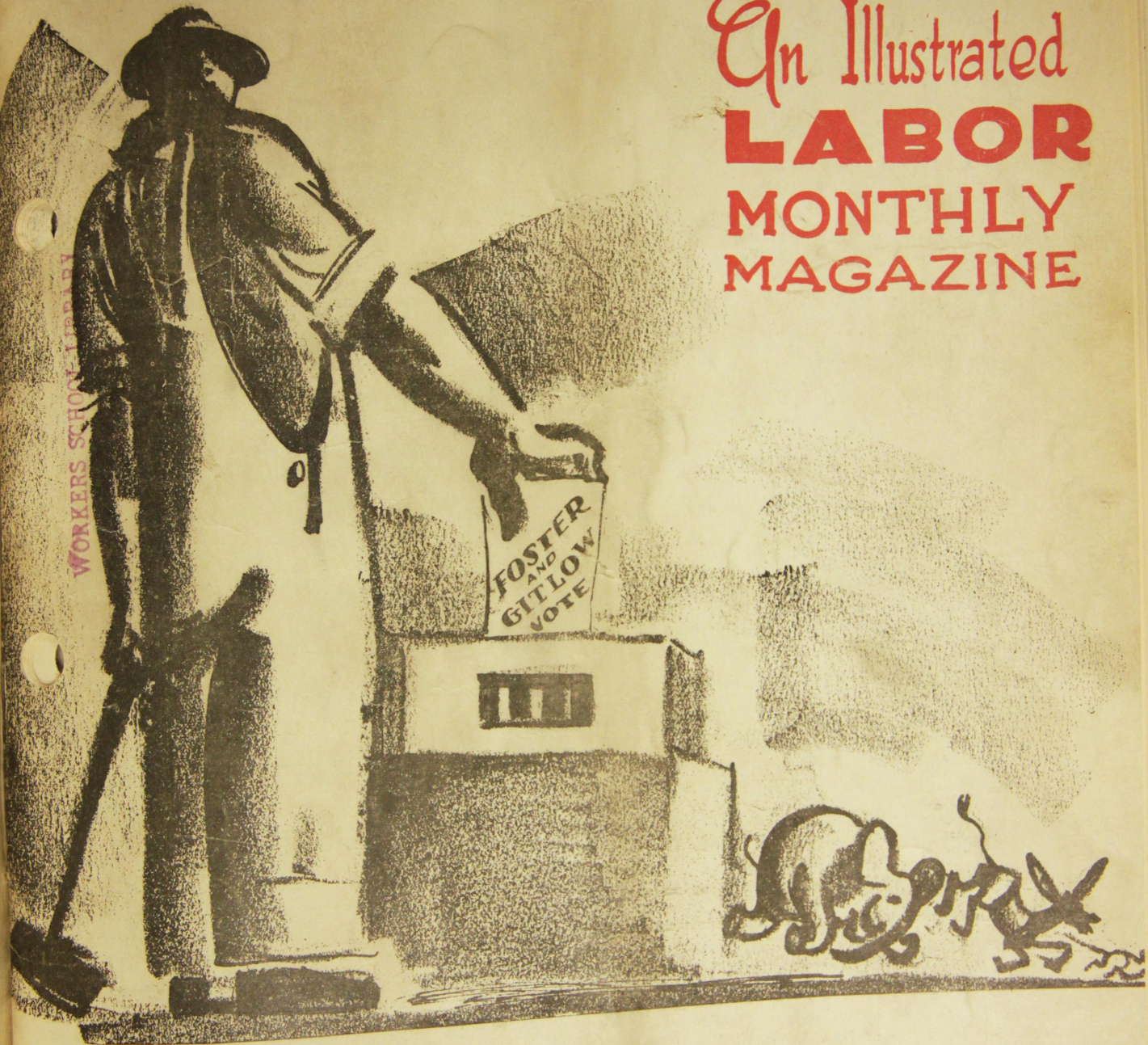


# LABOR UNITY

An Illustrated  
**LABOR**  
MONTHLY  
MAGAZINE



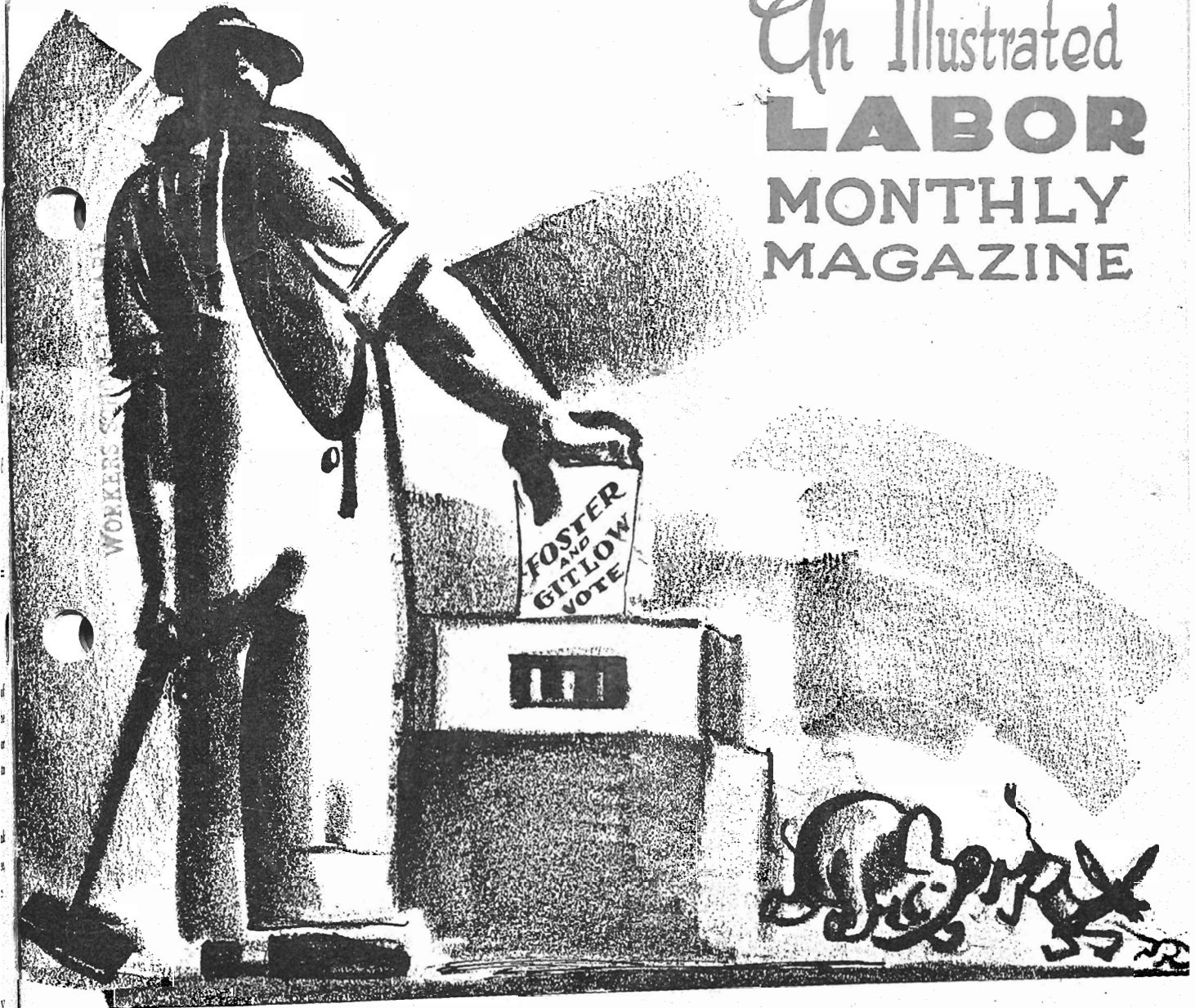
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NOVEMBER, 1928

PRICE 20c

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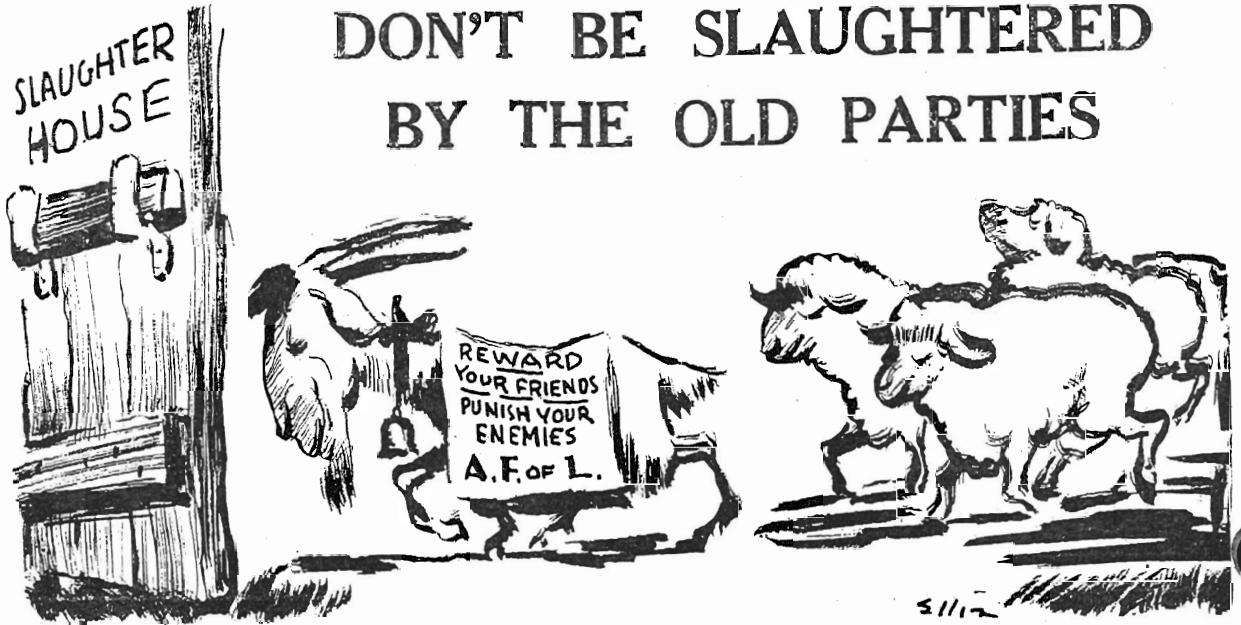


NOVEMBER, 1928

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# WORKERS! NOT THIS WAY!

## DON'T BE SLAUGHTERED BY THE OLD PARTIES



## VOTE YOUR OWN TICKET

### FOSTER for President GITLOW for Vice-President

The whole idea put out by the official bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor that workers should not have a class party but should "support their friends and defeat their enemies" in the Republican and Democratic Parties, is all wrong. Raskob, the Democratic campaign manager poses now as a friend of labor, but as chief of the General Motors, runs a company union and breaks strikes. Mellon, the Republican Party boss, dictator of nominations, is a big scab coal mine owner, and broke his contract with the union miners in Pennsylvania.

Your only friends are in your own party. The only ticket for a worker to vote this year is the Workers Party ticket, national, state and local.

## LABOR UNITY

Official Organ of the  
TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE  
AMERICAN SECTION OF THE RED INTERNATIONAL  
OF LABOR UNIONS.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

A WORKINGMAN VOTES FOR HIMSELF by Fred Ellis	.....Cover
FOR THE CANDIDATES OF THE WORKING CLASS	..... 1
By Tom O'Flaherty	
CHINESE LABOR AND THE MILITARIST FACTIONS	..... 4
By Chen Yang, of the P. P. T. U. S.	
STATEMENT OF THE T.U.E.L. ON THE A.F.L. CONVENTION	6
EXPPELLING PROGRESSIVE CARPENTERS by Mike Ross	..... 8
GREETINGS TO SOVIET RUSSIA'S ELEVENTH ANNIVERSARY	10
"KUZBAS" — KEMEROVO TODAY by Edmund Grantz	..... 11
"PEACE AND PROSPERITY" IN THE ANTHRACITE	..... 14
By B. K. Gebert	
THE SEAMEN'S CLUBS AND THE M.W.P.L. by George Mink	..... 16
MARINE WORKERS PROGRESSIVE LEAGUE ON THE PACIFIC	18
By Leonard Emerson	
ASPECTS OF CLASS STRUGGLE ABROAD	..... 19
THE RED INTERNATIONAL by Harrison George	..... 24
THE ENGLISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS by Harry Pollitt	..... 27
REVIEW OF EVENTS	..... 30
TEXTILE NEWS by International Comm. of Propaganda & Action	..... 31

# For the Candidates of the Workingclass

By TOM O'FLAHERTY

**T**HERE is only one political party in this election campaign that stands squarely for the interests of the workingclass, the exploited farmers, the persecuted and doubly-exploited Negroes and that holds aloft the banner of revolutionary struggle against American and world imperialism. This is the Workers (Communist) Party whose national standard bearers are William Z. Foster, candidate for the presidency of the United States and Benjamin Gitlow vice-presidential candidate.

All the other political parties, appealing for the votes of the workingclass in this election campaign are supporters of the capitalist system and consequently enemies of the workers. This indictment includes the Socialist Party, whose candidate is the pacifist clergyman, the Reverend Norman Thomas.

The two big parties of Wall Street, the Republican and Democratic parties are no longer distinguishable from one another in program. The old differences that brought them into existence have practically disappeared until today we find Wall Street backing the two parties.

One section of big business favors Al Smith, boss of Tammany Hall, the most malodorous political institution in the United States, which has gained control of the Democratic Party, in the interests of the bankers and industrialists of the North, while another section of big business prefers Herbert Hoover, the "efficiency engineer" of imperialism, the rubber tire candidate, one of whose contributions to the good and welfare of his employers was the saddling of a loan on the backs of the people of the Negro Republic of Liberia in the interests of the Firestone Rubber Company, which places the natives of that state under virtual peonage to the rubber magnates of the United States.

Herbert Hoover endeared himself to the ruling classes of the United States, when he used the money and the apparatus of the American Relief Administration in Europe immediately after the end of the world war to smash the Soviet Republic of Hungary and place the Fascist Horthy in power over the dead bodies of thousands of workers and peasants.



WM. Z. FOSTER, Workers' Party Nominee for President of the United States

Hoover attempted to accomplish the same end in the Soviet Union during the famine years but his conspiracy was shattered against the steel wall of the dictatorship of the workers and peasants of that country, led by the Communist Party. Hoover, the Quaker posing as an anti-militarist, proved himself a willing and efficient tool of American imperialism in Europe during and after the world war. His ability as an organizer was placed without reservation at the service of his masters and his deep seated hatred of the workingclass was amply demonstrated by his conduct in Hungary and Russia and is a forcaste of

what the American workingclass may expect when this servant of Wall Street takes his seat in the executive chamber of American capitalism at Washington.

Needless to say, Hoover will be no more loyal in carrying out the instructions of the class that lives on the unpaid labor of the workers of the United States and on the profit wrung from colonial and semicolonial peoples than will Al Smith, presidential candidate on the Democratic ticket.

Back of Herbert Hoover, occupying prominent positions on his campaign committee are some of the leading labor exploiters and open-shoppers of the country. Among those are Andrew Mellon, the multi-millionaire secretary of the treasury who opened the union-smashing fight against the United Mine Workers of America, a fight in which he was aided by John L. Lewis, International President U. M. W. A. also a supporter of Herbert Hoover and the Republican Party.

It is multi-millionaire against multi-millionaire on the Smith and Hoover campaign committees. Against Andrew Mellon, on the Hoover side, there is John J. Raskob, the chairman of the finance committee of General Motors on Al Smith's campaign committee. While Mellon was busily engaged driving a wedge into the once-powerful United Mine Workers of America, John J. Raskob, was organizing a company union in General Motors, that would take its orders from the company officials, and carry out the policies calculated to pour more profits into the coffers of the greatest corporation in the world.

#### List of Open Shoppers

A list of the prominent industrial and financial magnates supporting both candidates would read like a roster of the American money aristocracy, but as thousands of workers are still under the impression that Al Smith is a "friend of labor" it is necessary to mention a few of the individuals who are backing the Tammany candidate.

In addition to John J. Raskob, we have on Al's campaign such "friends of labor" as William Woodin of the American Locomotive Company, Pierre Du Pont, one of the power barons of Wall Street and Delaware, and Herbert H. Lehman, the big banker. We have William Kenny, the multi-millionaire contractor who made most of his money by virtue of his association with Tammany Hall and the good graces of Al Smith, in his capacity of governor of the Empire State. And of course we have also the sewerpipes of New York.

How can any intelligent worker believe that the candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties, the political instruments of a system that lives by

the exploitation of labor, supported by the outstanding slave-drivers in the United States, serve the interests of the workers? Yet, this article is being written because millions of workers and poor farmers, due to the poisonous propaganda dope in the capitalist press and through the misleadership of the corrupt and reactionary trade union bureaucracy, still hope that a "good" man on either the Democratic or Republican ticket, elected to the presidency will lighten the burden of labor for them and bring them a share of the prosperity which is now enjoyed by the ruling classes.

The workers must be disillusioned of this false notion and the accomplishment of this purpose is one of the main aims of the Workers (Communist) Party in this election campaign.

The Socialist Party, which under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs, raised the banner of revolt against capitalism, is now a caricature of a party of labor, leaving the Workers (Communist) Party in the field as the only party of the class struggle, the only political party that aims to organize the workers for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a Workers and Farmers government under the direction of which a socialist society, in which the producers will enjoy the fruits of their labor, will be built.

The Socialist Party has turned its back on the workingclass, repudiated the class struggle, allied itself with the reactionary tools of American capitalism in the officialdom of the trade union movement, supports American imperialism by supporting the league of nations, the world court and the Kellogg Pact, bases itself on the middle class and the trade union bureaucracy, makes war on the Left Wing in the American labor movement, slanders the Communists and the Soviet Union.

In all the industrial battles of recent years, in the needle trades, the coal industry and the textile industry, the Socialist Party has been found always on the side of the reactionary trade union leaders and actively co-operating with the state and municipal governments in persecuting the progressive and militant leaders, thus playing a strikebreaking role.

The Socialist Party has thoroughly discredited itself in the eyes of all intelligent class-conscious workers. Having repudiated the militant tradition of Debs it now invokes the ghost of the pretty bourgeois La Follette and with Norman Thomas at its head it is seeking to establish itself as a third party of capitalism.

Against those three parties of big and little business the Workers (Communist) Party appeals to the exploited masses on farm and in factory, with a program that calls for an uncompromising struggle against capitalism, a struggle that must go on until the work-

ing masses follow in the footsteps of their victorious brothers in the Soviet Union, by establishing the rule of the proletariat instead of the capitalists which exists today.

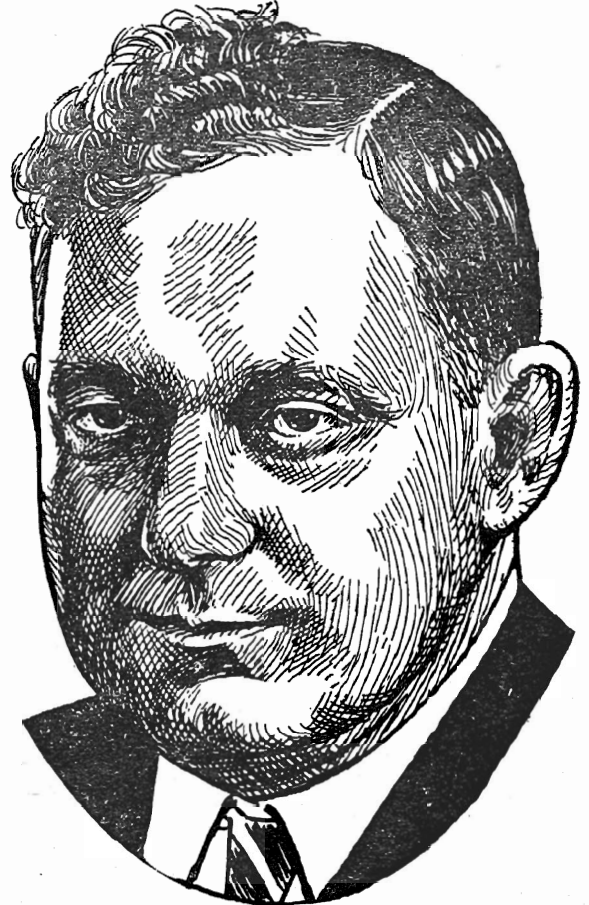
The Workers (Communist) Party through its national standard bearers Foster and Gitlow and through its candidates in thirty four states raises the only voice of protest against capitalism in this election campaign and brings forward the only program that merits the support of the class conscious workers. The Socialist Party has deserted the class struggle, the alleged progressives who followed the petty bourgeois La Follette on his romantic hike back to 1776 four year ago are now divided in their support of Smith and Hoover, the labor bureaucrats are one half in the Smith camp and the other half on the Hoover bandwagon, there only remains the Workers (Communist) Party as the champion of the workers, poor farmers and Negroes.

With another world war casting its ominous shadow on the political horizon, with over four millions of unemployed thrown on the glutted labor market of the United States, with ten millions of Negroes living under a reign of terror in the South and suffering from racial discrimination in the North, the two big parties of capitalism have added insult to injury by dragging in prohibition as the leading issue in the election campaign.

The Republican Party shuts its eyes to the spectacle of four millions of unemployed workers and prattles about prosperity. The Democratic Party claims that unemployment is the result of a Republican administration and not of the present economic system. The Workers (Communist) Party declares that neither party will or can cure the evil of unemployment, that it is indigenous to the capitalist system and that the growing competition for world markets, the rapid development of the industrial speed-up system since the world war, has resulted in the production of a permanent army of unemployed which cannot find work under capitalism. The only way out is social revolution.

Another terrible war is in the offing. The great imperialist powers are feverishly engaged in the sinister game of preparing the most deadly machinery of destruction for the next bloody contest. Leagues of nations, world courts and peace pacts are but the screens behind which the imperialist powers maneuver against one another, but they do not succeed in fooling each other. They hope to fool the masses of all countries who supply the cannon fodder for the slaughter feast called war.

The Workers (Communist) Party alone calls the



**BENJAMIN GITLOW**, Workers Party nominee for Vice-President of the United States.

attention of the workers to the dreaded war danger and urges them to organize so that when the imperialists decide to hurl the workingclass of the world into the vortex of war, they will have signed their own death warrant as a ruling class. The example set by the workers and peasants of Russia who set up a Soviet Republic on the wreckage of Tsarism, must be followed by the workers of all lands including those of the United States. This will mean the end of militarism and all the other evils that flow from the capitalist system and the beginning of a new day for the world's oppressed.

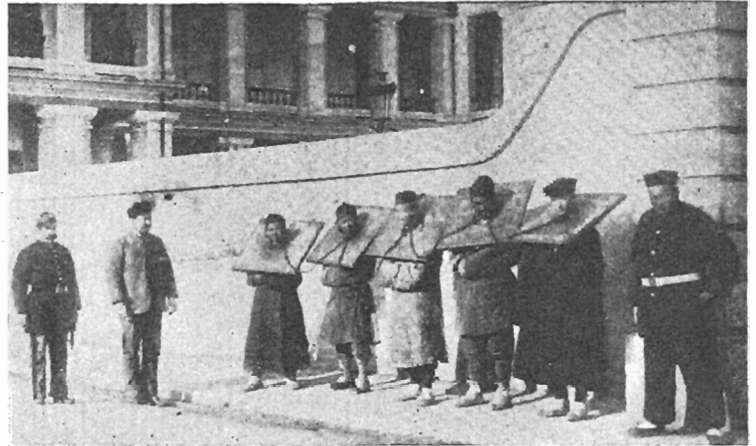
Ten millions of Negroes are ground down under the iron heel of American capitalism in the United States. In the South lynch law rules and every Negro is in constant dread lest some white atavist, his savage instincts awakened by the race hatred nourished in his miasmatic brain by the ruling classes, should crave the pleasure of stringing him to the branch of a tree, burning him at the stake or other-

(Continued on page 23)

# Chinese Labor and the Militarist Factions

By CHEN YANG

(Of The Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat)



A SCENE IN PEKING. Foreign and Chinese Militarist Police with worker prisoners.

THE first Plenary Session of the Kuomintang, held at Nanking in August, although the first since the "completion" of the military stage of the revolution, failed to take decisive action on any of the really pressing problems facing China. These problems—the disbandment of hundreds of thousands of "surplus" troops, the reorganization of the governmental apparatus from a war basis to that of peace, the definite subjugation of the military to the civil administration though the enforcement of nationwide regulations providing for the central government's definite control of the taxing system and in particular the abolition of the system of branch political councils, the convocation of a citizen's national convention—all were postponed or referred to committees as incapable of deciding as was the conference itself. While failing in these vital questions the conference did reach a unanimous decision that Sun Yat-sen should have his final burial at Nanking on July, of next year! It will be recalled that he died in Peking March 12, 1925.

The conference revealed how sharp had become the struggle of the military "bosses" of factions within the Kuomintang. No longer faced by the presence of Communists, these having been expelled during the course of the past year, there was still a division between "rights" and "lefts", besides the ever-present "moderates" or what is loosely termed the "center." These terms are, of course, relative. "Lefts" so-called, for instance, were in no sense revolutionists. Equally with their opponents they had murdered labor and peasant leaders and instigated mass massacres. Wang Ching-wei, the absent chief of the so-called "lefts", and his followers have all been strong for the "purging" of the Kuomintang of its revolutionists, a process involving the elimination of all

militant labor and peasant elements. Wang Ching-wei's general, Chang Fa-kui, was a close rival to Li Chi-sen, the head of the Kuangsi militarist clique, representing the "rights," is slaughtering the workers and peasants of Kuangtung. As concerns the oppression of the masses there is little to choose between the two groups. The Kuangsi militarist gang or right-wing clique is however, more open and frank in its contempt for the working class and the revolutionary peasants. The Wang Ching-wei group has the smooth hypocrisy which marks politicians of the bourgeois-democratic type.

### The Branch Council Issue

The main question around which the factional controversy raged at this conference concerned the abolition of the branch political councils which had been set up after the amalgamation of the Wu-Han and Nanking Nationalist Governments. These were intended to serve as temporary political and military centers for the administration of affairs pending the completion of the Anti-North expedition and the establishment of Nationalist rule over the entire country. When this was accomplished the apparatus of the central government could be extended and the councils done away with. The leading Nationalist generals were appointed chairmen and their principal subordinates given membership on these bodies. Thus Li Chi-sen was head of the reactionary, murderous Canton Council controlling southern China. His lieutenant, Li Tsung-jen, was chairman of the Wu-Han council dominating central China. Feng Yu-hsiang was chief of the council at Kaifeng, with authority over the provinces of Honan, Shensi and Kansu. Yen Hsi-shan had the province of Shansi, which he has governed ever since the 1911 Revolution. Then there was Chiang Kai-shek at Nanking as head of the



A MASS DEMONSTRATION IN CHINA. "No more of them!" say the Kuangsi gang. "Devitalize them!" say Wang Ching-wei's followers.

Central Political Council with a nominal supervision over all. These councils were supposed to be the functioning organs of the civil administration but were in reality the managing centers from which the Kuomintang militarists controlled their respective spheres of influence.

In this allotment of territory the Kuangsi clique, controlling both the Wu-Han and Canton councils, came to dominate the largest amount of territory, as a glance at the map will show. They had within their grip the middle section of the Yangtze Valley and in the south, of course, they held Canton. Chiang Kai-shek was in possession of the provinces at the mouth of the Yangtze and thus of Shanghai, the largest and most important financial, industrial and commercial city in the whole country. His possession of Shanghai, however, did not mean all it might seem for the reason that the largest part of the wealth controlled there by the Chinese is concentrated within the two foreign settlements, and particularly, within the "International" settlement (really the British settlement). Nevertheless, although politically impossible for him to enforce Chinese laws inside the settlement boundaries, as the ruler of this section he has a rich source of revenue in the customs collections and the not inconsiderable wealth represented in the Chinese cities adjoining the foreign areas. Moreover, he is

able to enter into profitable relationships with the Chinese bankers and merchants of the settlements. These conditions together with the fact that it has suffered comparatively less from the ravages of civil war, make the possession of this section of China the richest prize in actual financial returns of the entire country. Besides it has a tremendous strategic value as it commands the gateway to the Yangtze Valley, Along with these advantages there is nevertheless a decided drawback. This is the fact that Shanghai is the focal point for the slashing imperialism of America, Great Britain and Japan and is at the same time a hotbed of social struggle and growing national conflict with those same imperialisms.

There remain Feng and Yen to be considered and two councils controlled respectively by Feng Yu-hsiang and Yen Hsi-shan. Feng's assignment of territory was the poorest of all. Honan, the most important of his three provinces, has been swept time and again by the tides of civil war until its people are utterly poverty-stricken. Shensi and Kansu are not thickly populated. They are, moreover, virtually cut off by the lack of modern means of communications and by geographical barriers and situations from Honan and the main part of China. In addition, there was the very important circumstances that in

(Continued on Page 20)



# Statement of the Trade Union Educational League On the American Federation of Labor Convention

## I.—Crisis in the Labor Movement

**T**HE 1928 Convention of the American Federation of Labor, scheduled to start Nov. 20, in New Orleans, finds the labor movement of the United States in the greatest crisis of its history. With the exception of certain new unions which are not affiliated with the A. F. L. the last few years have witnessed a rapid decline in prestige, militancy and numerical strength of the unions. There has been loss of membership, and degeneration of leadership. In the railway shop crafts, in the metal and coal mines, in the needle trades, in marine transport, in the packing houses, in every industry except building trades where the workers were formerly in the majority organized, now the unions represent a dwindling minority of those at work. In no single trustified industry do the unions have any power. They are not growing, they are decreasing in strength. And this collapse has taken place during a period of prosperity for the employers, of unprecented industrial activity and of favorable opportunities for organization.

## II.—Causes of the Crisis

The consolidation and rationalization of industry, the merger and trustification of the employers, larger and larger scale production with more and more use of improved, labor saving machinery, has not been met by the unions of the American Federation of Labor with any consistent plan, any co-operation between unions, any militant struggle to avoid the evil effects of labor displacing machines by gaining a shorter work day and higher wages.

In the face of a constantly solidifying group of employers, and a constantly more mechanized technique of production, the A. F. L. unions have remained separated, resisting every attempt at amalgamation, which the rank and file in many industries, as for instance, building trades, printing trades, shop crafts, etc., would welcome.

Instead of consolidating union forces, the leaders of unions in these industries engage in ruinous and suicidal jurisdictional disputes, and invariably place the narrow craft interests, peace with the employers at the expense of other unions in the industry, above the interests of the workers in all of the unions. There is a complete failure to organize on a class basis, or to realize the common interests of Labor.

In a period of wide-spread wage cuts and intensi-

fication of labor in the shops, the leadership of the A. F. L. unions has on almost every occasion refused to lead resistance to the drive of the employers. This lack of militancy has been coupled with frequent exhibitions of open collaboration between the employers and the highly paid, un-proletarianized officials of the A. F. L. and the unions belonging to it. President Green of the A. F. L. has often in articles and speeches, declared to the employers that he is in favor of "increasing production" by collaboration, which means by reducing wages and speeding labor. Matthew Woll, vice president of the A. F. L., served with the committee of the American Bar Association to draft a federal bill against strikes, and has propagandized the workers in favor of it. Presiding at a banquet tendered by the American Bankers Association to Lord Melchett, originator of the infamous, class collaborationist "Mond Plan" in England, Matthew Woll showered the plan and its founder with praise, and sneered at strike action. John L. Lewis, international president of the United Mine Workers has sold out the strike, with separate agreements, wage reductions, and loss of conditions. Batty and MacMahon of the United Textile Workers broke the strike of the 26,000 New Bedford workers by ordering their followers back to work. President Mahon of the Street and Electric Railways Employees not only stopped the proposed strike of the New York subway employees, but signed a contract with the Mitten interests of Philadelphia that he would not permit organization on certain of their properties. Harrison, president of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks stopped the strike of 10,000 express drivers in New York by a threat to provide scabs. These are but recent exhibitions of such betrayals of the rank and file of the unions eager to strike for organization against wage cuts or for better conditions. There has been during recent years a long history of such acts of treachery.

While the unions' strength in organized fields has been thus frittered away by sheer sellout and betrayal no attempt has been made to organize the unorganized, which comprise some 25,000,000 workers, as compared with perhaps 2,500,000 bona fide dues paying members still in the A. F. L. unions. The organization of the automobile industry, decided upon by A. F. L. convention, was turned into a negotiation between the A. F. L. committee and employers, to

establish the unions as substitutes for company unions, on the openly expressed argument that the regular unions could do everything for the employers that the company unions could do.

The employers even refused to consider this.

These policies have only been carried out by widespread and consistent expulsions of militant workers, in nearly all unions, and most recently in the miners', needle trades' and carpenters' unions.

These policies have been possible partly through the deliberate encouragement of race prejudice, the exclusion of the Negro workers from many unions, and discrimination against them in other unions, the discrimination against the young workers, women and foreign born workers within the unions, and failure to organize them into the union in the first place. The unions have been absolutely indifferent to the lynching and persecution of Negro workers.

These policies of surrendering the workers to the employers, of warfare on the specially persecuted groups of workers in America, make the official bureaucracy of the A. F. L. and its unions the natural agents of American imperialism. Under its control, the Pan American Federation of Labor has been merely a cloak for the corruption of the Latin American labor movements, in the interests of American capitalism. Because of the conflicts of American imperialism with its rivals the A. F. L. refuses to join even the reactionary International Federation of Trade Unions; however, American capitalism has so highly developed its system of corruption in the labor movement, class collaboration, etc., that the policies of the American misleaders of labor are eagerly copied by the European reactionary labor officials. Where separate unions of the A. F. L. belong to international bodies, there is mutual felicitation over the progress of the expulsion campaign by international representatives, as at the recent carpenters' convention. The A. F. L. officials continually incite to war against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the first Workers Government, as in Vice President Woll's recent attack on "Amtorg".

With all of this goes the most widespread and shameless corruption in official ranks. Not only are enormous salaries collected, during strike periods when the rank and file are starving, as in the case of Lewis' \$12,000 a year and huge expenses in the miners' union, but there is plain graft, and bribery such as was carried on by Frank Farrington in the miners' union, by Mike Boyle in the building trades, Con Shea in the teamsters' union, by Brindell in New York and Feeney in Philadelphia building trades unions, Cronin of the moulders, Berry of the pressmen's union, and many others. The whole movement

is in a sea of corruption, and the facts that are disclosed must be only a superficial few of those as yet hidden.

Naturally, a group such as this dominating clique in the A. F. L., is not in favor of class political action for workers. It is more profitable to the leaders to deliver the labor vote to one or another of the old parties, even though both these parties have suppressed workers in strikes and on picket lines, issuing injunctions that practically prohibit strikes, and betraying them through the means of public mediators and arbitrators.

### III.—What the A. F. L. Convention Will Do

This convention, meeting in New Orleans, a non-industrial city and winter playground for the rich, dominated by a corrupt clique whose only policy is surrender to the employers, will do nothing to remedy the situation. Their policy is based on complete surrender, through the help of "Capitalist Efficiency Socialism" theoreticians they are making a general social theory of B. & O. plans and Mondism in its American form with added complications and refinements, all of them absolutely disastrous to the workers' organizations and standards of living. With the Socialist party now openly disavowing the class struggle, the old party union heads are leading a mad stampede towards poverty, unemployment, and war. The convention will probably indulge in an orgy of friendship with open shop employers, representatives of Chambers of Commerce, etc., will support American imperialism against the workers, will clarify their line of class collaboration still more, and will approve of the war against the progressive forces in the unions, probably forming new committees to direct it on a national scale.

### III.—What Must Be Done

The workers of America must realize from the foregoing analysis that in almost every case their interests lie in policies the exact opposite of those pursued by the misleaders of the American Federation of Labor.

We propose to the workers that wherever there are still mass organizations, as in the building and printing trades, the workers who wish to struggle against open shop drives and reduction of wages, anti-strike laws and anti-strike agreements, shall organize themselves in the T. U. E. L. and struggle in an organized fashion to elect their own officials and manage their own unions.

Wherever there are no mass organizations of the workers, as in the automobile, metal-mining, rubber, and other such industries, the workers must follow

(Continued on Page 19)

# Expelling Progressive Carpenters

The Main Order of Business at Hutcheson's U. B. of C. & J. of A. Convention.

By MIKE ROSS

ON Sept. 29 there started at Lakeland, Florida, a convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the first in four years. It marked a certain turning point in the history of the union, corresponding with the period in the miners' union when through misleadership it began its period of rapid decay.

The general officials of the carpenters' union, since the U. M. W. A. collapse, the largest in numbers now of all A. F. of L. unions, have, like all parts of the A. F. L. bureaucracy, been drifting steadily to the right, towards surrender to the bosses, and against the rank and file of the union. In spite of this, the union has somewhat managed to hold its own because of the building boom of the past few years. It has not entirely held its own; there has been a drop of 27,488 members in good standing compared with those of the last convention, and this drop is disguised, rather than explained, by the additions (13,567) to the number of members in arrears and "Honorary Members" (9,666) which even so, leave by the official figures, a clear loss of 4,255 members.

Now, every one knows that the boom is close to its end. There has been more than enough construction already. Bankers are warning against further building, and fear a sharp collapse, which they would like to change to a more gradual one.

The progressives in the carpenters' union have warned time after time that with the bursting of the boom, unemployment and a terrific drive on the part of the bosses for open shop, lower wages, and worse working conditions can be expected.

## The Progressive Plan

The progressives have worked out a program to meet this critical situation which includes: more democracy in the union, giving rank and file control and job control; five day forty hour-week; organization of the unorganized; reinstatement of all old militants suspended or expelled; national elections and conventions every two years instead of every four; amalgamation of the building trades, and organization and support of a party composed of and in the interests of Labor.

Four years ago the progressives issued the above program and on it Morris Rosen was candidate for general president of the union. The union bureaucracy fought the program and carried on during this



MORRIS ROSEN, President of Former Local 376, candidate against Hutcheson in 1924. Expelled for being progressive.

whole time a campaign of suppression and expulsion against all who were for it, or any part of it. This terror culminated in the revocation of the charter of Local 376, of which Rosen was the president. This local had circularized the progressive carpenters' campaign program, and after expulsion, it prepared an appeal in the form of a book of 11 pages, giving the whole story, explaining the progressive program, and exposing the corruption of General President Hutcheson's machine, proving that Hutcheson was himself the leading strike breaker and scab agent in the brotherhood. A copy of this appeal was sent to every local in the country, and caused a sensation. Locals all over the country ordered extra copies for distribution among their membership, about 30,000 copies being so distributed in U. S. and Canada.

When the Local recently sent out a second circular letter notifying other Locals that Morris Rosen would be present at the convention to make the appeal there for Local 376, and requesting the membership to see that he got a hearing, nearly 250 locals expressed

sympathy, acted favorably, and ordered thousands of additional copies of the appeal.

### Publicity Forced Hearing

Such great publicity and such militant action could not be ignored and at the convention Rosen was given the floor for a hearing.

First, however, in an evident attempt to prevent his attending, Rosen had been assaulted with bottles by two thugs who broke into his room on the steamer Iroquois, on which he and a hundred other delegates were sailing for the convention. Rosen put up such a battle that the thugs were not able to cripple him effectively, though he was cut and bruised.

When Rosen rose to speak, General Secretary Duffy, of the Hutcheson machine, granted him the floor with a sneering remark that Rosen and his local had been circulating scurrilous and defamatory literature in the brotherhood, and they would now hear from him, as locals throughout the country were writing to general headquarters asking whether Rosen's charges were true.

Rosen, this calm, mild mannered young militant, from the platform, surrounded by machine officials, of the general office and the general executive board and sluggers all ready for action, in an atmosphere tense with terrorism and frenzy, spoke as if delivering a lecture. It was the first time anybody ever faced Hutcheson on the same platform. The dedication of the old age home was treated to a different speech than the showers of praise given Hutcheson and Duffy by the representatives of the businessmen the president of the Lakeland Chamber of Commerce, the Mayor, Secretary of Labor Davis, congressmen of Florida, and such others.

### Unmasks Hutcheson

In Rosen's speech Hutcheson was exposed as irresponsible to the membership, treacherous, a liar, a despot and a protector of corruption. The whole story of his dealings with Local 376 was brought to light. Rosen said: "I challenge anybody to disprove one statement or fact in our booklet" (the appeal of Local 376) which proved Hutcheson a strike breaker and a scab herder. The only answer to this was made by Duffy, who declared that a certain organizer named Alger in Detroit, who in the appeal was "said to be a brother-in-law of Duffy", was not really so. Aside from this, there was no answer to the challenge of Rosen, only such excuses as this: referring to the New York general strike of 1916, which Hutcheson broke by expelling all the locals and organizing a scab agency through the crook Brindell's local, Duffy said, "I ask the New York delegates whether, even if we did expel the locals, haven't we now better

conditions than we ever had in New York since it was re-organized."

Of course they didn't win anything by losing the strike.

Rosen when he opened his speech, practically blocked a probable attempt to cut his time short by pointing out that securing this hearing was already a victory for the progressive forces he represented, and that attempts now to stop him would reflect on the decency and fairness of Hutcheson. He spoke for nearly an hour, and proved that the reason Hutcheson revoked the charter of Local 376 was because it opposed his misleadership. Rosen said: "I have just mentioned that we had reasons for distrusting Hutcheson, I am now going to prove that Hutcheson could not be trusted," and then showed with documents and papers, how the reactionaries who embezzled funds from Local 376 were cleared by Hutcheson and the general officers, in order, if possible to frame up the progressive officers.

### Warns of Side Issues

Rosen ended his speech by saying, "In conclusion, Brothers, I think that Hutcheson is going to try and spring something unexpected. The actions of the general officers convince me of that. Other matters are going to be injected in the case; they are going to do that because they have nothing against us. Don't let that distract your attention.

"Brother delegates, this is the highest governing body in our brotherhood; we assemble once in four years to pass judgement on our general officers. I ask you to support our appeal. It is not only a case of Local 376. Favorable action will have the effect of putting a stop to Hutcheson's irresponsibility; it will serve notice on our officials that constitutional provisions and guarantees made by decision cannot be abrogated by our general officers.

"If the convention approves the action of Hutcheson, it will set a precedent to suspend or disfranchise any local or member that displeases him, not that Hutcheson needs a precedent; he has been doing whatever he pleases, but I ask you to once and for all show that the convention and the membership rule, and not he."

Great applause greeted Rosen's speech. It was as if the inarticulate and terrorized gained courage though the words of this bold militant, but the courage did not last long.

General Secretary Duffy took the floor, and as Rosen predicted, changed the subject. Instead of defending Hutcheson's untenable position he started the old Red-baiting, heresy hunting, flag waving tactics. In the deepest, darkest recess of the reactionary South, he led the assault against "Bolshevism". He grew pathetic, and asked the delegates

### GREETINGS TO THE SOVIET UNION ON ITS ELEVENTH ANNIVERSARY

On the Seventh of November, the day after the orgy of corruption that signifies the election of a Republican or Democratic party president in the U. S., American workers will celebrate the eleventh anniversary of the First Workers Republic, Soviet Russia. While fighting steadily the sellout of our unions by misleaders of labor and the exploitation of the employers, we take courage from the example of the free workers of Russia. Long Live the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics!

if they would let this "agent of the Communist party and the Trade Union Educational League run over my bent shoulders." He threatened all who should defend Rosen's position.

#### The Expulsion Spree

And the terror was successful. Opposition delegates were afraid of being lynched in one form or another, and were silent. Machine delegates roared for the "names of the Reds." And every man whose name was mentioned by the bureaucrat was either expelled or suspended. The expelled were: Morris Rosen, president of former Local 376, and former candidate for the general presidency; Nathan Rosen, his brother, recording secretary of 376, and secretary of its Defense and Reinstatement Committee which carried the local's fight through the brotherhood; Joseph Lapidus, a New York militant and former member of 376; Thomas Schneider, president of Local 2090 of New York and for 25 years a member of the union; Robert Goldin, recording secretary of Local 1164; Nels Kjar, leading militant in Chicago, and George Leach of Local 1367, another Chicago militant. Eight others in Chicago were put on probation, which means they will have to act like clams and obey orders. They are Nick J. Koenig; Geo. A. Kroon and Henry Goerling of Local 419; Louis Long and Peter Timmer of Local 80; Fred Bobzin and De Groot of Local 62, and A. T. Jacobson of Local 181. The first seven are under the supervision of the general office and Chicago District Council while Jacobson is under the supervision of Hutcheson.

C. Woudenburg, Sec'y of the International Union of Woodworkers (Amsterdam) was present and complimented the officials on their expulsion policy. He warned them that the workers of Europe were leaning toward the "Red" Unions.

The timidity of the progressives at the convention is largely responsible for the rough shod manner in

which the reactionaries expelled everyone they thought had an ounce of fighting blood to withstand the machine. For the first four days the machine showed more liberalism than at the last convention. In numbers there were more progressives there than at the last convention, and this had its effect. The machine managed to keep the convention busy with speeches and at night various entertainments were arranged to prevent caucuses or other serious work.

During the first three days, when all forces must be organized for the nomination of general officers, the business of the fourth day, things were not taken seriously. At the same time, the progressives did not have the courage to run for general office, giving excuses that it was their first convention and they didn't want to look ridiculous, or wanted to get more prestige first, or thought it might hurt them in their local unions, etc. These progressives did not realize that the boldest and most militant action is the safest, and that being a candidate for general office focuses attention on a man, and makes it harder to quietly suppress him.

Therefore when nominations came, and the Hutcheson machine found itself unopposed, it took courage, and followed up its advantage. At most conventions, the report on appeals comes last, because the appeals cause discussion, and the machine can, if it has to, simply declare the convention adjourned and autocratically suppress it, if it has become dangerous.

At the present convention, this report came immediately after nominations, and the appeal of Local 376, the most dangerous, came second on the list. The bureaucracy were using this as their trump card, building up the anti-Red frenzy, and the spirit of lynching. With the opposition cowed by this as they should not have allowed themselves to be cowed, all progressive work was squelched, even the five day week was defeated, a measure approved at the plumbers' convention. Progressive delegates did not introduce one resolution.

A number of reactionary constitutional amendments will be submitted for a referendum to the membership, and must be defeated.

What Hutcheson did not figure on in his autocratic action at the convention was the awakening spirit among the rank and file; such tactics as his will surely hasten the development of resistance on the part of the members, and it is my prophesy that the Hutcheson clique will soon find itself in the same position as the bureaucrats of the needle trades, textile and miners' unions.

Meanwhile, the progressives in the carpenters' union will have to stage one of their biggest and most determined fights for the reinstatement of all expelled progressive leaders.

# "KUZBAS"--KEMEROVO TODAY

By EDMUND GRANTZ

**A**FTER three and one half days' run on the Trans-Siberian express one reaches Urga. Here he gets on a branch line turning off south-east and, within a few hours is at Topki. At this station his car is attached to a locomotive pulling an endless stream of empty coal cars, oil tankers and flat cars heading directly east. Within a few hours, if the place he is going to should keep up with its present rapid rate of development, he is face to face with the Pennsylvania of Siberia, called Kemerovo.

Kemerovo is the heart, the digestive organism also, of that great coal center known all over the globe as "Kuzbas", short for "Kuznetski Basin".

According to the data obtained by the renowned geologist Prof. Lutugin, the coal deposits of "Kuzbas" have a reserve of approximately 250 billion metric tons.

Siberia, as little as it was industrialized by the Tsarist regime, paid heavily its toll of destruction during the revolution, civil war and the different periods of banditry, while Czechs, Kolchakists and other imperialistic hirelings plundered, ravaged, destroyed everything within their reach. And as "Kuzbas" stands forth now as a great giant of enormous natural resources and wealth, ready to be exploited for the use of the millions of workers and peasant masses, it then was fleeced, robbed and laid to waste as much as time allowed.

The year 1920 practically ended the revolutionary wars in the west and south western parts of Russia. It also sealed the grave of Kolchak in Siberia. From that unforgettable Siberian year of 1920 rose "Kuzbas"—Kemerovo.

## As A Model

Lenin wished to have "Kuzbas" use such American industrial methods as might serve as a model to the Russian workers for their industrialization of the first Soviet socialist commonwealth. A call for American workers was issued, and it was answered. From the mines of Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Ohio; from the forests of Wyoming, Washington, and California; from the eastern and western states of America, workers packed up their tools, left everything else behind them, and started over the ocean and over the vast stretch of Russia into the heart of Siberia—

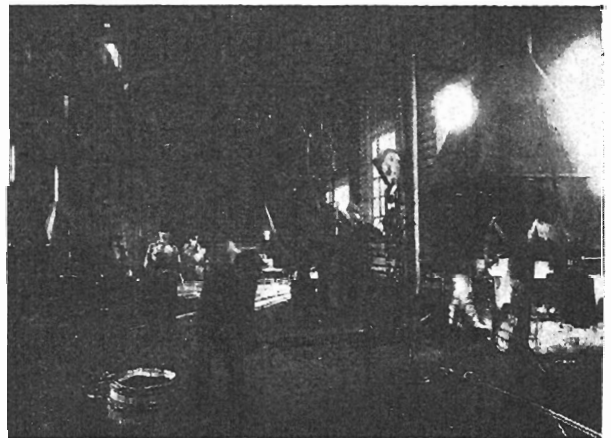


NEW CLUB HOUSE—"KUZBAS"

to Kemerovo. Twenty-seven different nationalities who happened to be in America, began in Siberia to mould together, patch up, build, construct, and set into motion one of the industrial organisms of the Soviet Union.

With American technique and the iron will, determination and proletarian discipline of the Russian workers, these communards started up a devastated and abandoned, half unfinished chemical plant which a French-Belgian company had been building before the war. Strawn parts of the machinery had to be gathered from every corner and joined together. What did not fit was made to serve some purpose anyway. So today the chemical plant on the left bank of the river Tom at "Kuzbas" gets over an aerial cableway fresh dug coal, mined on the right bank, and rotating machines turn out coke for the metallurgical plants of the Urals, turn out snow white naphthalene; hundreds of thousands of tons of tar, toluol, benzol, ammonia water, carbolic and sulphuric acids, and other chemicals.

The gas coming off the coal in the coke ovens is



BLACKSMITH SHOP—KUZBAS



## SOME OF THE WORKERS AT KUZBAS

(1) KOVALEV, a miner, now head of the Okrug (State) Workers & Peasants' Inspection; (2) PASSIKOFF, a miner now Chairman of Rudkom Union; (3) IVANOV, a machinist, secretary of the Communist Party of Kuznetski Okrug at the time the picture was taken; (4) KOZAIKIN, carpenter, secretary of Local Trade Union Nuclei; (5) SEMON-SEMONVITCH, commercial director of Kuzbas Enterprise, the one who commercially developed a thirty million rouble Soviet coal industry; (6) CHERNOV, secretary of the district executive of the Communist Party; (7) SKORBIA-SCHENSKI, mining engineer of the old stock who went over and worked faithfully for the Soviet industry; (8) TOMARKIN, Communist editor of "Soviet-Siberia" now editor of the "Leningrad Pravda"; (9) BRANISLAVA "BRONKO" KORNBLIT, the propelling force of Kuzbas. It was "Bronko" who was called to attention in 1924 by the Central Committee of the Communist Party for calling Rubnovitch and some of the others convicted in the recent famous Donbas trial, saboteurs and new members of "Black Hundreds" for antagonism and hindering the development of Kuzbas. Bronko died of tuberculosis in 1925; (10) EPSTEIN, old bolshevik, member of the State Planning Committee of Siberia; (11) S. T. RUTGERS, internationally known communist. Chairman of the Board of Directors of Kuzbas. The one who organized Kuzbas and made the dream of Lenin into a successful reality with the help of foreign workers, as a model industry for the rest of the Soviet industrial developments; (12) DR. MAHLER, American chemical engineer, under whose directorship the dilapidated chemical plant was soldered together and put into productive action; (13) KOTLIARENKO, one of the old "guards" of the Bolshevik Party, vice chairman of Kuzbas. Member of the Board of Directors of the Ugometallostrest (Southern Metal Trust) of the Soviet Union. Member of the Central Control Committee and member of the Moscow Soviet; (14) ZALMAEV, a miner, and old bolshevik "Katarjan" ("jail bird"), a leader in the Siberian Partisans (bands fighting against counter-revolutionary forces). Chairman of the Okruzhnoi (State) Committee of Soviets of the Workers and Peasants and Red Army Deputies. A gallant fighter for the workers' cause. Loved by the workers and peasants as their spokeman and leader; (15) VDOVIN, a communist. Head of the Workers' Central Cooperatives in the District. A worker who was placed by the Party to do this work developed into a good business initiator in the interest of the Workers and Peasants. From one little, dinky shed called a store where one could come in, have a look, shake his shoulders and walk out with nothing, Vdovin developed four large general cooperative stores with everything desirable to buy and a yearly turn over of about 15 million roubles; (16) URMEZOV, a shoemaker, who turned out to be a devoted fighter in the ranks of the Cheka & G. P. U. (organization to do away with political and economic counter-revolution); (17) IVANOV, chairman Okruzhnoi Voenkom (military commissar of the State Military-Revolutionary Committee. An able communist military man; (18) TIMOSHCHENKO. A secretary of the County Miners' Union; (19) DENISOFF, secretary of the All Siberian Miners' Union; (20) FALKOWSKI, an american worker active in the District Miners' Union and representative of the foreign workers to Kuzbas and now with the Trade Delegation in Scotland; (21) STEINHART, office manager of Kuzbas and now with the Trade Delegation in Scotland; (22) KOLESNIKOFF, Organizer of the County Party Executive; (23) GOLDFEIN, American Chemical Engineer heading the work of the chemical plant; (24) VIDUSOFF, Secretary of the State Young Communist Organization (Komsomol); (25) SHTOMMEL, German Engineer "Specialist" on coke ovens; (26) BAER, German Engineer in charge of the Tar Plant.

now burned in an electric generating station where two turbo-generators, one of 500 k.w. and the other of 1,000 kw. have been gathered bit by bit and practically made by the workers settling there. They supply current, not only for the chemical plant but for the mines, all the industrial buildings, and for the workers' houses on both banks of the river. They also supply electricity for the adjoining county-seat of Scheglovsk and the old village of Kemerovo.

A machine shop on the right bank or mine side was rebuilt, American lathes and other machines were installed. The one at the chemical plant was rearranged for better division of labor. A new carpenter shop was built on the mine side, with a blacksmith shop and a section devoted to the construction and repair of sleighs and wheels. A stable with a concrete floor for 250 horses was built. The horses are kept well and clean there, and do better work than the average.

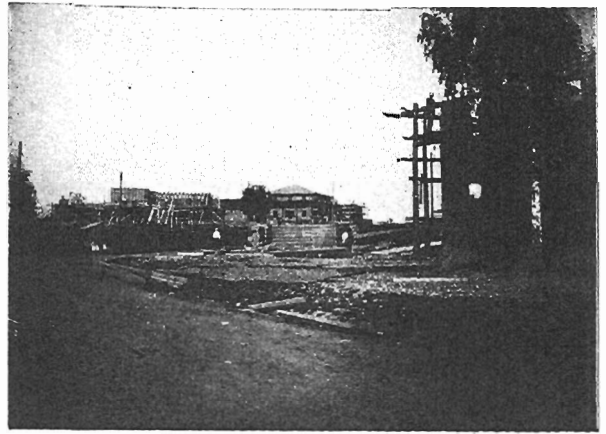
On the chemical plant side a new section of the carpenter shop there has been built. It is all mechanized with up-to-date American wood working machines. Here, under the general supervision of a sturdy young rebel from Washington, there are buzzing for two shifts daily, a planer, a rip saw, a crosscut and a band saw, a moulder and a boring machine. This is the place where the chairs, beds, and other furniture for workers' use is produced, also doors, window frames, sash, mouldings, flooring and other building material for the new houses going up at "Kuzbas", and likewise office furniture, modern office desks, filing cabinets, etc.

Electric power can be carried over the river by a cable anchored to the river bed. In the beginning this was the only line, and as it was in bad shape, the mine work was too often interrupted by lack of current. In the emergency, two American designed towers were erected in the bitterest cold of a Siberian winter, and an overhead cable stretched over the river. Then the old cable under the river was replaced by a new one, but the overhead cable is regularly used now.

#### Increased Production

In 1922-3 Kemerovo put out 5,000 tons of coal a month. At the end of 1927 it was producing 1,400 tons a day, on the average, with a maximum production per face miner of four tons. The cost of production is about \$3.25 per ton. This leap in output is, of course, due to use of American methods, better organization, supervision, electric drills, cutting and loading machinery, lighter but bigger cars, etc.

The aerial by which coal from the mines goes over the river to chemical plant or for shipment on the railroad was much dilapidated after the civil war. Its wooden towers were rotted. They have been re-



NEW PAVED ROAD AND HOUSES, "KUZBAS"

paired, the two on either bank of the river being practically reconstructed. Heavier cable over the river has been provided, and new, larger and better buckets placed on it, with safety devices to keep them from falling into the river. They run closer together than before, and the mines are kept clear of coal dug.

The housing situation when the Americans came to Kemerovo was acute. No new houses had been built since the imperialist war. The logs in the houses were rotting. The workers there were herded in them like sheep. The newcomers had plenty of room—under the open sky on the vast stretches of Siberia. But the Siberian winter was approaching, so after many difficulties, a frame building with over a hundred rooms and a common dining room was built, to house 450 people. This was the "Community House," the first frame house of its size in Siberia. The peasants came for miles to see it.

#### More Workers.

With the enlargement of plant the number of workers also rose. These had to be housed. The building program for Kemerovo began.

The mine side was surveyed and laid out into a town. Gravel roads were built. American two story frame and brick houses on concrete foundations with cellars, some with furnace and hot water heat, were erected. Big, two story, log houses of mixed Russian-American style were also constructed. Soon houses went up as fast as mushrooms after a heavy rainfall. All the houses on the mine and chemical plant sides were electrified. Street lights were installed. A new Nardom (Peoples' House) was built as one wing of the Community House. It serves as a theatre, movie house, and meeting hall. It has a seating capacity of 900.

A new saw mill, equipped with American machines was built. American methods in cutting, grading and sorting the lumber were put into use. A kiln



for drying lumber was constructed. A modern concrete and steel bath house was put up, with 20 showers, a steam room, a large dressing room and a barber shop. Four hundred people use this bath house every day: women and children in the morning, and men in the afternoon and evening. Bath houses were built for the miners at the two main mines. The one at the central shaft is equipped with showers and baskets for the miners' clothes, so that the miner coming from work goes first through the bath houses, washes, leaves his work clothes in his locker and goes home in his clean clothes.

The social life of the workers has changed tremendously. Two new, big and well equipped workers' clubs were built, one at the mine side, and the other at the chemical plant. These consist of circulating libraries with thousands of books, and reading rooms with furniture from former bourgeois houses. The workers flock to these clubs, read, play chess and other games, discuss and observe their amateur musicians, artists and actors at rehearsal.

The old school houses have been reconstructed. A third, two story modern brick school building was finished lately. A hospital for contagious diseases has been built. The main hospital is on the mine side, but the trade unions and the government labor department ordered the administration to build an emergency hospital also at the chemical plant. It has 15 beds and a special medical department.

Kemerovo—"Kuzbas" today is a busy, buzzing and humming mining and manufacturing town in the heart of Siberia—it is going forward, producing, building, doing its share in the upbuilding of the first socialist commonwealth in a world of capitalist imperialism. It, like the rest of the Soviet Union, is pushing forward to a higher, better and more worthy life given it by the devoted, proletarian disciplined force of the workers. Only a minute portion of the 27 different kinds of Americans still remain, but the Russian workers there now learned a great deal from them. The lesson might have been a puzzling, confusing and uneasy one, but in the end it bore its fruit.

## "PEACE AND PROSPERITY" IN THE ANTHRACITE

By B. K. GEBERT

(Member of the Arrangements Committee of the National Miners Union)



B. K. GEBERT

"PEACE and prosperity are assured to the Anthracite." These were the comforting words of John L. Lewis, International President of the United Mine Workers of America, echoed by his followers, in 1926, when, after a six months' strike, they signed an agreement for five years with the operators.

"Peace and prosperity", parroted the businessmen and the coal operators of the Anthracite of Eastern Pennsylvania, licking their chops at the harvest they saw ripening for them, and so said their kept press. Everybody agreed that John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America was the "world's greatest labor leader."

How does this "peace and prosperity" look now? In 1927 a strike of 20,478 coal miners in the hard coal region lost 159,242 working days. The miners were forced to strike because of the refusal of the coal companies to keep their agreement. So there was no peace in 1927.

In 1928, Alex Campbell, Peter Reilly, and Tom

Lillis were killed on the streets of Pittston by Lewis followers, who were also acting in the interests of the coal companies; Frank Bonita, delegate to the National Miners Convention, was killed in his own home, and Sam Greco was wounded, all because these men led the fight against the offensive of the Pennsylvania Coal Co. which maintains the contractor system. No, 1928 was not exactly peaceful.

Then let us look at the "prosperity." There is general unemployment in the Anthracite coal fields. The mines are working only about sixty per cent capacity, and many mines have worked only forty or fifty days this year. Wages are going down. Thousands of miners are thrown out of work completely, and according to the Scranton Times (July 26, 1928) "as part of an extensive move to slash operating expenses the Pennsylvania Coal Co. is reported to be about ready to announce a wholesale shifting of employees, with the possibility that a number of workers will be dropped."

The Anthracite Co-operative Association, which is an organization of coal company operators, Lewis union officials and businessmen's associations and bankers, has reported with pride that with fifty per cent of the working force, sixty-five per cent of coal capacity was mined during the first month of 1928. Production per miner is increasing and it is not surprising that during this unemployment, the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Co. paid in dividends in 1927, \$2,924,340.

During these years of "peace and prosperity" the contractor system in District No. 1 (around Wilkes Barre, Pa.) came to such a power that it stands as a menace to union conditions. The contractor system is a plan by which small capitalists, members of the U. M. W. A., lease parts of the work and themselves hire from ten to a hundred and fifty men.

This system was recognized by the delegates to the District No. 1 convention in 1926. The miners demanded there that the contractor system should be abolished within sixty days. Oh, how long that sixty days has become! Two years have passed, and the contractor system is gaining headway.

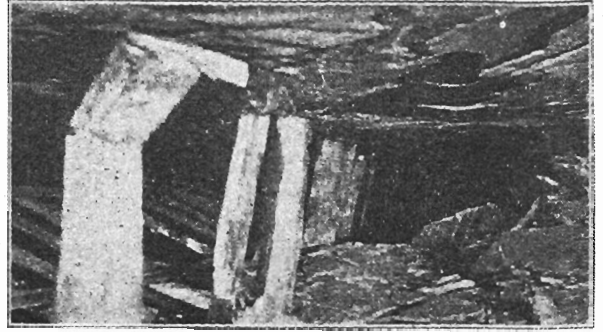
#### McGarry Ducks Issue

It is true that the special district convention of District No. 1 held in May, 1928, in Scranton, also passed a resolution that the contractor system must be abolished, but the Frank McGarry administration which claimed the district through that convention up to this date has done nothing to get rid of contractors. There was talk of a general strike in District 1 to abolish contracting. But when Mayor Gillespie of Pittston stated that the "strong arms of the law" will seize those who dare to proclaim such a strike, the McGarry-Brennan-Harris faction submitted at once.

John Boylan, the district president recognized by Lewis, succeeding the now totally discredited Rinaldo Cappellini, took the contractor system up before the conciliation board, which is composed of reactionary union officials and operators. The Board referred it to the "umpire" provided in the system of compulsory arbitration Lewis officials arranged in their five year sellout agreement, and there that matter ends.

As for the miners who demand an end of this "contractor" evil? Well, unless they do something about it themselves, they can just live and hope on the promises to fight that McGarry will not keep, and the promises of Boylan that the operators' "umpire" will fight for them.

The Lehigh Coal and Navigation Co. follows up the Lewis sellout by propaganda in the press and its special publications that "the cost of labor must be reduced so that the market can be regained." There



**DEATH ON THE WAY!**  
Broken timbers and falling roof in a mine.

is also propaganda that there are too many miners, and that "unprofitable mines must be closed." The reactionary union officials are willing to help the operators in all this, and to let the business of introducing new "labor-saving" man-displacing machinery go on without adjustment, if they are given the check-off.

The miners are not a uniform working class in the Anthracite. There are:

1. Contractors who do not work but employ workers.
2. About 30,000 privileged licensed miners.
3. About 35,000 laborers who work with the miners but receive considerably less pay.
4. About 85,000 workers in and around mines who are paid by the day, and are not piece workers, as the regular miners and laborers are. They are usually known as "company workers."
5. About 15,000, or ten per cent of those employed, who are bosses.

The laborers and the company workers are the most exploited. The reactionary union is controlled by the contractors and licensed miners. There is a tremendous coal company influence in the old union, which can be overcome by rallying the exploited miners, particularly the company men and the laborers, to the National Miners Union.

The McGarry-Brennan etc. group, expelled now from the Lewis union, can not do this, as it suffers from all the defects of the Lewis union. Only the new, National Miners Union, of soft and hard coal miners both, can give these workers of the Anthracite a real, fighting, coal diggers' union. Its growth means the end of contractor systems and sell out, and the first chance the miners have had for years to really struggle for their own advantage.

# INTERNATIONAL SEAMEN'S CLUBS AND MARINE WORKERS' PROGRESSIVE LEAGUE

B. GEORGE MINK

(National Secretary of the International Seamen's Clubs)

THE October issue of the Seamen's Journal, official organ of the International Seamen's Union (Andy Furuseth's union) contains a vicious attack on the International Seamen's Clubs, characterizing them as having been started by "mysterious outside influences," foreign to the sea farer, and run by heavy donations of the usual "Moscow Gold."

Since I am at present the National Secretary of the International Seamen's Clubs, and one of the founders of this organization, I feel qualified to explain some of the things that are wrong with the Seamen's Journal editorial.

I can well recollect the days of the 1921 seamen's strike when I happened to be in Philadelphia branch of the I. S. U. where close to 6,000 men were ashore and I can remember very well that most of these men were forced to sleep in the hallways and on the floors of the union hall with a sheet of newspaper for a mattress. These workers were also driven to hang around the missions, the Seamen's Church Institutes, etc. where there was a constant flock of stool pigeons and provocateur agents operating upon them, and they were under constant surveillance, and pressure to scab.

Many a seaman has been sent through prison gates through the activities of the spies in the "Institutes".

Nor did these same activities end with the breaking of the strike, or rather with its betrayal through the sellout and dividing tactics of Andy Furuseth, president of the I. S. U. (\*)

The "Institutes" and missions continue their anti-labor work, fighting always against organization of the seamen, advising always the most abject submission on the part of the workers to whatever tyranny the companies and officers care to exercise.

And it is still as necessary as during the strike, that the seaman ashore have a place of his own for a headquarters, and for social relaxation, a place to meet his friends, hear the news, buy good food and educate himself.

So these "outside forces" as Andy Furuseth calls them, began to organize seamen's clubs. I, being one of the same "outside forces," according to Andy, must mention a few of the inside facts about my career. In 1921 the members of Andy Furuseth's union, in which I was at that time one, saw fit to elect me as their representative to the Central Labor Union, of Philadelphia. I was also a member of the union's publicity committee during the strike.



In the Seamen's Club, 28 South Street, New York. K. Kasa, leader of the left wing movement in Japanese Seamen's Union, and Geo. Mink, center front row, reading first number of Marine Workers' Voice.

As a side issue, but one showing my "inside" connection with organized labor I might mention that while acting in this official capacity I tried to find speakers for the seamen who would tell them something about the facts of exploitation and the reasons for it in their industry even if the companies didn't like it. When I got one progressive speaker Andy's clique did not like, these democratic union officials of Philadelphia sent Harry Ness, the delegate



Scene during the cooks strike in Australia. S.S. Loongana forced to leave without cooks. Canned goods only for passengers and scab crew.

to see me with a gun which he stuck in my ribs to back up his demand that only good patriotic speakers, friendly to the system of the shipping companies should be allowed to talk to seamen.

Even the right to sleep on the floor of the I. S. U. halls, the only right that seamen got out of that organization, seems to be precarious. In Philadelphia during the strike, when things were getting hot, and the bureaucrats in the I. S. U. saw that the workers were drifting to the left, they ordered everybody out of the hall, Second and Moravian Sts., one day, to "fumigate it." They locked the hall and it stayed locked until it was turned over to the U. S. Shipping Board, the managers of the government shipping lines, who occupy the premises today.

And in New York we find now that the I. S. U. officials have sold their hall (for \$60,000 it is said) (\*\*) and have set up a small headquarters at 26 South St., in the rooms the New York Seamen's Club found inadequate and moved out of, some months ago.

The Clubs, besides being social centers, reading rooms, etc. for the seamen, are centers of international communications.

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The International Seamen's Clubs as soon as the first branch was started in New York in March, 1927, began to talk organization to the

seamen. The original idea was: organize anywhere; join the I. W. W.; join the I. L. A.; join the I. S. U., and any other organization already existing, and fight to make these progressive unions, struggling for the workers, along practical lines.

But experience soon showed that the seamen had too much of these existing organizations. They would not join the I. W. W. because of the Wobblies' narrow, sectarian line, their refusal to consider the real situation, their dogmatic insistence on certain strike tactics that would not work aboard ship, their refusal to take strikes seriously and fight them out to the end, and their warfare against all other labor organizations, as well as too much "G. E. Bism."

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This league will surely grow into a real, militant union of marine workers. There is need for such a union. Since the I. S. U. members have read the attack on the clubs, they have been coming in and joining club and league in numbers.

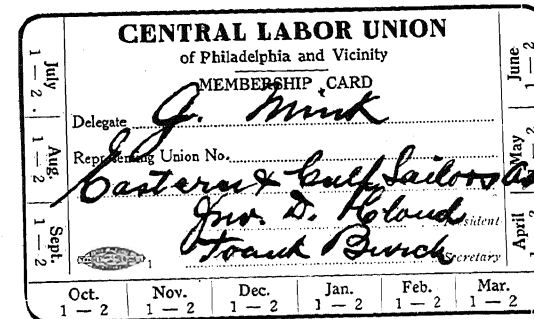
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There are many other evils that seamen struggle against, including low wages, and discrimination in pay between the lines of various countries. For all of these, before any real improvement can be expected a union is needed. It is one of the standing achievements of the Seamen's clubs that they gathered together a body of men, who began to think of these matters, and who have taken already several long steps towards the creation of a real maritime union.

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The Central Labor Union Credentials of the secretary and one of the organizers of the International Seamen's Clubs. Is he an outsider to the seamen?

# INTERNATIONAL SEAMEN'S CLUBS AND MARINE

B. GEORGE MINK

(National Secretary of the International Seamen's Clubs)

**T**HE October issue of the Seamen's Journal, official organ of the International Seamen's Union (Andy Furuseth's union) contains a vicious attack on the International Seamen's Clubs, characterizing them as having been started by "mysterious outside influences," foreign to the sea farer, and run by heavy donations of the usual "Moscow Gold."

Since I am at present the National Secretary of the International Seamen's Clubs, and one of the founders of this organization, I feel qualified to explain some of the things that are wrong with the Seamen's Journal editorial.

I can well recollect the days of the 1921 seamen's strike when I happened to be in Philadelphia branch of the I. S. U. where close to 6,000 men were ashore and I can remember very well that most of these men were forced to sleep in the hallways and on the floors of the union hall with a sheet of newspaper for a mattress. These workers were also driven to hang around the missions, the Seamen's Church Institutes, etc. where there was a constant flock of stool pigeons and provocateur agents operating upon them, and they were under constant surveillance, and pressure to scab.

Many a seaman has been sent through prison gates through the activities of the spies in the "Institutes".

Nor did these same activities end with the breaking of the strike, or rather with its betrayal through the sellout and dividing tactics of Andy Furuseth, president of the I. S. U. (\*).

The "Institutes" and missions continue their anti-labor work, fighting always against organization of the seamen, advising always the most abject submission on the part of the workers to whatever tyranny the companies and officers care to exercise.

And it is still as necessary as during the strike, that the seaman ashore have a place of his own for a headquarters, and for social relaxation, a place to meet his friends, hear the news, buy good food and educate himself.

So these "outside forces" as Andy Furuseth calls them, began to organize seamen's clubs. I, being one of the same "outside forces," according to Andy, must mention a few of the inside facts about my career. In 1921 the members of Andy Furuseth's union, in which I was at that time one, saw fit to elect me as their representative to the Central Labor Union, of Philadelphia. I was also a member of the union's publicity committee during the strike.

As a side issue, but one showing my "inside" connection with organized labor I might mention that while acting in this official capacity I tried to find speakers for the seamen who would tell them something about the facts of exploitation and the reasons for it in their industry even if the companies didn't like it. When I got one progressive speaker Andy's clique did not like, these democratic union officials of Philadelphia sent Harry Ness, the delegate



In the Seamen's Club, 28 South Street, New York. K. Kasa, leader of the left wing movement in Japanese Seamen's Union, and Geo. Mink, center front row, reading first number of Marine Workers' Voice.



Scene during the cooks strike in Australia. Loongana forced cooks. Canned goods only for managers and scab

to see me with a gun which he stuck my ribs to back that only good patriotic speakers, friendly to the system companies should be allowed to talk to seamen.

Even the right to sleep on the floor of the I. S. U. hall that seamen got out of that organization, seems to be Philadelphia during the strike, when things were getting bureaucrats in the I. S. U. saw that the workers were drifting they ordered everybody out of the hall Sunday and Monday, to "fumigate it." They ordered them out and it stayed government turned over to the U. S. Shipping Board, the government shipping lines, who occupy the premises today.

And in New York we find now that the I. S. U. of their hall (for \$60,000 it is said) (\*\*\*) and have set up quarters at 26 South St., in the room the New York found inadequate and moved out of, one month ago.

The Clubs, besides being social centers, reading room seamen, are centers of international communications.

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# AND MARINE WORKERS' PROGRESSIVE LEAGUE



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<b>CENTRAL LABOR UNION</b>						
of Philadelphia and Vicinity						
MEMBERSHIP CARD						
July 1-2	Delegate <i>J. Mink</i>					June 1-2
Aug. 1-2	Representing Union No. <i>Eastern Gulf Sailors Assn.</i>					May 1-2
Sept. 1-2	<i>Jno. D. Holand</i> <small>secret</small>					April 1-2
Oct. 1-2	<i>Frank Purich</i> <small>retiree</small>					March 1-2
Nov. 1-2	Dec. 1-2	Jan. 1-2	Feb. 1-2	Mar. 1-2		

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EMBLEM OF THE LEAGUE

# The Marine Workers Progressive League on the Pacific

By LEONARD EMERSON

**T**HE shipowners of the Pacific Coast have taken notice of the Marine Workers Progressive League.

Recently the League distributed five hundred leaflets along the San Francisco waterfront announcing a meeting to be held in the local headquarters. The shipowners immediately notified the police department and tried to stop the meeting.

Not so many years ago, the marine workers of the Pacific Coast were noted for their aggressiveness and fighting spirit in the struggle against the shipowners. The seamen of the Pacific Coast were the first to take any steps to organize. The first attempt on the part of the seamen to form a union dates back to 1866. It was not until 1885, however, that the foundations were laid for what in time became one of the most powerful unions in the United States, which is the record of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific. It did not hold that record long, for during the war the policy of the union was changed from struggle to co-operation with the shipowners and government. Wages at that time went up of their own accord; ships were scarce and efficient seamen to man them were scarcer still.

### Same Story of Treason

Then came the period of general business depression and slackening of shipping activity in 1921. It was on May 1st of that year that the agreement between the shipowners and the union expired and consequently drastic cuts in wages and conditions were made. The rank and file of the International Seamen's Union, together with the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, refused to accept these cuts and a strike was declared. But the bureaucratic and "cooperating" officials of the unions soon called off the strike, completely selling out the workers, who were forced to return to work without an agreement of any kind.

Thus has been dissipated that aggressiveness and

fighting spirit for which the West Coast seamen have been known the world over.

### Remove The Obstacles

So, it is evident that the work of organizing the marine workers can only be carried on by the most active, fearless and militant workers. Strong opposition will be met at every turn. Not only are the shipowners the enemies of the Progressives, but the reactionary leaders of the unions as well.

At the present time the shipowners are in complete control of the industry. No worker can obtain a job without going through the companies' "fink hall", where an elaborate blacklist system is in effect. No one is allowed admittance to a dock without a pass from the company.

It is very difficult to carry an organizational work under such conditions, but the work must and will be done. The first great obstacle, non-admittance to the docks, will be automatically overcome as members of ships' crews join the League. The "blackball," that bug-a-boo of all good seamen, can only be done away by organization. A strong, fighting League of all marine workers will wipe out forever every "fink hall" in the land, will abolish the tyranny of shipowners and ship's officers and place the power of the sea in the hands of the workers themselves. Is that worth fighting for? Every worker must answer himself that question.

The first step in the struggle has been taken; it rests now with the workers whether we shall be recognized with a policeman's billy or with the submission of the shipowners. The only weapon the workers possess is organization and the Marine Workers Progressive League places that weapon in the workers' hands.

The keynote of the Marine Workers Progressive League is ACTION. Every member must actively carry on the work; every member must be a leader. The policies and program of the League will be in the control of the workers, and not placed in the hands of a few opportunistic individuals ashore. The League is the vanguard of the militant marine workers and as such it will be the leader in that bitter struggle with our exploiters, the capitalist shipowners.

## T. U. E. L. Statement On A. F. L. Convention

(Continued from Page 7)

the leadership of the coal miners, textile workers, and needle trades workers, and organize their own, new unions, with the proposition in mind of eventually uniting them with a vigorous and militant A. F. L., after the workers of the A. F. L. unions shall have come into control of it. We invite all workers, whether in unions or not, to join the T.U.E.L. and help carry out this program.

In all cases of crafts in a single industry, the way to strengthen the mass organizations is to unite them, into strong industrial unions.

But with the masses of workers unorganized, the weight of the activities of progressive workers must be to organize the unorganized, even in spite of the opposition of old line trade union officials, who maintain skeleton organization and claim jurisdiction without organization over portions of the workers who must be organized industrially if they are to resist wage cuts and unemployment.

In every case, the workers of America must break down the barriers of race and nationality which the union misleaders as well as the employers take pains to maintain. Jim Crowism must be ended. The Negroes must be organized, in the old unions if these are mass organizations, in the new unions otherwise, or in separate unions if reactionary leaders of

mass organizations bar them. The young workers, women workers, and the foreign born must be freed from discrimination, admitted to the unions on equal terms, and receive equal pay for equal work, with special favorable conditions for women and young workers.

Workers must fight for their own class political party and wage a continuous political struggle against all the other parties and for a workers' government.

An incessant struggle must be waged to secure adherence of the American labor unions to the only militant, working class international of unions, the Red International of Labor Unions, as part of the struggle against the war danger, to protect the first Workers Republic and in order to present an international united front to the employers and exploiters of labor.

The Trade Union Educational League invites all progressive workers in America who realize the facts of the situation as set forth above, and who wish to achieve the remedies we have outlined, to communicate with the Trade Union Educational League, 2 West 15 St., New York City, to unite with us in a struggle for the organization of the American Working Class.

## Aspects of The Class Struggle Abroad



"TWENTY AGAINST ONE". An attack by reformist union gangsters against the French Seamen's Club at Marseilles.

GERMANY—A strike of 50,000 shipbuilders is in its third week; 50,000 textile workers have been locked out for a month, and lockout threatens 150,000 more textile workers and 200,000 steel workers.

POLAND—Over 100,000 striking textile workers are being reinforced by a general strike which has paralysed the textile industry in Kalish, Konstantynov, Alexandrov, and Tomastov. In Lodz all municipal workers except in hospitals, and all tramway, metal workers, wood workers, garment workers, waiters and gas works employees have joined the general strike.

## *Chinese Labor and the Military Factions*

(Continued from Page 5)

all Feng's territory he had no arsenal of any importance. Combine this fact with his lack of a seaport and it can be realized how unfavorable his position was. For all war supplies he was dependent either on what he could capture or on the good will of his rivals, Chiang Kai-shek or the Kuangsi generals garrisoning Wu-Han were there is one of the best arsenals in China. As for Yen Hsi-shan, his province, Shansi, is also naturally isolated and he is an important factor only as he actively swings his strength to one side or the other. His position in no way approaches that of the other three groups.

After the capture of Peking Yen Hsi-shan was given charge of that entire district, including Tientsin, thus obtaining control of the north to the Great Wall, Feng was to have Shantung. The Japanese intervention, however, deprived him of the possibility of occupying Tsingtao, a first-class port, while the general condition in the province (the occupation of the railroad by the Japanese, the danger of foreign complications, the strategical position, etc.) prevented him from reaching its only other port, Chefoo. These circumstances, combined with the terrible famine raging in a large part of the province, made its military occupation a burden instead of an advantage. Upon the completion of the Anti-North Expedition with the capture of Peking Feng Yu-hsiang was thus left occupying the worst position of any of the leading militarists, though at the same time having it is generally admitted the best trained and disciplined military forces in the country.

### **Stand of the Factions**

With this brief analysis of the status of these branch political councils the respective stand of the factions on the proposal for abolition and the militarists dominating them may be readily inferred. The Wang Ching-wei group pressed this issue on the ground that to continue these councils with their wide governing powers in the hands of the military would be to reinstitute the very system of Tuchunism (government by military chiefs) that the Kuomintang purposed to overthrow and that it would thus give feudalism a new lease of life. The contention was, of course, correct. In the desire to make the civil supreme over the military this group had the support and represented the interests of the developing bourgeoisie who want to be freed from the never-ending exactions of the army chiefs. The sharp edge of this demand was directed against the Kuangsi clique

which had driven the Wang Ching-wei clique out of both Canton and Wuhan.

Li Chi-sen and his henchmen, of course, fought this proposition tooth and nail. Chiang Kai-shek, who had everything to gain and nothing to lose by the abolition of these branch councils since they represented the concentrated power of his military rivals, naturally supported the proposals. His attitude corresponded to the wishes of the Shanghai bourgeoisie who stand to gain tremendously by the institution of an efficient centralized government and the definite subordination of the military to the civilian element. What they desire is the establishment of "law and order", the cessation of the civil wars, and the wiping out of the provincial and regional barriers to the free flow of commerce, together with the establishment of a uniform system of currency, etc., throughout the entire country.

Feng Yu-hsiang also favored the resolution. Indeed, before the opening of the conference he stated that he would resign his position as chairman of the Kaifeng council and disband that body. This was only a political maneuver on his part. Forced to choose between supporting the Kuangsi clique which then hemmed him in on both the north (Pai Tsung-chi a henchman of Li Chi-sen, was at that time in Peking with a powerful army) and the south (Wu-Han) on the one hand and the Chiang Kai-shek Wang Ching-wei clique which could not then constitute any serious menace to his position on the other, Feng backed the latter group. This was in spite of the fact that he and Chiang Kai-shek had double-crossed each other at several crises in the Nationalist struggle.

### **Chiang As Messenger Boy**

This was the situation at the opening of the Conference. Before it convened the Wang Ching-wei group announced its determination, regardless of consequences, to force the abolition of these councils. Uncertain, however, of their strength they refused to attend the formal opening and it was only after a great deal of pleading by Chiang Kai-shek that they consented to go to Nanking. Even so only three of the group went. The conference was thus able to convene with a majority and the representation of all factions. Just as soon as this happened, however, two of the principal right-wing leaders slipped away to Shanghai with three truckloads of important documents. The conference was then adjourned to allow Chiang Kai-shek to try his persuasive powers



on the absentees. His arguments this time fell on deaf ears, marking his first definite break with what has been termed the "Genro" of the Kuomintang. This is a very conservative group of famous scholars with whom Chiang Kai-shek has always worked in the closest cooperation. A few days later Li Chi-sen quit and the following day Tsai Yuan-pei, head of educational affairs under the Nanking regime, followed. The withdrawal of these conservatives made Chiang Kai-shek still more dependent on the Wang Ching-wei, Feng Yu-hsiang combination if the conference was not to break up altogether. The so-called "lefts", however, were not strong enough to bring about the immediate dissolution of these councils. A compromise resolution was finally passed which satisfied no one, stipulating that these bodies should function until January 1. The proposed Third National Congress of the Kuomintang, which is to be convened on that date, shall then solve this question. The authority of the councils meanwhile is restricted to that of advising the respective provincial officials. Declaring that they had attended the sessions only because of the definite promise that the abolition would be immediate the Wang Ching-wei crowd walked out of the conference, leaving it to conclude its labors without a quorum.

#### **"Tame" Mass Movements Versus No Mass Movements**

To a large extent screening this bitter fight over the branch political councils was the controversy over the question of mass movements. Ever since the expulsion of the Communists the Kuomintang has completely suppressed all mass activities. Prior to the capture of Peking this attitude was justified on the ground of military necessity. The deadly fear that the Communists would gain control of the masses if the people were allowed the liberty of freely organizing was back of this tactic. In itself this was a confession that the Kuomintang had lost its once close connection with the workers and peasants. With Peking captured and the period of "political tutelage" ushered in, the Wang Ching-wei group demanded that the restrictions against mass movements be so amended that the Kuomintang should take upon itself as one of its most important tasks the revival of the peasant and labor movements. The very important condition, however, was attached that these be entirely and at all times under the close supervision and management of the Party leaders. In other words the workers and peasants were to be formed into tame, petty-bourgeois unions for the political benefit of Mr. Wang Ching-wei and his hangers-on, who were to see that the unions kept along a conservative path. Even then organizations of this kind did not

however, appeal to the Kuangsi clique which re-echoes the sentiment of Sir Cecil Clementi, the British Governor of Hongkong, that labor unions are ipso facto class dictatorships and should therefore not be allowed. The difference in attitude really comes from the different bourgeois groups which these two factions represent and the respective stages of development these have attained under the present conditions.

#### **The Political Activities of Students**

The conflict on this point between the groups over question of mass movements was well illustrated in their attitude toward political activities by the students. From the time when the students of the universities in Peking, aroused to a fever-heat by the virtual sale of their country to the Japanese militarists (the "Twenty-One Demands" ultimatum period), stormed the homes of the government ministers involved, clear down to the present, they have played a large part in the revolutionizing of public opinion. Contributory to their influence has been the centuries-old regard for Chinese education. The Wang Ching-wei faction advocated the continued utilization of the students' services for political agitation. Tsai Yuan-pei, the Chancellor of the National University (resigned after this conference) led the fight against this proposal. He was in perfect accord with Li Chi-sen that the place for the students was in school, attending to their studies. He agreed that the political agitations of the students in the past had done much for the Nationalist movement but that need was over. In this attitude he reflected the repeated demands of the imperialist press that "these half-baked students be kept in school, where they belong instead of ranting around the country stirring up the ignorant." On the other hand, Wang Ching-wei's group felt confident of its ability to control the students, the overwhelming majority of whom come from middle class or rich families. According to the reports of the conference proceedings this issue was left undecided. The resignation after the meeting by Tsai Yuan-pei of all his numerous offices indicates, however, that the majority sentiment on this point was against the rights.

#### **Depends Upon The Standpoint**

The stand finally taken by the conference on the matter of mass movements in general was a virtual endorsement of the address delivered by Chiang Kai-shek on the first day. In this speech he urged that the party (Kuomintang) be brought closer to the people by the "strict prohibition of all those popular movement which are of no benefit to the people but tend to disturb public peace and order". Of course,

the determination of what movements are "beneficial" and who the people are to be benefitted will rest with Chiang Kai-shek and his follow-militarists. He pointed out that "demonstrations, mass meetings and political strikes which are more harmful than advantageous to the nation should be strictly prohibited." This also depends on the viewpoint. To the robber anything interfering with the hold-up of his victim is "more harmful than advantageous."

#### A Hodge-Podge Committee

The windup of the Fifth Plenary Session came with the election of the forty-six members of the Central Political Committee. Here a very curious thing happened for among those chosen was Mrs. Sun Yat-sen, who has bitterly denounced the present leaders of the Kuomintang, both of the Kuangsi and Wang Ching-wei groups, as the vilest traitors to the ideals of her husband. Then there is Wang Ching-wei himself. Despite warrants issued by the Nanking Government for his arrest on the charge of instigating rebellion in Kuangtung he, too, is named to the committee. There is bitter hatred between him and Li Chi-sen, and the latter holds him responsible for the revolts against his authority at Canton.

Eugene Chen, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Wu-Han Government when Borodin was still its adviser, is another member of the new Kuomintang Central Committee. Koo Meng-yu and Chen Kung-po, two other prominent figures in the former Wu-Han Nationalist Government, were also selected. Along with these are their bitterest rivals, men like Li Chi-sen and Tsai Yuan-pei. The notorious Western Hill clique, which was expelled at Sun Yat-sen's insistence from the Kuomintang, is represented in the persons of Hu Han-ming, Sun Fo and C. C. Wu. A hodge-podge committee certainly, representing the various conflicting social groupings of bourgeois elements, including those having connections with foreign imperialism.

#### After the Session

What happened during the weeks immediately following the Plenary Conference casts a very interesting light on these factional struggles within the Kuomintang, particularly in showing the uncertain and wavering balance of power between them. While at the conference the Wang Ching-wei group succeeded in getting resolutions passed for a Kuomintang national party congress on January 1st, and for definite dissolution of the branch political councils on that date and the restriction of their powers in the meantime, it has been quite unable to follow up this partial victory. The tactics of Chiang Kai-shek show how weak this group really is, insofar as real

power is concerned. After the conference Chiang discovered a long-standing trouble with his teeth which necessitated his entering a hospital for some days, thus retiring from participating in affairs for this period. Meanwhile, revolts broke out in Feng Yu-hsiang's armies, serious enough to require his presence. In fact Feng slipped out of Nanking in a most mysterious, secret and sudden manner. His absence left the Wang Ching-wei group without a spokesman of authority. In fact warrants have long been issued for arrest of several of them, on charge of conspiring against the very government on the central executive of which they have just been elected.

During this time, too, the leaders of the notorious Western Hills clique have arrived from their enforced vacations in Europe and America. The heads of this group, Hu Han-min, and Sun Fo, held conferences abroad with prominent capitalists and statesmen of England and America, and secured promises of aid in the work of reconstruction on certain conditions.

Having recovered from his toothache, Chiang Kai-shek has been exceedingly busy trimming his sails to new winds. Conferences with the extreme right-wing became the order of the day. Chiang issued a public statement in which, for the first time, he condemns the Wang Ching-wei group, leaders of which have been "issuing tons of political propaganda" against the Nanking Government, and even warned the chief propagandist of the Wang faction to "confine his attention to the study of books and education." Coupled with this condemnation of the so-called "left wing" is a declaration of renewed war against foreign imperialism. The latter phase of the declaration has aroused the wrath of the British press in China, but the explanation of it is very evidently simply the necessity Chiang is under to find a slogan with which to make a mass appeal while he is carrying through his reorientation.

Thus the Fifth Plenary Session of the Kuomintang Central Committee, in its ineffectiveness, its inability to face the tremendous problems of the country which are pressing for solution, its irreconcilable and bitter factional strife, its blindness to the ever-growing misery of the masses, its utter futility in every practical question revealed the bankruptcy of what was not so long ago a world-famous revolutionary organization. It mirrors the inability of the Chinese bourgeoisie to organize itself politically, on a national scale, to rise above its petty group and sectional interests and act as the ruler of the Chinese nation. The bankruptcy of the Kuomintang is but the organized form of the bankruptcy of the bourgeoisie of China.

## *Support the Workingclass Candidates*

Continued from Page 3)

wise doing him to death. The atrocities perpetrated on the Negroes in the South for decades are a challenge to the American workingclass. The lynching of colored workers, segregation and the hundreds of other indignities suffered by the brothers and sisters of the white proletariat must be stopped. And this can be done only by a united front between white and black workers fighting shoulder to shoulder against their common enemy the capitalist.

The Republican and Democratic parties both stand guilty before the bar of history for the criminal outrages committed against the American Negroes whose ancestors were brought here by the blood-thirsty Christian gentlemen of slavery days. The Democratic Party, which is now trying to win the Negro vote in the North is the traditional party of lynching and Jim Crowism. The Republican Party, which boasts that it freed the Negroes from chattel slavery, and is trying to hold on to the Negro vote in the North, is equally guilty for the crimes committed against the Negroes in the South and segregates white from black workers in the government offices at Washington.

The Negro workers must turn away from those two lynching parties and support the Workers (Communist) Party the only party that shows them a way to emancipation.

The role of the federal, state and municipal governments as strike-breaking agencies has been growing increasingly apparent in recent years. Strikes are strangled by injunctions, state troops, legalized armies of private company gunmen, municipal police and auxiliary organizations like the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Ku Klux Klan are used to smash strikes and break up peaceful meetings of workers.

Side by side with this development is the growing reactionary role of the American labor bureaucracy which has gone over bag and baggage to Wall Street. Class collaboration has been substituted for class struggle and instead of a fight to win more of the products of their labor for the workers, the high-salaried labor fakery have taken to banking and other lines of business using the funds of the membership of the trade unions to emancipate the working class from poverty "one by one." Unfortunately the only ones emancipated are the labor fakery.

Against this policy of surrender to the employers the Workers (Communist) Party calls on the workers to struggle against the reactionary labor leaders as well as against the employers, to drive the traitor

leaders out of the unions, to replace them with progressive and militant fighters and to organize the millions of unorganized who are left at the mercy of the employers by the misleaders of labor, into fighting unions under militant leadership.

Among the demands of the Workers (Communist) Party in this election campaign are: Immediate withdrawal of United States warships and marines from China.

Immediate recognition of the Soviet Government by the government of the United States.

Immediate release of all class war prisoners.

Abolition of all laws which disfranchise the Negroes on the ground of color.

A five-year moratorium on farm mortgage debts, including debts on chattels.

Equal pay for equal work for women workers.

Immediate withdrawal of all American troops from Latin America.

Immediate repeal of the immigration laws. Abolition of all restrictions in immigration.

Abolition of child labor under the age of 16 and state maintenance of all children at present employed.

Abolition of the whole system of infamous imperialist 'peace' treaties. Down with the Dawes Plan! Cancellation of all debts of the last imperialist world war!"

With this platform the Workers (Communist) Party goes to the masses and calls on them to organize for the great battles ahead and for the final struggle against capitalism.

Against the capitalist tools of Wall Street running on the Republican and Democratic parties and the pacifist clergyman Norman Thomas on the Socialist Party ticket!

**EDITORS' NOTE.**—Since the above was written, a campaign of terror has been released against the Workers Party nominees for president and vice president, and speakers on the Negro question.

New York and Arizona newspapers printed an advance story, evidently sent out by plotters who intended to kidnap Benj. Gitlow, the vice-presidential nominee, to the effect that he had been arrested and secreted in some jail in Arizona. Gitlow was delayed in California, and missed the kidnapping.

Wm. Z. Foster, nominee for President of the Workers Party, G. Newcombe, nominee for governor of Delaware, and Liston Oaks, manager of the tour, were arrested during a speech by Foster in Wilmington, Del., on the control of Delaware by the DuPont Powder interests, and on the Negro question. The arrest was October 16, and they were released next day, after being grilled and "third degreed."

# The Red International of Labor Unions

By HARRISON GEORGE

(Former American Representative To The Executive Bureau R. I. L. U.)

**F**OR some it will be good to learn for the first time, and for others to recall, something of the Red International of Labor Unions (R.I.L.U.), the international organization of revolutionary trade unionists

to which the Trade Union Educational League is affiliated as its section in the United States.

What were the historical reasons for the R.I.L.U.?

To answer this question we must review briefly the essentials of world labor history, and in so doing we see that at the close of the World War what few and weak international connections had existed between the trade unions of various countries had been broken by the stampede of nationalistic patriots who had been masquerading as internationalists at the head of the International Secretariat of Trade Unions, a loosely constructed body of autonomous national centers which was more of a bureau of information than anything else and which was far from being a cohesive, centralized organization such as the R.I.L.U. is today. The pre-war trade unions also met fraternally at the international Socialist congresses and in addition there were the internationals by industry, metal workers, etc., but which like the International Secretariat were nebulous things and filled with national prejudices for "defense of the Fatherland."

## Leading To Slaughter

When war came, Vandervelde, the Belgian president of the International Secretariat, used his title as such to make propaganda for Allied victory against the "Huns," while Carl Legien, the German secretary, set to work in the name of his official position to defend the "just and sacred war" of the Kaiser. The industrial internationals split up according to whether their centers were on Allied or German territory; the Textile and Miners', being in England, followed Allied policies, while the Metal Workers and Building Trades "internationals," being in Germany, maintained the policies of the Central Empires. When America declared war, and even before, Gompers was busy calling off strikes that might interfere with Allied munitions and the whole A.F. of L. bureaucracy became an auxiliary to the War Department.

"The T. U. E. L. must maintain and strengthen its international contacts. It must point out to the workers of the U. S. A. that it is the only organization with organizational contact with the workers of other countries."—From the Resolution of the Fourth World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions on Tasks of Adherents in the United States.

At the close of war, the urge for re-establishing international contacts came from more than one source. Firstly, right after the Tsar was overthrown in February 1917, at the first attempt to form a trade union center in Russia, the Russian unions considered the matter, and at the First All-Russian congress held soon after resolved "to co-operate to the fullest extent in the revival of the international trade union movement" and invited world labor to convene at Leningrad on February 5, 1918.

However, nothing came of this for the simple reason that, when the Russian workers, not regarding the revolution finished with overthrowing the feudalist Tsar, went on and overthrew their capitalist class in November 1917, not only did international capital hurl every force against them but the patriotic traitors leading the European and American unions also attacked the Russian workers for their alleged "madness and criminality" and hurried to create their own international of deception, hypocrisy and class collaboration—the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam).

Indeed the mood not only of the Russian workers but of the toilers of all countries was such at that time that it forced the social traitors to go through the motions of forming an international which, after some painful preliminaries at Berne, came into being at Amsterdam in 1919, but which avoided all issues by not adopting any program.

## "International Labor Office"

The other source desiring an organized obstacle to genuine internationalism of labor was international capitalism, which had gotten such brilliant co-operation from its labor lackeys during the war that it wished to continue it. So under the wing of imperialism those who had destroyed labor internationalism restored it along class collaborative policy at Amsterdam and bound it to the imperialist league of Nations by the International Labor Office, in which "labor" was graciously permitted to have six votes out of twenty-four.

When the I.L.O. held its first conference at Washington in 1919, with Gompers playing the leading

role, the Russian unions could not remain silent in the face of such corruption of labor internationalism and, denouncing it, asserted that "another center of the trade union movement is essential" and invited "all economic organizations standing for real revolutionary class struggle... to break with the compromising international and together with the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions organize a real international conference of revolutionary socialist trade unions and labor syndicates."

Because of the ferocity of imperialist armed invasion and blockade it was not possible to take the next step until the next year, when, after many conferences between Russian trade unionists and British, Italian and other representatives chancing to be in the Soviet Union to investigate conditions, a declaration was decided upon on July 15, 1920, and signed by Losovsky of Russia, d'Arragona of Italy, Pestanna of Spain, Shablin of Bulgaria, Rossmer of France, Mikado of Georgia, and Milkitch of Yugo-Slavia.

This declaration stated in part:

"That the position of the working class demands more distinct and energetic class struggle... on an international scale with the closest organization; that social reforms are... unable to solve the social problem; that non-political unions during... the war became servants of imperialist capitalism; that the working class must gather all the trade union organizations into one powerful revolutionary, class association which, working side by side with the political organization of the international Communist proletariat and in close contact with it, could develop all its strength for the final victory of the social revolution and the establishment of a world wide Soviet Republic;—that the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions is unable, with its program and tactics to lead to the triumph of the above principles."

Therefore it was resolved: "To condemn the tactic of the advanced revolutionary elements leaving the existing unions..." "To organize Communist and revolutionary groups in every organization..... for acceptance of our program..." and "... "To organize a militant international committee for the reorganization of the trade union movement. This committee will function as the International Council of Trade Unions and will act in agreement with the Executive Committee of the Third International on conditions that will be laid down by congresses."

The First (Constituent) Congress of the new organization was in July 1921, when a definite constitution, program and tactical line were adopted and it was decided to name the organization "The Red International of Labor Unions." It is also referred

to as the "Profintern," a term derived from the words "professional" (trade) and "international."

What has grown from the beginnings outlined above? Books could be and have been written in answer. Lack of space forbids that we do much more than trace some of the organizational developments of importance. (Readers are referred to "The World's Trade Union Movement" by A. Losovsky, and to the "Report of the Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U." obtainable from the T.U.E.L.) Of the organizations represented at the conference in July 1920, most have suffered fearfully from Fascist persecution and white terror in Italy, Spain, Yugo-Slavia and Bulgaria. There were represented 8,965,000 workers, including 5,200,000 from the Russian unions. Since then the Russian unions have grown to nearly 10,000,000. The Revolutionary Syndicalist Minority of France has become a trade union center, the Unitary Confederation of Labor (S.G.T.U.), with a majority of the organized workers of France.

Previous to the Fourth World Congress held in March 1928, there were 16,204,000 workers represented by organizations affiliated to the R.I.L.U. This includes two kinds of affiliates; those countries in which general trade union centers, and those affiliates which are revolutionary minorities inside Amsterdam and other unions. Of the first type are Australia, N.S.W., 130,000; Belgium, 8,000; Holland, 14,000; Indonesia, 25,000; Ireland, 22,000; Canada, 10,000; China, 2,500,000; Columbia, 50,000; Korea, 20,000; Lithuania, 5,000; Mongolia, 5,000; Persia, 20,000; Soviet Union, 9,500,000; Uruguay (Seamen) 2,000; France, 525,000; Czeco-Slovakia, 220,000; Chili, 150,000; Japan, 40,000. A total of 13,246,000 in national centers.

### Numbers Really Larger

A total of 2,958,000 workers are affiliated from 27 countries in revolutionary minorities, the largest being in Germany, England, United States and Poland. In addition to both the above affiliates, there are 256,000 workers in 14 countries belonging to trade unions which are not affiliated to the R.I.L.U. by reason of white terror and other causes but which uphold the class struggle and are allies of the R.I.L.U. in its struggle for trade union unity. So we see that the R.I.L.U. has its far-flung front dug deeply into every continent and practically every nation, while the Amsterdam International is almost wholly European, claiming only small affiliates in Argentina, Palestine and Canada—and in these the R.I.L.U. has minorities at work.

When the Amsterdam International was formed in 1919, it had 24,000,000 workers. Today it claims

only 13,366,387 (figures for end of 1926). When the R.I.L.U. was formed in 1920 it had 8,965,000. In 1927 it had 16,204,000. To which does the future belong?

From practically every country on earth go delegates to the world congresses of the R.I.L.U. LABOR UNITY has given a report of the Fourth Congress and has published the general program adopted there. (\*) In addition congresses resolve special problems, such as the fight against the war danger, and problems of affiliated sections, such as the tasks confronting revolutionary trade unionists in the United States. A General Council of 50 is elected by the congress, and from this an Executive Bureau of 20 is elected to direct the daily work of the international movement according to the decisions of the congress. Losovsky of the U.S.S.R. is General Secretary; Hecker of Germany being Assistant. Invariably proposals are discussed with representatives of workers whom they affect, and the utmost of democracy insured along with the maximum of centralization.

For special phases of the work there are corresponding sections; the Women's Secretariat, the Youth Secretariat, Negro Section, Cultural-Educational Department, Social-Economic Department, Far Eastern-Colonial Department, and an Information Department in which some one is always at hand who knows every hole and corner of the labor movement in any country one desires.

(\*) Obtainable free from Labor Unity, 2 W. 15th St., New York City. Published serially in issues May to Oct. inclusive. Send 4c postage for each month's copy.

Vertically, or better said, by industry, the work of the R.I.L.U. is co-ordinated with the International Propaganda Committees of the Transport Workers, Miners, Metal Workers, etc. These Committees are formed by international conferences of unions and revolutionary minorities of unions in the given industry. Executives elected by such conferences and programs of work are adopted to be carried into life in the different countries. Representatives of the I. P. C. S. attend all meetings of the R. I. L. U. Executive Bureau and all its subordinate commissions that touch upon matters relating to their particular industry.

The bankruptcy and futility of the Trade Secretariats of the Amsterdam International is requiring that the I. P. C.s of the R. I. L. U. expand and intensify their work of guiding organizational activities in the various industries.

Indeed, the bankruptcy and futility, not to speak of the conscious treachery of the Amsterdam International itself to the interests of the world's workers, the fusion and amalgamation of the leaders of the Amsterdam International in Europe (and of the American Federation of Labor in America) with the employers' and the employers' government apparatus makes it necessary that the R. I. L. U. and its United States Section, the T. U. E. L., intensify its work organizationally as well as ideologically around the slogans—"For class struggle; against class collaboration!" and carry the struggle for the interests of the workers "Into the factories and workshops!"

## WORKERS OF AMERICA!

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HARRY POLLITT

# English Trades Union Congress

## Swansea, 1928

By HARRY POLLITT

(General Secretary National Minority Movement)

**T**HE 60th congress of the British Trades Union Movement opened at Swansea on September 3rd, 1928.

There were present 621 delegates representing 3,874,842 workers, a decrease of 25 delegates, and 289,152 workers who attended the Edinburgh congress. This reduction is largely accounted for by the operation of the Trades Union Act, which makes it illegal for the unions catering for state employees to be affiliated to the T. U. C.

Ben Turner opened with the worst presidential speech that has been made at a Congress. It was largely reminiscent and completely regardless of the change in the economic situation that has taken place since the war. Not a word did it contain about the intensification of the capitalist offensive, the rapidly increasing unemployed army, the new attacks being prepared against all sections of transport and building workers, nothing but an expression of the pious hopes and sentimental moralising that are a standing disgrace to the leadership of the Trades Union Congress.

If ever there was a time when the Trades Union Congress through its chairman should have issued a clarion call it is now—a call for united resistance against further attacks, a call for the defense of the unemployed, a call for the reorganization of the trade unions on the fighting basis demanded by modern conditions, a call for workshop organization, for the trade union recruitment to build up powerful unions to fight capitalism, for effective international unity, a message of hope and inspiration to the toiling masses at home and abroad, exploited and held down by the armed forces of British imperialism.

The Trade Union Movement cannot afford to tolerate this happy-go-lucky leadership; it must be repudiated, and the new leadership created. Since 1921 the workers have lost £546,000,000 in wages reductions, thousands of the best lads in the movement are victimised, are hungry and worried out of their lives. Week by week the unemployed figures are mounting up to thousands, over a million on poor law relief, while the General Council with three exceptions sing "God Save The King" at mayoral banquets, and the president of the Trades Union Congress finishes up his presidential speech with the following "appeal":

"There is too much time and money spent in gambling and drink. The gambling and drink take toll in money of not less than £600,000,000 per year, and, in addition, there is the waste of mind and manhood. Oh, for a Father Matthew in our land (not a showman or a Pussyfoot Johnson), but a living man, with fire and enthusiasm to spread the gospel of temperance amongst us all, and especially amongst the richer classes, where drinking to excess is most pronounced."

For weeks prior to the opening of the Swansea congress

the unemployed had been organizing a march from the surrounding districts to demonstrate before the congress and to ask it to receive a deputation to place the case of the unemployed before congress. The general council sought police "protection" from the unemployed: the congress hall was like an armed camp, the officials had to be "protected" by the police from their own unfortunate members.

The demonstration was to march past the congress hall at 2:00 p. m. The congress did not resume its session on this occasion until 2:45 p. m., and the press came out with placards "Unemployed Bluffed," "General Council's Clever Strategy."

Immediately Ben Turner had finished his speech Arthur Horner had demanded that the unemployed be admitted, but only a third of the delegates voted in favour of his motion. Outside the demonstration went on, and from 2:30 to 8:30 Tom Mann, Sam Elsbury, Harry Pollitt, Arthur Horner, Wal Hannington and others, addressed a great meeting of the workers, and at 8:30 led a march all around the town of Swansea, with bands and banners. A really effective day's work had been done in spite of the united front of the general council and police force.

The congress then started its official business. Havelock Wilson's Union was solemnly expelled from congress. It had taken the congress a long time to do this! The Minority Movement were the first to demand it, but were scoffed at by the very men who have since been compelled by their actions to admit that we were right. Now that this expulsion has been effected there is a keen competition going on for the right to organize the seamen. Half-a-dozen rival unions are staking claims, all anxious to get official recognition. In the meantime the Minority Movement is going ahead organising a seamen's section, that will become the real basis for the seamen's organization of the future.

### Will Suppress Criticism

Arising from the expulsion of the Seamen's Union, the general council demanded increased disciplinary powers to deal with unions in the future which the present standing orders do not allow. No one is deceived by this demand, these powers are required by the general council more for application to militant unions like the Furnishing Trades, than for the reformist unions, and the workers will have proof of this within the next twelve months.

The trades councils through a resolution on the Agenda in the name of the Railway Clerks' Association, demanded affiliation to congress. The only support for this important resolution came from the left wing, but it was turned down

by an overwhelming vote. It is important to note this decision in the light of what took place afterwards.

The general council asked congress to endorse their decision that no member of the Minority Movement is eligible to attend any conference organised by the trades councils. The congress gave its endorsement. So we are faced with the interesting position of a "democratic" congress which refuses affiliation to the trades councils, which have to do all the detailed work of the general council in the localities, but dictates to them who shall be delegates to their conferences.

Congress went even farther. Every year there is a National conference of trades councils. This year's national conference passed two resolutions, one in favor of the trades councils organizing the unemployed, and the other giving the trades councils the right to nominate to the joint consultative committee their own delegates from the federations making up the trades council movement. These resolutions were adopted by the national conference of trades councils in spite of the opposition of the general council representatives who were present. These resolutions came up for endorsement at Swansea, and the congress turned both of them down with the full support of the general council. This situation will be used by the Minority Movement in its new campaign to secure the affiliation of the trades councils to the National Minority Movement.

#### Reactionaries For Mond

The discussions that took place on organization questions show how divided and sectionalized is the trade union movement of Britain. The strongest defenders of Mondism and rationalization are the bitterest opponent of any real measures to reorganize the trade union movement on an industrial basis. The resolution standing in the name of the Amalgamated Engineers' Union, demanding the establishment of a trade union commission to report on what structural changes are necessary, was only carried in the teeth of the opposition of those who declare that "rationalization of capitalism should be welcomed because it leads to raising the standard of living of the workers."

The next debate came on a resolution standing in the name of the Railway Clerks Association, which was carried by a great majority. It will have such far-reaching effects upon the British movement that we quote it for the information of the workers abroad.

"That this congress, believing that the best interests of the workers can only be served by solidarity and unity of purpose, policy and action, instructs the general council to institute an inquiry into the proceedings and methods of disruptive elements within the trade union movement, whether such elements manifest themselves amongst the unions or within the general council itself, and to submit a report with recommendations to the affiliated organisations."

The speakers in support of this resolution were careful to point out that it was not advisable to have discussions in Congress upon what methods should be used to attack the disruptive elements, but that the general council should give a lead to each of its affiliated unions, so that they can carry out the recommendations made.

This simply means that next year in all probability no delegate who is a member either of the Communist Party or the National Minority Movement will be allowed to attend the T. U. C. The secretary of the T. U. U., Mr. Citrine, in a statement to the press at the close of the congress quite plainly indicated the rigour with which this resolution will be applied. But it is intended to do more than attack the organized revolutionaries, it will be used against general council leaders like A. J. Cook, who on

the basis of this resolution will be suspended from the general council if they make any public comment on any action of the council, once it has decided upon a policy.

The congress has endorsed Mondism, the test for those inside the general council will come immediately, and I am confident that the only one to stick to his guns will be Cook, the others will simply not risk placing themselves under the ban that the general council will impose under this resolution.

The sum total of its effect will be to do the very thing it claims to avoid. It will cause disruption, splits, exclusion, and the destruction of democratic rights inside the unions. It will lead to increased non-unionism, because those at present outside the unions will refuse to join when they see the real role of the general council.

The resolution, it should be noted, was adopted before the endorsement of Mondism. This was no accident: it was the deliberate design of those who are fostering Mondism, because the revolutionaries must be attacked if the leaders are to deliver the goods to Mond and his allies.

It was strongly opposed by the minority, who exposed the real disrupters and splitters, those who stand for Mondism and the surrender of the trade union fight; those who refuse to give up their jobs after the workers have sacked them in four successive ballot votes as in the case of the Scottish miners officials; those who perpetuate craft and sectional unionism in face of a centralized capitalist enemy; but it had no effect on the voting—the result had been decided by the bloc vote long before the delegates came to Swansea, and the full responsibility for all the subsequent effects of this pernicious resolution will fall upon the heads of those delegates who allow themselves to be the pliant tools of a leadership that has surrendered the trade union struggle against capitalism.

There were fraternal delegates present from the American Federation of Labor, the Mexican Trade Union Movement, the Indian Trades Union Congress, the International Federation of Trade Unions, the Canadian Trades Union Congress, and Arthur Henderson representing the Labor Party.

With the exception of the Mexican and Indian delegates the whole of the fraternal delegations sang the same sweet song, the plea for unity on the basis of attacking the revolutionaries. The Mexican delegate made it perfectly plain that the Mexican Revolution had been won as a result of tremendous sacrifices by the trade unionists of that country, and that it would be defended by the Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana, "but under no circumstances would outside interference be tolerated." This latter sentiment was in keeping with all the speeches which deprecated outside interference, and were obviously inspired.

The Indian delegate regretted the unfortunate differences that existed between the political movement in India and the British Labor Party, and hoped that a delegation would be sent from the Labor Party in the same way that the Trades Union Congress had sent the Purcell delegation last year. He also indicated how difficult it was for a young trade union movement like the Indian to decide which International it should join in view of the conflict between the leadership of the trade union movements of the world.

However, the merit of all these fraternal speeches could be gauged by the fact that the chief item of interest the Canadian delegate had to announce was that he had brought his wife and sister with him from Canada.

After this came the big congress discussion on the general council's report of its negotiations with Mond. Mr. Citrine was put up to move the endorsement of the council's



policy and in the course of a long speech made the following statement which is indicative of the frame of mind of the existing leadership towards current problem. Citrine claimed that the general council's leadership had been so successful that it had now converted the Mond group, the press and the public opinion to the recognition of the just claims of Labor. An amendment was moved to Citrine's resolution in the name of the Amalgamated Engineers Union. The speakers in support of this purely constitutional amendment were Brownlie and Swales, and they did not criticise the principle of Mondism, but only challenged the authority of the general council to enter into negotiations.

It was on this amendment that Hicks came in and made his speech. It was impossible to tell what Hicks was aiming at, and it was so lame and laboured in character that one of the delegates got up and demanded that the congress should be protected from having any more of it inflicted upon the delegates.

This was a fitting end to the attempted come-back of Hicks, who made no attempt to repudiate his Edinburgh speech, and did not take a clear line of opposition in principle to all that Mondism means.

There was a striking contrast between this speech and that of Cook, which immediately followed it. Despite statements such as "absolving the general council from any dishonest motives," etc. Cook's speech was a clear line of opposition to all that Mondism means.

His speech and that of the Communist, Tomkins, were the only two working class speeches made in opposition to the policy of class collaboration.

After this discussion came the debate on international trade union unity. To understand this discussion it is necessary to point out that the resolution represents a compromise between three unions, all three having a resolution on the agenda dealing with some aspect of international trade union unity. The resolution finally submitted to the congress was as follows:

"That congress, recognizing that the intensification of competition, the recent wage struggles which have characterized the workers' growing revolt, particularly in Europe and countries like India, the growth of national antagonisms, and the possibility of war, render more than ever necessary the need for international trade union unity, believes that the existence of two separate trade union internationals and a number of trade union centres unaffiliated to either is a source of weakness to the trade union movement, and prevents that movement from fully utilizing its power either to break the capitalist offensive against wages or to prevent a new war.

"This congress, therefore, calls upon the general council to summon a world conference of unions affiliated to both Internationals along with the trade unions not affiliated to either, in order to discuss ways and means of uniting the Trade Union Movement under one national trade union centre within each country, and internationally under the banner of one international. To assist in this project the Congress also requests the general council to work for the reconstruction of the Anglo-Russian Advisory Council."

The speakers were allowed five minutes each and no discussion was allowed unless it was in opposition to the resolution. It was because of this that Horner was forced to get in to criticise the resolution after Thomas's violent attack upon Russia and to tell the delegates that having the day previous voted in favor of class collaboration this resolution was something foreign to the mentality of the congress, and he was quite sure that the Russians would not touch them at any price because they stood for class struggle, whilst the congress stood for class collaboration.

The election of the new general council was then announced, and despite a terrific factional campaign against Cook, he succeeded in getting re-elected to the general council. There are three changes from the previous council,



ARTHUR COOK, Leader of the Miners' Strike and Left Winger At the Congress.

but they are not changes that will effect the movement in a "left" direction, as all of them will go with the right wing.

At the close of the congress the minority issued a declaration pointing out that after ridiculously short deliberation, the heads of the British trade unions who made up the congress had rejected international labor solidarity, had declared for co-operation with the employers led by those like Mond, "whose names stink in the nostrils of the workers they employ, because of their brutal methods of exploitation," had fallen in line with the wage cutting policy shown in the defeat through their treachery of the general strike, the break with the Russian unions, and the Trades Union Act.

The statement goes on to say:

"Our movement stands at the parting of the ways. We call upon the workers in the factories and unions to repudiate the Swansea decisions and to fight under the banner of the minority movement for united resistance to further wage safeguards for all workers now forced to work premium bonus and piece-work systems whilst fighting for their complete abolition, for strong factory committees, one union for each industry, extension of the powers of the trades councils, one united trade union international, the repudiation of industrial peace and class collaboration, and above all for the repudiation of the existing leadership and the election of new leaders pledged to fight capitalism and its allies now in control of the trade union movement."

On the basis of the above policy the Minority Movement is organizing rank and file conferences all over the country to explain to the masses the significance of the Swansea congress and contrast it with the Shoreditch conference of the National Minority Movement.

# A Brief Review of Events

*Incidents Treated Elsewhere In This Issue Are Not Mentioned Here*

## Paterson Silk Workers Strike Again

Three thousand silk workers of Paterson, N. J., walked out on strike Oct. 10, in a strike of largely unorganized labor demanding a ten percent wage increase and recognition of the union. Strike sentiment is very strong, and the unorganized are flocking to the strike meetings. The first meetings were addressed by Fred Hoelscher, secretary of the silk workers' union, and by Lena Chernenko, leader in the Passaic strike.

The union officials have shown a tendency to make partial settlements with one or two mills at a time. The workers themselves oppose these settlements, and call for a solid strike for a complete victory.

## Grocery Clerks of New York Strike

On the expiration of their old agreements, all grocery clerks in New York who are members of the Retail Grocery, Fruit and Dairy Clerks' Union quit work, at 10 A.M., Oct. 16. Many non-union shops also walked out. The strike is for a new agreement with a \$5 raise a week, and to unionize as many shops as possible. Early the first morning, many of the employers capitulated, and others are showing signs of giving way to the demands.

## Harrison Betrays Expressmen's Strike

A strike of 10,000 drivers of the American Express Co. took place in New York, Oct. 10. The company is open shop, and the men demanded recognition of the union, and \$3 a week wage increase. The spirit was good, organized and unorganized were striking side by side, and there was every indication that it would spread to all the 75,000 express drivers throughout the country.

However, at a meeting of over 5,000 of the strikers, Oct. 11, in Central Opera House, New York, called by the local union officials who at first supported the strike, the grand president of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Geo. M. Harrison, "bawled them out" for going on strike without his consent, and told them, "I have handled many outlaw strikes in my time, and I will know what to do." He ordered them all back to work, under the threat of scabs being supplied by the union.

The sentiment at the meeting was against calling off the strike, but under the bulldozing of the local officials and Harrison, with no speakers allowed from the floor, their resistance was broken for the time. "Conferences" between the officials and the company are going on, but the company warns, "Our policy has not been changed."

## Showing Miners Strike Film

Pictures of the coal industry, from the coal face in the mines to the big, unorganized industries where the coal is consumed, with plenty of graphic information of the way in which miners live, contrasted with the way in which the mine bosses and owners live—that is the miners' strike film, now being toured through the U. S. It does not stop with that; the film is full of strike scenes, shows the police throwing tear gas bombs at the pickets, shows the children running the scabs away from the mines, shows the misleaders of labor, the big chiefs of the United Mine Workers of America, and the A.F.L. betraying the strike—and shows

the National Miners Relief Committee, formerly the Pennsylvania-Ohio Miners Relief, feeding the strikers, and propagandizing with food, for a more militant strike.

The relief workers are shown speaking to crowds of miners, at mass meetings, and at a funeral in the mine fields. The relief office is shown, with office force and the Director, busy at their desks, sending out appeals for the miners, and arranging distribution of food. The bills and checks are shown, buying carloads of cornmeal, canned goods, and other foods. The cars are shown going into the mining fields, each with its big sign, "Miners Relief." The relief stations, under control of local committees are flashed on the screen, with the swarms of miners going in, and coming out with their bags and baskets.

Through it all runs an explanation of the situation, the need of organization, and the need of the miners for continued support, now that they have thrown off the yoke John L. Lewis, and are running their own union, the National Miners Union.

"The Miners Strike!" was produced by the National Miners Relief Committee and under the direction of Alfred Wagenknecht, who also directed the production of the Passaic Textile Strike picture.

Photography is by Sam Burke and Nick Mars; titles by Caroline Drew and Barbara Rand. Organizations desiring to book for showings are asked to address The National Miners Relief Committee, 611 Penn Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.

## Union Stays In New Bedford

After the strike of 26,000 cotton mill operatives in New Bedford was completely betrayed by the United Textile Workers, which working with the police had succeeded in driving back to work those who adhered to it, mostly skilled workers, the National Council of the National Textile Union and the New Bedford Textile Union, a constituent part of the N. T. U., advised the strike committee to release those who have joined the National Textile Union, so that they might not be penalized by the split developed by Batty and MacMahon, and further assaulted by the police. A big mass meeting of strikers Oct. 12, agreed to this. The workers of New Bedford, organized in the new Union, go back as a disciplined body, and continue their organization until a more favorable situation develops.

The influence of the old union leaders is at a very low ebb; the bulk of the New Bedford workers, who are not in any union yet, are leaning towards the National Textile Union. The statement to the workers points out that the ten percent wage cut of April 1 has been reduced to five percent by the struggles of the workers, and that the strike is thus a partial victory.

## Woll and Mond Agree

Alfred Mond, Lord Melchett, speaking at the Bankers Club, New York, after being introduced by Matthew Woll, vice president of the American Federation of Labor, eulogized his class collaboration scheme, "Mondism" through which the reactionary bureaucrats of the British General Council and the Trades Union Congress are selling the workers into

speed-up, wage cut and unemployment, to the profit of Mond and his group. (See article by Harry Pollitt, in this issue).

Lord Melchett, who runs a company union in his Imperial Chemicals Industrials, Ltd. plants, declared at the height of his enthusiasm, "I am not sure that some of my fellow-employers were not more difficult for me to deal with than the labor representatives". His plan includes a conciliation board to avoid strikes, rationalization of the industry, "efficiency," and other slogans familiar to American workers who undergo such attacks. Under it the unions all become company unions.

Matthew Woll, who, with the American Bankers Association is working for an anti-strike bill to pass the U.S. Congress, declared the Mond plan marks a "new and brilliant chapter in industrial co-operation in Great Britain,"—"that a general strike is an impossibility in America," and exulted over the betrayal and defeat of the British General Strike in these words: "From my talks with leaders in Great Britain I believe that the general sentiment of English labor is 'never again'."

#### Power Trust Buys Professors

The prostitution of American education by the national power trust lobby is documented by Laurence Todd, Washington correspondent of The Federated Press, in an article entitled The Power Trust Bends the Twig appearing in the New Republic.

Harvard and Northwestern Universities are among the colleges that have taken money from privately owned utility corporations, according to Todd.

The National Electric Light Assn., and the American Gas Assn., maintain organized departments for propaganda in schools. They attempt to censor textbooks, investigate the attitudes of colleges and professors, distribute subsidies to those who advocate private ownership, and punish any professors who are rash enough to take the other side.



THE BLINDED GIANT

## TEXTILE NEWS

Edited By ALBERT WEISBORD

Reports of the Textile International Committee of Propaganda and Action

#### Indian Textile Workers' Strike and Moscow's "Bloody" Money

THIS is now the sixth month of the general strike of the textile workers of Bombay. 160,000 textile workers have flatly refused to concede the employers' demands to speed up operations without increased wages being introduced. This struggle is being waged in extremely adverse conditions. The strikers are experiencing much deprivation, while their trade union organizations are still in an embryonic stage. From the very outset the leadership of the trade union movement fell into the hands of elements after the style of bourgeois benefactors, who have nothing in common with the working class. Under the screen of looking after their "poor brothers" these leaders are, in fact, sabotaging every appearance of class activity among the workers. The present strike was likewise declared against the desires of the official leaders, but is now being conducted under the leadership of new individuals who were thrown up as the struggle continued.

One can realize the effect that the cloud-burst had when it was made known among the circles of the Indian trade union bureaucrats that 15,000 roubles had arrived "from Moscow" (10,000 roubles from the Soviet Textile Workers'

Union and 5,000 from the Red International of Labor Unions) to aid the Indian textile workers now out on strike. These leaders, who had done their best to prevent a strike, then raised a howl about "Moscow's bloody money." This campaign has been headed by Andrews, the leader of the whole trade union movement of India, a former missionary, now Chairman of the All-India Trade Union Congress, by Ernest Kirk, the Secretary of the Madras Union and Annie Besant, that hysterical "divine" lady who is propagating her theosophist ideas among the workers.

As the leader of the trade union movement Andrews said, by the way, that "all his sympathies were with the strikers and that therefore he had done everything to... preserve peace" and that "at the present time the movement should not follow the road of a strike struggle, but of stubborn work." He is opposed to money from Moscow as it was sent by the "Third International which upholds the class struggle."

Ernest Kirk, in his turn, categorically renounced the acceptance of "Moscow money, whose aim was to bring about a bloody revolution with all the horrors arising from civil war."

Annie Besant came out with the following statement.

"Moscow money, that is sent to cause mutiny and strife in other countries, is soaked with innocent blood and shames everyone that touches it."

Still, despite the furious campaign of the leaders, the money nevertheless reached the Strike Committee.

Thus, the money that arrived from Moscow not only helped the poor strike fund of the Indian textile workers, but played a great role in the work of exposing to the masses the true character of the treacherous leaders. Thus, did the workers have an opportunity of convincing themselves that those who were opposed to the acceptance of money from Moscow were precisely the same individuals who at the very outset were against the struggle with the manufacturers and who had urged that "no strike but stubborn work" should be undertaken.

The pressure of the rank-and-file was so great that Joshi, the chairman of the Bombay Textile Workers' Union, who is usually to be found in the right wing of the trade union movement, was compelled to take up a centrist position. In general the "position" of Joshi came to the following that: "we had requested no money from Moscow, but since it has arrived we should not reject it."

It is interesting to note furthermore that a lively discussion was commenced in the bourgeois-nationalist press over this "bloody" money. Whereas some papers fully supported Andrews & Co., others, prompted by nationalist considerations and openly speculating on the mood of the masses, have been urging that the Moscow money be accepted. During this discussion the questions of the methods of the revolution and its achievements were also touched upon. "This money comes from a nation," writes the Bombay Chronicle, that has lost the only thing that it could lose—its chains, and has not forgotten other nations in the world who are worse off than the Russians were under Tsarism."

"Forward" asks Annie Besant whether she would refuse to take money from those who had spent millions to bring about the present chaos in China.

In a leader entitled: "Hypocrisy regarding Moscow Money" the "Indian Nation Herald" simply tells Andrews to utilize his friendship with the manufacturers to advise them to improve the position of the workers and give up repeating the "fables about the Third International."

Thus, the 15,000 roubles that arrived in far-away India from the Soviet workers gladdened the hearts of some and only caused the grinding of teeth on the part of others.

#### Executive of Berlin Section of Textile Workers' Union Disbanded

The Central Executive of the German Textile Workers' Union is composed wholly of old trade-union bureaucrats, true lackeys of the textile barons. During the past ten years the same officials have held the leading positions in

the organization. A thorough "cleaning" is inevitably carried out before each congress, candidates of the revolutionary section of the workers being expelled under all kinds of pretexts, and in this fashion their "own" people are elected as delegates to these gatherings. As this is a troublesome business anyhow, the congresses are not held once every two years in accordance with the rules, but once in every four.

It is a more difficult matter for the officials to hold their jobs in the local organizations of the union, as there elections are made directly at the enterprises. In a whole series of towns there are Communists and sympathising comrades among the members of the executives of the local organizations. In Berlin, a new executive was elected last Spring, under the very nose of the Central Executive, consisting wholly of Communists. Trade union activities among the textile workers livened up exceedingly in Berlin. Questions of wages and hours, were no longer discussed over the green table of the Executive, in "their own circle," but were taken up at large general meetings at the enterprises. Indeed, by an overwhelming majority the textile workers adopted a resolution condemning the opportunist activities of the Central Executive of the Union.

Feeling that their positions were becoming unstable, the members of the Central Executive of the Union decided not to stand such "disorders" any longer and a decision was made to oust the rebels. Notice was given that the Berlin Section was disbanded. This is how the opportunists try to get rid of the influence of revolutionary workers!

#### Textile Workers' Strike in Huvinka

Altogether there are 15,000 workers employed in the Textile mills of Finland, of whom 12,500 are women. The Textile Workers' Union however has a total membership of only 4,347 members. Owing to the weak organization of the workers and the large percentage of women who are less able to struggle for the improvement of their labor conditions, the employers retain extremely low wage-rates at the textile mills. The average wage received by a Finnish textile worker comprises 9,000 Finnish marks or approximately \$218.70 in the year.

On April 1, a 15% wage-increase was demanded by the 1,200 textile workers of Huvinka, and as this was not conceded they declared a strike. A bitter struggle has been waged now for six months past. Despite the fact that the strike has been on for such a long period only 7 persons proved scabs. The strikers are suffering much deprivation while the strike benefits granted are negligible. But even these benefits are only being paid out by the Union because of the support received from fraternal unions of other countries.

#### STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS AUGUST 24, 1912.

OF LABOR UNITY published monthly at New York, N. Y., for Oct. 1, 1923.

State of New York, County of New York, ss.

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Vern Smith, who, having been duly sworn according to law deposes and says that he is the Editor and Business Manager of the LABOR UNITY and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher: The Trade Union Educational League, 2 W. 15 St., New York, N. Y.; Editor Vern Smith, 2 W. 15 St., New York, N. Y.;

Managing Editor, None; Business Manager, Vern Smith, 2 W. 15 St., New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stock-holders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given).

Trade Union Educational League, a voluntary association, 2 W. 15 St., New York, N. Y., National Committee: Wm. Z. Foster, Secretary, 2 W. 15 St., New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state). None.

VERN SMITH, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 25th day of September 1923.

(Seal)

MAX KITZES.

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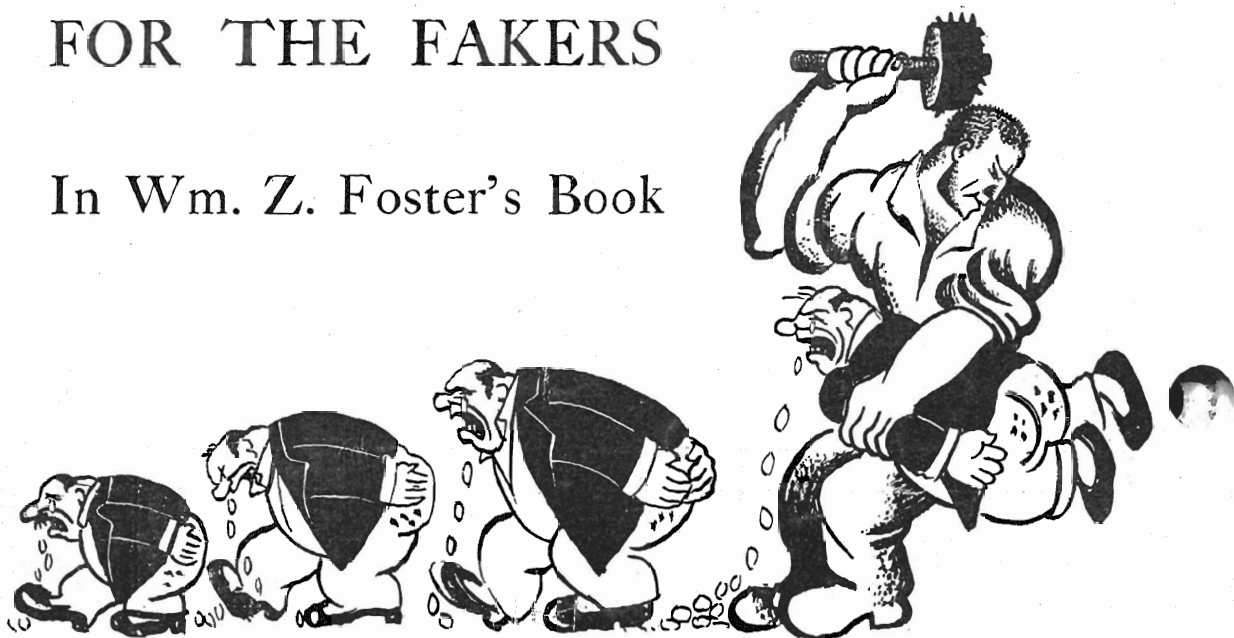
**RUSSIA AFTER TEN YEARS**. The official report of the American Trade Union Delegation to the Soviet Union. Cloth, \$1.00; Paper, 50c.

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