some of them may be dealt with under favorable circumstances—but it shall be based upon a common understanding, unity and action of the rank and file of the labor organizations involved in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. The united front shall not be conceived as an aim in itself, but as a means to win the masses away from the reactionary leaders and to unite them upon the basis of a revolutionary program and action.

h) **Exposure of bureaucracy:** The League shall make a special point of exposing the corruption of the trade union leaders. For this purpose a pamphlet shall be issued exposing in detail the crimes of the trade union leaders against the rank and file of the unions and the whole working class. This

policy of exposure shall be carried on vigorously in all the League's publications.

i) **Recognition of Soviet Russia:** The League campaign for the full commercial and diplomatic recognition of Soviet Russia shall be intensified: the recognition of Russia by England, Italy and other countries makes this campaign the more timely and effective in the United States.

j) **Negro workers:** The problem of the politically and industrially disfranchised negroes shall occupy the serious attention of the League. The League shall demand that the negroes be given the same social, political and industrial rights as whites, including the right to work in all trades, equal wages, admission into all trade unions, abolition of Jim Crow cars, restaurants, etc. The League shall issue a special pamphlet dealing with the negro workers.

k) **Injunctions:** The League shall take the lead in the fight of the American working class against the injunction. Whenever and wherever an injunction is issued by the courts against strikers, depriving them of their rights, the League shall endeavor to arouse the strikers and the trade union movement in general to mass violation of the injunction.

l) **Expulsions:** The League shall continue the present policy in the case of expulsions from the trade unions. Wherever the expelled workers are few in number, they shall be kept in the local leagues and in close connections with the National Industrial Committees. But when they are great in number, they shall be formed into unions of the expelled. These expelled members shall endeavor to fight their way back into the old organizations, except in such cases where the best course is plainly to form a new organization. For this purpose mass movements of the rank and file should be organized to fight against expulsions and for reinstatement.

m) **Canadian Autonomy:** The movement of the Canadian unions for autonomy within the American trade unions is endorsed. This autonomy shall take the form of the establishment of Canadian sections of all American unions having branches in Canada. These autonomous sections shall be united together in the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. They must secure full right to declare strikes, to organize the masses, and to raise all necessary funds. The aim of the League shall be the building of the whole Canadian labor movement into a solid organization and to bring it into direct conflict with the Canadian employers and state. The autonomy of the Canadian unions should not lead to a cleavage between the Canadian and American labor movements.

n) **International affiliation:** The League shall intensify its campaign for the affiliation of the trade unions to the R. I. L. U. Capitalism is international, and labor must internationally resist the assaults of the world-wide capitalist class. This must be driven home to the American working class, which as yet has hardly acquired a glimmering of the need for international solidarity and action of the working class. The League must point out the fallacy of the present policy of isolation and seek to bring the American workers into relationship with the workers in other countries. For this purpose, resolutions on the question of affiliation to the R. I. L. U. shall be presented in all trade union conventions.

o) **Shop Committees:** The League shall carry on

active propaganda in favor of the organization of shop committees in the industries generally. These Shop Committees shall be elected by all employees of a given industrial establishment, irrespective of sex, age, color, nationality, skill, etc. The Shop Committees shall serve to unite all the workers in the various establishments, whether members of a union or not. The Shop Committees shall voice the demands of the workers and form the basis for a common struggle against capitalism. Wherever possible such Shop Committees shall be utilized for the organization of the unorganized. The League shall strive to reorganize the old unions into industrial unions, based on Shop Committees.

p) **Workers' Control:** The League shall put forth the slogan of "The workers' control of industry." The campaign for the establishment of shop committees shall be accompanied by a propaganda for the workers' control. The shop committees, working under the direction of the labor unions, shall aim to break the power of the employers in the industries. The shop committees shall demand and fight for the right to control the financial and technical sides of industry, to control the hiring and discharging of workers, to penetrate the financial and commercial secrets of the employers, to regulate the supply of raw materials and the distribution of finished products. They shall aim to revolutionize the masses and to turn their trade unions into fighting working class organizations. They shall strive to give the workers the necessary industrial and political education and organization to carry them, in co-operation with the revolutionary political organizations, victoriously through the final struggle against the bourgeoisie for the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of a Communist society.

## 2. The Structure of the League.

One of the most urgent problems confronting the League is to consolidate the existing revolutionary sentiment into concrete organization. The League does not and must not rest solely within the realms of propaganda. It must redouble its efforts to build a real organization. It must follow up its various campaigns with work to bring the sympathetic elements into definite organizations. At the same time it shall take the necessary precautions to protect itself from attack as a dual union, by the reactionary trade union bureaucracy. To these ends the following organizational measures are necessary:

a) **National Industrial Committees:** In each industry there shall be a National Committee, alive and functioning vigorously. These Committees shall serve to unite all the revolutionary and sympathetic elements in their respective spheres. As soon as possible there shall be created sub-National Committees within the National Industrial Committees, to correspond with the most important unions in the several industries. The National Industrial Committees shall each aim to keep a paid secretary in the field. These Committees shall keep in close touch with the International Propaganda Committees and shall send them regular quarterly reports, and such other information as may be necessary to keep them in touch with the development of the American labor movement.

b) **Local General Groups:** In each city there shall be organized a Local General Group. These General Groups shall consist of all the revolutionary elements in the vicinity, either members of or

eligible to membership in trade unions. These members shall be required to subscribe to the Class Struggle Propaganda Fund, to subscribe to the Labor Herald and to satisfy a local committee as to their sympathies with the movement. The Local General Groups shall be sub-divided into Local Industrial Groups, and these shall be affiliated to their respective National Industrial Committees. The Local General Groups are of the most vital importance to the League, and every effort should be made to have them established in all industrial districts.

c) **The League Press:** In addition to the Labor Herald, official organ of the League, there shall be established bulletins for each National Committee and also for the four districts of the League. These bulletins must carry the full program of the League at all times. The Industrial bulletins must devote an established section regularly for news from their respective International Propaganda Committees, and they must support the complete program of the R. I. L. U. The national office of the League shall issue a News Service to furnish information on the League's activities to the press of the Workers' Party and the Labor press. Each National Industrial Committee shall publish at least one pamphlet dealing with the problems of its industry. The League shall also publish a series of general pamphlets. In addition to those elsewhere mentioned, there shall be pamphlets on the I. W. W., the Russian trade unions, the question of Canadian autonomy, Washington versus Moscow, etc. The Labor Herald shall publish the matter on the activities of the R. I. L. U. to be furnished by the latter.

d) **Finance:** The finance system of the League must accomplish the double task of furnishing the necessary funds for the League and consolidating the members into definite organization. To this end there shall be organized a Class Struggle Propaganda Fund, independent of the League. Every member of the League shall be required to subscribe regularly contributions to this fund. To begin with the contributions shall be quarterly. The utmost efforts must be made to develop the Class Struggle Propaganda Fund, and to enlist all possible subscribers as contributors to it. No one shall be considered a member of the League unless he contributes to the Class Struggle Propaganda Fund. Fifty percent of this fund shall go to the National League, the other fifty percent shall be divided between the Local General Groups, the National Industrial Committees and the Districts. In addition, the present system of raising funds by means of entertainments, sale of literature, donations, etc. shall be continued and intensified. The National and Industrial Committees shall devote particular attention to the securing of regular donations and special contributions from local unions within their sphere of influence. Such funds as they are thus able to raise shall be at their own disposal. The National Industrial Committees shall not introduce individual contribution system in competition with the Class Struggle Propaganda Fund.

### Methods of Work.

The Trade Union Educational League must never be allowed to become merely a propaganda body. Above all, it must be a fighting organization. It must ever and always take the lead in the workers' struggle, no matter how these manifest themselves.

It must emphasize the importance of action and seek to constantly throw ever larger masses of workers more militantly against the employers. In addition to being educational, the League must be the every day leader of the battle against capital. In all strikes its militants must be highly active, with a program covering every phase of the situation. In all conventions they must carry on a systematic and thoroughly prepared campaign against the reactionary bureaucracy. For the League to confine itself to actions and conventions alone, however, would be as great a mistake as for it to ignore conventions altogether and to concentrate entirely upon strikes. The two branches of work, in conventions and in strikes, must go hand in hand supplementing and strengthening each other. Every struggle must be utilized for the upbuilding of the League. In every possible case the League shall place candidates against the reactionaries in the local and national union elections, and use these elections to the utmost for propaganda purposes.

### 4. Relations of League to Independent Unions.

The League recognizes the present importance of the Independent unions and their probable much greater importance in the future. It shall remain in friendly and helpful cooperation with them in the class struggle.

a) **Red International Committees:** The formation and constitution of the Red International Committee, which serves as the connecting link between the revolutionary minorities and the revolutionary unions, is endorsed. There shall be a campaign made to bring all the available independent unions into the Red International Committee and the United Labor Council of America. For this purpose a general conference shall be called of all the independent unions, either adhering to the R. I. L. U. or sympathetic to its program. This conference shall be held under the auspices direct or indirect, of the R. I. C. and the U. L. C. of A. It shall not include the I. W. W. Its purpose shall be the building up of the R. I. C. and the U. L. C. of A. The R. I. C. shall be made up of independent unions and revolutionary minorities, which shall have voting strength equal to the R. I. C. The R. I. C. shall map out a plan of militant campaign of action to include the organization of the unorganized, the organization of the unemployed, the amalgamation of the various unions, the development of the Labor Party movement, the affiliation of unions to the R. I. L. U. and the whole Left Wing program. The League shall be the representative of the Profintern in the United States and Canada. The revolutionary nuclei in the independent unions affiliated to the Profintern shall be party nuclei, and as such, under Party control. As soon as practicable, the R. I. C. shall engage a paid secretary and issue a Bulletin.

b) **Red International Affiliation Committee:** The formation of the Red International Affiliation Committee for work within the I. W. W. is endorsed. The League recognizes the revolutionary importance of the I. W. W. and the R. I. A. C. is instructed to establish all possible connections within the organization. The attitude of the R. I. A. C. towards the I. W. W. shall be one of friendly cooperation and criticism. While pointing out definitely and clearly the mistake of the I. W. W. ideology and tactics, the R. I. A. C. shall do everything possible to participate effectively in the I. W. W. struggles and to win



the support of its membership and to secure the affiliation of the I. W. W. to the R. I. L. U. Whenever possible, united front arrangements in defense work, strikes, etc., shall be established between the League and the I. W. W. As soon as practicable, the R. I. A. C. shall issue a Bulletin.

5. Relations of the League with the Workers' Party.

a) Build the Party: The political and economic struggle of the working class are inseparable. The League recognizes the futility of carrying on the trade union work merely for itself. The chief aim of all its efforts shall be the building of a revolutionary mass political organization of the working class, the Workers' Party. To this end all the

struggles of the workers shall be directed into political channels, and all the campaigns of the League for the Labor Party, amalgamation, etc. etc., shall be utilized to strengthen the membership and leadership of the Workers' Party.

b) Build the League: The League recognizes the impossibility of its functioning effectively without the full and wholehearted support of the Workers' Party—To develop this support it shall carry on a campaign to bring all the working class members of the Party into the unions and into the League, to make them subscribers to the Class Struggle Propaganda Fund, and to have each branch and official of the Workers' Party held responsible by the Workers' Party for the establishment, maintenance and functioning of the League in their respective localities.

## Labor Conditions and Labor Unions in Japan

By Louis Zoobock

\*This is the second article of a short series on the labor movement of Japan, the foremost competitor of American imperialism in the Far East.

AS shown in the previous article, the conditions under which the factory workers of Japan are compelled to live and toil are unbearable. It is, therefore, not surprising that there is a spirit of unrest spreading throughout the industrial regions of Japan. Trade unions are growing in number; strikes are affecting all industries; the workers are becoming more and more class-conscious and are adopting the principle of class war.

The trade union movement in Japan may be said to have started in 1897. During that year the League for the Formation of Labor Unions was organized. It conducted a vigorous campaign for the formation of trade unions and its activities were very successful. Labor unions appeared in many places.

The Iron Workers' Union, formed in Tokyo in 1897, was the first union to be organized in Japan. The following year the railway engineers and firemen organized. They conducted a strike for better treatment, and all the trains in northeastern Japan were brought to a standstill. The strike was won and the company was forced to recognize the union and establish the closed shop.

Trade union growth was fairly rapid in the next few years, but the government and the employers joined in the suppression of the workers' organizations. Special "public safety and order" police laws were enacted, directed against the trade unions. The entire force of Japanese militarism and capitalism was used to crush the labor movement. As a

result, it was either driven underground or forced to liquidate for a time.

The year 1912 was marked by a revival in the trade union movement. During that year the carmen of Tokyo went on strike and so completely paralyzed the car system that the strike was won in a few days. Shortly after this strike, the Yuai-Kai (Laborers' Friendly Society) was founded in Tokyo by Bunji Suzuki.

The character of this organization was not strictly that of a labor organization. It arose out of workers organized on the principle of mutual benefit; its aim was the promotion of the moral, economic and social well-being of the workers. The society was at first strongly supported by a section of the upper classes who, prompted by the feeling that since a labor movement was bound to come, thought it was better to guide it along moderate lines rather than allow it to become a movement imbued with radical ideas.

The Yuai-Kai succeeded where so many other organizations had failed. Branches were established in various parts of the country and the membership grew. With the increasing membership, the Yuai-Kai successfully intervened in various strikes in which its members were concerned.

In spite of the moderate character of the Yuai-Kai, this strike movement alarmed the capitalists, and the combined employers and government began a fierce opposition. However, this only helped transform the character of the organization; and since 1918 it has

grown with the growth of labor consciousness and, as we shall see, it was changed into the General Federation of Japanese Labor.

The world war, which brought about such tremendous changes in the economic life of Japan, served as a great stimulus to the formation of trade unions. During the war and immediately afterward, the number of industrial enterprises increased tremendously; the ranks of the industrial proletariat increased by more than a half million; capitalist exploitation and concentration of wealth in the hands of a few were greatly intensified. The luxurious life of the war profiteers, together with the enormous rise in the price of commodities out of all proportion to the increase in wages, created a strong feeling of discontent among the workers. They were driven to unite and fight for higher wages and better conditions.

Labor unions of a militant character appeared in all industries. From the factory workers they extended to outdoor workers. And, in January 1921, according to investigations made by the Department of Home Affairs, there were in Japan 671 unions with a total membership of 246,658.

### Tendency Towards Amalgamation

Until very recently the trade unions of Japan have devoted their attention to maintaining their local existence. There were practically no central bodies among the unions, the only exception being the Yuai-Kai.

Beginning with the year 1919, the attention of the unions was drawn to the question of unity. During that year Japanese capitalism reached its zenith and its course since then has been downhill. The period of prosperity was followed by a prolonged crisis. Factories closed down one after another; the ranks of the unemployed greatly increased. The capitalists with the help of the government began a persistent campaign against the young and inexperienced trade unions.

This attack led to some important results. Though it checked the numerical development of the Japanese trade unions, it helped to make them revolutionary almost from the start. The unions were compelled to fight hard battles; they realized that they could meet the determined offensive of the enemy only by coming closer together. Hence, the movement for amalgamation.

In September, 1919, a dozen unions of different industries in the city of Tokyo combined against the government's procedure in connection with the nomination of the labor delegate

to the Washington "Labor" Conference. From that time onward the important unions acted in cooperation. The movement for centralization bore fruit and several federations of unions have been formed, these being the General Federation of Miners, the Eastern Federation of Trade Unions, and the Western Federation of Trade Unions.

In May 1921, 22 of the more important Seamen's Unions amalgamated and established the Japanese Seamen's Union. The movement for closer labor unity is still going on. The latest development as reported in the *Daily Worker*, March 25, 1924, shows that the Farmers' Union of Japan officially united in political action with the General Labor Confederation of Japan.

This movement was brought about mainly through the influence of the Yuai-Kai. Naturally this facilitated the further development of the organization, originally a philanthropic society, into a militant federation of labor as it is today.

Beginning with the year 1919, the Yuai-Kai assumed an entirely new aspect. The old leaders were replaced by men whose character and ideas were of a militant nature. And in 1920, the old program of the Yuai-Kai was completely overhauled and a new one adopted. The old class collaboration idea was completely replaced by the class war principle. Bunji Suzuki, the Gompers of Japan, was left as the honorary president of the organization, but the power of control was transferred to an executive committee elected from the membership.

The program of the General Federation (Nippon Rodo Sodomai) was still further extended at its Eleventh Congress held at Osaka in October, 1922. The new demands included: organized and systematic resistance to capitalist oppression; incompatibility of interests between working and capitalist classes; and finally—the realization of the new order of society based on complete emancipation of the working class.

### Syndicalists Lose—Communists Gain

In the movement for unification of the labor forces of Japan, the Communists play an outstanding role. Inspired by the systematic teaching of the Third International, they persistently advocate the united front principle, and their work is not in vain. When in October, 1922, 106 delegates from 59 of the most important unions, assembled at Osaka for final decision on the formation of an all-national federation of unions, the main issue was between the federalism of Anarcho-Syndical-

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## THE LABOR HERALD

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### ENEMIES OF SOLIDARITY.

**D**ANGER to the solidarity of the miners of America comes from two sources; the most menacing is the corrupt and vicious machine of John L. Lewis and Co., which has entrenched itself in high official position and from its vantage point binds the miners hand and foot and strangles their efforts to fight against the bosses. Second to the disruption of the bureaucracy, but by no means negligible, is the secession and dual union idea, fostered and propagated by doctrinaires and impatient workers.

Lewis has shown, by his alliance with the party of Coolidge for the purpose of becoming the next secretary of labor, that he realizes his day is about over. The rank and file are in revolt against him and will rid themselves of him; he is looking for a soft spot to light on.

More than ever it is the duty of the rank and file militants to guard against rash and foolish splits and secession movements that would give Lewis a new lease on life. Such activity as that of the O. B. U. in District 26, and the I. W. W. in District 18, is calculated to defeat the great rank and file movement against the bureaucrats. It is, no matter what the motive of those who carry it on, a service to the enemies of the working class.

One union of the miners of North America—united action of all the miners against the organized employers—no splits and no secessions—get rid of the agents of the employers who are at the head of the union; these are the needs of the miners today. Those who propose to break the line on this, the program of the Progressive Miners' Committee, are enemies of solidarity.

### THE THIRD CONGRESS.

**A**NOTHER world congress of revolutionary unionists is taking place. The Red International of Labor is meeting in its third congress at Moscow, beginning July 5th, to strike the balance of eighteen months' revolutionary experience during a period of feverish change, realignments, and consolidation of the working class forces.

For the first time in generations the American labor movement is becoming a dynamic factor in the international movement. After years of dragging along in the rear, America again begins to make contributions to world labor. At the third congress of the R. I. L. U. the program of the Trade Union

Educational League, published elsewhere in this issue, will be the basis of discussion on the question of organizing the revolutionary minorities within the trade unions throughout the world that are still dominated by the class-collaborationists.

While the rotten capitalist system staggers on to its doom, the forces of proletarian revolution, of the new society that is to succeed capitalism, gather themselves together, clarify their programs, correct their mistakes, consolidate their powers, and while carrying on the defensive struggle of the workers day by day against the greed of capitalist exploitation, prepare for the final struggle which will soon replace the dictatorship of the capitalist class with that of the working class.

### NEGROES AND THE UNIONS.

**T**RAD E unions that neglect or discriminate against the negroes (and there are many such in this country) are following a narrow, short-sighted policy that will ultimately lead them to disaster unless it is changed.

Leaving aside, for the moment, all questions of the interests of the negroes themselves (which are an essential part of the interests of the working class), and looking at the matter only from the selfish interests of the unions as now constituted, it is becoming plainer every day that if the labor movement is to be saved from destruction at the hands of the "open shop" campaign, the Coolidges and the Dawes, they must break down the prejudices instilled by capitalist institutions, they must accept the negroes on a basis of equality, they must organize them into complete solidarity with the white workers, native and foreign-born.

It is no accident that in the industries dominated by the most militant enemies of labor, the negroes are being brought in, in constantly increasing numbers. Because the unions are so short-sighted that they neglect the organization and education of our black brothers, they are thereby inflicting deep injury upon themselves. They are forcing the negroes into the position of strike-breakers. They are delivering a terrible weapon into the hands of the employers.

For the preservation of the unions, to defeat the "open shoppers," in order to build up working-class power—the negroes must be brought into the organized labor movement on a mass scale. All discriminations must be abolished. Every worker must be united in the unions without regard to race, creed, or color. It is time to put our high-sounding principles into effect if we would preserve the trade union movement.

### MORE INJUNCTIONS.

**H**ARD upon the heels of the injunctions against the garment workers in Chicago, comes another judicial outrage against the workers. A blanket court order prohibiting the Amalgamated Food Workers from organizing the Greek restaurant workers in 170 eating houses, was issued by Judge Friend. The injunction evil is being intensified. The courts are to be used more than ever to crush the unions.

There are two ways for the workers to meet and to overcome this rule of the judges. One is to follow the advice of the American Federation of Labor conventions, and to refuse to obey or recognize the validity of injunctions—mass disobedience and violation of usurping court orders. The other is to

form a class party and organize to take over political power out of the hands of the capitalists.

For immediate results the policy of mass violation of injunctions is the most effective. The Kansas miners under the leadership of Alex Howat gave a glorious demonstration of how quickly a little real action can smash the judicial house of cards. They killed the Kansas industrial court, which threatened the life of the labor movement, in the course of a year's fight. What Howat and the Kansas miners did to Allen's court, can be done by the organized labor movement to all the capitalist courts—with a little determination and fighting spirit.

The final answer to the injunction question, as to all the problems of the class struggle, is of course, the establishment of the working class as the ruling class. Injunctions are the great arguments that are doing more than any other one thing today to force the great masses to turn to political action on a class basis, to build up a political party of their own, to assert the power of the working class against the capitalists.

### HAIL THE RUHR MINERS!

**T**HE strike of more than a million German miners is a sign of the resurgence of the forces of working class revolt in Europe. Crushed by the military forces of Allied Imperialism, maimed by the armed forces of the German capitalists working hand in hand with French, English, and American; betrayed by their own leaders of the Social-Democracy and the Second International, the German working class is again gathering itself together, is again arising to assert its power.

American, British, and French miners are learning that the need of international solidarity is something more than a phrase and a pious wish, that it is a burning necessity. The starvation wages of the Ruhr miners, the forced deliveries of slave-mined coal from Germany, is bringing the British miners to the verge of starvation also, is helping the French capitalists to crush the coal diggers of that country, is assisting the coal barons of America to break the U. M. W. A. and throw hundreds of thousands of miners out of work.

Prompt dispatch of financial assistance from America to the striking Ruhr miners, when the International Workers' Relief sent several thousand dollars as the beginning of a real relief drive, should bring joy to the heart of American militants. Every American worker has an opportunity, by assisting this great work, to take his place in an action of international solidarity. Each class-conscious worker in this country can help defeat the forces of capitalist imperialism, which is enslaving the German miners in order more thoroughly to exploit the workers of America also, by joining this practical internationalism. Hail to the fighting Ruhr miners!

### WAR-MAKERS PRAY FOR PEACE.

**T**HE Amsterdam International (International Federation of Trade Unions) has called for the observance of an international anti-war day in September.

It will be the tenth anniversary of the betrayal of the labor movement of the world to the imperialist world war, by the same gentlemen of the Amsterdam International, together with their friends of the Second International, that delivered twenty millions of workers to slaughter.

How fitting that these recruiting sergeants of the

world war, most of whom were at one time or another, in the war governments of their respective countries, should now pray for peace.

Can it be that they have had a change of heart? Not at all. They merely go thru these motions in order the more easily to keep their followers in leash, that they may be delivered again to capitalism when the next war breaks out.

Each one of these hypocritical "leaders" is still following, nationally and internationally, the same policies of class collaboration that led to the great betrayal of the world war.

Each is hobnobbing with capitalist politicians, and playing for favors from the capitalist class. Each is fighting with all his power against the militant rank and file, and disrupting the unions in order to prevent the Communists and revolutionists generally, from leading the unions into a struggle against the capitalist system.

The anti-war day of the Amsterdam International is a sham and a fraud. It is designed to fool the workers while they are being led directly into another world slaughter. It is the pacifist mouthing of the servants of imperialism, who will turn over night into raging jingoes at the command of their ruling classes.

There is but one force that is really fighting against capitalist wars, and that is the working masses, led and organized by the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions. It finds its expression in the war against the capitalist system, the only war against war that goes beyond words and speech-making.

### THE PROBLEM OF SHOP NUCLEI.

**I**N THE last issue of the LABOR HERALD, Wm. Z. Foster wrote in some detail upon the reorganization of the French Communist Party on the basis of shop nuclei, the form of party organization which the Communist International requires shall replace the purely territorial form the various sections of the International unluckily inherited from the socialist organizations of the Second International. In France, as elsewhere, Foster's article explains, the reorganization of the party from a purely territorial to a shop nuclei basis, despite its advantages, is not being accomplished except slowly and with much difficulty.

This problem represents such a profound alteration in the work of all who carry the message of Communism to the masses, that not only the ultimate advantage needs to be understood, but the process by which reorganization is to be effected should be well thought out by those whose experience in industrial work qualifies them to outline the gradual steps toward reorganization.

The importance of careful estimation of the various stages to be gone through, is well elaborated by Comrade C. M. Roebuck of the English Communist Party, who says, "The very value and importance of the change from area to factory groups is that it is not a mere reshuffle of our members, or a change in outward form, but an organic change, a change in the orientation and outlook of the Party. It can only take place as the Party grows, and the contrary is equally true—the Party can only grow as it takes place. In other words, the change is bound up with a series of preliminary reconnoiterings and preparations." It is time for change of outlook and consideration of actual work.

# THE INTERNATIONAL

**ENGLAND** ACCOMPANYING the great revival of trade union actions for better conditions (railroad, dockers, tramway-men, builders, miners, etc.), and playing a great part in stimulating these movements, has been the crystallization of the left wing in the British unions into definite organizational forms with programs of action for each industry. This has come to a head in the call, issued by the Bureau of the R. I. L. U., for a national minority conference in Sheffield, July 12th and 13th. The call contains an agenda which includes the subjects of minimum wage, working hours, unemployment, workers' control, trade union reorganization, name, structure, and finance of the minority organization, international questions, and election of officers. A large conference is expected, that will unify and clarify the far-reaching but yet unorganized left wing sentiment in the British unions.

Within the separate industries the left wing is forming itself, following in a general way the lines developed by the Trade Union Educational League in America. The following industries have organized minority committees nationally, with programs of actions worked out in detail: Metal workers, building workers, miners, railwaymen, transport workers, as well as many district committees and committees for separate unions. Each committee has called or is calling conferences, at which detailed programs of reorganization of the unions, trade policies, etc., are worked out.

**JAPAN** JAPAN, ever since the great earthquake, has been undergoing a keen political crisis. The tremendous losses suffered in that calamity, as well as the barbarism committed by the authorities in shooting down 3,000 workers, as Korean looters, in a great St. Bartholomew of proletarians, have added speed and intensity to the rapidly sharpening industrial conflict. The most violent efforts are being resorted to to prevent the upsurge of the lower classes. Among others was a recent attempt to wreck a train carrying leaders of the opposition. In the general elections held on May 10th, the reactionary government, headed by Kioura, was badly defeated. His group secured only 177 seats in parliament as against 333 for the opposition. The Japanese parliament is a body made up principally of representatives of the rich classes. Only 2,860,000 out of a total male population of 29,000,000 have the right to vote, the rest being disfranchised by property qualifications. The demand for universal suffrage, particularly, on the part of the rapidly awakening proletariat, takes on even greater scope. The new government will be dominated by the left wing of the bourgeoisie.

**BELGIUM** IN an article published recently in *Le Peuple*, the former Minister of Labor, Wauters, shows that the so-called neutral associations of former soldiers are anti-union organizations, and that their program contains a paragraph demanding the suppression of the eight-hour day, the right to organize, payment of out-of-work benefits, etc. Notwithstanding this clear warning, however, the Belgian Socialists, like their simi-

lars in Germany, are sabotaging every serious effort to fight the Fascists. Thus, in their recent congress, they not only defeated but covered with insults the delegate who dared to propose real measures to defend the labor movement from the Fascists. This is because, in the long run, the Socialists have no real quarrel with these militant defenders of the capitalist system. Recently the Socialist Deputy, Hubin, attended a Fascist banquet and was quite the hero of the occasion. In his glowing patriotic speech he declared, "Above politics there is the interest of the country, which is dear to all of us. Above the policies of the parties there is a true policy, that of the country, which demands the union of all good citizens." Vanderveelde was very much embarrassed by this open Socialist endorsement of the Fascist organizations. In his betrayal of the workers and defense of capitalism he is more skillful than the roughneck, Hubin.

**CZECHO-SLOVAKIA** THE rapid growth of the One Big Union of Czecho-Slovakia is attracting much attention throughout Europe. The roots of this movement go back to the rapid spread of the trade unions after the bourgeois revolution of 1918. At that time the so-called Marxian left wing was formed in the Czechist and German parties. Then the reformists forced a split which brought about the creation of the Communist party in 1921. The left movement in the parties was accompanied by a similar movement in the trade unions. Acting under the guidance of the Amsterdam International, the reformist leaders of the unions decided to get rid of the opposition by expulsion. In the summer of 1921 this began in the textile workers' union when the officialdom demanded that two Communist secretaries should sign a statement repudiating the 21 points of the Communist International. This they refused to do and they were expelled. Local unions supported them and were also expelled. Soon the expulsion policy was taken up in the building, leather, woodworking, and other industries. At the general congress in January, 1922, the Amsterdamers, by packing the convention, managed to scare up a small majority. After this gathering the expulsion policy was pushed with renewed energy. On Oct. 27th, 1922, the revolutionary elements got together in national convention and formed the One Big Union. From that time on the reformist unions have been on the decline. They are rapidly disintegrating while the revolutionary organization is fast winning the position of the sole representative of the organized workers.

At the recent convention of the Communist party the question of the attitude to be assumed towards the reformist unions took on much importance. Certain delegates were of the opinion that inasmuch as the split had taken place the revolutionists should withdraw from the old unions and concentrate entirely upon the One Big Union. The convention categorically repudiated this notion. The Communists were instructed, those of them who belonged to such organizations, to stay within the reformist unions and to struggle to conquer them. When they get control of an organization then the leadership of the

party shall decide whether or not this local or national federation shall affiliate to the Red International of Labor Unions and the One Big Union.

**FRANCE** AN interesting sidelight on the recent elections in France was the action taken by the Anarchists. Two tendencies of them, Devaldes-Bergeron (individualists) and Barbe-Content (Syndicalists), supported the bourgeois bloc des gauches. They said, so they said, in the hope of thus winning amnesty for the political prisoners. In *L'Humanite* Victor Serge flays the movement and points out its bankruptcy. He says that for the past 20 years the Anarchist movement has not produced a single book or idea worth mentioning. All it has done has been to concentrate upon the bitterest opposition to Soviet Russia, the one real successful effort made by the working class to establish the new society.

**BRAZIL** WITHIN the past four years the trade movement of Brazil has suffered a severe set-back. Most of the organizations have been destroyed outright. Those that have been able to escape the offensive of the employers are lingering along more dead than alive. The Brazilian trade union movement, like that of many other countries, reached its greatest development during the years 1918-20. Big strikes took place at Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, Pernambuco, Rio-Grande do Sul, Bahia, etc. The first ones terminated with more or less easy victories, but the later ones ended in heavy defeats. The government, frightened for a moment, rapidly reacted with a strong counter-offensive. Special laws were formulated against the unions and a brutal oppression carried out against all movements of the workers. Consequently the masses deserted the unions, which fell into complete inertia, many of them disappearing altogether. The apathy still continues. Only in Rio de Janeiro and a few of the more important centers do real organizations exist. The principal organization is the Brazilian Confederation of Trade Unions and Co-operatives. It claims 122 affiliated organizations, with 140,000 members. It is made up of trade unions, co-operatives, and workers' fraternal organizations, and is of right wing tendencies. The Communists are making rapid inroads into all the trade unions of the country.

**GERMANY** AT the present time Germany presents a picture of revolutionary ferment. Both the capitalists and the workers are girding themselves for the final struggle. The former are attempting to rob the latter not only of all the concessions they have managed to secure since the October, 1918, revolution, but also of the organization necessary to bring about the revolution. Consequently, strikes are breaking out all over the country, the workers being in distinctly a mood of resistance. The most important of the strikes is that of the Ruhr miners. As we go to press, this struggle is still going on, in spite of the efforts of the Social-Democratic leaders to choke it to death.

An illustration of the bitterness prevailing was given in Halle early in May. The nationalists and royalists, led by Ludendorf, and 26 imperial generals, had scheduled a big patriotic demonstration. The workers also arranged a counter-demonstration.

This had been sanctioned by the city authorities, but on the eve of it they cancelled it. The workers proceeded to hold their parade, nevertheless. With the result that the police and nationalists entered into open battle with them. Several riots took place, in which eight people were killed, four of whom were workers and four police. The men who thus protected the nationalists' demonstration by shedding the blood of the workers were three Social-Democrats, Severing, Bergemann, and Runge. This incident created a tremendous sensation throughout Germany and did much to increase the bitterness of the situation, which had already apparently reached the breaking point. The workers are determined not to allow the nationalists, supported by their allies the Socialists, go scot-free for the outrage perpetrated upon them. Even the bourgeois papers are violent in their criticism of the Socialists for giving so much encouragement to the reactionary forces lined up behind Ludendorf.

The efforts of the Communists to capture the organized masses have taken a new turn since the convention of the Communist party in April. All the revolutionary elements are being concentrated in a general convention of workers, which was to be held in Leipzig about the first of June, and of which we have not yet received word. This convention will be made up of representatives of the trade union opposition, the factory councils, and the unemployed. Three principal propositions are on the order of business, (1) the struggle of the German working class against enslavement by the international robber-agreement, (2) the struggle for the eight-hour day, (3) the struggle against the Amsterdam disrupters and destroyers of the German labor movement. This convention will mark a turning point in the history of the German working class.

One of the most glaring diplomatic outrages during the recent years was the raid of the Berlin police upon the Commercial Bureau of the Soviet Government. This was engineered by the Social-Democratic chief of police of Berlin, who sent 300 police to do the job. He was fully supported by the Vorwaerts, which declares that "Half of the German Communist Party is employed in the Russian Commercial Mission." It is noteworthy that the Social-Democrats have always opposed the treaty of Rappallo, which established relations between Russia and Germany, whereas they have accepted the infamous Versailles treaty. The German government will have to apologize for the outrage.

Not waiting, however, for the German government, the willing servant of both the German bourgeoisie and the Allied capitalists, to apologize, Soviet Russia, after carefully determining that the raid was maliciously premeditated, laid down a boycott against all German goods.

German concessions in Russia were cancelled. German goods entering Russia were barred at the frontier and import licenses for 11,000,000 gold roubles worth of German goods were cancelled. All orders previously placed in Germany were diverted to Great Britain, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia and Austria. This is a deep blow at the German Social-Democratic government directed through its masters, the German bourgeoisie. Russia's economic revival is having its effect on international politics.

## Labor Conditions and Labor Unions in Japan

(Continued from Page 155)

ists and the strict centralism of the Communists. The majority of the delegates supported the latter.

The action of the Syndicalists, however, led to the dispersion of the assembly by the police. This shattered the influence of the Syndicalists. The labor organizations lost faith in their tactics, and the influence of the Communists and their ideas have since become the dominating force among the rank and file.

### Recent Strikes

The growth of trade unionism in Japan resulted in a great increase of strikes. Thus, while in 1914 there were only 50 strikes involving 7,904 workers; in 1919, there were 497 strikes affecting 63,139; in 1921, 246 strikes involving 58,255 strikes.

In the spring and summer of 1919, the strike fever spread even to the government arsenals, naval yards, and to the most monopolistic enterprises. The government, the capitalist courts and employers combined in their efforts to suppress the trade unions. The unions were forbidden to use picketing. Strikers were not allowed to hold meetings. Spies were scattered among the workers to learn their plans. Ruffians and gamblers, members of the "Nationalistic Society", and other Fascist organizations, were used by the government to fight labor. Above all, under the police laws of 1900 and 1919, which practically made strikes impossible, hundreds of the most capable leaders of the working class were thrown into jail.

But in spite of the bitter persecution instituted by the government the number of strikes continued to increase to an alarming degree. The strikers resorted to a new method, the "go-slow strike." This weapon was employed for the first time by the strikers of the Kawasaki dock yards in September, 1919. Similar strikes occurred in many other industries. As a result, many of the companies, principally ship yards and iron works, yielded the eight hour day. In a short time over 100,000 workers gained this concession, while in many other cases the nine hour day was granted.

## Among the Coal Miners of Canada

(Continued from Page 147)

where the rank and file triumphed over the

reactionary machine should demonstrate to the miners of Nova Scotia the necessity of continuing the clear policy of the Miners' Progressive movement. Only if the class conscious militants abdicate the leadership of the rank and file, will there be a split in Nova Scotia. The miners of District 18 will have to get support to win their strike and keep their wages intact, and it is up to the Canadian labor movement to supply that. At the end of this year district elections will take place there, and the rank and file will correct their blunder of placing false militants in office by snowing under Sherman and his gang.

### The Secretary of the Boozery

**M**R. MELLON, secretary of the treasury, is a liar. This may not be news, but, as it has been proved, it is worth recording. It seems that Mr. Mellon's ownership of breweries and distilleries has some connection with the mountain of liquor withdrawal permits issued by Mr. Mellon's treasury department. This also clears up the meaning of a statement made a few months back in Congress to the effect that any investigation of the treasury would "rock the nation."

On June 6, Mellon sent a letter to the senate committee investigating Daugherty, flatly denying the charge made by a former Department of Justice agent, Gaston B. Means, that Mr. Mellon and his department were up to their ears in whiskey graft.

One particular point was made that an interview upon permits between Means and under-secretary Gilbert, charged by Means, had never happened. "This is characteristic of Mr. Means' testimony," says the sanctioning secretary, "Mr. Gilbert has never met Mr. Means. No such interview took place."

Unfortunately, or otherwise, a very respectable gentleman, Thomas W. Miller, alien property custodian, took the stand and swore that he himself had been present at the meeting between Gilbert and Means. Incidentally, recent evidence proves that Brookhart's name was forged to a letter and used by detectives acting under orders of Daugherty and Burns to seize illegally all of Means' damning diaries.

In view of these and other things, the rotund, oily men of God who opened the G. O. P. convention with prayer were needed. Evidently the delegates want not only to "keep cool with Coolidge" but also to keep mellow with Mellon.

Only a Few Left!

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class war victims and their families.

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#### OUR AIM

To give aid to all needy workers and class war victims without conditions, without political discrimination, whenever and wherever the existence of a working class is menaced by an economic or natural catastrophe, or by political oppression.

**COMMITTEE FOR INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' AID**