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STEEL!

What is the Government?

By Ben Gitlow

"**L**AW and Order" is a phrase very often used by the newspapers and politicians. When workers go out on strike for more wages and better working conditions, the police beat them, the courts jail them and the militia shoots them, in the interest of Law and Order.

The crowd in this country who are actively engaged in the business of upholding Law and Order, would have the worker believe that the government which rules over him is a government of all the people, that the laws have been enacted for the purpose of protecting the lives of all the people from criminal acts.

Only Workers Can't Murder

In most of the States murder is punishable by death. Should a worker kill his boss because he abuses him

and pays him starvation wages, he would immediately be arrested and made to pay the penalty with his life. Workers have been needlessly killed in industry because bosses have refused to install safety appliances. Yet not a single boss has been sentenced to death for such neglect. Bosses enraged at workers striking to better their conditions, have hired armed gangsters and had workers murdered. Were any of the bosses hung? What happened to Rockefeller when his armed murderers in Colorado killed 17 innocent women and children? What happened to the Copper Barons, when Frank Little at their request was tortured and then lynched—murdered because he dared to organize the miners in Butte and vicinity in the I. W. W.? The answer is, Nothing. The pages of the industrial history of America are red with the blood of countless workers murdered by the capitalists in their mad desire for ever greater profits.

The bosses in their fight against the workers have a perfect right to defy the laws and murder unarmed innocent workers. The government which is supposed to insure Law and Order, when it does act sends militia to back up the hired murderers of the capitalist class.

How Capitalist Government Acts

The government is not the government of all the people. Governments are the governments of the dominant class in every country. The dominant class in the United States is that minority class which owns land, the factories, the railroads, the mines, the steamship lines, the banks and the wealth of the country; that class for whom the workers must work. This class, the capitalist class, uses its government to protect it in its right to rob the workers. It uses the

government power to prevent the workers from attempting to assert their rights as a class. The government is the machine of the capitalist class to suppress the workers, to keep them in ignorance and servitude.

The laws of suffrage and the political institutions of the state are framed to make it impossible for the workers through elections to gain control of the government. The capitalist class would not give up its jails, its courts, its police, its militia, its army and navy, just because the workers voted for them to do so. They will in the future act as in the past. They will hold their soldiers in readiness to wipe out in bloodshed any successful attempt of the workers at the ballot box. When Bryan first ran for President, the capitalists thought him dangerous and radical.

On election day the militia was under arms all over the country, to nullify the popular will if it elected Bryan!

How Workers Can Be Free

The workers must realize that the capitalist government stands between them and emancipation.

The workers can only become free when they become the dominant ruling class in the nation. The workers must organize their strength—but not to gain reforms, which mean nothing. The workers must organize to take over the industries and wealth of the country. In order to do this they must overthrow the government of the capitalist class. They must

then establish a Workers' government. The Workers' government must seize all the social property of the capitalist class, it must deny any rights in the government to those who do not work, and must organize a Workers' Army to protect the Workers' government from the murderous assaults of capitalist governments elsewhere.

The present system of society, which divides the population of a country into two classes, a privileged class and an exploited class, holds forth to the exploited, the workers, nothing but hard work, a bare living, unemployment and poverty with all its terrible consequences. To the privileged few, the capitalist class, it provides all the luxuries and comforts which the labor of the workers can produce. The cruel, mercenary government based upon the exploitation and butchery of the workers, declares to the workers that only under the penalty of death dare they challenge the system which maintains in idleness and luxury—the capitalist class.

This is the Government!

Don't Go To Work October 8th!

MORE than Two Thousand Workers are rotting in jail because they were active in the Labor Movement.

Many have died of illness.

Many have committed suicide because of intolerable tortures.

Others have gone insane.

The capitalist class is murdering our Brothers and Comrades.

Would you give five dollars to save a buddy's life?

A Day's wages is all it means to you. It means life to thousands in prison.

If the workers of the United States would quit work for one day, the class war prisoners would go free.

Don't forget! October 8th is a holiday!

GET THEM OUT BY STRIKING FOR A DAY.

The Strike of the Steel Trust Serfs

By Ben Legere

THE pall of smoke that hangs over Pittsburg is lifting.

It is clearing away before the strong wind of rebellion that is blowing through the Steel mills of America.

The great strike of Steel workers, long hoped-for by Labor, bitterly blocked at every stage of development by Capital, and awaited with something almost akin to awe by all the people, has begun.

In most of the important centers of the Steel industry the walk-out of workers on September 22nd was so complete that production is at a standstill.

In the Pittsburg district, while some plants are still running with crippled complements of workers, most of the thousands of smoke-stacks that fill the air above the Alleghany and Monongahela valleys with smoke and fumes are smokeless and silent now.

The thundering hammers and wheels of industry which ordinarily reverberate through twenty towns strung along these rivers, comprising what is known as the "Workshop of the World," are strangely still.

Hell With the Lid Off

In every direction as one goes out of Pittsburg, one sees forests of black smoke-stacks lining the banks of those rivers.

At night the flaming blast furnaces, flinging showers of sparks into the air, the great screaming and crashing and roaring of all the mighty mechanism of the mills, looked down upon from the hills above, make vivid the impression of the "Inferno" that this place has truly come to be for those who labor in it.

Back of this Pittsburg picture is undoubtedly the concentrated achievement of the best organizing brains that modern capitalist controlled industry has developed.

Back of it also is the most damning indictment of the final failure of those industrial overlords; for all this achievement rests upon the most ruthless exploitation and slavery to be found in the modern world.

The United States Steel Corporation is a colossal enterprise. It is the biggest single manufacturing organism in the world. It has organized and linked together in a great producing mechanism, the activities of a hundred and fifty steel plants, scattered across this country from coast to coast.

It turns over many millions in profits each year to the capitalists who control it, and these profits are wrung out of the grinding toil of nearly three hundred thousand driven slaves who labor in these mills.

Mass Murder

And now the revolt of these serfs bids fair to become the bloodiest chapter in the history of the American Labor Movement.

True to its tradition of violent suppression of every effort of the workers to win for themselves a higher standard of life, the answer of the Steel Trust to the solidarity of the strike is being given by the guns and clubs of its Cossacks.

For five days I have watched the war that is raging now in Western Pennsylvania come quickly out of the peaceful beginnings.

Starting with raids upon peaceful meetings by the mounted State Constabulary, in three days a campaign of bloodshed has been launched that threatens soon to amount to mass-murder.

The capitalist press has heralded each successive raid as a riot, *but the unhappy truth is that the Steel mill slaves are not fighting back.*

They have been harried, clubbed, trampled and shot down wantonly by the Cossacks, dragged to jail and deprived of every human right.

The truth is that the Steel Trust owns the bodies and souls of every public official of this so-called Commonwealth. A Steel Trust Sheriff issued a Proclamation which is an open provocation of violence before the strike began. He mobilized an army of gunmen and swore them in as deputies with the determination to drive the workers back into the mills.

The result is a reign of terror in the Pittsburg district that has already inspired outbreaks of Cossack outrages against the defenseless strikers, in Buffalo and Hammond, Indiana.

Destroying Men to Make Steel

It is hard work, the making of Steel. Despite the marvelous mechanical processes to perfect its production in vast quantities, the fundamental force that still counts most in the making of Steel is the brawn and blood of the broad masses of so-called unskilled workers, who sweat and suffer in the smelters and rolling mills and around the blast furnaces.

Except the men who go down in the pits to mine coal and ore, I know of no type of workers more deserving of the richest rewards society can give them for the service they render, than the Steel workers.

But one has only to look at them and see the conditions under which they are living, to realize what a vicious system of serfdom the overlords of the Steel industry have devised, the system that produces the profits from which the philanthropies of Carnegie come, and out of which are built the palaces and prestige of the Schwabs and Fricks and Coreys and Garys, and all the big and little barons who rule the great industrial empire dominated by Steel.

Last Sunday, the day before the strike began, there was a parade of 30,000 Polish people in Pittsburg. They had been gathered together to celebrate the "freedom of Poland," and to give thanks to America for the part it played in giving them that "freedom."

The men in this parade were typical Steel workers. A large section of them were in the uniform of the American Expeditionary Forces. But the ones who were not in uniform showed more marks of battle than the soldiers. Their faces were scarred and seamed and their strength was not that clean healthy power that the well-groomed athlete exhibits. It was the strength of a rugged peasantry which has been drawn upon day after day to perform excessive tasks, until all the beauty of it has been drained away, and only the grim framework, gnarled and twisted, but still strong, remains.

That the Steel worker is not transmitting this strength to the future generations is readily seen by

studying the children of these workers. Their strength goes into the Steel, so there is none left for the future. In fact most of the men who work in this industry are thrown upon the scrap heap like so much old iron long before their normal life is run.

The Skilled Men Didn't Strike

The Steel Trust press tries to arouse feeling against the strikers, and line up the returned soldiers against them, by arguing that while they were overseas fighting these Steel workers were drawing big pay at home.

It is true that some workers in the mills draw very big wages. *There are certain highly skilled occupations, followed generally by American workers, that enable them to own comfortable homes back on the hillsides and live on wholesome food and have a fair amount of leisure. But these workers are very few in the mills and they are not striking.* They are "loyal" to their benevolent bosses, and are trying hard to keep some of the fires burning and some pretense of activity in the mills.

They have long been pampered by the Steel Trust and used as a bulwark against Unionism. They have been given a few shares of stock in the corporation, so that of its nearly 300,000 employees there are 60,000 who own stock in the enterprise. Naturally they will not strike, but unfortunately for the Steel magnates they are not the important part of its force.

The indispensable part is composed of those broad masses of formerly vigorous foreigners who were imported here by the Steel barons to do the heavy work, and whose wages remain so low that they live in miserable hovels clustered close about the big plants, and bring up their children in the grime and smoke and hardness of the iron with which they work all day, although the clean green hills are but half a mile away and all the open country lies beyond.

The City of Dreadful Day

A good example of it all can be seen in McKeesport. There is located the plant of the National Tube Company, the largest plant of its kind in the world. I thought I would find McKeesport a clean, progressive, prosperous-looking city, since it contains not only the National Tube but several other thriving plants, the total value of its industrial properties probably exceeding that of any city of its population in the country.

Instead it is a veritable hell-hole. It is one of the dirtiest cities I have ever seen, presenting a more poverty-stricken appearance than the worst towns in the negro sections of the South. The spectacle presented by the section round the mills is one of indescribable squalor. And McKeesport is one of the Steel Trust's banner towns, because there they have kept down agitation and organization with an iron hand.

In McKeesport they have a Mayor who serves the interests of the industrial overlords more brazenly than did ever a feudal overseer. He is backed up by the little business people and "native Americans" generally in the flagrant violation of every principle that America is supposed to stand for. The Mayor has armed three thousand of these "citizens" to make sure that the rebellious slaves do not "tie-up" the Tube City.

All meetings are prohibited, and no one who looks like a foreigner is allowed to stand upon the streets of the sacred and slovenly city.

I went there to see whether a meeting at which "Mother" Jones was announced to speak would be permitted. The meeting was to be held in an open lot outside the city limits, where State Constabulary had wantonly charged into a crowd the day before and dispersed it. A downpour of rain prevented the meeting, but when J. L. Beaghan and John Patterson, two of the strike organizers, started down the street to tell those waiting in the rain that there would be no meeting, they were promptly arrested and fined \$100 and costs in the Mayor's court.

Of all the Steel Trust towns McKeesport is the only one where the National Committee for Organizing the Iron and Steel Workers has been unable to hold meetings. Even in Homestead, where no labor meeting had been held since the massacre of workers in the great strike against the Carnegie mills there twenty-seven years ago, the Committee succeeded after persistent effort in holding meetings and building up an organization, with the result that today Homestead is "tied up" by ten thousand workers out on strike.

The General Staff of the Strike

The National Committee for Organizing the Iron and Steel Workers is the Union instrument through which this great strike has been brought about.

It is the brain-child chiefly of William Z. Foster, who as secretary of the Committee is directing the strike here. I knew of Foster as a "syndicalist" and advocate of revolutionary industrial Unionism, which he held would come through the American Federation of Labor, and I expected to find that he had been subtly building a revolutionary organization under the guise of the A. F. of L.

Instead, however, I find that all he has attempted to do is to "put the 'Federation' in the A. F. of L." Anyone who has studied the structure of the A. F. of L. will realize what a task that has been, and the success that has been achieved to date is undoubtedly one of the biggest things yet done in the American Labor Movement.

A year ago last June, Foster, John J. Fitzpatrick and others who had just succeeded in establishing a strong Union organization in the Chicago stockyards, hitherto impregnable to the assaults of Union Labor, got together in Chicago and planned a campaign to organize the Steel workers.

In the Steel industry as organized in the structure of the A. F. of L. there are twenty-five unions having distinct jurisdiction over workers of their respective crafts, and exercising complete autonomy of action in all struggles with the employers. The federation of crafts in the A. F. of L. is merely nominal, and their loose association in this "great American Labor Movement" as Mr. Gompers would say, has never prevented them from "scabbing" on each other. As for instance when the Union machinists of a plant might be out on strike, the Union molders would remain at work making castings for "scab" machinists to work with, and vice versa.

Organizers Murdered

The desire to build an effective organization of the Steel workers, and the need of uniting all the crafts in the mills as well as the unskilled common labor of the industry, resulted in the formation of the National Committee for Organizing the Iron and Steel Workers,

with Foster as Secretary-Treasurer. Gompers was made chairman of the Committee but he has since resigned, and the chairman is now John J. Fitzpatrick.

A force of more than a hundred organizers was sent into the Steel centres under the direction of Foster. The campaign was on, and for the past year it has been a bitter struggle all along the line. Every move of the organizers was met by counter moves of the Steel Trust. Detective agencies and gunmen were freely used to prevent the organization of its serfs. *Seven organizers and active workers in the Union have been murdered during the course of the campaign.* To be shot some dark night or beaten to death was the chance taken by all who have helped to build the organization that today has crippled the greatest industrial mechanism in the world.

At length the time arrived when the organization seemed strong enough to make a test of its power to enforce better conditions for the workers. Efforts were made to get Judge Elbert H. Gary, head of the Steel Trust, to meet a committee of workers and consider their grievances.

Gary, who all his life has been the avowed enemy of Organized Labor, obstinately refused to meet the workers. All efforts at mediation failing a strike vote was taken, and carried overwhelmingly. September 22nd was set as the date for the stoppage of work. The committee made a final effort to see Gary. He refused, "closing the door in Labor's face."

The committee reported back to the workers and awaited the day. Last hour efforts made by President Wilson and Gompers, failed to move Mr. Gary, or to cause the Steel workers to postpone their strike.

In two or three places the workers could not be held back until September 22nd. In one town they came out three days before.

What American Labor Must Know

As I write this the strike is beginning its sixth day.

Here are some of the salient facts of the situation that all Labor in America must know and understand.

Since the first day of the strike the steel workers have gained steadily day after day, while the lying press has day after day told of strikers going back to work.

The important districts, except that around Pittsburgh, were conceded to be controlled by the strikers from the first day. In the Pittsburgh district a few mills were kept in operation, but some of those have since been closed; the most important plant in Pittsburgh proper, the Jones & Laughlin mill, will undoubtedly go down by the time this paper is off the press.

The Bethlehem Steel Co., with 30,000 employees, was not included in the original strike plan, but is thoroughly organized and has voted to join the strike on September 29th.

Duquesne and McKeesport are the only uncertain spots left in the Monongahela Valley from Monessen to the Ohio.

Steel Barons' Bluff

While I was in Brackenridge, where Fannie Sellins was foully murdered less than a month ago by Sheriff Haddock's deputies, the kept press was loudly proclaiming that both the big Steel mills there were in operation with nearly all of their workers. I found one mill struck and most of its workers holding a meeting across the river in New Kensington, while

the workers in the other mill were taking a strike vote.

At Homestead last night the bosses held a meeting and hit upon the brilliant trick of having the two or three hundred skilled men and foremen, who go in every day to keep up some appearance of activity, line up today at the Employment Office and go through the form of filling out applications as new men, so the police and press can report the usual dope about new gains for the employers.

But the strikers seem strangely immune to the poisonous influence of the daily papers. They get their reports regularly from strike headquarters, through the most efficiently conducted strike organization I have yet seen in this country.

The Basic Industry of Capitalism

It is a futile campaign that Capital is carrying on, and is bound to bring dire consequences if it is not soon checked. The strike has grown stronger every day, and the strikers can stay out longer than the country can go without Steel.

For after all, Steel stands at the base of the whole structure of modern civilization.

"You've got to have Steel," Foster said to me, and that summed up the situation. All modern industry depends upon the product of the strong arms of the Steel mill slaves. When they stop it is only a question of time when the wheels of a hundred thousand factories will stop too. With only half the solidarity they have already achieved, they would so cripple production that in a few weeks the whole industrial mechanism would be thrown out of gear.

As it is they have built an organization that can dominate the industry, if Labor does not allow them to be crushed by sheer force of arms.

The Strike and the A. F. of L.

The strike is far from being a revolutionary strike, but it is the first time that the A. F. of L. has accomplished a real "Federation" strike. The co-operation of the twenty-five Internationals is a great achievement; if the structure of the A. F. of L., which keeps the Steel workers from being more solidly united in One Big Union of the Steel industry, finally causes the defeat of the strike, so much the worse for the A. F. of L. *The Steel worker has learned the lesson of solidarity.*

Of the twenty-five International Unions one only, the Stationary Engineers, refused to sanction the strike. But the rank and file of the Engineers in the Steel industry everywhere came out with the other organized workers, in defiance of the official edict.

An extraordinary feature for an A. F. of L. strike is that all the impetus that has driven it forward comes from the rank and file. It is unbelievable that Gompers and his reactionary machine would have wished to embark upon such a titanic struggle as this promises to be, but it is a fact that he was *forced to respond to the wishes of the rank and file*, and though he made an eleventh hour effort to have it postponed, he is now supporting it whole-heartedly in his usual place, that is, in Washington, telling the honorable Senators that the Steel Trust is a band of robber barons. And he says it in no uncertain terms.

What he and his lieutenants may yet do, of course, remains to be seen. But at this moment the Steel strike is stronger than Samuel Gompers.

The New York Printers' Strike

By Al Seamon

IN a previous issue of this paper we told about the dispute between the Local Printing Pressmen's Unions and the International officers.

In a Conference of twenty-three Unions held in Chicago last April, the International officers and the Board of Directors of the Union were accused of misappropriating upwards of \$100,000 from the Union funds. An investigation revealed that vast sums had been taken from the Union treasury to be invested in a company owned by President George Berry, his relatives and other members of the Board and their relatives.

This, with the autocratic and narrow-minded acts of the International officers, caused the Chicago Conference Unions—which, with the addition of ten more Locals, represent more than 68 per cent of the Union's paying membership—to band together for their own defense, and refuse to pay any more per capita to the International until the International officers made an adequate explanation of their acts.

Dirty Tactics By the International

Immediately afterward there occurred a series of extraordinary burglaries. In a number of cities, the offices of Local Pressmen's Unions were broken into, the safes jimmied, and money and papers were stolen. It is interesting to note that these burglarized Unions were all members of the Chicago Conference, and the papers taken were those relating to the fight between the Locals and the International.

The Local Pressmen's Unions of New York, however, and particularly Locals Franklin 23 and 51, were looked upon as the centers of the insurgent movement. These, with the other Locals affiliated to the Chicago Conference, were now practically outside the International; for the International officers defiantly refused to make any explanation of their diversion of funds.

So the International determined to smash the New York Locals first.

To do this they seized upon the Forty-four Hour Week strike crisis in the Printing Trades of New York.

The Forty-four Hour Week Scandal

Last Spring the Local Unions of the Printing

Trades in New York asked for a joint conference with the bosses, and through their spokesman, Leon Rouse, President of "Big Six," announced that they intended to put into effect the Forty-four Hour Week on Oct. 1st, 1919.

This getting-together of the Printing Trades Craft Unions, for the first time in history, alarmed the job-holders of the various International Unions. It showed a tendency toward industrial organization, which might do away with quite a number of pie-cards and duplicate sets of ornamental officials. Besides, the rude demands of the New York printers showed that they had no consideration for the profits of the boss printers. The well-known "partnership of Capital and Labor" threatened to dissolve.

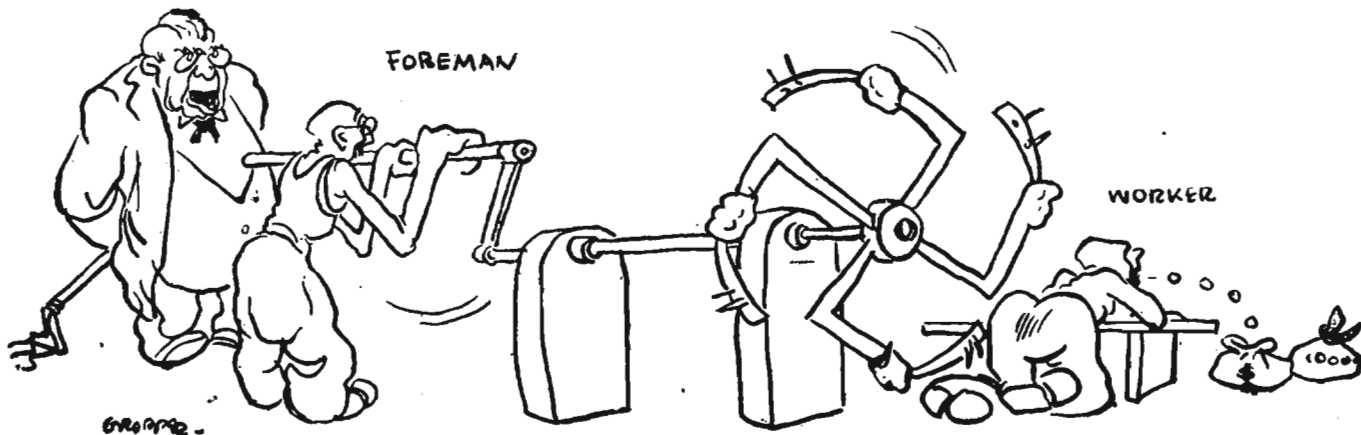
So the International officers of all the Printing Trades Unions held an "informal conference" with the employers at Chicago shortly afterward, and proposed to put the Forty-four Hour Week into effect in 1921. Matt Woll of the Photo Engravers did not agree to this. The employers, too, made no promises; but the International officers went ahead as if the employers had signed an agreement to this effect.

Major Berry's Chance

In all this, President Berry of the Pressmen saw his chance to smash the insurgent Unions of New York—Franklin 23 and 51. Under his leadership the International officers of all the Printing Trades Unions except the Photo Engravers moved down on New York, and went into consultation with the employers.

In the meanwhile, Berry got together a "caucus" of members of Local 51 who were on the side of the "machine," and attempted to launch a new International Union, with the help of the employers. For this scheme he picked out one of the large printing plants in New York, the Publishers' Printing Company, whose secretary and superintendent of printing, John J. Dowling, is the brother of a Union politician, Frank Dowling, foreman in the same shop.

In August, letters were sent out to the members of the "caucus," to come to a secret meeting in the offices of the Allied Printing Trade Council, in the World Building. This was the meeting to launch the new Union.



There were present four foremen, one assistant foreman, two ex-Union officials and a couple of ex-foremen—as will be seen, either petty bosses or Labor politicians.

Starting the Ball Rolling

With this little hand-picked bunch of figure-heads, Mr. Berry made a deal with Joseph Gantz, President of the Publishers' Printing Company, to try and smash the insurgent pressmen so that the Forty-four Hour Week fight would be crippled at the start.

On September 6th, Foreman Frank Dowling went around with little cards, which he compelled all the pressmen and feeders in the shop to sign, signifying their intention to join the new Union.

In the meanwhile the Local Pressmen's officers had informed the Publishers' Printing Company that their men could not work with members of the new Union. The men demanded the return of the cards they had signed, and when this was refused, the shop struck, crippling the entire plant.

The International officers used their customary strike-breaking tactics of ordering the men back to work. Established at the Hotel Continental, they enlisted men to scab on the Local Unions. They permitted the boss to employ "finks" from the Manhattan Detective Agency, a regular strike-breaking agency run by two discharged ex-cops.

One hundred and forty workers went out. That was three weeks ago, and in all that time the company has been able to recruit only twenty-two scabs. It is

a remarkable demonstration of solidarity, and something new in the Printing Trades, for the members of the other crafts stood solidly behind the pressmen. The Publishers' Printing Company is utterly crippled.

This strike was a sort of test case. It was provoked for the purpose of trying out the Local Unions, in order to discover whether or not they would stick. The strike was watched not only by the International officers of the Printing Trades, who had been in town for some time trying to head off the Forty-four Hour movement, but by the master printers, and the publishers.

What May Happen

The question is, how far will the International officers dare to go in their attempt to stop the introduction of the Forty-four Hour Week in New York October 1st? Already they have clearly shown that in this particular fight they are with the manufacturers against the workers, who will act unitedly in tying up the printing shops of New York.

If the International officers persist in their insane campaign, the Locals of the New York Printing Trades will break with them finally, and there will undoubtedly be formed One Big Union of the Printing industry in this city.

It may well be that the printing workers will become tired of laboring for profiteers, and will decide to go to work for themselves. What is to prevent the Federal Printing Trades Unions from running a great plant of their own, and putting the biggest boss printers out of business?

The First Sign

By Louise Bryant

ALL honor to the workers of Seattle! For the second time they have demonstrated that they are in the front rank of the revolutionary working class movement of America.

The Longshoremen of Seattle last week refused to load a cargo of munitions for Kolchak on the steamer "Delight," owned by the United States Shipping Board.

So far as we know, this is the first conscious demonstration of international working class solidarity by American workers in history.

The Italian Longshoremen were the first to refuse to handle war-materials destined to be used against the Russian Soviet Republic. *America is second*—out of all the world's workers.

For over a year our greedy capitalists have been building a bonfire. Each stick for that fire has been laid by a working man. As he worked, he carried in his mind the terrible thought that the outcome of his effort might be the death of his brothers in Siberia, with whom he cannot imagine himself at war. In the factories, in the shops, on the water-front—yes, all over America—workers have been busy making munitions, making clothing, making all that the counter-revolutionists needed to be able to shoot down working men in Russia. Always they asked, "Why?" Always they had feelings of doubt and bewilderment. But out of bewilderment and doubt have come clear thought and a clear decision. *The Longshoremen in*

Seattle have refused to load munitions for Kolchak! It is the beginning of the end. . . .

The Spreading Flame

Anna Louise Strong of the *Seattle Union Record* was in New York at the time. She received the following telegram:

"Seattle Longshoremen, backed by Central Labor Council, in their determination to share no responsibility for shipments to kill our brothers in Russia, today refused to load 21 cars, approximately 65,000 rifles and machine guns. Waterhouse Stevedoring Co. turned materials back to government and will not handle."

(Signed) JAMES DUNCAN.

Miss Strong was speaking at a meeting of Machinists when the telegram was handed to her. She read it, and the audience broke into the wildest cheering. They went even further. They passed a resolution in which they pledged themselves not to work for the counter-revolution. So the blaze begun in Seattle is spreading. On one breath of the breeze it flies from ocean to ocean. *It is a warning signal.*

The significant thing about the telegram for Seattle is that *the Waterhouse Co. turned back the material.*

Still, Mr. Wilson is known to be a stubborn man. He is bent on carrying on a private war against Russia and the more opposition he encounters, the more determined he may become. It is very possible that he will not be satisfied until the bonfire is a conflagration.

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Editor.....*John Reed*
Manager.....*Ben. Gitlow*

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How to Help

THIS paper is distributed by volunteer Committees organized in the shops by the workers themselves. Do you like it? Do you think it is worth while helping?

If you do, this is how you can help:

Organize a Committee in your shop—or among your fellow-workers; fellows you know are “all right”—even if there are only one or two of you. Get together and talk it over. Have a smoker, a lecture or some kind of an entertainment by which you can raise a little money. If you want speakers, write to us.

With this money order a few hundred copies of *The Voice of Labor*, and distribute them to the workers *on the job*... If you can sell them, so much the better; if not, give them away.

Increase your Committee by adding to it other workers who are interested. Start new Committees in other shops.

Use these Committees to spread the ideas of Industrial Unionism. Make them the basis for Shop-Committee which will control your jobs, which can deal with the bosses direct, without the interference of reactionary Union officials.

This is *your* paper. Write us articles. Criticize the paper. Ask for anything you want to know about, and we'll try to tell you. Get subscribers. Get people interested. It is up to you.

If the paper succeeds, we'll make it larger, publish pictures, and keep you thoroughly informed of what is *really* going on in the Labor Movement, both here and abroad.

THE WAR DEPARTMENT is advertising for two thousand volunteers to join the Army and go to Siberia. We advise all workers not to enlist, and to urge others not to. This is President Wilson's private war, and its purpose is simply to restore the Tsardom and the profiteerdom in Russia.

We demand that American troops leave Russia, and take their partners, the Japs, with them.

Hands off Russia!

What's Going On

OLE HANSON HAS resigned as Mayor of Seattle. It is rumored that he will be sent to Russia all alone to overthrow the Soviet Government. Bring the troops home and let Ole do it!

JUST TO SHOW what can be done in the way of releasing class-war prisoners, look at what the Canadian workers did. The leaders of the Winnipeg Strike, William Ivens, R. B. Russell, John Queen, A. A. Heaps, R. E. Bray, W. A. Pritchard, R. J. Johns, were arrested when the strike broke, and held without bail. Immediately the One Big Union ordered a strike vote to be taken throughout Canada. The authorities then suddenly granted bail. But a few days later the men were rearrested, and again refused bail. The One Big Union promptly called a strike for September 17th—and on September 16th the prisoners were set free under \$4000 bonds.

A General Strike for One Day in the United States would free Mooney, Debs and two thousand other workers.

THE LITHUANIAN MILITARY Mission in Paris—whatever that is—is recruiting discharged American soldiers to fight the Bolsheviki under the command of a former American Army officer, says the London *Herald*. Double pay is offered, and the American authorities in Paris are not raising any objections. Is this another of Mr. Wilson's little wars?

A MAN ON THE Elevated in New York last week was arrested for “speaking disrespectfully of President Wilson.” He was taken to Night Court and fined \$3 for “disorderly conduct.” The man's name wasn't given, but we suspect it was Senator Lodge.

JIM HOLLAND, THE play-boy of the New York State Federation of Labor, attended one of those Capital-and-Labor-Get-Together Conferences in Albany last week. Jim got real hot at a Rochester clothing manufacturer whose shop is controlled by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

“We are out,” he said, “to get back what was stolen from us. I mean that we are out to regain for the United Garment Workers the place that has been usurped by the Amalgamated. . . .”

The smell of vanished per-capita is more than Jim can bear!

THERE IS GOING on a wonderful object-lesson in the treatment accorded to capitalist criminals when they get caught by the law in a particularly flagrant piece of direct action against the working class. The Phelps-Dodge Company thugs who deported striking miners into the desert from Bisbee two years ago are now on trial at Douglas, Arizona. *In order not to interrupt their business*, they are permitted to return to Bisbee every night by train, and

another train brings them back again in the afternoon. This special train is paid for by the Phelps-Dodge Company; meals and cigars are served free to the defendants. The Court doesn't open until 1.30 P. M.

Compare this with the I. W. W. trial in Chicago. The defendants were held in jail for almost a year, on prohibitive bail, led to and from the court-room by armed guards, and subjected to the utmost hardships and the filthiest abuse. . . .

PRESIDENT WILSON, IN a speech at San Diego, Cal., said, "When I find a man who in a public matter will not state his side of the case, I know that his side is the losing side, that he dare not state it."

We understand that the President will call at Leavenworth and repeat this speech to the Class War prisoners.

SENATOR CUMMINS' RAILROAD bill in Congress, by the terms of which railway workers are forbidden to strike, is, we are informed, being fought by the A. F. of L. Sammy Gompers thinks that he is the only authority who ought to have the power to forbid strikes.

THE TELEPHONE OPERATORS on strike in Drumright, Oklahoma, the other day, are said to have deported the police, and put the Mayor, the Chief of Police and a City Councilman in jail.

Huh! The poor lunatics evidently think they are the Steel Trust!

THIS IS NOT the only country on earth where the "official Labor leaders" are thwarting the revolutionary instincts of the rank and file. In England, the officials of the Tripple Alliance stopped the taking of the Direct Action ballot right in the middle of the voting; the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, against the wishes of the rank and file, postponed the inauguration of the Forty-four Hour Week for two years; Organized Labor suddenly withdrew its support from the Police Strike, and let it go smash. Although the British Labor Movement is far in advance of our own, in England too the workers are coming to understand that they must displace their old leaders, and their old forms of organization.

THE CAPITALIST PRESS is beginning to bleat about the fix it has got itself into. After advocating the "Americanization" of aliens by force—imprisonment, terrorism, deportation—the New York papers are viewing with alarm the departure of millions of these same "foreigners," who are leaving for Europe as fast as they can go.

Another dilemma. You remember the holler about "hyphenated Americans" during the War? It seems that we let too many "unassimilable" foreigners into the country—especially Germans.

But now the New York *Sun* is very much excited by the news that hundreds of thousands of Germans may emigrate from the Fatherland. There is danger that they may go to Russia.

"We need these skilled workers in America. . . . Conditions should be made so attractive here, so that German emigrants would come to the United States..."

George, call up the Department of Justice!

Announcements

THE *Voice of Labor* is your paper. Let me info you of its future plans.

On November 1st we will publish a special issue to commemorate the Second Anniversary of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, the first workingmen's government in the world.

The special number of November 1st will have twice as many pages and will be elaborately printed in colors.

It will contain special articles written by men and women who have recently been in Russia, and who write from personal observation and experience.

Most of the well known radical cartoonists will draw especially for this issue.

Besides the interesting features above mentioned the paper will contain maps, photographs, documents and information of the most vital importance.

Everything will be presented in the *Voice of Labor's* usual style, in order that the worker who reads it will be interested and will understand.

All workers who desire to spread the truth about Russia and silence the lies of the reactionaries and the bloody interventionists, should distribute this issue of the *Voice of Labor* by the hundreds of thousands.

You must be enthusiastic about this project.

Here's How to Help

To get out this special number as planned will require a few thousand dollars. Now, don't send us any donations; we don't want any. All you must do is to send us in a big order for that Special Number accompanied by cash, check or money order, to pay for the special number in advance.

Bundle rates are as follows:

10-100.....3½ c. a copy

100-1000.....3 c. a copy

1000 or more.....2½ c. a copy

Take the matter up at once with your Local, Branch Union or Shop Committee and mail orders with money to Second Soviet Anniversary Number, *Voice of Labor*, 43 West 29th Street, New York City.

DON'T DELAY. GET BUSY AT ONCE

WHO'LL ANSWER THIS OLD-TIMER?

WE believe that the following letter expresses the point of view of a considerable number of "old-timers" in the Organized Labor movement of this country. Will some worker who disagrees with the writer send us a reply?

Washington, D. C., September 21

GENTLEMEN!

...While some features of your publication appeal to me I am frank to admit that I have not made a complete study of the "One Big Union" plan, but from my present attitude am not in favor of the proposition. Several perplexing obstacles, in my opinion, are in evidence and probably your efforts would be more profitable in another field, for Washington is among the foremost cities of the country which hang on to the conservative policies of Trade Unions.

Trusting that you will not consider my reply as attempting to curtail any progressive issue,

I am respectfully yours,

H. M. RECTAMUS

P. S.—I might add that if your edition, *The Voice of Labor*, would make its fight for the American worker first, eliminating the conditions of foreign workers, etc., its success might be greater and Trade Unionists may subscribe more readily.

The Boston Massacre

By Frank Sylvester

THE Boston Policemen's strike is lost. The strikers stand alone. All the local leaders of the Boston Central Labor Union are begging for compromise—looking for a loophole through which the cops can crawl back.

But all their efforts so far have been in vain. The City and State authorities contemptuously ignore them.

The City is patrolled by 7789 State Guardsmen and hundreds of strike-breaking "volunteers," for the most part Harvard "rah-rah boys." Everything is so quiet that the City seems half-dead. The authorities, by ordering 20,000 guns, machine guns, ammunition, and an additional 2,000 State Guardsmen, are exhibiting not only a bad case of nerves, but also a determination to keep down by terror all sympathetic action of the rank and file of the workers.

The New White Guard Force

Police Commissioner Curtis calls the striking policemen "deserters," declares all their places vacant, and says that every striker is forever barred from the Boston Police.

Even the Metropolitan Park Police, who refused to come into Boston as strike-breakers, are dealt with an iron hand: 17 suspended and 27 fined.

Every capitalist paper in the State of Massachusetts carries an advertisement for strike-breakers. "Police Wanted for the City of Boston. . . . Must have served in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States in time of war. . . ." The first year's pay is raised from \$1100 to \$1400, and first uniforms are furnished free. . . .

But with all this the ex-service men are *not* rushing in very great numbers to the White Guards. Only 150 applicants the first day. . . . However, Commis-

sioner Curtis promises that in six or eight weeks he will have completely organized and drilled a new force.

Cowardly Betrayal

But how did this situation come about? What about the "great, four-million-strong" American Federation of Labor, which granted the Policemen's Union a charter—took them under its protecting wing?

What about the State organization of the A. F. of L. and its promised support?

What about the Central Labor Union of Boston, and its solemn pledge to stand by the cops? What about the threatened general strike?

It's a shameful story, fellow workers; cheap talk, promises—and finally, when it came to action, *cowardly betrayal*.

The A. F. of L. in Massachusetts held a State Convention during the first week of the Policemen's strike. It invited Governor Coolidge to address the Convention. The Governor gave a talk on "speeding-up production." Two days later, a resolution was adopted pledging the striking cops "moral and financial support;" a telegram was sent to the Governor asking him to remove Commissioner Curtis—and the Governor replied, "Impossible!" *And that finished the matter.*

Gompers said that he was opposed to Policemen's striking, that the A. F. of L. had not invited the cops to join it—that they had applied to the A. F. of L. for a charter. That was all. True, he sent a telegram to the Governor asking him to take the Policemen back until the October 6th Industrial Conference at Washington was over; but the Governor told him to go to hell, and Sammy shut up.

Guy Oyster, Gompers' private secretary, came to Boston "to investigate." In a few days he was gone, declaring that Policemen's conditions before the strike were very bad—but that very likely there wouldn't be a general strike. . . .

Why the Police Went Out

The history of the Boston Police Force is a history of men held in rigid peonage, made to work under wretched and insanitary conditions for a miserable wage, the money appropriated to help them pocketed by grafters, and the Force itself a tool of politicians.

The idea of Unionism did not spring up spontaneously among the Police; in spite of Mr. Gompers' statement, it was Frank H. McCarthy, State organizer of the A. F. of L., who went around soliciting the cops' signatures, organized their Union for them, and got their charter from the A. F. of L.

It was the thousand-times repeated promises of the A. F. of L. leaders that help would be forthcoming, which encouraged the cops finally to defy the Police Commissioner, the Mayor and the Governor.

When the cops came out, the Central Labor Union immediately issued a statement in support of their position. A Committee of 17 was elected to prepare for a general strike, every delegate present was urged to take action in his Union. The Committee of 17 elected a sub-committee of 4, consisting of: O'Donnell, President of the C. L. U.; McGrady, of the Printing



The capitalist press says that the High Cost of Living is due to the extravagance of the working-
class.
Keep off of Broadway, fellow-workers!

Trades Council; Moriarty, City Councillor; and McCarthy, State Organizer.

Something Funny About It

In more than a hundred Unions a general strike vote was taken. Although on the quiet the officials passed the word around to vote *against* the strike, the sympathies of the rank and file were overwhelmingly with the Police. But already, even then, there was something funny about this ballot. *The different Unions were instructed not to count their votes, but to send them to the sub-committee of 4, to be counted by them.*

On Saturday, September 20th, the Carmen's Union, one of the most powerful labor organizations in Boston, strong with the recent victory of their strike and openly in sympathy with the Police, held a mass meeting.

Instead of being addressed by members of the General Strike Committee, the men were surprised to hear from Henry B. Endicott, multi-millionaire and "Liberal" strike-arbitrator, two other members of Mayor Peters' "Mediation" Committee, and two lawyers representing the Policemen's Union. *There was not a single General Strike Committee member present.* The speakers argued against the strike, of course.

The result was joyfully announced next morning in large headlines in the capitalist papers: *"The Carmen's Union adjourns without taking a strike vote. Will not reconsider matter later. Action practically eliminates sympathetic strike in Boston."* Yes, they voted "moral and financial support"—but that was all.

On Sunday, September 21, the C. L. U. held an enormous meeting with hundreds of delegates present. The tabulated General Strike vote was going to be announced, and the delegates were waiting to take it back to their Unions.

Suppressing the Strike Vote

But the strike vote was not given. Instead, there were pleas from the sub-committee of 4: *"The time is not now opportune for a General Strike. . . . We don't intend to give ammunition to our enemies. . . . We will keep the results of the Strike vote to ourselves. . . . Be patient and calm. . . . Trust the Committee of 17. . . ."*

The Unions who took the Strike vote *don't know themselves how they stand.* And the sub-committee of 4 can give out anything it pleases—if it ever gives out anything.

In the Carmen's Union meeting, where one encouraging word from the General Strike Committee would have resulted in a unanimous vote for a walk-out, the Committee put *anti-strike agitators* on the platform to prevent the taking of a strike-ballot.

The leaders of the C. L. U. are deliberately working to prevent a General Strike, and so far they have succeeded. All the important officials of the A. F. of L. are against the Policemen's strike. Secretary Guy Oyster came to Boston, not to investigate, but in the name of Sam Gompers to call down the leaders of Boston Central Labor Union, to prevent a General Strike at all costs, to betray the cops!

The Cops Aren't Angels

Now the Boston cops are by no means angels. During strikes in the past they have done all kinds of dirty work—clubbing and arresting strikers and their pickets.

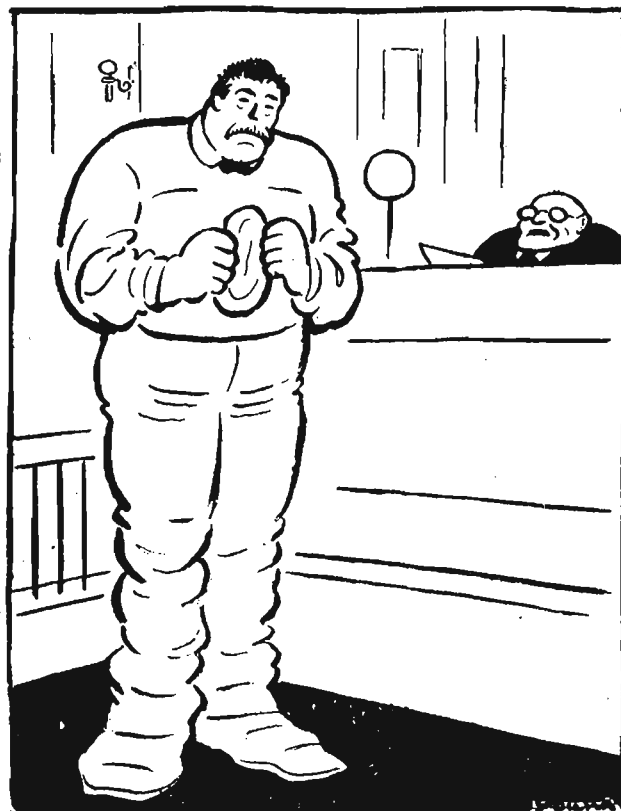
We Bostonians have not forgotten the bestial attack by policemen from Station 9 upon the May Day parade.

We still remember the perjured testimony of Sergeant Casey and some of the cops now on strike, in Judge Hayden's Court in Roxbury. About eight of us still have appealed sentences of from one to eighteen months hanging over us. We still remember how some of the Roxbury cops, on the evening of May 1st, —long hours after the demonstration—allowed bands of hoodlums to beat up innocent people as suspected "Bolsheviki. . . ."

Well, what about the "Bolsheviki" now? In the present Police strike these same "Bolsheviki," who were clubbed by the cops on May 1st, and their friends among the radicals in the ranks of Union Labor, *are the only people who are working to help the cops.*

The radical Union men know that *this is not an ordinary strike—like asking for a few cents more per hour.* It's a case of working men in uniforms, armed with clubs and tin badges, who up to now have done all the dirty work of the capitalist masters—for the first time in America realizing that they are also workers, for the first time using Labor's weapon against the capitalist government.

The radicals in the rank and file of the Unions are the only hope of the Boston cops. Are they strong enough to force a General Strike? Are they strong enough and able enough to take the leadership out of the hands of the reactionary Central Labor Union? Is there enough class-consciousness among the workers to spread the General Strike all over the State—to get nation-wide sympathetic action if necessary?



The Liberator

Judge (To striker): *This is a free country. What right have you to stand on the street and picket? Ten years!*

Let's Kiss and Make Up

THE Government at Washington is frankly bewildered by the rising tide of discontent all over the country, expressed by complaints, strikes, lock-outs, and other manifestations of approaching serious trouble.

President Wilson rightly diagnoses the immediate cause of this unrest as the soaring cost of living. He therefore proceeds to set in motion all the powerful legislative machinery of the Government to reduce the price of necessary commodities. But in the month since he began operations, the cost of living has gone up still further—and continues to go up.

There is something deeper the matter, and the President knows it—but he doesn't know just what it is. The capitalist system of production is breaking down. The class struggle is growing sharper. Vast masses of workers are being shaken loose from their old narrow Craft Unions, and driven irresistibly into direct conflict with the capitalist state.

In the circumstances, something must be done. But what? It is evident that strikes must be stopped. Congress is considering a law prohibiting them. But still they go on.

In the emergency, President Wilson casts about in his mind and remembers vaguely that Lloyd-George called an Industrial Conference, made up of representatives of Capital and Labor. He decides to do the same thing. So he issues an announcement of a Conference, to be held at Washington on October 6th, with representatives of Capital, Labor and "the Public"—whatever that may be—"for the purpose of discussing the Labor situation in the country and the possibility of formulating plans for the development of a new relationship between Capital and Labor."

Who is The Public?

The President has announced his choice of dele-

gates to represent "the Public." They are as follows:

John D. Rockefeller, Jr. whose gunmen murdered women and children in Colorado in 1913; Judge E. H. Gary, who is fighting the Steel strikers now; President Eliot of Harvard, who said, a few years ago, "The scab is the true American hero;" Bernard M. Baruch, chairman of the War Industries Board, Wall Street speculator; Charles Edward Russell and John Spargo, who sold out to the capitalist class during the War; two bank presidents, a Georgia child-labor cotton manufacturer, a business-school professor, a pair of farm-experts and three or four assorted exploiters of Labor.

Samuel Gompers, upon invitation, has named the following representatives of "Labor:"

Himself, Jo Valentine, Frank Duffy, W. D. Mahon, T. A. Rickert, Jacob Fisher and Matt Woll—all members of the Gompers machine, and A. F. of L. vice-presidents; Frank Morrison, Daniel Tobin, John L. Lewis, Sara Conboy, William H. Johnston, Paul Scharenberg, John Donlin, and M. F. Tighe—all these boys members of this club.

In all this list there is not one single representative of the real fighting working class movement of this country.

All that remains now is to name the representatives of "Capital." Who is left? Our suggestion is that the two lists above enumerated be allowed to represent "Capital," and that new lists be drawn up to represent "Labor" and "the Public."

But this is merely a light amusement for dull evenings—for there is only one "new-relationship between capital and Labor" possible—and that is, the abolition of capitalism, and the rule of the working class.

The Conference of October 6th will settle nothing.

The Canadian One Big Union

(From Portland Labor News)

THE object of this new form of organization is to organize the workers into units corresponding to the industries in which they work, with the idea of solidarity. At the present time quick and united action on the part of the workers is terribly hampered by the craft form of organization, which requires permission from international officials before a legal strike can be called, and which allows a section of the workers in one plant to strike while the other sections or crafts in the same plant remain at work. Added to this is the obvious inefficiency of the International unions from a financial point of view. There are said to be one hundred and forty-three organizations, each with its multiplicity of presidents, organizers and office staffs, and their array of expensive offices. Again, the rank and file of the International Unions are hampered by their iron-clad constitutions and their system of voting at conventions. All of these objections the Canadian One Big Union has honestly tried to meet, and while no doubt its structure is imperfect, it permits of modifications to suit changing

conditions and is at all times directly under control of the rank and file.

From the Bottom Up

It is built up from the bottom. The workers in an industry of a certain locality form themselves into a Local Industrial Unit, having complete local autonomy. From the local units delegates are elected to the Central Labor Council. This central council has also complete autonomy in its district, but it has no power to call a strike. Any local unit may call a strike of its members comprising that entire industry in its locality, by a plain majority vote, with or without the sanction of the local Central Labor Council. Should, however, a general strike be desirable, a fifty-five per cent majority vote of the units affiliated with the central council is necessary.

The Central Labor Councils elect delegates to General Conventions every six months, on a basis of one delegate to every 2000 affiliated members. From the floor of these conventions is elected the General Executive Board. Full control is maintained by the

rank and file, by reason of a provision in the general constitution which calls for each delegate to *maintain his credentials in good standing*, whether he be sent to the Central Labor Council, to the General Convention or elected as member of the General Executive Board.

Recall of Officers

For instance, should the president of the General Executive Board prove unsatisfactory to the rank and file of the local unit of which he is a member, they can call in his credentials, which automatically forces him to resign. This course can be followed by the Central Labor Council with which his local unit is affiliated. Should the delegates there be dissatisfied with him, they can call in the credentials which they issued to him and which enabled him to attend the convention, from the floor of which he was elected to his position on the Executive Board. Added to this hold which the rank and file has on all officers, the term of office is short, six months only, and no paid officer can hold office for more than two consecutive terms. Nor is he eligible for re-election unless he is re-credentialled by his local unit. At the regular six-monthly Conventions, every delegate has but one vote, irrespective of whether he is a member of the Central Executive Board or not. All convention ex-

penses are pooled and are proportioned out to the various districts on a pro rata membership basis. It is thus as easy for delegates from the Coast to attend a convention at, say, Calgary, as it is for the Californians themselves.

General Strikes

Should a local unit be in difficulties and the General Executive Board deem it advisable to call for a general strike vote, 15 days is the time allotted to each local unit to tabulate its vote, and inside of 20 days the whole country can be tied up if necessary.

Initiation Fees and Dues

The initiation fee throughout all industries is set at one dollar and the maximum dues allowable are one dollar per month.

The maximum per capita tax which any local unit can be asked to pay, is twenty cents per member, of which at the present time, ten cents goes to the Central Labor Councils and ten cents to the General Executive Board. Membership cards are issued by the General Executive Board, through the Central Councils. They are absolutely interchangeable, with no transfer fee. No salaries are paid to any officer greater than of the highest paid mechanics in the industry from which he holds credentials. At the present time the highest salary paid to any officer is \$40 per week.

Machinists Moving Toward the O.B.U.

By B. L.

"**W**AIT till Wilson finds time to fix things up," plead the politicians to the people of America.

"Get Gompers to send them back to work," frantically cry the capitalists of this country, where industrial unrest seethes like lava under the thin crust in the crater of a volcano.

"Let us have an industrial truce," says Attorney-General Palmer.

"Let us stop all strikes for six months," echoes the President of the New York State Federation of Labor.

The man in the street doesn't know what it is all about and doesn't care.

The fellows in the shops go on striking and formulating new demands, impelled by the pressure of the increasing rigors of life under this system, in which industry is ruled from the top down and run for the benefit of the bosses.

Is there any sincerity in this plea of the rulers of industry for a truce in the class war, made through their political and labor spokesmen?

Nothing In It

The evidence indicates that there is not, and the lesson restless Labor is learning is that the olive branch held out by the employers is invariably studded thick with thorns.

Here is what has happened in Bridgeport, Conn.

The strike of 6,000 Graphophone workers, was broken two weeks ago by a combination of the Chamber of Commerce, the Mayor, the Manufacturers Association, the police, the press and the International officials of the I. A. of M.

The strikers went back to work upon the promise of the Mayor, whose name is also Wilson, that the company would allow the election of shop committees

in every department, and would meet with those committees to adjust all grievances.

It was promised there would be no discrimination whatever against any of the striking employees.

The election of shop committees was set for Friday, September 19th.

About a week before that date the weeding out began. The company began peremptorily discharging members of Machinists' Lodge No. 30 and the W. I. I. U., the two labor organizations in which the strikers were enrolled.

The two days before the elections this program was speeded up until practically every candidate for election to a shop committee who was a member of either union, or was known to be active in the strike, was discharged.

The total of workers thus discriminated against is over 300.

On Thursday the 18th a committee of sixty went to the City Hall, to demand of the Mayor that he make good the promises under which the strikers had been induced to return to work.

The Workers Boycott the Elections

He said he would "look into the matter and report to the committee on Saturday." After the election of the shop committees.

The workers saw through the game. It was plain that the company proposed to secure a "hand-picked" shop committee, which could be counted upon to endorse all company proposals and thus make the public believe that the striker's grievances were adjusted.

The machinery of the workers' organization was immediately set in motion to block the bosses' game;

a call was issued to all the workers to refuse to vote for the shop committees.

The balloting began for a new strike against the Columbia Graphophone Company. It seems certain that the strike will soon be on, and this time the workers will not be fooled by the company's threat to leave town.

The workers in the shops of Bridgeport have learned by many bitter experiences that the promises of corporations as well as of politicians are less than scraps of paper. It is a dangerous game the capitalists are playing.

No More Contracts!

In the past, the security of Capital has rested upon its ability to tie up Labor with contracts, which Labor religiously kept while Capital found subtle means to defeat them. Now when Capital makes and breaks promises with reckless unconcern, Labor will no longer stand in awe of the "sacred contract."

It is high time for Labor to treat all contracts as "scraps of paper," have done with truces and spurn all promises of future adjustment.

The truth is that the masters of industry have made a great mess of their administration. They cry for truces because they are beaten at every turn. They simply don't know what to do to save their system from falling about their ears, and so they have their spokesmen of the State and in the Labor unions calling to Labor to "let up" for awhile and give them a chance to strengthen their system, so they can perpetuate the exploitation of their slaves with increasing success and profit for their parasitic class.

If the workers fall for these pleas and let up the least bit in their pounding against the entrenched lines of the industrial overlords, their children will pay with a generation of misery for the cowardice and stupidity of their parents.

The Bridgeport situation is showing the machinists

that they need a new kind of organization to carry on an effective fight against such combinations of capital as the Dupont interests, which first control the manufacture of munitions, then with the immense profits made from the war, reach out and gather into their fold the entire phonograph industry.

The "outlawed" Bridgeport lodge, expelled by the Grand Lodge Officials of the International Association of Machinists, is carrying on a nation-wide campaign to secure its reinstatement in the I. A. of M. by a referendum vote.

Revolt of the Outlawed Lodge

From all over the country endorsements of its appeal are coming in and the sentiment indicates that the rank and file of the machinists are ready for One Big Union of the Metal and Machinery industry.

If the Grand Lodge Officials succeed in preventing the reinstatement of Lodge No. 30, the Bridgeport Lodge will probably issue a call to all the insurgent lodges in the I. A. of M. to join in the formation of such a union.

If, on the other hand, Lodge No. 30 is returned to the I. A. of M., it will undoubtedly begin a vigorous campaign to oust the present Grand Lodge Officials, and bring about a re-organization of the I. A. of M. along the lines already proposed by the Toledo Lodge, which has initiated a referendum to form a thorough industrial organization of the metal industry, which would inevitably take the organization out of the A. F. of L., because it would conflict with the jurisdictions now assumed by other organizations in the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L.

So while Capital flounders helplessly in the face of greater industrial unrest than the world has ever known, Labor struggles forward on a hundred fields, trying in a hundred different ways to fashion the only instrument through which its ultimate emancipation can be achieved, One Big Union.

The Miners' Convention

By A. F. Key

THE Miners' Convention has just completed its sessions without adopting any revolutionary measures, and naturally, the radicals throughout the country are expressing their bitter disgust because of the discouraging reports coming from Cleveland. However, various incidents throughout the Convention tend to cheer the despondent who imagine that the American miner is reactionary.

For the first time in the history of the organization, Samuel Gompers neglected to send a representative to address the delegates. We wonder why.

Among those who did speak was Mother Jones, who received prolonged applause both during and after her speech. Certainly she gave a real "red" talk, but she did not dwell at any length on matters which vitally concern the workers. For instance no word was mentioned on the question of the One Big Union, nor did she advocate the general strike to free political and class war prisoners. Hers was a speech that could draw the workers on to committing rash deeds without knowing the why or wherefore.

Mr. Plumb's Economics

Glenn E. Plumb attempted to discuss economics from the platform while elaborating on the plan which may revolutionise industry. In the course of his address he argued that Labor is not a commodity, but instead, Labor is an investment and Capital a commodity. Evidently Glenn is a little rusty on his economics. Further he advanced the theory that at any period in the distant past, the workers could have solved the struggle for existence for all time by compelling the bosses to give a ten per cent increase of wages and at the same time reduce the cost of living ten per cent also!

On the question of striking, however, he recognised that "the only weapon organized labor possesses to enforce its demands under the existing system is the right to cease to produce." He said, "The strike is the result of social disorder, not the cause of social disorder, and to forbid a strike by enactment of law means, not to remove the cause, but to supplant the protest of the strike with the disorder of revolution.

If we would escape that disorder, let us remove the cause, not forbid the symptoms."

In concluding he referred to the Plumb Plan as "more than a political campaign, more than a religious revival, it is a crusade for freedom. And crusades are not won by leaders, they are won by peoples. The leaders only direct, the mass compels. I rely on the mass of the miners of America. It is one of the great forces that will bring about this solution."

Plumb seems to be sincere in his conviction but to us a scheme such as his as a final solution of the class struggle shows ignorance—or worse.

Plumb was listened to with more than ordinary interest, in contrast to the way in which Rena Mooney was received. The delegates evidently have heard the recital of the Mooney atrocity so often that it no longer arouses their revolutionary spirit.

The Steam Roller

The official machinery of the A. F. of L. type began to show itself very early in the proceedings. The clever manoeuvring of President Lewis and his satellites was interesting in the extreme, and succeeded in defeating all the resolutions sponsored by the "reds".

A resolution in favor of the nationalization of mines was carried unanimously and with wild enthusiasm, but the question of direct action to enforce the previous resolution was not put before the convention. President Lewis said, "The United Mine Workers will never forgo their right to strike at any time" which helped to persuade the delegates "on the fence" that such a resolution was superfluous.

Another tactic used was the club called the Sherman Anti Trust Law. This bogey was used frequently, especially when the resolution favoring the O. B. U. was brought up for discussion. Even on this measure, which suffered such a terrific defeat, the radicals on the floor were always given applause, while the reactionaries were listened to in silence. At times it seemed as if the O. B. U. would be carried by overwhelming majority, until the steam roller was put into use; then the radicals were unable to catch the chairman's eye, and the official hypnotizers were introduced, who spoke in awed whispers of the anti-trust laws which would make such a union an illegal organization.

Castrating a Resolution

A resolution, which had for its purpose the expulsion of members who were affiliated in any way with Chambers of Commerce and like organizations was passed unanimously, but at the same time was handed to the Resolutions Committee for amendment. On its return, the "like organizations" had been interpreted to mean the I. W. W. and the O. B. U. This political move was too deep for some of the delegates to see through, and it was rushed through as amended, but this time with a large opposition.

The question of political prisoners produced some interesting discussion. One delegate, wearing a black shirt opened at the neck, unshaven and seeming to have just come up from the bowels of the earth, made an impassioned speech on this subject. The convention was held in the grip of this worker, even the reactionaries being carried away by his sincerity. When the name of Debs was mentioned, the applause that followed would have led the average spectator to believe that these men were prepared to fight in no un-arms for the release of their fellow work-

ers; but again the forces of reaction set in and only a resolution of protest was passed.

The Split in the U. M. W. A.

The action of the Union officials in Southern Illinois, where twenty-eight Locals were suspended for striking without Union authorization, was upheld by this Convention. Twenty-eight delegates were unseated. The immediate result in the Illinois district was a vicious attack by the mine-owners and the authorities upon the members of the insurgent Unions.

The following letters tell their own story, and show why hundreds are breaking away from the A. F. of L. and joining the W. I. I. U. and the I. W. W.

Belleville, Ill., September 20

Gomer Davis:—

After leaving Cleveland we all tried to return to work. I was not allowed to go to work and was told many others would not be allowed. I was sent to the superintendent by Steve Herbert, the pit boss. The superintendent told me the head officials ordered this done. He fired 84 men at the New Baden mine and said he had 82 to fire from Shilo, and he hasn't figured how many he had to fire from the other three mines, and gave me to understand he would close all the mines rather than put them back. The sheriff and six deputies went to New Athens yesterday and arrested 53 men and women, some of the women with babies at their breasts, and threw them in jail. I'll tell you Gomer it was the most terrible sight I ever saw. Bond of \$8,900 was asked and none of them could fill it.

Yours truly,

EDWARD KEIGLEY

Collinsville, September 20th, 1919

Mr. Frank Hefferly

Dear Sir and Brother:—

Since returning to Collinsville the delegates advised the men to return to work, with the understanding from the Executive Board that there would be no discrimination against any of the men, and with that understanding all the miners returned to work today, but notwithstanding this fact men have been discharged from every mine in Collinsville and vicinity.

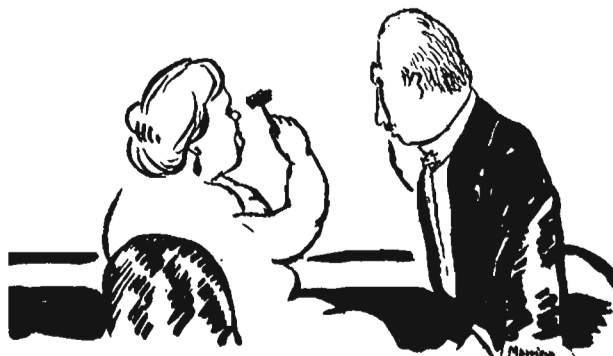
Frank the feeling around here is something bitter against these wholesale discharges, and if something is not done I do not know what the hell will happen as the men are not going to stand for it.

If you can do anything to relieve this situation, Frank, with taking it up with President Lewis, do it as it is all out of reason to discharge men like they are doing in this district.

Fraternally yours,

BERT GRAY

If one man had consistently challenged the organized officialdom, there is very little doubt that such criticism would have eventually broken down the morale which the reactionaries had established.



Good Morning

He: They say the Opera Singers are going on strike—

She: Thanks goodness! Then we can talk without being interrupted!

My Own Shop

What's the Matter with the Bricklayers?

By Mike—

SOME of you workers talk about the Closed Shop. Well, we Bricklayers have got the Closed Shop—have had it for years. We've got one of the strongest Unions in existence; there are practically no scabs in the United States or Canada. Up to the present time, so far as I can remember—and I've been a bricklayer for eight years—we've never had a strike.

Eight hours? We've had the Eight-hour Day for the last 17 years. Forty-four Hour Week? Go on, we've had the Forty-four Hour Week since 1904. In 1904 we got \$5.60 for an Eight-hour Day; in 1914, it went up to \$6; in the last half year, it has been \$7 a day.

Pretty soft, you think?

No. The bricklayers are the most exploited trade in this country.

In spite of this seemingly high pay, the average annual wages for bricklayers in 1918 were \$14-\$15 per week. This is because a bricklayer averages only five months' work every year.

How the Bricklayers Are Exploited

A bricklayer on the job is an absolute slave. If he leaves his work to get a drink of water, he is immediately fired. If the boss doesn't like his face, or doesn't think he's working hard enough, or gets any grumbling or back-talk, he turns the worker out.

The Boss has absolute power to fire the worker at will, with or without a reason. This is a Union rule.

When bricklayers start a job, they stretch a line at the place where the bricks shall be laid to. Then they start in. Each bricklayer must reach the line at the same time as the others. If he does not, he is laid off.

A couple of fast workers are put in the gang, and every man must work as fast as the fastest worker. The boss stands behind jingling money in his pocket. The fast worker sets a terrific speed—if he doesn't, he's laid off; the other workers have got to keep up with him. When one of them falls behind, he is immediately paid off and fired. For hours at a time, without relief, the workers race each other for the line.

This makes the bricklayers enemies of each other. Each thinks the other is speeding, and each resents the fact. Men are forced to compete with each other, and the loser is fired. But there is another and more serious result. Rushing the job for their very existence, the bricklayers don't care whether the bricks lie well or not. They slam bricks into dry places, any old way; and some day, when a heavy strain comes on that part of a wall, a terrible accident happens.

It is a rule of the Bricklayers' Union that the boss can fire any worker he wants to. Moreover, many bosses carry cards in the Bricklayers' Union—this being one of the few organizations in which employers of labor have a voice in the management of the Union.

The Ten Dollar Movement

The same pressure of economic conditions which has forced the rank and file of other trades to ask for more wages, also forced the bricklayers to act.

In New York there are five Locals of the Bricklayers—Nos. 1, 9, 34, 37 and 41. During the Spring and early Summer these Locals held independent meetings and decided to ask the bosses for \$10 a day, beginning August 1; and if the bosses did not give in, to strike.

The New York Executive Committee of the Bricklayers, composed mostly of Union officials, awoke with a start. This demand on the part of the rank and file threatened a revolt of the membership. Perhaps they might lose their pie-cards.... For years the Bricklayers' officials had done nothing to justify their salaries.

It should be noticed that the bricklayers didn't ask for anything but just a bare living. They didn't ask to alter any conditions of the trade; they didn't demand any let-up in the slave-driving to which they were subjected. Ten Dollars—that was all.

The Executive Committee held a hurried, secret consult-

ation with the bosses, who rejected the \$10 demand, but proposed to pay bricklayers \$8 a day on August 19th.

The Executive Committee Calls a Meeting

The strike was set for Friday, August 1st. To head this off, the New York Executive Committee called a mass-meeting for Sunday, August 3d, to take a strike vote. When the workers came to the meeting, they were informed that they must vote secret ballot on one of two propositions:

1. To accept the bosses' offer of \$8 a day.
2. To demand \$10 a day beginning August 15th.

The Executive Committee was in favor of proposition No. 1, but it didn't dare to go against the overwhelming sentiment of the rank and file. In order to break up the movement, however, it set the date two weeks later.

All Locals turned out in full force for the meeting, and by a vote of 1075 to 152, endorsed the \$10 demand. These who voted for Number 1 were bosses, foremen, and foreign-speaking workers who didn't understand the question.

When the vote was announced, workers all over the hall shouted to the Executive Committee members, "We wanted to start the 1st; you put it off until the 15th. Now tell us what to do? Shall we go to work tomorrow or not? Why don't you give some publicity to this demand?"

Not a single Executive member answered. They told the hall-keeper to put out the lights and close up....

The Spontaneous Rank and File Strike

Although the strike had been voted on, still not a word was given out to the papers. The Executive Committee kept silent. There was no public meeting with the Bosses.

On Monday, August 4th, some members of the rank and file in Brooklyn got several automobiles and went around from job to job, calling the men out. Almost 100 per cent left the jobs.

The next day the independent contractors hurried to Union headquarters and signed agreements for the \$10 scale. The Associated Contractors, the big firms, like Eidlitz and Ross, Fuller, Terry & Tench, etc., did not sign.

On the 15th the New York bricklayers walked out—also independently of the Union officials, without a strike committee or any other organization.

The Brooklyn men have been on strike on the Associated Contractors' jobs for two months; the New York men, for a month and a half.

No strike benefits are being paid. The Union officials take no active part in helping the strike—although they do not dare openly to oppose it. Fortunately there is such an immense amount of work on hand, that most of the bricklayers are now employed by the Independent companies at the new \$10 scale.

The Bricklayers in Danger

But the bricklayers cannot maintain this scale very long, in their present situation. Slack times are coming, and then it will be an easy matter to restore the lower wages.

As long as the Boss can fire men at will, so long will he be able to discharge the most active and strongest men, and then force the rest to accept the former scale.

In order to maintain their present victory, the bricklayers must demand different conditions in the trade, and be able to exercise some control on the firing of their members. They should organize job-committees to enforce good treatment on the job, the abolition of speeding-up, the reinstatement of men arbitrarily fired.

Bosses should be fired out of the Unions.

As for the organization of their Unions, in which five complete sets of officials are maintained, and placed in a position to sell them out, this should be fundamentally changed. The officials should be subject to control by the rank and file.

All over the City of New York the Building Trades are becoming disgusted with the short-sighted policy of their Unions, and the inefficiency of their form of organization.

Only One Big Union of the Building Trades in this City, based on the control of the job by the men working on it can solve the problem of the Bricklayers.