

# LABOR UNITY

Published twice a month at 376 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill. Subscription price \$1.00 per year. The Labor Unity Publishing Association, Publishers.  
Entered as second-class matter February 15, 1937, at the postoffice at Chicago, Ill., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Vol. 1, No. 10-

CHICAGO, MAY 15, 1927

80

PRICE 5 CENTS

## Illinois Miners Oppose Lewis' Policies

By JACK O'HARE

**(Editor's Note.)**—The miners convention of the Illinois district, the strongest district of the U. M. W. of A., deserves the attention of every progressive and militant worker throughout the American labor movement. The next issue of Labor Unity will carry a review and evaluation of the convention. But some lessons can already be drawn from the report of the convention proceedings appearing in this issue.

It is evident that the overwhelming majority of the Illinois miners, and a majority of the convention delegates, are opposed to Lewis' strike policy and are in favor of an aggressive policy and a general miners strike. But the Lewis forces nevertheless succeeded in preventing a clear and definite expression of this by the convention. How could this happen?

The expulsion of certain militants from the U. M. W. deprived the left wing of experienced leadership on the convention floor. And the progressive opposition forces, still lacking organization and a firm and unwavering leadership, were at the critical moment demoralized by the red-baiting which the reactionaries always resort to in such situations.

The need of organization and of aggressive leadership is a lesson that should be learned by the progressives not only in the miners union but in the whole labor movement.

### CONVENTION REPORT

#### Fishwick Tries Smooth Tactics

**PEORIA, May 4.**—Out of the first two days of the District convention there is not a large panorama of incidents to report.

One of the important things that is first noticed in this convention is the way in which President Fishwick presides over the convention. His tactics so far are sort of "I want to give everybody the widest latitude and I like you and I want you to like me, so let's be nice and take my medicine." But while Fishwick is acting this way his henchmen are carrying on the real work.

#### Attack on Lewis

The convention hardly opened when James Walker of Collinsville launched upon an attack on the action of Lewis' machine at the recent International Convention. This was done in connection with the report of the Order of Business Committee when Walker moved an amendment to the effect that 100 delegates, instead of 125, could demand a roll call.

Walker's attack was bitter and Lewis was dragged up and down for his action in steam-rolling such issues as the unlimited assessments, increase of salaries, and packing the convention. Hindmarsh and Cowie, both spoke in support of Walker's amendment.

#### Nesbit Report Attacks Militants

The rest of the first day was spent upon reports of both Fishwick's and Scoy's. Nesbit. Over half of Fishwick's report deals with legislative matters. Refers to the Frank Farrington incident under the caption "An unfortunate occurrence", makes rec-

ommendations for constitutional amendments which if carried will give more power to machine control.

Frank Farrington at the last convention played on the Super-Power as the solution of the miners troubles. This time Fishwick comes in with the Lower Freight Rates as the solution. These are only fake convention issues and are always forgotten as soon as the convention adjourns.

For some reason instead of Fishwick, Nesbit in his report makes the attack on the militants. Outside of this Nesbit refers to the Illinois Miners Union as an insurance company and a good investment.

#### Convention Invites Alex. Howat

**Peoria, May 5, 1927.**—This morning the progressive forces dealt the machine a terrific blow. It came up on the resolution condemning Lewis for his action in not seating Alex Howat at the recent Interna-

(Continued on page 5)

## Life and Freedom for Sacco and Vanzetti!

By JAMES P. CANNON  
(National Secretary, International Labor Defense)

The day is drawing near for Massachusetts' day of revenge against militant labor, represented and symbolized by the two heroic Italian workmen, Sacco and Vanzetti. Events are transpiring with cyclonic speed which are finally deciding the issue. Do these events forecast the doom or the triumphant liberation of Sacco and Vanzetti? Let us examine them. The main outstanding developments since Judge Thayer pronounced the sentence are as follows:

### LABOR'S CAMPAIGN

An outburst of indignation and protest from the laboring masses throughout America and the entire world, resolutions, protest meetings, demonstrations, petitions, talk of strikes, etc. This is on the side of Sacco and Vanzetti. The protest and faith of the masses are their strength and protection.

The protest movement is taking organized form. Delegate conferences are being called in the principal cities in the United States to unify and co-ordinate local activities. The idea of a great National Conference similar to the famous "Mooney Congress" is discussed with approval. This development is another weight in the scale for Sacco and Vanzetti.

### CAPITALIST COUNTER-CAMPAIGN

On the other hand, there is the counter-campaign of the capitalist forces organizing against Sacco and Vanzetti. Manufacturers' Associations throughout the country pass resolutions supporting the death sentence. "Patriotic" societies demand their blood. The Massachusetts Bar Association finds the verdict perfectly legal and backs up Judge Thayer. The capitalist papers which first ventured a mild protest are being hushed up. The counter-campaign is under way.

The pressure of the capitalist interests who want the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti as a lesson and warning to militant labor is being reflected in the labor movement officialdom. Green, Wolf and other leaders of the A. F. of L. are preserving an ominous silence, while other labor socialist leaders who have hitherto been inactive in the case, are now attempting to disrupt the protest movement, as is shown in recent actions in some cities where delegates from the I. L. D. and other workers' organizations were denied the right to participate in conferences for Sacco and Vanzetti. Isolation of the militants is sabotage of the movement for life and freedom for Sacco and Vanzetti. Attempts of labor bureaucrats to divide and disrupt the protest movement is only reinforcing the campaign of the capitalist interests for the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti.

### UNITY OF LABOR FORCES ESSENTIAL

Militants, the honest workers must increase their efforts for unity and solidarity of action on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti. The I. L. D. proposes to all striving for Sacco and Vanzetti to increase tenfold their agitational activity through stickers and leaflets; through the canvas of all organizations to pass resolutions and sign petitions. Organize conferences, mass meetings, demonstrations, etc. Agitation is the motive-power of the movement.

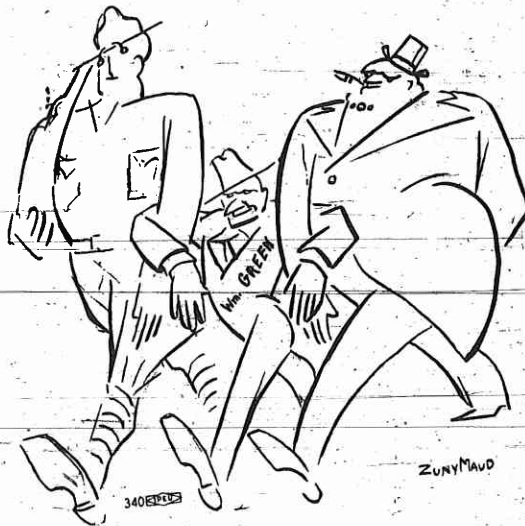
There must be insistence everywhere and under all circumstances for complete unity and solidarity of all labor forces. There must be no division of labor's forces. Keep the issue of unity clear before every worker.

The unity of the movement is a prerequisite for success in the fight to save the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Unity and Solidarity of labor can mean Life and Freedom for Sacco and Vanzetti. The working class cannot permit American capitalism to take its toll and burn Sacco and Vanzetti in the electric chair. The working class as one man must protest and demand:

Life and Freedom for Sacco and Vanzetti!

## CAPTIVE OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM



## Steel Workers' Convention

By JAMES A. McDONALD

The annual convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, held recently at Granite City, Ill., with approximately 100 delegates from various local unions in attendance, accomplished nothing of benefit to the steel workers.

The Amalgamated is supposed to have the entire jurisdiction over the workers in the steel industry. But the great mass of the steel workers remain unorganized and only a small number of highly skilled workers are enrolled in the union. This situation should have been given the foremost place in the deliberations of the convention, and ways and means devised to draw the mass of steel workers

into the union. But the reactionary leaders fail to notice this urgent task.

### Old Leadership Bankrupt

Under the bankrupt leadership of Tighe and Bassa, the Amalgamated has failed to even make a gesture for organization. Instead of undertaking some efforts to organize the steel industry, these officials have confined their activities to class collaboration practices and to pleading with the small independent steel mills for recognition of the union; promising them that the Amalgamated will help to increase efficiency and productivity.

Out of the nearly 600,000 workers in the steel industry the Amalgamated has only about 10,000 mem-

(Continued on page 2)

# Company Unionism in the United States

By Robert Dunn

THERE are many tendencies in the United States working toward the "popularization" of capitalism in the minds of the workers more than 80 per cent of whom are not yet organized in trade unions. The vast range of welfare and personnel devices are introduced by corporation managements as alleged benefits for the workers without the compulsion of law or trade union agreements. They are definite gratuities provided for the workers in order to decrease labor turnover, develop good-will, smother discontent, create "friendly contacts" between "men and management", increase "loyalty" and to head off labor unionism.

## Company Unionism Chief Device

Foremost among these devices stands the company union. By "company union" is meant all sorts of shop committees, works councils, conference boards and "employee representation plans", initiated and controlled by management and providing the workers with some machinery for taking up at least a few of the minor grievances arising in the plant. Some companies like the International Harvester Co. have as many as 20 plants working under these non-trade union "industrial councils". Others are comparatively small and include but a few hundred workers in one plant. But the great majority of the more than 800 company unions in the country are in large and well known American corporations employing over 15,000 workers.

All of these company unions, in which there are now over a million workers represented, have, with one or two exceptions, developed since the World War. The various government boards created to meet

wartime labor "emergencies" helped to build up the "shop committee" idea in the minds of the company executives. The latter learned that these committees—installed in many plants during the war—were a very satisfactory way to manipulate the human element and keep it more under the control of management and less amenable to the appeals of the "outside" trade unions. The result has been that the company unions have gained approximately as many members since the war as the trade unions have lost. On the railroad lines, particularly, the company unions have made direct gains in trade union territory and have lined up nearly 400,000 rail workers, the great majority of whom were, in the years after the war and up to the shipmen's strike of 1922, members of the regular trade unions.

## Real Aims of Company Unionism

The employers objectives underlying company unions are usually well concealed behind phrases that carry the halo of idealism. "Co-operation in management", "the spiritual integration of men and management", and a great deal about the Big Team or the Big Family Relationship, come from the lips of these gentlemen; and their publicity assistants broadcast their talks on "service" and the "new leadership in industry" to the far corners of the continent.

But underneath these pretty words one finds solid motives based on the technological requirements of management as well as on a realization of the inherent class struggle potentialities even in unorganized American industry. Confidentially the employer's agents will tell you that the primary reason for the company union is to

"prevent the growth of trade unionism", to "effect unrest and strike talk", to "tame the radicals", to "keep out the union agitators" and to "forestall bolshevist talk". The underlying objectives behind company unionism are also clearly implicit in the hearty endorsements it receives from the most implacable enemies of unionism such as the great employers associations.

## Objections Against Company Unionism

The trade union argument against the company union is familiar to all those who have followed American labor journals. It has been appearing now since 1919, when through the influence of William Z. Foster, a resolution against the company unions was introduced in a convention of the American Federation of Labor. Briefly, labor contends that: (1) The company union has no bargaining power or economic power of any kind. (2) It has no dues, funds or treasury of any sort. (3) The workers under company unions are permitted no independent outside advisors or counsel to represent them in negotiations. At the same time the companies employ expert and expensive economists and lawyers to represent them and to prepare their statistics for the bargaining councils. (4) The workers are not permitted affiliation with outside national unions; while the employers themselves affiliate with national employers associations and industrial associations expressly organized to fight labor unions. (5) The company unions often employ "yellow dog" or "individual agreements" to tie the workers to the union the cause for immediate discharge from the job. (6) The company firm and making affiliation to a

pany unions are "educational agencies" for instilling anti-union ideas and employers' economic notions and political ideals into the minds of the workers.

## Matthew Woll's Fears

All of these points have been made by labor—and still others. The reactionary labor officials who are nothing more than the spokesmen of American imperialism—Matthew Woll, the notorious Civic Federationist, now busy expelling militants from the trade unions, is a good example—believe that the company union has certain other dangerous potentialities. As these councils are "industrial" in form and, unlike most American trade unions, take in workers in the plant irrespective of craft, sex, race, skill or color, they are likely to develop certain "irresponsible" traits. In an industrial crisis they might conceivably—and with plenty of left wing agitation—become real industrial unions. They might, says Woll, become as menacing to the trade union bureaucracy as the shop stewards movement did in England during the war. They might even, he fears, become like soviets—or what not! At any rate they would not be tied to the tail of the "responsible" trade unions that can always be swung into a war or an imperialist crusade behind the government. The employers, Woll thinks, ought to recognize the dangers of this sort of union.

This warning of the reactionaries, in the opinion of the writer, is entirely gratuitous. The big corporations will see to it that the company unions do not get out of hand. Woll's apprehensions are entirely fanciful—the product of his

(Continued on page 3)

## Steel Workers

(Continued from page 1)

bers, and its hold on these is continually weakening. At every convention in recent years the Progressive forces have called attention to this situation and have presented resolutions with concrete plans for an organizing drive in the steel industry. But the reactionary machine has always defeated every proposal that would tend to make the union a potent force in the steel industry. They remained true to form at the last convention.

## Progressive Forces Weak

The progressive forces, on the other hand, are weak and lack the necessary cohesion and unity to really carry on a struggle which could shake the old machine. As a result, the reactionary Tighe clique remains supreme in the Amalgamated and nothing is done to organize the steel workers.

The convention adopted only resolutions of a general character, such as on the Sacco-Vanzetti case, demanding their release, and against the proposed legislation for the registration of alien workers. It is interesting to note that the foremost advocate of such legislation, Secretary of Labor James J. Davis, was again invited to address the convention.

That Davis is one of the worst enemies of the steel workers is of no concern to the reactionary machine. They consistently invite him every year to the convention to tell the delegates that once upon a time he worked as a steel puddler and to recite the old fable "that there is a chance for everybody in this land of liberty".

## Progressives Must Organize

With the present leadership in control there is little to hope for from the Amalgamated. Only with

## Trade Union Movement in Detroit

By C. L. HOWARD

THE American workers are notoriously poorly organized. But Detroit falls below the general standard of organization by many degrees. It is doubtful if more than 5 per cent of the wage earners are organized in trade unions. The best organized trades are the street car men and the musicians. The electrical workers, the bricklayers and some of the special metal trades come next. The printing trades are only fairly organized. The rest are organized but very poorly.

The automobile industry, the basic industry of Detroit, is practically untouched. The reason for this is not difficult to find. The remarkable growth of this industry, which is practically a minia-redphobia and his fear of the great army of the unorganized that someday may be drawn into the real turp reproduction of American cap-

a new, progressive leadership and with the carrying into life of the plan of the Progressives for an organization department with committees in every important steel centre and an organizing staff that would co-operate with the rank and file and would carry on a systematic and vigorous organizing campaign throughout the industry with the help of the general labor movement, will the Amalgamated become a strong and effective union.

The progressives must organize their forces and carry this plan to the local unions. By such an organized campaign they might be able to force the next convention to adopt this plan and to lay the basis for organizing the steel workers.

italism as a whole, has given its owners huge super profits, which made it possible for them to pay the workers the highest wages of any industry, taken as a whole. The role played by the Ford Motor Co., the largest unit of the industry, must also be remembered. Thirteen years ago it paid its workers, especially the unskilled, the highest wage known at the time, and it introduced the 8-hour day, which is still in operation.

## Unfavorable Conditions in the Past

The slogan of the AFL "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work" had, therefore, no appeal for these automobile workers. Nor was the question of job security, if we exclude the slump of 1920-21, a question of moment to the workers. Until recently workers were progressively hired and more of them left their jobs on their own accord to go to other factories than were fired. Only the Auto Workers Union, which was an industrial union and had a socialist ideology in addition to a fair measure of job control in the body plants, made headway among the workers in the body plants, at a time when wages were ten dollars a day and more.

The Detroit Federation of Labor, the city central body, was for many years a progressive body. It embraced and advocated the progressive measures of amalgamation, the Labor Party and the organization of the unorganized, besides evidencing its progressivism in many other ways. But it was unable to overcome the objective difficulties and its own and the AFL's constitutional defects which stood in the way of organizing the unorganized, which in Detroit meant the automobile industry.

## Central Body Surrendered to Reaction

The disappointing first results of the effort of the Detroit Federation of Labor at independent political action in the elections of 1920, followed by the ultimatum of the late Sam Compers in 1923 that the Detroit Federation go along, or be re-organized, turned it, in the course of time, from conservatism by submission to active reaction. In the state elections last fall the Detroit Labor movement was divided between the two factions of the Republican party, and this division was reflected in the elections of the Federation itself last month when the issue between the two contending factions narrowed down to what faction in the Republican Party will organized labor serve for a few crumbs, the regular faction of Governor Green or the insurgent faction of the defeated Governor Groesbeck.

Now, however, the objective situation is changing. The automobile industry has passed the stage of progressive growth and super profits. The day of the speed-up and the short week is here. Reorganization and mergers are just outside the door, and when they come in they will weigh heavily upon the workers. Subjectively, too, the workers are changing. The shop papers published by the shop nuclei of the Workers' (Communist) Party are clarifying and molding the minds of the workers. A sincere and well planned effort to organize the workers in the automobile industry will receive an overwhelming response and will result in making the trade union movement of Detroit what, by right, it should be.



# Negro Workers Begin to Organize

## Seek Affiliation with A. F. of L.

By NAT TURNER

THE remarkable success attained in the national campaign conducted during the past year and a half in organizing the Pullman porters on the railroads, has given a tremendous impetus to the organization movement among Negro workers in many other industries. These new developments in the American labor movement indicate that a general forward movement among Negro workers is beginning to take shape in different parts of the country which is destined not only to organize them into powerful trade unions, but also to bring them within the ranks of the American Federation of Labor.

### Form Organizing Committee in Chicago

This movement has been definitely launched in Chicago where the Committee For The Promotion Of Trade Unions Among Negro Workers was recently formed. The committee is composed of representatives from trade unions affiliated to the A. F. of L., from unaffiliated Negro labor organizations, also representatives of unorganized workers.

### Program of the Committee

A wide field of activity is outlined in the committee's program. Its purpose and function is to promote trade unionism among Negro workers in Chicago for the improvement of their wages, hours and working conditions, and to educate them in their class interests economically and politically. Among the immediate undertakings of the committee are the following:

#### Education

To carry on an extensive program of education among Negro workers in the principles and purposes of trade unionism, and to establish labor

forums and schools for systematic discussion and instruction in working-class problems.

Holding a series of mass meetings and the systematic circulation of literature pointing out to the workers the necessity of organizing into trade unions, and the other vital economic problems confronting them.

#### Organization

To organize the unorganized Negro workers. To secure the recognition and actual affiliation of them to the A. F. of L. Where this cannot be accomplished immediately, bonafide unions will be built on a functioning basis and the fight for their recognition and affiliation continued until it is granted.

To carry on an energetic campaign to remove all race barriers in the unions.

To actively participate in all strikes, and to further a program of aggressive trade unionism.

To fight against company unions, welfare associations, and other schemes organized as substitutes for real trade unions.

For many years there has been a crying need for an organization of this kind among the Negro working people in Chicago. This work has been sadly neglected in the past and the formation of the present committee will be the first serious attempt ever made in this locality to carry on extensive educational and organization campaigns among these workers with the ultimate aim of bringing them into bonafide trade unions and raising their standard of living.

# Textile Workers Favor Amalgamation

## Boston Conference Plans Future Work

By W. H. JONES

THE textile workers conference, which was held recently in Boston and attended by thirty delegates from twenty-five textile centres in New England, is an indication that ever larger numbers among the textile workers are awakening to the need of unifying their forces on a militant program of struggle against the employers. The conference was called by the National Textile Workers Progressive Committee.

### Situation in Textile Industry

John J. Ballam, reporting for the textile workers National Progressive Committee, outlined the present situation in the textile industry throughout the country. He pointed out the growing unemployment in the New England mill centres, where scores of mills have closed down or are working part time, leaving thousands of textile workers without means of livelihood and bringing intense suffering to these workers and their families.

This situation is due to the changes in the industry caused by the movement of mills to the South where they are closer to the sources of raw material and can take advantage of the long hours and low wages prevailing in the completely unorganized southern states. The South has 184,140 more spindles in operation than New England.

Ballou urged the formation of unemployment councils in such centres where considerable unemployment prevails among the tex-

In the promotion of its work the Chicago Committee calls upon the entire local trade union movement for its support and co-operation, and earnestly solicits the assistance of sympathetic union speakers and organizers.

tile workers, to exert pressure that work shall be provided for the unemployed at trade union rates and for special unemployment relief funds to be raised by special taxation on the industry and on property.

### For One Union in the Industry

The most important question to which the conference devoted considerable attention, was the situation created by the lack of adequate organization among the textile workers and the division of the organized forces into sixteen separate textile unions. The recent scattered strikes in New England were reviewed, and the lessons of their failure brought into clearer view the need of fusing all the organized workers into one powerful union that could successfully undertake this task of organizing the unorganized and of leading the textile workers in a common struggle for better conditions.

At present the unrelated and isolated strikes of disunited groups of textile workers fighting against tremendous odds have little chance of success. In almost every instance the mill-owners operate several mills in different localities and defeat the workers who often do not even know that the company is transferring the work from the struck mill to its affiliated plant.

One union in the textile industry, organized on a shop committee basis, with a progressive program and militant leadership is the only way for the textile workers to win against their powerful employers.

The conference was fully awake to this need. It worked-out plans to further the movement for the amalgamation of the existing textile unions and constituted itself into a provisional committee for the calling of a larger and more representative conference next fall.

# Company Unionism in the United States

(Continued from page 2)

unions in such numbers that the chief of the photo engravers, Mr. Wolf, will lose his job and no longer act as official heresy hunter for the A. F. of L.

### Green Offers Co-operation to Employers

Such trade union leaders as William Green, while making the usual criticism of the company unions, are searching for a "new integration" with the capitalists. Mr. Green recently applauded an interview with Gerard Swope, president of the General Electric Company, published in the *World's Work*. Mr. Swope's foremen and company managers have driven the unions out of the plants of his company and installed company representation plans. Mr. Swope, like most company unionist strike-breakers, has no objection to individual workers in his plants belonging to regular unions as individuals. But if they attempt to agitate for trade union recognition and trade union action in the plant they are immediately discharged. Yet Mr. Green can say of Mr. Swope that the principles which the latter announces "reflect an industrial philosophy of unusual penetration and balance". Mr. Green hopes that Mr. Swope will somehow, without pressure from the rank and file of his workers that is without a strike come to an understanding with the A. F. of L. chiefs and possibly create some sort of unworkable management co-operation such as is now working in the shops of the

Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Mr. Green wants to work with Mr. Swope in "an effort to reach this higher plane" as he calls it.

Green is very mild in his manner of approach toward the great electrical monopoly. (Contrast this mildness with his bitterness toward the militant rank and files). He would love to clasp his hand and work in harmony toward the dawn of a "new capitalism", where labor leaders would have nothing to do but keep on making speeches before Rotary Clubs and National Civic Federation banquets. But I doubt if Mr. Green will have it as easy going as he hopes. The unions affiliated to the A. F. of L. are, with one or two exceptions, doing almost nothing to fight the company unions. While the A. F. of L. officially passes resolutions and pursues passionless research on the subject the affiliated union officials are impotent. In the steel industry, for example, the heads of the union—which has 11,000 workers out of 300,000 in the industry—scarcely know the names of the plants in which the company unions have been installed. They have done nothing to fight the company union except pass one pious resolution at a recent convention. The situation is much the same in a number of other industries infested with the company union plans.

### Militant Fight on Company Unionism

The most vigorous attacks on company unions have been made, and are being made, by the left wingers and the left wing unions.

Some of them, such as those in the needle trade have only an occasional company union to deal with. But in the larger industries where company unions flourish and other unions are almost non-existent the members of the Trade Union Educational League are fighting vigorously to offset the influence of the company associations. In some places they adopt a policy of "bor-ing from within", attempting to penetrate the company organizations and use them for the best interests of the workers or to show them up completely. In other places they carry on propaganda from the outside in an effort to show the workers in the plants the true nature of the company plans and the necessity of breaking them

up as a preliminary to the formation of bona fide labor unions. One of the most valuable weapons in this fight is the shop paper issued by workers in the plant and sold at the gates for a penny or two. These papers have done a great deal to discredit company union moves and break down the workers' faith in these devices. All of these papers urge the workers to join the regular unions.

The recent Passaic strike offers a good example of a fight on a company union. One of the firms—the most hard-boiled one, Forstmann & Hoffman—had used this device for seven years, having installed it after a previous strike had been broken in order to keep the real union out of the plant. As the strike developed the other companies offered their workers plans

of employee representation with all the honey words that usually accompany their introduction. But the workers, having seen the actual workings of one company union in the town and having struck partly to wipe out this association, would have none of it no matter in what form it was offered. The strike proved to be the end of the company union. Other strikes prosecuted with similar vigor would mean the end of company unions in other industries.

Campaigns to organize the unorganized, to create real industrial unions and to build a labor party are the best answers to the menace of the company union in this country.

### SUBSCRIPTION BLANK

One Year Subscription \$1.00  
Please send LABOR UNITY  
to the address below for

..... months. Enclosed

and .....

Street .....

Name .....

City .....

State .....

Bundle orders: 10 copies or over, at 3c per copy

Address all mail and make remittance payable to

LABOR UNITY  
376 W. Monroe St., Chicago, Ill.

The Voice of Militant Labor

**LABOR UNITY**Published twice a month by the  
Labor Unity Publishing Association  
376 West Monroe St., Chicago, Ill.

Subscription price \$1.00 per year

EARL R. BROWDER, Editor

Member of Federated Press



Vol. 1, No. 10.

May 15, 1927.

**COOLIDGE "REPUDIATES" IMPERIALISM**

**P**RESIDENT COOLIDGE, whose blundering State Secretary has too often managed to render the policies of American imperialism indefensible before public opinion, found it necessary, in his address at the anniversary dinner of the United Press, to urge American journalists to "reflect a more intense genuine Americanism" by supporting his policies. Mr. Coolidge declares that there is not a shred of imperialism in the foreign policies of the American government.

He did not attempt, however, to explain the suppression of the freedom of Haiti, San Domingo, Porto Rico, and their annexation as colonial possessions of the U. S. He failed to mention his vetoing of the bill of the Filipino legislature authorizing a referendum on the question of independence for the Philippines. He had nothing to say about his refusal to arbitrate the controversy with the Mexican government. Mr. Coolidge preferred to indulge in vague phrases about "justice and fair dealing."

Only a few days after this speech Admiral Latimer, in command of the American forces in Nicaragua, served an ultimatum on the Nicaraguan liberals that they must lay down their arms or the American marines will take the field against them. The correspondent of the New York Times, in a despatch from Washington, declares: "There appears to be no doubt . . . that the United States Government has intervened in Nicaragua. On the face of the record it seems to have been a forcible intervention."

With such acts to test the policies of the American Government, Mr. Coolidge's protestations that "our attitude toward all nations is one of friendship and good will" must be convicted as brazen hypocrisy.

**LONDON RAID ON SOVIET TRADE DELEGATION**

**T**HE raid on the Russian trade delegation, who have been guaranteed diplomatic immunity, and on the Arcos trading corporation was not caused by "Soviet propaganda" in Great Britain, although "propaganda documents" will probably be produced by the skillful operators of Scotland Yard since some justification must be provided for the raid. Even the publicity emanating from London does not emphasize the "propaganda" charge but speaks of an important British document which seems to have fallen into the hands of the Russians and the publication of which would embarrass the British government.

The raid is the culmination of a series of acts aimed to provoke the breaking-off of official relations with the Soviet Union. The British capitalist government cannot reconcile itself to peaceful relations with the Soviet Union, whose truly friendly policies towards the nations of Asia serve as a contrast emphasizing the oppressive imperialist character of the British policies and encourage the peoples of Asia to fight the imperialist oppressors. But British labor has been drawing ever closer to the Russian working class, and must be taken

into account when an attack is contemplated on the Soviet Union.

The raid is an attempt to create a situation which would enable the British ruling class to place the responsibility for a break with the Soviet Union on the Soviet Government. But the British workers remember the affair of the forged "Zinoviev document" and will not be misled by the machinations of the Baldwin government.

**SPEAK UP, BROTHER GREEN!**

**S**EVERAL conventions of the American Federation of Labor have adopted resolutions demanding a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti and expressing the conviction that these two workers are innocent of the crime charged against them. And in recent months, since the final rejection of the appeal by the Massachusetts Supreme Court, organized labor, through its city central bodies, local and international unions, has given unmistakable expression to this conviction and to the demand that Sacco and Vanzetti be restored to freedom.

But not a word has come from the supreme body of the A. F. of L. President Green, who never misses an opportunity to issue statements in the name of organized labor offering to help the employers in their schemes to increase the exploitation of labor, has kept silent on the Sacco-Vanzetti issue. It is high time for organized labor to force Green and the Executive Council to speak up and voice the demand of American labor of unconditional freedom for Sacco and Vanzetti.

**FREY'S APPOINTMENT TO GENEVA**

**T**HE appointment of John P. Frey, editor of the Moulders Journal and prominent figure in the A. F. of L. officialdom, as "labor expert" to the American delegation to the Economic Conference in Geneva will be of no benefit to the American workers. The League of Nations in all its departments and subordinate conferences does not concern itself with the interests of the workers, and the "labor representatives" are used only as a screen to cover up the imperialist nature of the League. Mr. Coolidge committed an error when he failed to place this nominee of the A. F. of L. on the delegation to the Economic Conference, and his belated appointment as "labor expert" was intended to correct this error.

**THE AMERICAN POLICY IN CHINA**

**T**HE decision of the American government not to follow up the five power note to the Nationalist government of China, which was a virtual ultimatum, is interpreted as a change in favor of a policy of non-intervention in China. This view is completely wrong and dangerous.

It is true that the decision meant the abandonment of a policy which would have led to an immediate open war against China. Even the British imperialists, who were most determined upon this policy, finding themselves isolated, have been forced to cancel their war plans for the moment. The decision thus had the effect of relieving the extreme menace to the liberation movement of the Chinese toiling masses.

But American imperialism is not pursuing a passive, non-intervention policy. When the victorious march of the revolutionary forces threatened to wipe-out all imperialist interests in China, the American imperialists were ready to unite with British imperialism for a war on the Chinese revolution. But the desertion of the bourgeoisie under the leadership of Chiang Kai-Shek weakened the revolutionary forces for the present, and American imperialism reverts to its old policy, the "independent" policy aiming at an alliance with the native bourgeoisie against both the exploited toiling masses of China and the older, more in-

**Here and There**Snapshots of the Struggle  
By E. L. S.**Under Open Shoppers' Attacks**

**T**HE mine barons are not the only ones threatening the standard of living and the union of the workers. Similar attacks on a smaller scale are now taking place in the building and in the printing industries.

The lock-out of the plumbers in Brooklyn, N. Y., which was initiated by the Master Plumbers, is now in charge of the Building Trades Employers and the indications are that it may lead to a general lock-out of all plumbers in Greater New York.

About five thousand inside carpenters in the Chicago mills, who have refused to accept a wage cut, have been locked out.

In the same city the White Printing House has locked out 250 union typesetters, pressmen, and book binders, declaring that henceforth they will operate on an open-shop basis.

These attacks are no-doubt feelers to test the resistance of the workers and point to general attacks to come as soon as industry begins to slow down. Organized labor should prepare for these attacks by strengthening its forces. It should strive to draw into the unions the unorganized workers and to strengthen the existing unions by establishing closer contact for a common struggle against the employers and laying the basis for the amalgamation of the craft unions into one union in each industry.

**Fur Workers Break Enemy Ranks**

**T**HE fighting fur workers of New York have succeeded in making a breach in the hostile cordon established through the efforts of the union-smashing reactionary labor bureaucracy.

The Fur Trimming Manufacturers' Association, employing over one-third of the New York furriers, has signed an agreement with the Joint Board of the Furriers Union. According to reports, manufacturers affiliated with the Associated Fur Manufacturers, who have made an alliance with the A. F. of L. leaders against the Furriers Union, are now deserting the Associated and joining the Fur Trimming Manufacturers Association.

This is the result of the determined fighting of the furriers for their right to decide the policies of their union, and is likely to lead to the complete collapse of the reactionaries' attack in the near future. It will no doubt also affect the struggle in the International Ladies Garment Workers in favor of the militant rank and file.

**Fitzpatrick As Understudy to Matthew Woll**

**T**HE disruptive activities of the A. F. of L. leaders and of the reactionaries in the International Executive Board of the Furriers Union have been extended to Chicago.

Sometime ago the reactionaries faked up charges against the President, Vice-President and three active members of the Chicago Furriers Union. The only offense of these members consisted in the fact that they were active militants who openly opposed the attempt to smash the New York Furriers Union. Without giving them a hearing, the right-wingers, who have recently become the majority of the Executive Board owing to the resignation of a progressive member, have voted to recommend the suspension of these members from the union, with the minority of the Board opposing this decision.

At the last meeting of the union John Fitzpatrick, President of the Chicago Federation of Labor, appeared with a strong-arm guard. Stating that he was instructed by Bill Green and by International President Schachtman of the Furriers Union to take charge of this meeting, he took over the chair and proceeded to rule the meeting without any regard for the membership. He denied the militants the opportunity of stating their case to the membership, and without much ado, declared the majority report carried and the meeting adjourned.

Some honest progressives, remembering Fitzpatrick's fine record until 1923, have refused to believe that he has turned reactionary. His action at the furriers union should convince them that he is lined up with the worst reactionaries in the A. F. of L.

trenched imperialist interests, particularly those of Britain and Japan.

American imperialism is undoubtedly supporting Chiang Kai-Shek against the Hankow government and the revolutionary masses of China. American labor must be made aware of this, and must be aroused to demand a real non-intervention policy and the withdrawal of the American armed forces from China.



# MINERS STRIKE

## Lewis Repudiated by His Own Local

By A COAL MINER

IN the tabulation of the vote cast in the recent election in the Miners Union, figures for Local 1475 of Panama, Illinois, give 376 votes for Brophy and 152 for Lewis.

Behind these figures lies an interesting story. This is John L. Lewis' home-local. He was a member there for years. The membership know him and his whole family very well. They have voted steadily against Lewis every time he runs for office. This time, however, Lewis hoped to carry the local. When nominations were being voted upon, not knowing of any other candidates in the field, they voted for Lewis. "At last," says John L., "I am going to carry Local 1475."

### Lewis Present During Election

In anticipation of this victory, to which he attaches much importance in spite of the fact that it is only one local union involved, he

paid a convenient visit to Panama during the election. All day he lingered about the hall fraternizing with various members and giving them the glad hand. At one time he was so conspicuous that the local president ordered him from the hall as it is in violation of the union constitution to solicit votes in the election.

Everything looked rosy until the votes were counted. Then it was found that once again the membership had refused a vote of confidence to John L. Lewis, President of the U. M. W. A. His chagrin was intense. If the membership at large knew Lewis as well as the workers in Panama he would never be able to sit at the head of the organization despite all the corruption he might practice in the stealing of votes, and that is well exemplified by the tabulated report on the election returns. John L. Lewis is not entitled to be President of the U. M. W. A. and the Panama miners and their votes have told him that repeatedly.

## Illinois Convention

(Continued from page 1)

Alex out of the Miners Union. The machine came in with a substitute resolution.

Hindmarsh launched out with a vigorous attack on Lewis' action and the way Alex has been persecuted because he would not go along with Lewis. Dobbins, the international board member of Illinois, and George Mercer, the pinchhitter of the administration, came to the aid of Lewis and Fishwick, but the delegation went wild with cheers for Alex and boos for both Dobbins and especially Mercer.

James Walker then took the floor and made the following motion "That we defer action on this resolution and invite Alex Howatt to address this convention." This carried by an over-whelming vote.

### Attack on Lewis' Strike Policy

PEORIA, May 8.—The last two days of the convention, on the one hand, demonstrated that the bulk of the Illinois miners are opposed to the policies of the Lewis machine and, on the other hand, showed that the progressives, lacking organization and aggressive leadership, can be easily demoralized.

Friday saw a bitter attack on the administration strike policy of separate agreements and in favor of a one hundred per cent strike of the miners. It was clearly evident that the majority of the delegates were opposed to Lewis' policy. The administration brought in the big guns—John Walker and Victor Olander, of the State Federation of Labor, Pascoe, personal representative of John L. Lewis, and attorney Lewis. All of these and Fishwick fought in defense of the official policy.

In spite of this barrage, had the question come to a vote that day the convention would have gone on record for a national general strike of the miners. Knowing this, the administration maneuvered an adjournment before a vote was taken.

### Red-Baiting to the Rescue

Saturday saw a change in the tactics of the administration. The smooth "fair play" policy was abandoned. Secretary-Treasurer Nesbit came to the front with a red-baiting attack on the general strike resolution, claiming that it was written by communists. It is sig-

nificant that this attack demoralized the progressives. Fishwick immediately applied the steamroller and closed the debate, though a number of delegates were demanding the floor.

The vote showed only one delegate, Young of O'Fallon, with enough courage to register his vote against the substitute of the Resolution Committee. It should be noted that the substitute does not explicitly endorse the administration policy, but evaded the question by referring it to the Policy Committee.

### Good Fight for Labor Party

The predominance of progressive sentiment in the convention forced the administration to adopt the tactics of accepting some of the progressive resolutions in order to be able to evade others and to fight the most objectionable. As a result, a number of resolutions against class collaboration—the resolutions condemning the Watson-Parker law, the B. & O. plan, company unionism, and stock buying—were passed unanimously.

The progressives, led by Hindmarsh and Hall, put up a good fight for the resolution in favor of a Labor Party. Although defeated, the resolution received a large minority vote. The resolution demanding a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti, and requesting Governor Fuller to appoint a committee to investigate the case was adopted unanimously. The progressives fought well for the resolution which demanded that the strike be continued until the "yellow dog" contract was eliminated, but again the question was referred to the Policy Committee.

The bitterest opposition on the part of the administration forces was encountered by the resolution which called for moral and financial support for the appeal to the higher courts by the Zeigler miners. The recommendation of the Resolution Committee of non-concurrence, on the ground that these progressive workers were convicted of attacking officials of the union "while in discharge of their duties," carried. Delegates Young, Armstrong and Paboundis led the fight for the resolution.

It has become known that a proposal will be brought before the

## The Young Miner in the Coal Strike

By W. J.

SIDE by side with the coal digger and loader, the trapper boy, the coupler, spragget, greaser, trip rider, etc., has struck in the bituminous fields. The young and adult miner stand side by side in their fight against the operators.

Altho the young miner has not known intimately the decades of struggle of his forefathers, who, thru bitter suffering and struggle, have built up the Miners Union, at one time the largest single unit of the A. F. L. and generally considered a pillar of American labor.

Nevertheless, the young miner well realizes the gains the union has brought to the coal miner. He cherishes these traditions, altho at times he becomes disgusted with the present reactionary leadership of Lewis & Co.

The young miner makes up a large section of the mining industry. They enter the pits at an early age and know the dangers and hazards of the howels of the earth long before maturity. Their jobs are generally the most dangerous and loss of life and injury is much higher in their type of jobs than others. Yet we find that these young miners working at such jobs as trappers, couplers, greasers, trip-riders, etc., receive less wages than the adult miner.

### The Young Miner in the Strike

Everywhere in the strike zones the young miner is among the most active. Whether it be on special strike committees, arranging of mass meetings or out in the unorganized fields, such as Somerset County in Pennsylvania where a group of young miners were able to pull out on strike some three to four thousand miners. The strike committee was composed largely of young miners. This is a concrete example of the activities of the young miners in the strike.

### How to Win the Strike

Only by the closest co-operation between the young and adult miners in persecuting the strike energetically can victory be attained.

The young miners will energetically fight against any attempt at district agreements or local agreements, as such are definite steps towards the destruction of the union and can only result in strengthening the operators.

In order to effectively win the strike the miners must show a

solid front—a 100% strike—against the solid ranks of the operators. The unorganized miners of Pennsylvania and West Virginia must be pulled out in support of their striking brothers.

### Dangers to Avoid

1. The operators are out to destroy the union. They must be fought to the end. A militant offensive policy must be pursued by the miners.

2. In the past, all forces at the command of the operators have been used against the strikers. These run all the way from the local police and militia to the government troops and government injunctions. All such attempts must be fought against vigorously.

The young workers who are members of the militia must realize that the strikers are their brothers. We must appeal to the militia.

**DON'T SHOOT YOUR BROTHERS!**

### DON'T BREAK OUR STRIKE!

3. Should attempts come from any union official or anyone else to weaken the miners ranks by raising such cries as "District Agreements", "Work while negotiations are proceeding", etc., they must be fought. They are enemies of the striking miners.

### What the Young Miner Demands

As the active brother of the striking adult miner, the young miner doesn't want to be treated as just a kid'. He wants and must be encouraged to take an active part in all union affairs—not only during the strike but after the strike also.

The young miners want to eliminate the inequality existing in the present wages in comparison with the adult miners. The young miners' job is equally, if not more, hazardous than the adult miners' job. Today the interests of the miners, young and old, demand an equalization of wages. The miners must strive to raise the wages of the lower paid young workers to the same level as the higher paid workers.

The young miners, while keeping in the foreground their specific demands, will fight together with the adult miners as a solid unit for the preservation of the present wage standards and conditions and a place of security for their union.

convention to increase the salaries of the district officers. There is much talk about this among the delegates, and it is certain to precipitate a bitter fight.

### No Increased Salaries

PEORIA, May 11.—Two bad days for the administration. The proposal for increased salaries was defeated before it was brought to the convention.

The fight opened Monday when President Fishwick's report was taken up and the section reached recommending that the convention delegates' salaries be increased to \$10 daily, instead of the present \$6.60. This obviously aimed to trap the delegates and to lay the basis for the proposal to increase the salaries of the district officials. James Walker opened the attack, and was followed by Hindmarsh, Edward Hays, J. L. Simpson and delegates from southern Illinois. It soon became apparent that the

recommendation will be defeated and with it the intended proposal for higher salaries to the officials.

Sensing this, Fishwick made a grand-stand play declaring that he had no intention of asking an increase for the officials. The recommendation was defeated Tuesday by a vote of 235 to 220.

The strength of the opposition was again shown on the resolution which demanded that the nominees for district offices be furnished with a tabulated report showing how various locals had voted for the nominations of officers. The Committee on Constitution recommended non-concurrence, and this was declared carried by a vote of 245 in favor and 223 against. This was challenged and a demand for a roll call was supported by 154 delegates, instead of the required 125. The roll call, however, was postponed until after the final report of the credentials committee.

# "Rationalization"—Intenser Exploitation of Labor

By Henry Gregory

**I**N all capitalist countries without exception we observe new attempts by capitalism to recover from its so-called post-war crisis. These endeavors take two basic lines:

1. The direct attack of capitalism on labor: lengthening of the working hours, as in Germany, England and Italy; wage cuts; curtailing of legislation of a protective nature.

2. The so-called rationalization of production leading to increased exploitation by a more complicated and indirect path. Rationalization leads generally to rapid substitution of hand work by machinery, increased intensity of hand labor, and organizational measures to raise productivity in single enterprises and in industry generally.

## Technical Improvements

Present technical progress is distinguished by its continuity, the unusual flood of small improvements in factory organization which culminates in the profoundest changes in productive processes.

These changes are general throughout the world, but especially striking in America and Germany. But every technical discovery becomes in a short time accessible to the industry of the whole world, including the most remote countries and colonies. In Japan, China, India, etc., many enterprises are equipped with the last word in productive technique. Indeed, countries where capitalism is young have an advantage in starting on a modern basis without the expense of discarding old machinery and methods.

The modern technical development leads to an abrupt speeding up of mechanism and the "chemicalization" of productive processes,

i. e., the penetration and wide application of chemical processes, the unheard of speed up of production, changes in raw materials, special points of mass-production demanding extreme specialization and division of labor, the adaptation of mechanical methods, such as conveyors, and general improvements of transport and communication.

All these technical changes lead to a raising of the organic structure of capital, to the relative increase of the constant at the expense of the variable, and therefore to a further fall in the average of profits.

## Speeding-up Process

Capital strives to compensate itself for this fall by various means: the speeding up of capital turnover: the basically imperialist countries increase the export of capital to the colonies, etc.; but the principal means is by increasing the intensity of labor, making every second of working time count, gongding on the workers by every possible device.

The last word of this has been pronounced in mechanical "pace-making" or "continuous work", and all these changes have been most strikingly and insistently carried out in the factories of Henry Ford and have been widely summarized by the term "Fordism".

Only the fact that Ford's rationalization has outstripped other such automobile concerns and other branches of industry allows him to reduce the work to five days (reducing the wages at the same time) while raising the productivity of each individual worker and making more profits than ever.

But the wide application of Ford methods leads not to shorter hours as the "worker-management co-op-

eration" propaganda of the A. F. of L. officials tells us, but merely to a violent increase of speed up of labor and to an intensification of capitalist contradictions.

The "output index" of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics and the data of rationalized German industry show how productivity is stabilized and sometimes raised with a decrease in the number of workers. German and English capital, particularly, try to increase productivity without the expense of new equipment and wholly by increasing exploitation, lowering wages, overtime, etc.

## Increased Unemployment

The chief result of rationalization for the working class is the sudden growth of unemployment.

The speeding up of both the technical process and of labor produces, in the circumstances of a world capitalist depression, overproduction in the capitalist sense, curtailment of home markets and an intensified struggle for domination in the industrialization of new countries.

In these circumstances, the displacement of workers by machinery and by intensification of labor creates a gigantic army of unemployed, far greater than the pre-war "normal", and these cannot be re-absorbed into industry in spite of its development. This "development" instead is the cause of their unemployment.

Because of the world character of rationalization and over-production, they cannot emigrate. They are "superfluous" even as a part of the "reserve army", and while they may be fed partially and temporarily by unemployment doles, the prolongation of the present situation condemns them to starvation.

This army of unemployed, different from the pre-war period, contains large numbers of skilled workers, hopelessly crowded out by the new machinery and methods of production. The presence of this enormous mass of jobless workers results in a further speed up and intensification of exploitation of those remaining at work and brings nearer their day of doom.

## Effect on Wages

The second result on the working class is the influence of rationalization on wages. The changes in real wages (standard of living) are varied according to the country, the skill, etc. Any apparent raise of real wages is largely fictitious, since it cannot compensate for the rapid exhaustion of the workers by the increased speed-up. And statistics show that throughout the world the general result of rationalization is an abrupt fall of the proportion of production devoted to wages and as abrupt a rise of the share going to capital.

Even if a section of the working class should get a raise in real wages from the intensified production, the assets of the working class as a whole fall, since the number of workers employed does not grow with the intensified production, and those remaining at work do not receive a raise in wages corresponding to the growth of their productivity. Statistical data confirm the statement that production is stabilized and even raised with a decreased number of workers.

(Our next issue will carry the concluding article on rationalization, which is one of the most vital factors in post-war industrial development affecting the lives of workers.—Editor.)

# National Industrial Mobilization

## American Capitalism Prepares for the Next War

By AMY SCHECHTER

**L**ABOR, if it thinks of the prospects of war at all, conceives of it in the vaguest most indefinite terms, as something quite unrelated to itself, lying far off in the distant future. But there is nothing vague or abstract about capital's view of the question. It believes that war is coming soon. It is making 100% concrete preparations—working out industrial requirements, surveying plants adapted for manufacture of war material, framing legislation to revoke labor's rights when war is declared, above all, laying down the role of labor—the decisive factor—in the next war.

In a recent issue the New York Times dealt at length with the industrial war preparations going on here and abroad. "Preparations to be ready for war" it writes, (nine years after 12 million men were killed in the "war to end War" for all time), "constitute what is actually the greatest industry in the world to-day".

## Modern War Depends on Worker

War is being progressively mechanized. In today's preparations it is the organization of industry for wartime production that is emphasized, not the organization of combatant forces for the battlefields. It will, of course, be the worker who will be called on to kill and be killed, but the worker on the job, especially the skilled worker, is regarded as the factor of supreme importance.

In a recent issue the "Iron Age",

spokesman of the steel industrialists, prints a highly illuminating article on "National Industrial Mobilization" by a certain William Stoneman Lynne, Captain in the Air Service of the U. S. Army. Its treatment of the subject of the coming war is as concrete and business-like as the treatment of locomotives or steel output in other articles in the journal. There is no speculation about it. War is expected. Extensive preparations are under way. The author gives a detailed account of preparation in the industrial field—in the branch of the service he is most familiar with—the Air Department.

## Surveying Industrial Plants

"This is the way it works: The United States is divided into six districts: New York, Dayton, Detroit, Chicago, Buffalo and San Francisco. In each district a representative of the Air Service, Bureau is stationed in order to make a study of its manufacturing resources, with the aid of local Chambers of Commerce and similar bodies. When the representative comes to the conclusion that a particular factory—or "facility"—in military parlance—is desirable from the point of view of his Bureau, he requests that it be allocated to his service. The facilities then taken up with the "Facilities Section" of the War Department, to check up on whether other arms of the service (Chemical warfare, etc) are interested in the same plant, and finally referred to

the Assistant Secretary of War, responsible for the industrial mobilization of the entire country.

The representative of the Bureau to whom the plant is allocated then makes a survey of its war-time possibilities, and if the plant seems capable of meeting Bureau requirements the co-operation of the firm is sought in working out plans for production on a war-time basis.

## "Training" Industry for War

Production schedules are made out on the basis of the "mobilization speed" for the next war, production requirements for an expanding army being known for each month after the day laconically referred to as "M" day. Maximum effort is to be attained in 24 months after "M" day.

To meet the important problem of materials not manufactured in peace-time in quantities sufficient to ensure plants possessing the facilities necessary for producing them under war-time pressure, trial orders known as "educational orders" are placed with firms for small quantities; so that they will have the necessary jigs ready when war breaks out; and so that their personnel may be educated to War Department specifications and requirements. In each such plant a small nucleus of skilled workers is being trained, capable of quickly breaking in other labor when the time comes.

## Special "Labor" Laws

The chief source of cannon-fodder is to be the masses of unskilled

workers, and arrangements have been made not to draft skilled labor. But skilled labor as well is to be bound to the wheels of the war-machine, and "emergency" measures rushed through on a wave of patriotic hysteria, stripping labor of its safeguards.

"Special bills drawn up and in shape for immediate action by Congress" says the Captain, "will iron out difficulties that might present themselves under present legislation. These tentative laws are not being presented to legislative bodies until war is imminent, simply because . . . some might be rather difficult to put through except under the patriotic stress of war."

This "Iron Age" article is a sinister foreshadowing of days to come when the pretence of democracy will once gain be laid aside, and the dictatorship of capital once again reveal itself in its war-time nakedness. With labor the supreme factor in the mechanized warfare of today, more than ever before lies in labor's hands to resist that dictatorship. If the senseless World War tragedy of workers slaughtering workers to the enrichment of their masters is not again to be enacted, labor must organize against the manufacture of materials of war, organize on the political and economic field against the war-breeding imperialist policies of the United States in Mexico and Nicaragua, in China and Europe, organize for unity with labor of other lands against the common enemy.



# The Chinese Labor Movement—Historical Sketch

By Earl R. Browder

THE following sketch of the history of the Chinese labor movement is the result of notes made in an interview with the chairman of the All-China Labor Federation, Sou Cheu-tsun, who is also the new Minister of Labor in the Nationalist Government, and with the secretary of the All-China Labor Federation, Li Li-san.

The Chinese trade union movement dates from 1919. It arose during the great anti-Japanese movement, protesting against the "21 points", known as the "Fourth of May Movement". This began as a students movement. Some embryonic organizations of workers had existed previously among the railway workers on the Peking-Mukden line, and the Peking-Hankow line, but had not yet become properly a trade union movement. These embryonic groups were transformed into trade unions during 1919.

### Spontaneous Strikes

At the same time in Shanghai broke out the strikes of textile workers and dockers, who were in Japanese employment, 20,000 in all; while in Hongkong occurred a large metal workers strike. These were successful, and imparted a great impetus to the labor movement elsewhere. During this time the trade unions in Kwantung Province made especial progress, in Canton alone their number increasing from 20 to 100 during 1919. This year may therefore be called the real beginning of the Chinese labor movement.

Among the most important influences affecting the course of development of the labor movement, were the following:

1. The Russian revolution, which was made known to the Chinese masses through several weekly propaganda papers.
2. The rising Chinese nationalist movement, which began to absorb masses into its ranks. A seamen's union was organized at that time by the Kuomintang; there existed the Social-Republican party, and also many anarchist groups. The political movement was especially strong in Canton.
3. The workers had lived through several insurrections which had failed; from these, the lesson of the necessity of strong, centralized organization had penetrated large masses.
4. Organization of the Chinese Communist Party, which furnished a central direction for the movement.

### Steady Growth

After 1919, the trade unions grew steadily. But it was not until 1922, when another national wave of struggles broke out, that the First All-China Congress was held. First among the battles of 1922, was the great Hongkong Seamen's strike, which was declared on January 12th, and lasted 56 days. Before it ended in the granting of the workers' demands, all Hongkong labor had been drawn into the struggle, in a General Strike which included the railwaymen. The successful outcome of this struggle stimulated the workers of the entire country.

The center of the 1922 movement was the Railwaymen's organization, particularly that of the Peking-Hankow line, which had 16 branches with 18,000 members. A successful strike on this line was quickly followed by railway strikes through Central and Northern China; Peking-Mukden line, Shanchou-Haichow line, etc. Through this movement 50,000 railwaymen were organized in the Union.

In the Province of Hupah, a General Trade Union (Provincial

Federation) was established with 23 trade unions, and 35,000 members.

In Hunan Province, after a long strike of 13,000 miners of An-yuen, the movement was established, with 25 trade unions in which were 40,000 members.

The Shanghai movement was very active, with strikes of seamen, silk flature workers, postmen, and others. All these strikes, except that of the seamen, were however unsuccessful, and the movement there received a setback, only 20,000 members being organized as a result of the 1922 movement.

On May 1, 1922, the First All-China Labor Congress was held in Canton, on the initiative of the "Secretariat of the Chinese Labor Movement". A membership of 230,000 was represented. The most important resolution at this Congress was that providing for the industrial form of organization.

### Suppression by Militarists

It had been decided at the First Congress to convene the Second Congress at Hankow on May 1, 1923. But on February 7th, occurred the massacre in Hankow of the railway union leaders and others by Wu Pei-fu, and while terror reigned thruout China. This massacre and repression was planned and ordered by British imperialists, who were financing Wu Pei-fu. The immediate occasion for it was the creation of the General Union of Railwaymen on the Peking-Hankow line; Wu Pei-fu dissolved the union, whereupon a general strike broke out, which was joined by all Hankow workers. An All-China strike was imminent. But the movement was crushed by the Army of Wu Pei-fu, who executed 43 leaders, imprisoned unknown hundreds, and dissolved all trade unions. Even sympathizing schools were closed, and active unionists were driven from the factories and railroads, when not imprisoned and shot. During this reign of terror the entire movement was crushed, except at Canton, where the trade unions remained intact.

Until September, 1924, there was a period of reaction. Then the movement began to revive again.

On January 18, 1925, occurred the beginning of a series of strikes in Shanghai, Taintao, and other cities. These were all successful, and regained some of the losses of hours, wages, and conditions which the workers had suffered in the year and a half of reaction.

### Kuomintang Recognizes Role of Unions

The period of inaction after the defeat of 1923, had been made use of by the workers to assimilate the lessons of the past experiences. There also occurred during this period a great change among the leaders of the Kuomintang, who finally had come to realize the vastly important role of the working class in the Chinese National revolution. The masses themselves had achieved political consciousness, and learned the necessity of strong trade unions. International relations had been established during the struggle, when the Russian and Japanese trade unions sent telegrams of solidarity, and the Chinese trade unions had addressed themselves to the trade union movement of the world.

On May 1, 1925, the Second All-China Labor Congress was held at Canton, in an atmosphere of a rising movement. More than 600,000 members were represented. At this Congress, the All-China Labor Federation was definitely formed; theory, tactics, and organizational methods firmly established, and a recognized central leadership was set up.

Quickly thereafter followed the massacre of May 30th at Shanghai, and the Shaktee massacre at Canton, on June 23rd. These occurrences were the signal for a national upheaval. Strikes broke out everywhere. The most notable of these was the glorious strike of the Hongkong and Canton workers against the British, and the blockade of Hongkong for more than a year. In Shanghai, more than 300,000 workers came into the trade unions. Great movements sprang up at Dairen, Tientsin, Tsintao, Nanking, Kiukiang, Hankow, Living and working conditions were everywhere improved. In Shanghai a general wage increase of 15% was

secured. Not only the industrial workers, but also the artisans thruout China, flocked into the movement.

### Important Role in Liberation Struggle

The Third All-China Labor Congress was held on May 1, 1926, in Canton. Already there were 1,200,000 members. Concrete resolutions were adopted on all problems of the movement. The movement after May 30th had raised the level of the entire working class. Previously, the political side of the trade unions had not been firm; now the trade unions were deep in the political struggle and leading it. Active and permanent contact had been established with the international labor movement. The movement had become mature.

Militarist agents of imperialism still tried to crush the rising trade union movement, especially at Tientsin, Tsintao, Shanghai, and Mukden. But steady and rapid progress continued and continues to today. The masses of all China had been won to the trade unions and to the Revolution.

The Northern Expedition of the Revolutionary Armies was prepared by the great national strike movement following May 30th. This was the basis of the military victories, which resulted in the occupation of the Yangtze Valley, the capture of Nanking and Shanghai; and the present drive toward Peking. When the Revolutionary Army entered Shanghai, for example, they found the city already policed by the Workers' Guards, and an administration jointly established by the trade unions, commercial associations, and students unions, already functioning.

This is a general and very brief review of the history of the Chinese labor movement. Results which in Europe or America would have taken decades to accomplish, have been in China accomplished in a few years. The demands of the trade unions have gone thru the whole scale, from the most elementary economic demands up to participation in Government and management of industry.

## Labor in Soviet Russia

### Trade Union Press

DURING the last few years the number of trade union publishing houses and periodical publications have been constantly increasing. The number of publishing houses has been as follows:

In 1922	78
In 1923	98
In 1924	105
In 1925	over 200

Many of them are large establishments, as, for instance, the Publication Department of the National Central Committee of the Trade Unions, "Gudok" (Publishing House of the Central Committee of the railroad workers), the Publication Department of the Leningrad Trades Council, "Trud i Kniga" (Moscow Trades Council).

The growth of the periodical trade union press may be seen from the following figures:

In 1924 the unions published 22 newspapers and 69 magazines; in 1925 they published 23 newspapers and 89 magazines.

The circulation of the magazines in 1925 was 799,350 copies. The circulation of the newspapers in 1925 was 911,275 copies. The figures for 1926 are not yet available, but the cir-

ulation has greatly increased and at present exceeds two million copies. Most of the newspapers and magazines are issued in Moscow; but there are in the provinces a number of trade union publications with a considerable circulation.

A special feature of the trade union press is the large number of worker correspondents who regularly contribute to the newspapers and magazines. The number of worker correspondents who contribute to "Gudok" (organ of the railroad workers) is 19,000; in "Bafrak" (agricultural workers) 5,000; in "Postroika" (building workers) 3,600.

### Workers Housing Construction in 1927

ACCORDING to preliminary data, the total amount spent for workers' housing construction in 1926 was 216,400,000 roubles. That includes the houses built by various industrial undertakings, co-operative housing associations, by the transport and municipal bodies. In reality the total amount is larger, because there has been some construction not included here.

The building program this year will be considerably larger than last year's. The credits to be advanced by the Central Communal Bank for workers' housing construction have been fixed at 146,000,000 roubles, as against 100,000,000 roubles in 1926. The total funds appropriated for workers' housing amount to 272,000,000 roubles. If we add to these certain local funds and the special funds for the improvement of the living conditions of the workers, we get about 290 million roubles, thus increasing the building program for this year by approximately 40 per cent.

Of course, this does not solve the housing problem. However, the proposed building program is very considerable, taking into consideration that the funds are appropriated from the State budget and from that of the State industries and the transport.

### ARE YOU A LIVE WIRE?

Some readers send in a dozen subscriptions by simply asking workers they meet to subscribe. You can do the same. Our records prove that if you show the paper to five average workers and put up any talk at all, at least one will subscribe. Be a live wire.

# "The Moscow Spirit"

Reply to London "Times"

By LEON TROTSKY

The article which we print below was originally published more than a year ago, in connection with the general strike in Shanghai, declared as a protest against the shooting down of participants in a peaceful demonstration by the British police. We reprint it from "The People's Tribune" of Hankow, China, where it appeared in the issue of April 2, 1927, with the following note by the Editor of the Tribune:

"The United shriek of the foreign press in China, in unison with the press of their home lands, about the terrible influence and danger of Bolshevism in China will undoubtedly increase in volume now that Shanghai has been captured by the Nationalist Armies. Advice against the danger of Russian Imperialism and the bogey of Bolshevism, and with it naturally the usual threats of intervention to save China from this influence will fill the columns of the imperialist press. The following article by Leon Trotsky "The Moscow Spirit", written more than a year ago, is very appropriate at the present moment."

THE "Times", the leading newspaper of the English bourgeoisie, writes that the movement of the Chinese masses reveals a "Moscow Spirit". Well, for once we are prepared to agree with the conservative denounciators. The English press in China and in the British Isles brands the striking workers as Bolsheviks. Well, we are prepared to a certain extent even to support this terrible revelation.

The fact is the Chinese workers object to being shot down by police, so they have declared a protest strike and are proclaiming their indignation in the streets. It is evident that here the "Moscow Spirit" prevails. The Chinese students filled with sympathy for the workers in their struggle, have joined the strike against the exercise of violence by the foreigners. It is evident, as far as the students are concerned, that we have to deal with Bolsheviks.

### What Is a Bolshevik?

We, of Moscow, are prepared to accept all these accusations and revelations. We should like however to add that the best agents for spreading the "Moscow Spirit" in the East, are the capitalist politicians and journalists. To the question of the ignorant coöite, What is a Bolshevik? The English bourgeois press replies: "A Bolshevik is a Chinese worker who does not wish to be shot by Japanese and English police; a Bolshevik is a Chinese student who stretches out a brotherly hand to the Chinese worker who is streaming with blood; a Bolshevik is a Chinese peasant who resents the fact that the foreigner, whose arguments are deeds of violence, behaves on his land as though he was lord and master." The reactionary press of both hemispheres give excellent descriptions of Bolshevism.

Is it possible to carry on in the East better, more convincing, more stirring propaganda? And to what purpose, may we ask, do we need in the East, or for that matter in the West, secret agents with Moscow gold in one pocket and with poison and dynamite in the other? Would any trained agents be capable of doing a thousandth part of the educational work which the "Times" and its companions are doing gratuitously—this must be acknowledged throughout the world?

If a so-called Moscow agent were to tell the oppressed Chinese that the policy of Moscow is a policy of liberation of the oppressed classes and subjected nations, the Chinese would very likely not believe him—has he not often been deceived by foreigners. But when Moscow's worst enemy, in the form of the English Conservative newspaper, tells him the same of Moscow, he will believe it implicitly.

### Workers Educated

When the half naked, half starved Chinese worker who is oppressed and degraded begins to become conscious of his dignity as a human being, he is told: "Moscow agents have egged you on."

If he allies himself with other

workers to defend his elementary human rights, he is told, "This is the 'Moscow Spirit'."

If in the streets of his own town, he tries to defend his right of existence and development, he hears cries of, "This is Bolshevism!"

Thus the course of revolutionary education advances step by step under the direction of the foreign police and of the journalists, whose attitude of mind is similar to that of the police. And in order to imprint the political lesson deeply on his mind, the English police, after having shot dozens and hundreds of Chinese workers, drags him into the cellars of the English prisons in Shanghai. Thus a short cut to political knowledge is accomplished. From now onwards every Chinese will know that the "Moscow Spirit" is the spirit of revolutionary solidarity which unites the oppressed in the fight against the oppressors, and that on the other hand, the atmosphere which pervades prisons of Shanghai incorporates the spirit of "British Freedom."

### For the MacDonalds

We would have concluded at this point, for is there much to add to this eloquent and convincing propaganda of the capitalist press on behalf of Moscow? But it occurs to us that the liberal Labour politicians of the MacDonald type are eagerly listening to our conversation with the Conservatives. "You see" they say, pointing didactically at the chief editor of the "Times," "we have always said that our Conservatives work for Bolshevism." And this is also true. The Conservatives, or rather the reactionaries—all capitalist parties are now reactionary—represent an enormous historical force which is supported by Capital and gives expression to its chief interests. MacDonald is right in that there would be no Bolshevism, either in the East or in the West, if the forces of Capital did not exist.

For the adjustment of events in Shanghai and in order to counteract the influence of "Moscow", the liberals suggest the idea of an international conference on the Chinese question, but they are shutting their eyes to the fact that at this conference the decision would lie in the hands of the same gentlemen at whose command the workers and students were shot down in Shanghai.

### Moscow Program

Possibly MacDonald has a programme ready for this conference. If not, we can submit our own to him. It is very simple. The Chinese house belongs to the Chinese. No one has a right to enter his house without knocking at the door. The owner has the right to admit none but friends and to refuse entrance to those whom he considers enemies. This is the beginning of our programme. You will certainly reject it, because to your nostrils it seems to be thoroughly saturated with the explosive "Moscow Spirit". But just for this reason it will penetrate into the consciousness of the oppressed Chinese and of every honest English worker.

## A Hundred-Percenter

When he was a kid,  
He milked six cows in the morning,  
Shook hay all day,  
And milked six cows at night:  
Six days a week.

On Sunday,

He hooked-up the bay mare to a buggy,  
Took Emma Bangs to church  
And sang: "Lead Kindly Light";  
On the way home, Emma said, "No!"

Next morning

He milked six cows,  
And shook hay all day.

When he was twenty-one  
He joined the navy to see the world!  
He learned the manual of arms by heart.  
Got "606" in Shanghai,  
Shot a Greaser in Vera Cruze,  
Stabbed a striker in the guts in Hawaii,  
Raped a High-Yellow in Galveston,  
And after four years of distinguished service,  
Received an honorable discharge.

Then

For five years he lived in hook-shops,  
Sold hooch to the customers,  
Did a stick-up job now and then,  
And answered to the name of Three-Finger Charlie.

When he was thirty-six he went back home,  
Married Emma Bangs and joined the Klan.

On Sunday,

He hooked-up the gray mare to a buggy,  
Took Emma and the kids to church  
And sang: "Lead Kindly Light";  
On the way home he cursed the niggers and foreigners,

Next morning

He milked six cows,  
And shook hay all day.

—JIM WATERS.

## On Viewing Jack London Exhibit, Oakland, 1927

Twelve years ago I heard that you had died;  
And oh it seemed—unto my boyish mind—  
That all the world  
Of Beauty, Life, and Hope was hurled  
With you into the tide.  
That bears us on  
To oblivion!  
I felt the rushing wind  
Of a great sorrow; and from its midst I said,  
"The masterclass has killed him, he is dead,  
Slain by their greedy hands."

Twelve years since then  
Today among the wreck of all your fame  
I stand,  
Look on your pictured face and read your name,  
That accusation on my lips again.  
Poor murdered London, answer, do I lie?  
The System throttled you—you had to die!

—HENRY GEORGE WEISS.