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Official Organ of The Trade Union Educational League



OCTOBER, 1924

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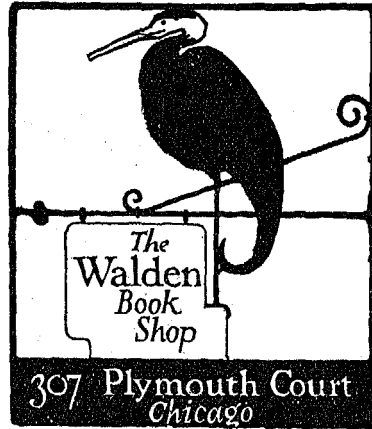
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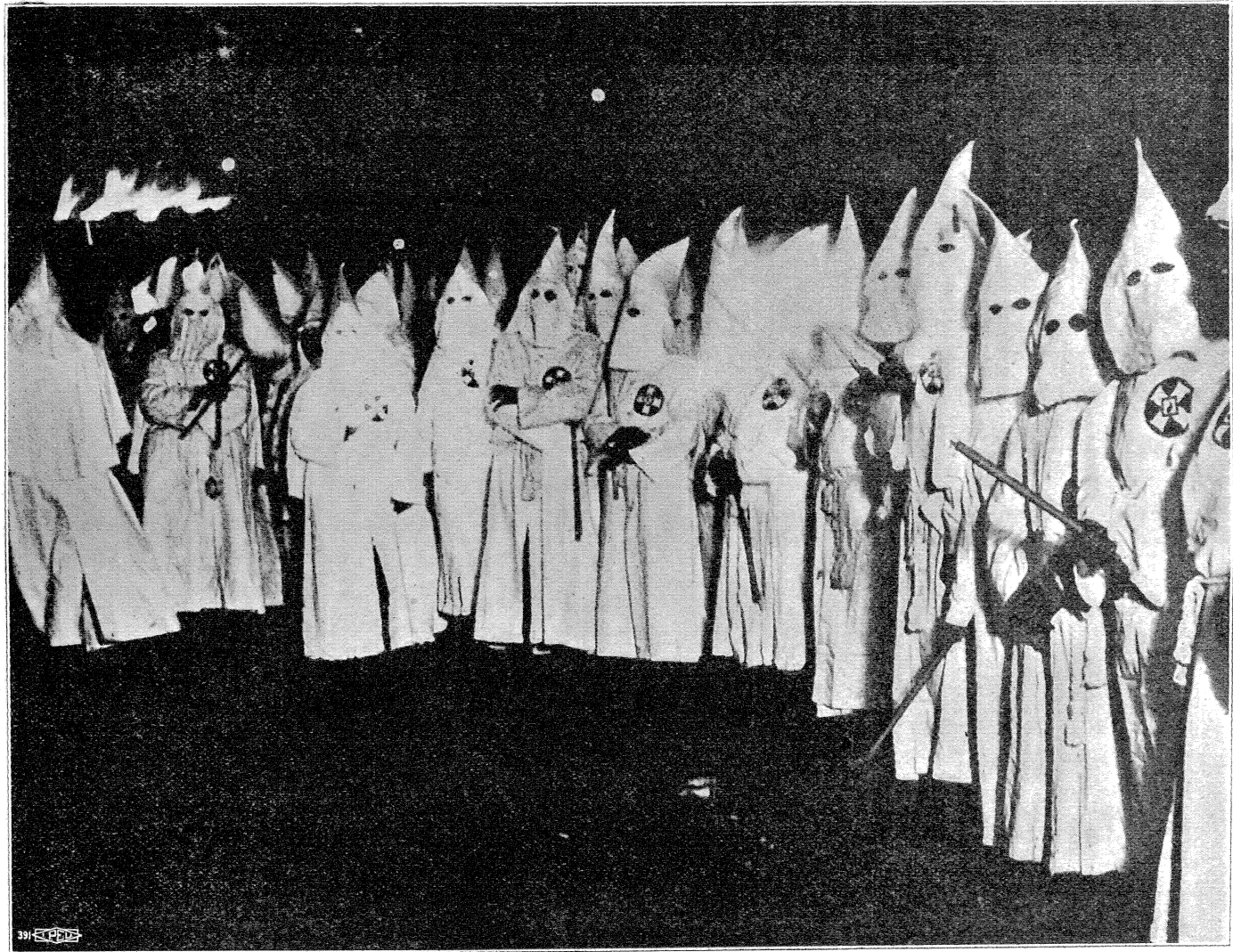
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THE MURDERERS OF UNION MEN—THE KU KLUX KLAN IN FULL REGALIA

THE LABOR HERALD

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290

No. 8

Doings and Misdoings of the Month

Socialists Support Fascist K. K. K.

DEBBS ought to feel the same pride in LaFollette as did the old gentleman in Blue Beard who remarked:

*"'Tis a very fine thing to be father-in-law
To a very magnificent three-tailed Bashaw!"*

The LaFollette machine in Illinois is coupled up with that of Len Small, the "graft governor." Small is a Republican, but his "clean government" is supported by the K. K. K. And well it might. After six men were killed in a battle between Kluxers and county officers at Herrin on August 30, Small's militia commander, Captain Bigelow, deported Sheriff George Galligan and Deputy Thomas, permitted a kluxer, John Smith, recommended by a coroner's jury to be held for murder, to "visit his mother in Kentucky" beyond reach of state law and without bond, while Randall Parks, a known klansman, was made acting sheriff, thus placing the legal machinery in Klan hands.

Besides the legal machinery, Small's soldiers allow the Klan to arm from head to foot. Accounts tell of how, upon rumor of opposition, "four automobiles of armed klansmen immediately shot out from behind the city hall and raced away." The capitalist press somehow fails to connect this with the conference on August 31, of "open-shoppers" at Herrin, where the coal operators and railroad officials, et al, tried to force a cut in wages on the union miners. But the general terrorism against the miners, the murder of Louis Gomez at Dowell and the cold-blooded murder of a Communist youth, Boris Popovsky, right in the courtroom at West Frankfort, give notice, even to Debs, where his endorsement of LaFollette is leading.

It should be clearly emphasized that neither LaFollette, Coolidge nor Davis has denounced this anti-labor, Fascist terrorism of the Klan. LaFollette was compelled reluctantly to condemn its "racial and relig-

ious" phases. So was Davis—after the anti-klan election in Texas. So was Dawes in his Maine speech. LaFollette, like the other Republican, Dawes, is quite satisfied that union miners should be murdered, so long as it isn't over religion.

The Klan carries on. Its "Knights" rule Davis and Dixie. Endorsed by Henry Ford, supported by Coolidge, given, as David Lawrence says, "constructive criticism" by Dawes, who, on August 23, won the Maine election for Kal K. Coolidge by saying that "a secret organization was justifiable in Herrin" and that the Herrin kluxers "were brave men," it now controls the LaFollette ticket in Illinois. Debs should write to Comrade Snow to "keep the red flag flying" beside the Firey Cross.

They Already Have It!

PUNCH AND JUDY have quit in disgust since the League of Nations began playing the Geneva engagement. Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Herriot have been talking. It is all about "peace." Dispatches state that "The British view seems to be that disarmament would give security; but the French opinion is that security would permit disarmament." This is clear, isn't it? They add that "All are agreed that aggression should henceforth be considered an international crime, but there is some disagreement as to how to define aggression." And so on.

The United States coldly refused to "sit on the third commission" which deals with disarmament, but Lamont, agent of Morgan's banks was there, doubtless hungering and athirst for peace. The "third commission" which had "worked two years on a guarantee pact" were told to go to the devil by MacDonald, who said Britain "could not pledge reduction of armament expenditure." (Great applause for peace.) Herriot spoke up: "All force must not be left to cruel hands to work injustice. Force and justice must be united and the League has no nobler task." (Ovation for peace.) England gen-

erously offered her navy to police the seas for the League "if permitted to seize neutral ships."

MacDonald, appealing to the small nations, reminded them: "Pact or no pact, you will be invaded, devastated and crushed. You are certain to be the victims of the military age." After which, dispatches indicate "the relegation of security and disarmament to another committee for long study and consideration." Evidently Christ had the Versailles Treaty in mind when he said that "the peacemakers shall inherit the earth."

Sure, We're For Defense

WELL, the "amiable generals," as Wm. Hard calls the War Department, and the "fighting parsons," have had their mobilization war rehearsal called "Defense Day." The saber-rattling generals softly coo that the mobilization was "distinctly defensive," while the gore-lusting army chaplains repeat Cardinal Mercier's slogan that "Nobody can be a perfect Christian who is not at the same time a perfect patriot."—And, may we remark, a perfect fool.

That the cannon-fodder responded to the lash of compulsion and marched with lagging steps under such patriotic banners as "Defense Day—Buy Bilks' Shoes"—"Defense Day—Use White Crow Corn Salve," etc., proves that Secretary of War Weeks was right when he said "half our population is sub-normal." Included in this was Michael Galvin, head of the Teamsters' Union of Chicago, who informed the parade committee that all the vehicles, including the garbage wagons, would be decorated with flags.

The day had its difficulties. The necessity for his presence as commandant at Camp Custer to rally the armed forces against the "red menace which threatens to break up our sacred American family life," caused the capitalist court at Waukegan, Illinois, to hasten the matter of granting Mrs. Mosely a decree of divorce for desertion against the General. Besides, factory bosses worried about their workers wasting time marching when they could be turning out profits for the bond-holders. But this was arranged so that the slaves were mobilized during the noon hour "without undue interruption to their usual vocations."

We wonder what the "amiable generals" and their fire-eating editors would say if labor had a Defense Day? Let us see their pallor when armed workers mobilize under banners reading "Defense Day—Defend

Yourself Against Low Wages!"—"Defense Day—Defend Yourself Against the Open Shop"—"Defense Day—Defend Yourself Against the K. K. K." Surely, we're not against defense days, only let's defend something.

So Uneeda Biscuit, Too, LaFollette!

THE "Labor Government's" Prime Minister, Mr. MacDonald, is busy "explaining" how he came into possession of 30,000 shares of stock in the McVitie-Price Biscuit company of Great Britain. Dispatches of capitalist correspondents apologizing for this yellow socialist idol of American liberals, read to us rude Communists like delicate satire, and we are tempted to quote as follows:

"When Mr. MacDonald became prime minister he felt almost obliged to accept the kindly offer of his old friend Sir Alexander Grant (Secretary Fall had an 'old friend' named Doheny—Ed. Labor Herald), millionaire owner of the great Scottish bakery, to give him a powerful and expensive automobile with sufficient funds to maintain it and pay the chauffeurs.

"Mr. MacDonald's income as a journalist and member of parliament was barely sufficient to maintain him and his family and even his large additional salary as prime minister and minister of foreign affairs is insufficient to cover the heavy expense of living at 10 Downing Street.

"The unfortunate coincidence of his benefactor's receiving a baronetcy a few months ago places both men in an extremely delicate situation (something like Denby and Sinclair.—Ed. Labor Herald), but those who know them realize how impossible (?) it would be for either to enter into a mercenary transaction connected with the honor conferred on Sir Alexander." About as "impossible," we observe, as it was for Harry Daugherty to enter into "mercenary transaction" with Jess Smith. And this is the outfit LaFollette says he will use as an example to go by if the boobery elect him president. Come, pretty Polly. Does LaFollette want a cracker?

The Angels of Accord Disagree

THE ink had not dried on the London Conference agreement on the Dawes Plan before national self-interest had accented the impossibility of harmonizing conflicting imperialisms. Ever since the French troops took the Ruhr, English politicians have

worked overtime to convince the world of the need to "rehabilitate Germany." Now that surface appearances make the coal, iron and steel capitalists of England think themselves in danger they have called upon the government for protection against "the dark cloud of revitalized German competition."

More astonishing is the fact that though MacDonald pushed the Dawes Plan through, Phil Snowden, "socialist" Chancellor of the Exchequer, "warns British industrialists that France has designs upon economic control of certain German industries" and is using the political means of the Dawes Plan to attain her ends. "This is a trade menace of the most serious character," says this "socialist" watchdog of British business. All Scandinavian industries are appealing to their governments for a tariff against "a new dumping from Germany."

On American shores, Morgan's boys, Mellon, Hoover, Kellogg and the rest, are filling the press with "future prosperity" to come from "increased European consumption." But the Chicago Tribune quotes Stinnes, the German industrialist, as saying, "Germany must be free to compete in the world markets, as any export barriers would relatively affect its capacity to make payments." In the very same issue, the Tribune editorially rejoicing that business will be better "when Europe can buy our products again," warns that "We can sacrifice this and turn to misfortune by cutting down the tariff protection."

Murdered by a K. K. K.

THE Ku Klux Klan is the murderer of union men. Boris Popovsky was a member of the United Mine Workers. He is dead. Remember, union men, that he was killed by a Klansman. The Ku Klux Klan is the murderer of Communists. Boris Popovsky was a member of the Young Workers League, the organization of Communist youth. He is dead. Remember, young workers, that he was killed by a Klansman.

Comrade Popovsky was 22 years old, an intelligent and active member of the U. M. W. of A. and the Y. W. L. The Ku Klux Klan is cunning. It has its agents in the armed forces of the state authority. On the police force of West Frankfort, Illinois, it had, among others, a brute named O. P. Bozarth. This animal arrested Comrade Popovsky upon some trivial pretext and, taking him to the seclusion (!) of a court of



BORIS POPOVSKY

"justice" beat him to death with a pistol butt.

He died at the union hospital at West Frankfort on July 15th. There was no provocation, and if there had been, no reason, even under capitalist law, for murdering this unarmed boy. The murderer, O. P. Bozarth, was released on bond, although this is a capital crime, and is still holding his job as a policeman!

Young Workers League members, are there any Boris Popovsky Branches to keep fresh in the minds of young workers how our Comrade died?

Non-Partisan Politics, Oh, Boy!

STARTING out "to reward our friends and punish our enemies" is a hell of a job this election. Of course LaFollette is our leading "friend." But after finding out that wages are about \$5 a month lower in his "model commonwealth of Wisconsin" than in the country as a whole, that only 31.3 per cent of Wisconsin's workers have an eight-hour day, that labor laws are killed by LaFollette men and in the state he has controlled for 30 years there are more child slaves toiling in factories than in New York state, we began to be doubtful that even

(Concluded on page 256)

LaFollette, Gompers and Debs

By Wm. Z. Foster

THE present election campaign registers an important step in the development politically of the American working class. Indications now are that at least two or three millions of industrial workers, besides several more millions of farmers and other petty bourgeois elements, will quit their old moorings and create a new political alignment. What is important regarding the workers is not that they are walking into a petty bourgeois trap but that they are breaking away from the leadership of big capital. However, blindly and sluggishly, they are nevertheless moving towards the left.

The "Third Party" movement is a great united front. It comprises three important groups of the middle class, the trade unions and the socialists. These are typified respectively by LaFollette, Gompers and Debs, a combination of leaders which a year or two ago would have been considered well-nigh impossible. Let us see what are the aims of these groups and what has brought them into this campaign.

LaFollette: Middle Class Leader

The new third party combination is overwhelmingly dominated by middle class elements, of which LaFollette is the Messiah. His whole program of regulating the trusts so as to re-establish competition, reducing the tariff, clipping the power of the Supreme Court, electing "honest" men to public office, etc., etc., is conceived in the interests of the small manufacturers, small merchants, well-to-do farmers, professionals, and other middle class groups who feel themselves pressed on the one side by the big capitalists and on the other side by the working class. For Labor, save the thin fringe of aristocrats at the top, there is nothing in it.

In the LaFollette movement the function of the masses of workers and small farmers is to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the middle class. The only movement that can further the interests of the industrial and agricultural workers, now or in the future, is one that attacks the capitalist system as such. This LaFollette does not do. On the contrary, he is a militant defender of capitalism. But he objects to the exploitation of the workers being monopolized by

just a few big capitalists. He wants the small fry to share in it, too. All his political life he has fought against every form of socialism, and before this campaign is over he will again declare his hostility in sweeping terms, in spite of the fact that the Socialist Party is affiliated to his movement. He is a militant enemy of independent political action by the working class, as witnessed by his destruction of the Farmer-Labor Party movement. He has dropped his plank for recognition of Soviet Russia, and in his Labor Day speech he left out entirely his demand for government ownership of the railroads. His "Labor Program" is hardly more advanced than that of the Democratic Party.

Typical of their political ignorance, masses of workers, totally in the dark as to their true interests, actually believe that because the big capitalist press is quite generally opposing LaFollette this is sufficient proof that he must stand for the workers' interests. But such political children are due for a rude awakening. LaFollette and his similars are loyal champions of capitalism. When the time comes that the working class becomes more and more class conscious and begins to move resolutely against the present ruling class, then the Coolidges, Dawes and their like will be no longer able to sway the masses and keep them chained to capitalism, and it will be the LaFollettes who will be found effectively defending the capitalist system, even as it was the Social Democrats of Europe who saved capitalism when it was threatened by the revolutionary workers. Such petty bourgeois reformers as LaFollette are the last bulwark of the capitalist system. They are false beacons to lure the labor movement upon the rocks of defeat.

Naturally great masses of trade unionists are following LaFollette in this campaign. They are petty bourgeois in psychology. Consequently, when the middle class elements, led by LaFollette, broke away from the two old parties and crystallized in the new movement they were bound to follow. But the surprising thing is that Gompers himself is going along with LaFollette. He did not do this willingly. Only under the severest pressure has he parted with his capitalist cronies in the Republican and

Democratic parties and embarked upon the present, for him, hazardous adventure.

Gompers: Labor Faker

For Gompers the situation became impossible. He was absolutely compelled to abandon his time-worn policy of using organized labor as a stupid tool of the two old parties. When the LaFollette movement began to take shape, masses of the rank and file, completely disillusioned with the capitalist parties and eager to find some relief from oppression, turned to it hungrily. But if it were only the rank and file that were involved, as, for instance, in the amalgamation movement, it would be comparatively simple to ignore their demands. But the situation was more serious. The revolt had spread to the bureaucracy.

For many years the bureaucrats in the unions had suffered from a sort of political starvation. The Gompers policy was so hopelessly bankrupt that it did not even open the way to the election fleshpots for them. Few indeed were those who found entrance directly to the pie counter. Enviously they eyed the British trade union leaders, with their easy-money Labor Party. But they were not willing to do any pioneer work themselves for such a bonanza. It had to come like manna from heaven. It came with the LaFollette movement. The bureaucrats, great numbers of them, saw in this the golden way to prosperity. They took to it like ducks to water. It had the old lure of something for nothing.

Gompers was up against it. He went to the Republican convention with his supply list of petty bourgeois reforms, misnamed demands of labor. He was given five minutes to state the case of the working class before a hard-boiled committee. Then he was firmly thrust out upon the sidewalk empty-handed. The same fate happened to him at the Democratic convention, his old pals being too busy with the opera bouffe fight over the Ku Klux Klan to pay any attention to the "demands" of Labor. So Gompers, compromised by the stupidity of his capitalist friends, had to yield to the revolt of his own bureaucracy and accept LaFollette. But in his defeat he was able to extract a hard price from LaFollette. He forced the latter to give up his program as an issue in the state campaigns and to allow

Gompers to select the congressional candidates who should be endorsed.

And Gompers must go still farther. The so-called LaFollette movement must crystallize eventually into a party, however the trimmers may strive to prevent it. With bluster and bravado Gompers opposes this developing party. But he will have to yield to it sooner or later, or be driven out of office because of it—unless his growing senility does the job for him first. The bureaucrats have found the way to the political pie counter, and he will never be able to stay their eager rush.

Debs: Sentimentalist

All over the world the Socialist Party has shown itself to be a petty bourgeois movement. Like the organization in other countries, the S. P. here did not show in full its essentially reformistic character so long as the revolutionary elements remained affiliated to it. The militant left wing exercised a corrective influence upon it. But since the split in 1919, the S. P. has fully unmasked itself. Gradually it has dropped not only every semblance of a revolutionary program but even of the terminology. That this petty bourgeois party should be swallowed up by the LaFollette movement was a foregone conclusion. At Cleveland, under the leadership of Hillquit, it devoured LaFollette's bait, hook, line and sinker. It thereby dissolved itself, bid goodbye to such revolutionary traditions as it had, and frankly embarked upon a campaign of class collaboration. Hillquit called LaFollette the most outstanding and devoted champion of the working class, and Cahan declared the class struggle to be nonsense.

The most pitiful figure in this Socialist debacle is Eugene V. Debs. Debs has long been a militant figure in the labor movement, but his militancy rested principally upon sentimentalism. This sentimentalism has contributed largely to his undoing. When he got out of jail his place was to join the Workers Party and to cast in his fate with the Communist movement. He debated the matter at length with himself. But sentimental attachment to the S. P., in the life of which he had been such a big factor, kept him in that organization. It was his god. It could do no wrong. He advocated amalgamation, recognition of Soviet Russia, and the formation of a labor party; but when the



WM. Z. FOSTER

S. P. fought against these measures he kept silent and made no resistance. And when the S. P. went to the last limit of surrendering to LaFollette, Debs not only followed it but gave it his blessing. Instead of exposing the petty-bourgeois reformer, Debs endorsed him, leading thousands of workers into his trap. Just at the moment when real leadership was needed; just when emphasis upon the revolutionary program was required, Debs failed. He began his career and lived the best years of his life warring against the trade union fakers. He ends his career in a close alliance with Gompers.

Debs tries to justify his position by arguing that the LaFollette movement will transform itself into a Farmer-Labor Party. What guilelessness! LaFollette is militantly opposed to a party of workers and poor farmers; so is Gompers; and Hillquit has not the courage to fight for one, even if he does give lip service to it. For many years Debs aggressively advocated dual unionism, a policy which did much to isolate the Socialist Party from the masses and to prevent its growth. Now, in a burst of opportunism, he goes to the other extreme and loses the organization in the petty bourgeois mass, gambling wildly upon the formation of a labor party. But Hillquit is not so gullible. He knows that the S. P. is bankrupt, that it never can hope to be the party of the masses. He is content to see himself and the other Socialist leaders become active spirits in such petty bourgeois party as may develop out of the LaFollette movement. He has abandoned Socialism completely, even as

has Abe Cahan. By his obstinate clinging to the defunct Socialist Party and by his blind following of Hillquit, Debs has finally wound up by losing completely the leadership of the left wing. He has destroyed his usefulness to the revolutionary workers.

LaFollette, Gompers and Debs joined together in a great united front. Ten years ago who would have thought it possible? Then these three men and their movements battle against each other. Politics does indeed make strange bed-fellows. But are these three so strange after all? The movements they stand at the head of are all petty bourgeois in character, even though two of them are slow to learn that fact. It is natural enough that in the present petty bourgeois upheaval against big capital all three should be united together. The power of economic determinism is a marvelous thing.

In this crucial situation the duty of the left wing is clear. Now that the masses of workers and poor farmers are breaking away from the two old capitalist parties they must not be allowed to fall uncontested under the leadership of the petty bourgeoisie. The revolutionists must emphasize now more than ever the futility of trying to reform the capitalist system. They must fully expose the follies of LaFollettism. They must stem the swelling tide of reformism. They must raise their demands for a Workers' and Farmers' Government and Communism by supporting the local, state, and national tickets and program of the Workers Party.

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section, the Trade Union Educational League.

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THE WORKERS MONTHLY

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The Third World Congress of the R. I. L. U.

By Tim Buck

“THE revolutionary labor movement is not only interested to know that capitalist economy is falling to pieces, but wants to know how; it wants to know to what extent the conscious activity of the bourgeoisie can retard this process, and what it—the revolutionary labor movement—must do to intensify the process of disintegration, and widen the crack already apparent in capitalist society.”

The above paragraph quoted from the resolution on “Immediate Tasks” adopted at the Third World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions, aptly epitomizes the spirit animating this gathering from beginning to end. The sentiment and aim of every report and all discussion, was for concrete activity which would hasten the success of capitalist decay.

While the majority of the questions dealt with were of course of a purely trade union nature, the manner and spirit in which they were handled, was such as to give a distinctive note to the whole proceedings.

For instance. In dealing with the question of organization, we saw no jurisdictional squabbles, no struggles over demarcation or for the personal aggrandizement of individual officials, not even debate on amalgamation—its need is recognized as a matter of course.

Valuable International Experience

One question of form and structure, however, which did command considerable attention, was the question of shop committees. Experiences in Russia, Italy and Germany have all gone to prove that both in periods of slow development and in periods of revolutionary crisis, the shop committee is the natural co-ordinating center for the mass of the workers and the one basic unit of organization which neither capitalism nor bureaucratic reaction can destroy. Arising from a thorough discussion of all sides of this question, comes the decision to make the organization of shop committees one of the first tasks of the revolutionary Labor Movement in the immediate future.

Another distinctive question on the agenda of the Profintern Congress, a question such as can be heard at no other labor gathering,

was the question of strike strategy.

Losovsky, Monmouseau, Heckert and Bill Dunne, all reported on the subject, and the ensuing discussion was participated in by delegates from practically every country. It is a striking commentary on the sharp distinction between Moscow and Amsterdam, that while the Amsterdamers are more afraid of a successful strike than the capitalists themselves, and absolutely taboo all consideration of it as an offensive weapon, the R. I. L. U. sees in the strike, one of the principal weapons the workers possess, and one that must be studied, understood, improved and encouraged.

Discuss Strike Strategy

Fritz Heckert's report on strike strategy glowed with the word pictures of huge struggles recently passed and still in progress in the Ruhr, Westphalia and other parts of Germany. Strikes involving upwards of a million workers, aimed straight at the central government in combination with the great industrialists, are serious undertakings, and demand the most careful organization and tactical manouvering. These strikes have flared up throughout Germany, and the ensuing struggles against hunger, sabotage and troops, have compelled organization and discipline of a military nature. Evacuation of the strike areas by all children, mass picketing of women workers and armed struggle with the Fascists and security police, are rapidly developing the larger German struggles into open political conflicts with the State. And as repeatedly emphasized, as the strike becomes predominantly political, so it begins to throw off the character and limitations of the mere economic struggle, and develops rapidly towards armed struggle for political ends—in brief, revolution.

One thing shown very clearly by the discussion, was the need for more active participation by the revolutionaries, not merely in strikes after they are called, but their organization and the rallying of the forces which will assure success. Simultaneous demands must be initiated and popularized in strategically related industries, in such a way that rather than relying, as at present, upon class solidarity alone, parallel strikes, striking at the very heart of capitalism, will

flow out of organized activity and agitation as part of a definite strategical plan.

Another question handled very differently in the Congress of the Profintern to the way it is handled by the reactionaries, was the question on the agenda of the struggle for the eight-hour day.

Introduction of a ten-hour day in Germany means inevitably the beginning of a new international offensive against the eight-hour day, using as justification the abolition of the eight-hour day in German industry, and necessity of longer hours to enable the employers of other countries to compete. Truly does the resolution adopted on this question state that "The struggle for the eight-hour day is, in the final analysis, a struggle for power between the workers and the capitalist class."

In this respect the struggle against the Dawes Plan, and the struggle for the eight-hour day, are synonymous. International capital hopes by the further enslaving of the German workers through this plan, to use them as a lever by which to force down the living standards of the workers in every country of the world, excepting Soviet Russia. Without a tremendous increase in working hours in Germany, however, the Dawes Plan is worth no more to the international Shylocks than the paper it is written on. This makes the struggle of the German workers to retain the eight-hour day, a struggle of vital international importance, and a struggle into which the workers of the whole world must be drawn.

The resolution adopted on this question, states categorically that "The struggle for an eight-hour day can never be successful if conducted by parliamentary means or purely trade union methods. The reformist struggle for ratification of the Washington convention, for eight-hour day legislation, for the introduction of an eight-hour day by means of so-called national vote, etc, is nothing but a cunning attempt to evade the real struggle for the eight-hour day. The Red International not only rejects these methods as entirely ineffective, but declares them to be definitely counter-revolutionary. The eight-hour day can be won only by unceasing and unconditional class struggle, and its consolidation is only possible through the establishment of workers' control of in-

dustry, and the Proletarian Dictatorship."

On the other hand, there is the growing tendency in many countries for the workers to reply to the chauvinism and Fascism of the trade union bureaucracy, by leaving the trade unions. This, and the growth of a left wing within the Amsterdam International, with the natural conflict of policies flowing from the division of ideas, presented the Congress with a great problem. Shall we forge ahead and build up our forces regardless of the effect upon the world movement, or shall we grasp the great task of grappling at close quarters with the reformists in Amsterdam, thereby saving the world movement from utter demoralization and urging the existing left wing from a vague opposition as it is today, into a militant leading group?



TIM BUCK

To this question the answer of the Congress was unequivocal. Tomsky's speech on the "Unity of the Movement," cleared the air of the last vestige of misunderstanding, and determined the attitude of the Congress towards this vital question. The R. I. L. U. remains on its old platform, of the struggle for unity, and the opening paragraph of the resolution reads as follows:

"Reaffirming its decisions on the necessity to struggle for the establishment of a workers' United Front in the interests of the development of the class struggle on an international scale and of a successful attack on international capital, the Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. deems it its duty once more to state its firm decision to conduct a consistent struggle in this direction."

Unity, at this time, means the inspiring of the organized workers of the world for new struggles, and their leadership by the revolutionaries organized in the left wing. There is not the least hope of the present leadership of Amsterdam leading the immediate struggles, and even the existing left wing will drive forward only so long as there is a powerful urge from the rank and file. A large proportion of the organized workers of the world are now in alignment with the R. I. L. U., and the coming together of Moscow and Amsterdam in a World Unity Congress, will be the most dynamic event the trade union movement has experienced since the Russian Revolution.

The organizations embraced in the Red International are varied in the extreme. Unlike Amsterdam, which embraces scarcely anything outside of Europe, the Red International is an International in every sense of the word; and the delegates present at this great gathering composed one of the most cosmopolitan groups that one could well imagine.

This variety of organization, and the variety of the objective conditions faced by many of the organizations represented, was reflected in many of the reports, particularly in the debate on the question of organization.

Industrial Unionism Basic Need

For us in North America, it is interesting to note that the industrial form of organization was agreed upon as being of first importance, and all revolutionary unions were urged to make industrial organization one of their first aims. More than ever, states the resolution on this subject, must the revolutionary unions and the revolutionary minorities in the reformist unions, struggle for the organization and consolidation of all workers into revolutionary industrial unions:

"The workers should be organized into militant industrial unions, nationally and internationally. At present the isolated separate craft unions, disconnected from the other unions of the particular industry, are too weak to conduct a vigorous struggle against modern organized capital, against combines and trusts. The craft unions must be welded together into industrial unions, and the industrial unions should be united together into groups of important industries. The industrial unions of the various countries should be united on an international scale, and their unification should be carried out from below in the process of joint struggle."

The revolutionary unions themselves must be based upon shop committees, and the broadest initiative of the rank and file. During strikes and other actions, the shop committees should be the principal starting points of the movement.

On the other hand and at the other extreme, there was the problem of the One Big Union movement in Czecho-Slovakia. This organization growing out of the revolutionary conditions following the war and a

split forced upon the revolutionaries by the Amsterdamers, will now reorganize its forces into industrial departments and bring its organizational apparatus into close alignment with the existing needs of the Czecho-Slovakian workers.

The organization of the revolutionary minorities in the reformist trade unions, was one of the most debated problems of the Congress. There is scarcely a country of the world now, but what the revolutionaries are organized into a definite left-wing. There still remains a great diversity of organizational form however, and the unification of the organization of the militants is one of the tasks facing revolutionary leadership in the immediate future. For instance, we see today in England, in the phenomenal development of the National Minority Movement, the result of definite organization of the revolutionary elements around immediate struggles on behalf of the rank and file. Just as we in North America floundered around well nigh helpless until we organized the Trade Union Educational League, so the rebels of all countries have learned through experience that definite organization of the left wing is the first condition of existence.

The necessity for joint action between revolutionary unions and the Communist parties, co-ordination of the work of the revolutionary unions with the work of all class organizations, the strengthening of our international connections and the need for preparing the masses for the final decisive struggle, all these were dealt with in the most comprehensive way.

Shop Committees

Of all the resolutions adopted, and of all the discussions during those pulsating two weeks, the most dynamic was unquestionably on the subject of shop committees. At the very beginning of the Congress, Losovsky had raised this question in his masterly report on the immediate tasks of the revolutionary movement. Stressing the growing importance of these basic units, he had rebuked the revolutionary unions in no uncertain way for their failure to have pushed the building and consolidating of powerful shop committee movements everywhere possible.

As he pointed out in this speech, the reformists are afraid of shop committees and fight against them at every opportunity.

This, however, should urge us to ever more strenuous efforts. The closer and closer integration of industry is rapidly producing a condition where shop committees are becoming essential to the continued existence of trade unionism itself; and only those unions which root themselves in shop committees representative of every worker employed in the concern will be able to rally the workers with any degree of success. On the other hand, strong revolutionary shop committees represent the one indestructible unit of working class organization. As long as capitalism lasts, the working masses in the factories, mills and mines must carry on the struggle day by day, and properly organized shop committees, drawing their strength from the masses of the industrial workers, could not be destroyed without destroying capitalism itself.

The Shop Committee Resolution

The three following paragraphs from the comprehensive resolution adopted on the question of shop committees, give some idea as to the nature of the tasks, and the role to be played by these bodies in the coming struggle for power:

"The Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. states that insufficient attention has been given by the revolutionary unions to the organization of shop committees. Yet these bodies may become the principle factors in the creation of genuine unity in the Labor Movement and one of the bulwarks of the working class in the struggle for power.

"The shop committees must be centers uniting all the workers of a given establishment, without exception. Irrespective of the union to which they belong, or whether they are organized at all.

"In defending the interests of the workers, shop committees must get acquainted with all secrets of the management. They must know the entire life of the establishment, the economic, technical and commercial affairs of their employers, and their profits. The shop committees must, in fact, struggle for workers' control. In conducting this struggle, the shop committees will become the center of the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and for the establishment of a Proletarian Dictatorship."

One of the most significant features of the struggle for shop committees, is the fact

that this is at the same time a struggle for industrial unionism. Representation of every worker in an establishment by one committee, elected right at the place of work, and fighting out all the every day struggle on the basis of class instead of craft, is the surest possible way of breaking down craft prejudices and uniting the rank and file in the unbreakable solidarity of joint struggle on common issues.

Russian Unions Report

Here in the great hall of the "House of the Unions"—a wonderful palace of white marble which in the old days was a noblemen's club—it seemed fitting that we should receive the report of the progress made by the five and a half millions of trade unionists in Soviet Russia during the period intervening between the second and third Congresses of the Profintern.

Comrade Dogadov, who reported, prefaced his speech on the actual organizational conditions obtaining in the Russian unions, by an outline of the economic conditions within the Soviet Republic. Drawing attention to the terrible conditions to which the war, civil war, intervention, blockade and famine had reduced Russian industry, he emphasized the steady improvement being made. As an indication of degree of this improvement it might be mentioned that the total production for the second half of 1923, compared with the total production for the first half of 1922, was as 88 to 62—an increase of well over 40%.

In the face of all the difficulties with which they have had to contend, this is remarkable. It has been accomplished by a complete reorganization of industry, and clear recognition by the organized workers of their tasks as producers in the proletarian state.

The period of poverty, the period when the workers were forced to fight on various fronts at the expense of material progress is now over. Progress is the order of the day.

The organization and structure of the Russian unions, is the most democratic to be found anywhere. Based upon shop committees, elected at general meetings of all employes of an establishment, and ending up with the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions, every union official is an elected man, and everywhere the membership takes the most active part.

Under the new economic policy, the unions are charged with the task of improv-

ing the standard of living and the conditions of life enjoyed by the working class. At the inception of this policy, wages were very low, and a temporary policy of local and sectional agreements was adopted so as to enable the workers in those plants and industries making the most rapid progress to reap immediate advantages without waiting for the general all round improvement in production. Today, however, conditions have improved so much that it has been possible to introduce a uniform wage policy for the whole country, with a general leveling up of wages in the different industries.

Under the latter policy, national wage scales were increased no less than three times in the period between the Second and Third Congress, being increases of 69%, 14% and 12%, respectively. Wage increases have been given as industry improves, and it is still improving rapidly. The average wage for all Russia which in November, 1922, was only 17.16 gold roubles per week, was in April, 1924, 37.17 gold roubles per week.

Corresponding to the improvement in industry and the wages of the workers, the trade unions are making definite progress in many essential respects. One is a substantial increase in membership. On January 1st, 1923, the unions totalled 4,546,000 members; on January 1st, 1924, the figure amounted to 5,621,000. The unions actually engaged in industry, except transport, gained 35% in membership. Prior to the introduction of the New Economic Policy, in 1921, membership in the unions was virtually compulsory. Now it is entirely upon a dues paying, voluntary system. Fully 97% of all workers belong to the unions.

Parallel with the work of improving the material conditions of the workers, the unions as organizations are participating actively in all reconstruction work, organi-

zation of state trusts, and various fields of economic endeavor. They have representatives on all the more important bodies, including the Council of People's Commissars, the Council of Labor and Defense, State Planning Board, the Concessions Board, and the Supreme Economic Council. Altogether there are forty-two elected representatives of the Russian unions on the most important governing bodies in the Soviet Republic.

The work accomplished by the unions has been magnificent, yet all signs point to the fact that their greatest achievements are in the future. The workers are imbued with the spirit of accomplishment and are confident of final success. The report of the Russian unions glowed with the spirit of achievement and, in contradistinction to Amsterdam and the terrific losses going on throughout all reformist organizations, we see here steady progress and a steady gain.

The task facing the Russian unions, and the task facing the revolutionaries all over the world, is truly gigantic and will be accomplished only by self-sacrificing work, complete unity and determination to win. Reports such as that from our Russian comrades show what wonders can be accomplished and inspire us to greater efforts than any we have so far made.

The struggle for the world revolution demands of all of us exertion of every ounce of energy and initiative of which we are capable, and unflinching discipline based upon the decisions adopted. World capitalism has its back to the wall and will fight fiercely to retain every inch of ground.

The battlefront may ebb and flow, temporary setbacks and partial defeats are almost inevitable; but inspired by the example and experience of our Russian comrades, and marshalled by our International, we require only the will to power and ultimate victory is ours.

Bill Dunne's Speech at Portland

In response to the hundreds of calls for this speech in a more permanent form, the Trade Union Educational League has published it as a pamphlet. It is the most effective kind of educational work to distribute this widely among union men. Every live-wire will want to read it and pass it on. It should receive the widest circulation thruout the country.

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THE TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE
1113 W. Washington Blvd. Chicago, Illinois

From Marx to Lenin

By Harrison George

SIXTY years ago! For it was on September 28, 1864, at St. Martin's Hall in London that the First International of labor was born. It was called The International Workingmen's Association and upon its General Council sat the great thinker, Karl Marx.



FREDERICK ENGELS

In sixty years the heritage of Marx and his brilliant co-worker, Frederick Engels, has grown from a dingy hired hall on a London side street to the Grand Palace of the overthrown Czars at Moscow, where, from the tribune of the Fifth World Congress of the Third (Communist) International, the theories of Marx crystallized into the practice of Lenin, leads the revolutionary workers of all the world.

Before the First International, unions existed nowhere on the Continent as a permanent labor movement. The workers alternately bore patiently the most grinding slavery or flamed into futile, because isolated, violence. Only in England did unions have continued existence, and these were weak and immature. But upon them Marx founded a great movement, cursed though it was with all sorts of silly nostrums, like the "credit banks" of the Proudhonists, the conspiratorial republicanism of Mazzini and, later, the limitless factional intrigues of Bakunin, the anarchist.

Despite all these, and the terrible sufferings of Marx and his family from disease and hunger, Marx remained at the head of the First International, patiently directing the awakening proletariat. Continually collaborating with Engels, with whom he shares the honored authorship of the *Communist Manifesto* of 1847—the epochal program of proletarian struggle, Marx saw the First International become a thing of terror to the bourgeoisie and the revered weapon of the proletariat. In the middle of its life, in 1868, he brought forth his greatest work—*Capital*.

Increasingly greater strikes shook continental capital. Everywhere unions were born, although the First International admitted, be-

sides economic organizations, political sections. As the struggle grew fiercer, as in France under Bonaparte, the unions were gradually crushed and only the revolutionary political sections could function.

On March 18, 1871, the Paris proletariat rose in armed insurrection and established the Commune. Doomed beforehand by prematurity, the Commune went down in seas of blood, but not before the members of the First International, answering to the discipline of its General Council, had fought like lions and won undying fame. The First International was wounded unto death, and it needed only the shameless factionalism of Bakunin to end its life. Its last conference was held in Philadelphia on July 15th, 1876.

There ensued a period of growth of national socialist bodies, and not until 1889, when the Second International was born at Paris, did the proletarian horizon give even the promise of international action. Alas! It was only a promise, for the world war disclosed the petty bourgeois reformist character of the Second International, whose leaders turned into rabid nationalists driving the workers to the trenches instead of leading them into battle for revolution. The Second International died on August 4th, 1914, but its putrid remnants still befoul the air with parliamentary sophistry and class collaboration.

But out of the world war arose mass revolt, and out of the mass revolt arose the Russian Revolution. Confusion yielded to clarity.

The towering figure of Lenin led the first successful proletarian revolution. Out of it has come a new internationalism, with the Communist International as an organ, not of theory but of action. Its disciplined members are soldiers of revolution. It is a Party founded directly upon the working class, its basic units are Shop Nuclei, and, inspired by Leninism, the hosts of the Third (Communist) International march onward to world revolution! From Marx to Lenin is from Theory to Action!



KARL MARX



LENIN

Paterson Silk Workers on Strike

By Esther Lowell

OUT of the struggle of the silk workers of Paterson a national industrial union of silk workers is being born. It is a story more fascinating than that of the silk upon which the workers work.

Paterson is practically a one-industry town. It has broadsilk mills, ribbon and hat-band mills, dye plants, and silk machinery factories, but all are part of the one industry. The workers have had two big strikes previous to the present one. In 1894 the ribbon weavers of Paterson, and New York struck, but they did not consolidate their gain of a new price list by forming a union. In 1913 the whole city was tied up by the strike of the silk workers. The strikers held out valiantly until July, but did not succeed in the end. The craft unions which separate dyers from weavers prevented settlements.

For five years now the Associated Silk Workers have been building up an industrial union among the workers. This summer offered an opportunity for the workers to strike against the encroaching 3 and 4 loom system and the tendency to ignore the 8 hour day ruling. Increased wages were necessary as living costs rose. Ten thousand weavers walked out. Winders and others joined to some extent. When no organization of manufacturers could be found to make a collective agreement with the union, the strikers began to make settlements with individual mills.

T. U. E. L. Leads Mass Picketing

Among the strikers are members of the various branches of the Workers Party and Trade Union Educational League. Immediately they took an active part in the fight. They have encouraged the other strikers with them in mass picketing of mills which were reported to be operating with scabs or which obtained injunctions. The League members have acted as a body in emphasizing to the strikers the necessity of organizing in an industrial union to save their strike from the disastrous results of earlier battles. Workers Party speakers are enthusiastically heard by the huge meetings of strikers held every morning in Turn Hall. From the hall the strikers march spiritedly in a body to picket the various mills.

During the 1913 strike the Industrial Workers of the World led the silk workers. There are still a few Wobblies among the older work-

ers and veterans of the earlier fight, many of whom are now in the Associated Silk Workers Union. Many of the strikers in the fight now are newcomers and know little of unions. The Syrians are particularly numerous and have had no organization experience before. Some of the workers who were brought in as scabs in 1913 have since learned that a job isn't everything and that the employers' efforts to keep them in slavery must be resisted.

The employers have used the argument that improvements in industry make it possible for the weavers to attend 3 and 4 looms. Workers who have been in the mills for 20 years say that there have been almost no changes in machinery and in the process during that period. The fact that the fabric is dyed after weaving now makes the thread less brittle in working but would not justify the increasing of the number of looms per weaver.

To Abolish Speed-Up System

The abolition of the 3 and 4 loom system has been the cry which the workers responded to most eagerly. They are determined not to allow the employers to double up their work instead of giving more workers employment. The fight against overtime is also fundamental. The employers were using the same old excuse—that they couldn't afford to hire more workers and keep the 8 hour day.

One factor in the situation at Paterson may be as much to the disadvantage as to the advantage of the strikers. The disorganization of the employers has perhaps averted the extreme oppression of the workers during the fight but it has prevented a mass settlement. Few private gunmen and detectives have been used by mill owners against the workers and the injunctions were not taken out until comparatively late in the strike.

The motorcycle police which accompany the marching pickets each day have not taken occasion to arrest any of the workers but the special detachments of police which guard the properties of mill owners have made arrests. There is not the police brutality of the Chicago garment workers' strike, but the fact that there are so many husky men among the weavers instead of mostly girl strikers possibly deters the Paterson police. That 107 pickets were arrested when demonstrating before the Gilt Edge Mills which attempted to re-open, indi-

cates again that when a large employer wants police assistance, he can buy it.

T. U. E. L. Fights for Strike Relief

Prior to the strike the workers had been unemployed or working part-time for a period of several months. The industry was just reviving when the workers took the opportunity to strike. The number of workers in the union was about a quarter of the number who came out on strike. After several weeks of the strike the strain on the finances of the union and of the strikers was considerable. The local labor council would not assist the strikers, altho a few trade unionists are attempting to help get relief funds. The New York branch of the T. U. E. L. was asked to secure aid from sympathetic workers in the city and held a monster benefit meeting.

The Associated Silk Workers union has succeeded in signing up mills having more than a third of the looms with good prospects for signing more. The little mills run by a family with only a few workers, like the sweatshops in the garment industries, are hardest to control. Many of these have failed during the year, partly because of the speculation in the raw silk market following the Japanese earthquake of a year ago and partly because of the depression. But the Associated and the T. U. E. L. members are keenly aware of the difficulties confronting them in the present fight and in the plan to extend the union's activities throughout the industry and throughout the country.

A conference with representatives from the workers of Allentown, Pa., and from New York has been held and a constitution for the national industrial union proposed. If this is approved by the membership a convention will be held and the actual organization work will be-

gin. The importance of getting all the silk workers into one organization must not be minimized in considering the difficulties. Many workers attribute the failure of the 1913 strike to the fact that Pennsylvania mills continued working. In the present fight the employers are claiming that their business is going to other places but this has not been proved by reports from Pennsylvania and New York.

The United Textile Workers, the largest union in the textile industry outside the silk trade, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, has no organization left among the weavers, altho some pickers and quillers are still in its ranks. The A. F. of L. crafts have not participated in the strike. The United Textile Workers union is really negligible in the silk industry and can scarcely charge dualism to the Associated in its effort to become a national industrial union.

Direct Participation in Struggle

The Paterson strike offers another very good case to illustrate how the T. U. E. L. and Workers Party members can be influential in the struggles of the workers. League members among the silk workers are, as in other fields, more alert to the problems of the workers and to the intimate connection of any group of employers to the whole organized capitalist society. League members naturally forge to the front among their fellow workers, particularly when there is a big struggle like the strike.

League members actively assist in the conduct of the fight and afterwards it is part of their task to see that the union agreement is kept in their mills. They carry the fight to the job. Their enthusiasm for the fight against the employers inspires other workers and gives the opportunities to educate them in the necessity for studying revolutionary tactics.

British Revolutionists on the March

By Charles Ashleigh

THE First National Minority Conference, held in London on August 23 and 24, is of great historical importance in the development of the revolutionary movement of Great Britain and of the world.

There have been left wing conferences before, such as the Workshop Committee conferences during the war, but all were sectional conferences or limited to particular demands rather than meetings to forge an instrument of permanent value to the movement. Usually they confined them-

selves to oratory and left the technical details to chance, or to God.

But this was a real conference of determined rebels, intent on building up machinery for permanent and definite purposes. Altogether there were 270 delegates present. The representation of the larger industries and groups was as follows: trades councils, 33; metal workers, 48; railroad workers, 12; electrical workers, 17; marine and road transport, 13; municipal workers, 20; miners, 21; unemployed organizations, 25.



TOM MANN

Practically all industries had some representation.

Tom Mann, the veteran fighter, bronzed and hearty after a stay of several months in Russia, presided at the conference. He opened the proceedings with a militant call to the workers to rally around the organization then being formed.

"The Minority Movement," said Comrade Mann, "is not a disruptionist movement. We are not anti-trade unionists. We are such good trade unionists that we cannot stand passively aside while the reactionaries wreck the organizations which have been built up with so much sacrifice and effort by the workers. The reason for the existence of this movement is that trade unionism, in Britain and elsewhere, tends to get into a rut. The fault of the trade union movement is that it overlooks the clear objective; the complete control of industry by the workers. The capitalist system must go, and go quickly."

"We have been asked whether we cannot achieve our aims peacefully," continued Tom Mann, amid cheers. "We shall do it as peacefully as we can; but the job has to be done, peacefully or otherwise. And we are among the men who are going to do it!"

Willie Gallacher, retiring Secretary of the British Bureau of the R. I. L. U., in his report traced the development of the minority movement. It had begun in the miners' union in South Wales and has crystallized

into a definite miners' movement with Nat Watkins as secretary and its own fortnightly organ, "The Mineworker." Then the transport workers had formed a minority, in charge of George Hardy. Later the metal workers movement had been started, led by Wal Hannington, a machinist known widely as the leader of the National Unemployed Workers' Committee movement. The minority movement among the building trades was just in process of formation. This conference was called to include these industries in a great national movement embracing all industries.

"More Wages—Less Hours"

Resenting "the tendency to arrange wages on a fodder basis" and determined to fight "any agreements which seek to reduce wages," the Conference by resolution called upon the Trades Union Congress to call a special conference of all unions to decide upon action to enforce an all-round increase of one pound per week, with a minimum of four pounds weekly.

On the question of working hours, the conference passed the following resolution: "This conference demands, in view of the rapid development and increased productivity of the machinery of production, which has forced on us a permanent army of unemployed, that immediate steps be taken to bring about a considerable reduction in working hours. It calls upon the trade union movement, therefore, to institute the 44-hour week."

One of the most important resolutions was that bearing on the question of Factory Committees. This was moved by Comrade John Ross Campbell, acting editor of the "Workers' Weekly," who had just emerged triumphantly from an attempt of the "Labor" government to prosecute him for sedition. His appearance was the signal for spontaneous and prolonged cheering. Ironic cries of "No sedition, now, Johnny!" could be heard. And this reception was from an audience of trade unionists among whom Communists were in a minority.

The Factory Committee Resolution is too lengthy to be quoted here. But the immense importance of this subject in all countries causes me to promise a later article dealing comprehensively with this new form arising in the shops. Enough to say that the British militants realize that the place of work is the foundation of organization, that the unions are stimulated, not harmed, by factory committees which represent and bring into

action every worker of all categories and all unions or none.

The resolution on the "Labor" government did not mince words. It is significant that it was introduced by Sam Elsbury, National Organizer of the Tailors' and Garment Workers' Union. It pointed out that the MacDonald government had, "instead of giving the workers assistance" forced compromises at the expense of the workers to prevent strikes, and when strikes had taken place, "The government has used naval men during the dock strike, proclaimed a 'State of Emergency' during the tramwaymen's strike, threatened to use government scabs in the railway shopmen's strike," etc.

The resolution demanded that such hostile actions cease and that "the trade unions must see that the government be under the control of and responsible to the organized working class, for only then will it be possible to force the government to act in the interests of the working class." It added that if the government refuses to cease hostile actions against workers, "then the workers will recognize in such refusal a complete betrayal of the best interests of the working class, and this conference pledges itself to do all in its power to force the government to act."

Many important resolutions upon vital issues, such as unemployment, women in industry and youth in industry were passed, as well as one on the role of trades councils. The conference demanded in another resolution, that the Trade Union Congress act through the Amsterdam International to convene a world conference for unity with the R. I. L. U. upon the basis of the class struggle and all its implications.

Aims and Objects

The conference organized itself permanently as the National Minority Movement. It set forth its aims and objects as follows:

"1. To organize the working masses of Great Britain for the overthrow of capitalism, the emancipation of the workers and the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth.

"2. To carry on a wide agitation and propaganda for the principles of the revolutionary class struggle, and to work within the existing organizations of the workers for the purpose of securing the adoption of the program of the National Minority Movement, and against the present tendency towards social peace and class-collaboration and the delusion of a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism.

"3. To unite the workers in their everyday struggle against capitalism and at all times to advance the watchword of the United Front of the workers against the exploiters.

"4. To maintain the closest relations with the revolutionary workers of the world, for the affiliation of the British trade union movement to the Red International of Labor Unions".

The National Executive Committee of the Minority Movement was then elected as follows: Metal Workers—Harry Pollitt, Wal Hannington and W. Ward; Miners—Nat Watkins, Arthur Horner and J. Booth; Transport Workers—George Hardy, G. Johnstone and Locker; Building Workers—Bert Joy; Miscellaneous—F. Smith, Sam Elsbury, James Logan, John Thom and Tom Quelch. Amid boisterous acclamation Tom Mann was elected chairman of the movement. This splendid old warrior of the class struggle—now 68 years old, but as energetic and volcanic as ever—is perhaps the most beloved figure of the revolutionary movement in Britain.

One cannot help compare Tom Mann and Debs. And what a contrast! It is no easy thing for a man over sixty to change opinions held for years. Tom did it. He was a syndicalist when the Russian revolution came—one of the anti-parliamentary industrial unionists like the I. W. W. But the correctness of the Communist movement was too apparent. He revised his opinions, possessed courage enough to admit mistakes, and declared his adhesion to the new movement inspired by the rejuvenating power Lenin gave to Marxism.

On the other hand we see the pitiful spectacle of Debs, harnessed unprotestingly to the rickety chariot of a few shyster politicians, the wonderful structure of his life of agitation and sacrifice in ruins, the prey of confusion and weakness. How different from Tom Mann, the virile, remaining with the workers, sharing their risks—he went to prison not so long ago for the workers—and ever leading them to fresh attacks on capitalism.

After addresses of fraternal delegates, among whom was Tim Buck, of the T. U. E. L., the conference closed while singing the "Internationale," having built an organization which will convert the British trade unions from the timid bodies they now are, into mass units of the army of the British revolution.

Infantile Leftism in the O. B. U.

By J. W. Johnstone

ONE of the most peculiar situations in the American labor movement is the controversy in Canada over the O. B. U. It is interesting because, although it occupies the attention of the rank and file generally, which almost without qualification condemns the obsolete structure and conservative nature of the craft unions, still these workers do not join the O. B. U. which capitalizes these natural and proper antagonisms. On the other hand, the workers are coming back, slowly it is true, to the unions they condemn. In some instances they belong to both; to the craft unions to participate in everyday struggle, and to the O. B. U. because of its attractive ideology.

Winnipeg is the center of a battle ground, and one has only to look at the Winnipeg labor movement to see how disastrous the effect of the O. B. U. movement as a whole has been. Building trades mechanics are working for as low as 50 cents an hour; railroad shop laborers getting 35 cents an hour and general labor as low as 25 cents an hour. Nor are these conditions due solely to the fact that Canadian industry has not fully recovered since the war. A goodly share of the responsibility can be placed on the O. B. U. controversy which has only helped further to divide the workers.

Despite the fact that the O. B. U. has ceased to be, if it ever was, an organizational factor, the controversy must be taken seriously because it occupies the minds of many workers and diverts their attention from the practical struggle. There are some real rebels in the ranks of the O. B. U., however utopian and impractical, together with a good sprinkling of disgusted militants in the ranks of the big mass of workers, who use the controversy as an excuse for belonging to no union at all.

Lotteries and Idealist Dualism

A common expression of the Winnipeg workers is "I don't belong to any organization, but I am O. B. U. in sentiment." That tells the story. The O. B. U., like many of its predecessors, started out as a revolutionary organization. It was a political party and a union in one. It began by attracting the discontented militants through giving mouth service to red socialist phraseology and opposition to craft unionism, and—later—catered to conservatives by launching vicious attacks on the Communists and the T. U. E. L., while at the same time inviting all and sundry to gamble on

football games, holding out alluring get-rich-quick prizes.

It is this gambling element that supplies the finances which really keeps the O. B. U. alive. Without the lotteries the O. B. U. would have been dead and buried long ago. But there are a few hundred really sincere militants that keep up the revolutionary color and lend the withering corpse a spirit. It is this element which must be won over to truly revolutionary, that is to say, Communist tactics. It is these workers in the railroad shops and in the mines, who carry on agitation for the O. B. U. sincerely believing that it is the solution of the class struggle.

The leaders, on the other hand, such as Woodward, Russell and Mace, are interested solely in the "O.B.U. Bulletin," which is nominally run by the organization, but which is under the complete control of these three so-called leaders and is the means of their livelihood. We see with these facts, a strong anti-craft union sentiment, a nearly as strong O. B. U. sentiment in the railroad shops at Winnipeg, yet the O. B. U. has not enough members to hold a meeting!

Among the miners of District 26, the O. B. U.'s splitting program finds few willing ears. The T. U. E. L. and the Communist Party of Canada have been able to overcome this insidious program, with the result that the miners are refusing to run away from the fight and are more determined than ever to stay in the U. M. W. of A. to fight Lewis in his own backyard.

Those who lend an ear to the seductive and alluring song of an ideal union as intoned by the siren spokesmen of the O. B. U., should study the American labor movement of the past thirty-five years and draw some lessons from its experience, especially from the example of the I. W. W. It is easy to draw a beautiful picture of what a union ought to be. But it is not pictures we want, it is strong unions, and strong unions can only be built upon the solid ground of economic common necessity, with a basis broad enough to include all workers, irrespective of their religious or political views.

The "Infantile Sickness"

The fundamental mistake of the O. B. U. is that it tries to function as a union and as a revolutionary political party. Its trade union program, which is of necessity a compromise

with the capitalism system, comes into conflict with its revolutionary aim, the overthrowal of the capitalist system. It tries to accomplish the impossible, to build up a "big" union of (necessarily) conservative workers not yet fully conscious of the class struggle, yet a union supposedly devoted to a revolutionary ideal. This is one of the reasons why the Winnipeg workers who say they are O. B. U. in sentiment, still cling to the antiquated craft unions.

The human animal is a creature of customs and habits, and in spite of terrific exploitation and betrayals of leaders he is extremely chary of throwing off old for the new. The workers will readily agree with the speaker who criticizes the craft form of organization, and will applaud the condemnation of Gompers, Lewis, Johnston, et al they will agree that the picture of the inclusive union is much better than the narrow, reactionary union they are in, they will do all these things, but they won't join this beautiful fairy-land union.

Debs, for years the most admired labor man in America, gave the best years of his life trying to induce the workers to leave the old unions and join the I. W. W. Millions of workers flocked to hear Debs and voted for him in presidential elections. He was the most powerful figure among the railroad workers for years. They swore by him, they would have elected him to any position in the union, but they would not follow him into the I. W. W.

Facts, not fancies, have to be weighed in the class struggle. There is no short road to the revolution. The illusions of the workers must not be catered to, however much they must be considered as factors. Those who think the short cut is via the O. B. U., are a hindrance and not a help to the revolutionary movement. They only succeed in further dividing the workers and in strengthening the hands of those capitalist lackeys who now control the labor movement. Their sincerity? That is beside the question. The more sincere is the advocate of the O. B. U. fallacy, the more dangerous he is to the solidarity of the working class.

All that the O. B. U. can accomplish is to draw the red blood out of the conservative unions and leave them, and the workers still there, to the complete mercy of the reactionary

bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. It is desertion that they advocate. They advocate the overthrowal of the tremendously powerful capitalist state, yet in the next breath they say that the Gompers-Lewis-Johnston machine is too much for them, it cannot be overthrown, so they advise the workers to quit the fight and leave the fakers in complete control. Lewis expels the reds from the union while the O. B. U. draws the reds out voluntarily. The conservative workers, the mass, are left under Lewis' control.

The Communist Party and the T. U. E. L. consider this as desertion in the face of the enemy. This is a crime against the working class, a crime which can be placed squarely on the shoulders of the leaders of the O. B. U. These men are veterans in the movement, yet with the characteristic insincerity or lack of understanding of revolutionary phraseologists, give lip service to the Communist International and the R. I. L. U., but refuse to accept their program. More, they stab in the back the Communist Party and the T. U. E. L., the American sections of these two organizations

expressing international proletarian solidarity.

A trade union cannot be a revolutionary party, however it may be an indispensable instrument of the revolutionary struggle. To attempt to merge these functions means that either the revolutionary goal is lost sight of, or the union becomes a small, sectarian group.

The militants generally have forsaken dualism. They realize today more than ever the necessity of staying within the union and wresting by all means the control away from the reactionaries. Unity of labor cannot be brought about by isolating the radicals from the conservatives. All are workers, and where workers are, there is the place for revolutionists. "To the masses" is the slogan of the communist International and the R. I. L. U. If the O. B. U. accepts the ideological leadership of the Third International and the Red International as it says it does, then let it give up its disruptive agitation among the miners. Let it cease urging them to leave the U. M. W. of A., and let it join hands with the Communist Party and the T. U. E. L. in forming a really revolutionary United Front.



J. W. JOHNSTONE

Reaction Rules Illinois Federation

By Karl Reeve

THE Forty-Second Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, held at Peoria, September 8th to 13th, with official headquarters in the most notorious scab hotel, was ruled by payroll officials, over whom the reactionary Federation officers, John Walker, president, and Victor Olander, secretary, delivered honeyed words and watery-eyed funeral orations. From the first day, when M. J. Finn, representing the Peoria Chamber of Commerce, bragged that he was "paying 90 per cent of the expenses for the entertainment of the delegates," until the closing moments of the convention, when Walker led the fight to abolish the referendum, reaction was in the saddle, though opposed by a small yet determined left wing.

Walker and Olander, and the large reactionary delegations from the teamsters, flat janitors and other Chicago unions, not only ignored entirely the vital issues of dwindling membership, unorganized workers and steadily growing unemployment, but opposed every progressive measure presented by the T. U. E. L.

The middle class "aristocrats of labor"—not being workers at all—would be expected to do just what they did, expend most of their time and energy in boosting LaFollette, the petty bourgeois champion of the little capitalists. Olander, like the sultan exhorting his flock of eunuchs, asked for "three cheers for LaFollette." The attempt was a dismal failure, so he again begged the delegates, "Come on, I know you feel better than that about it. Let's try it again." But labor fakers can raise no enthusiasm for anything less ponderable than pork chops and moonshine. The cheers lacked pep.

T. U. E. L. Group Fights Gallantly

Against this wholesale betrayal, Thomas Parry, of the Divernon U. M. W. of A., Local 146; Henry Corbishley, president of the Zeigler U. M. W. A., Local 992, and a few of the other miner delegates fought gallantly for progressive measures. Parry denounced LaFollette as a proponent of the capitalist system, and declared that William Z. Foster was the only trade union candidate for president, and, because he favors the dictatorship of the proletariat over all parasite classes through a Workers' and Farmers'

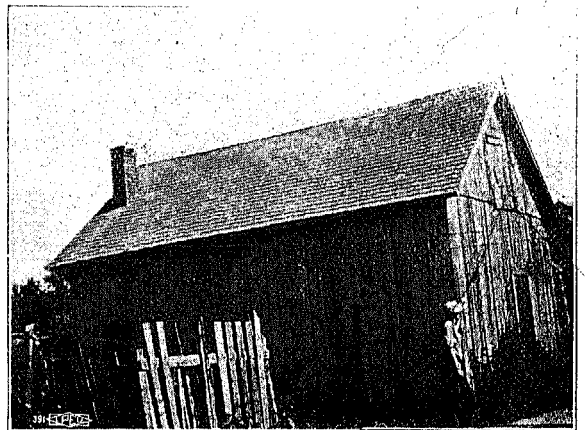
Government, is the only candidate representing the working classes.

Walker sings the same class collaboration tune Farrington attempted to popularize. Walker is also an advocate of "increased production," concealing the fact that the world's markets are already glutted. By some quirk of his crooked brain Walker tries to prove that labor saving machinery under capitalist ownership will decrease unemployment, that when there are less jobs there will be more of them. Also, Walker dwelt upon the great value of education, but failed to explain how the starving workers can get either time or money for securing it.

Left Wing Battles for Progress

Had it not been for the resolutions introduced by the Communists and T. U. E. L. members, the convention would have been entirely lifeless. The most energetic action of the Walker machine was used in throttling T. U. E. L. resolutions. The demand for amalgamation, organization of the unorganized, unemployment benefits, establishment of unemployed councils and conferences of all labor to meet the unemployment crisis, and independent working class political action were either assassinated by the machine or so changed in the resolution committee as to be made utterly valueless.

One of the resolutions introduced by the Dowell U. M. W. of A, Local, condemned the Ku Klux Klan for its disruption of miners'



ONE OF THE "BEAUTIFUL HOMES" OF THE ILLINOIS MINERS WHICH OLANDER ASKS THEM TO DEFEND AGAINST "THE MENACE OF BOLSHEVISM"

union locals in southern Illinois, citing West Frankfort, Herrin and Christopher as examples and declaring the Klan to be a "bosses' organization."

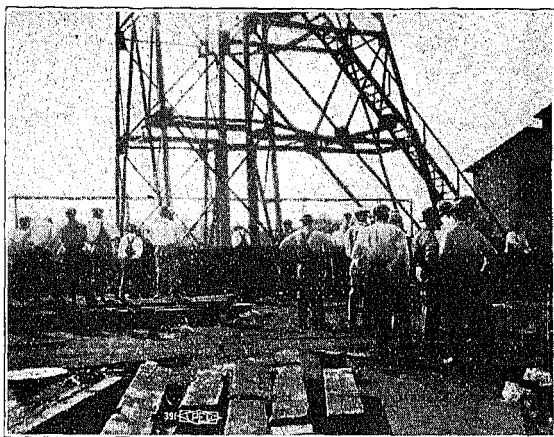
Walker was caught in a rank deceit when, after explaining to the writer that "We cannot declare the anti-Klan resolution out of order because the Klan has already been condemned by the A. F. of L.," he nevertheless had nothing to say when his pal, Farrington was exposed for trying to induce the Dowell delegates, Eli Lucas and Robert Speedie, to withdraw the Klan resolution so that he, Farrington, would not lose the Klan vote in his campaign for re-election as president of the Illinois miners. But the Dowell miners, remembering the murder of their fellow worker, Louis Gomez, refused to make any blood bargain with Farrington and his Fascisti murderers of workers.

Olander, failing to quash the resolution in the last few minutes of the convention introduced a resolution that "Nothing done by the convention shall be used to discriminate against the members of an outside organization." And Olander admitted that this was to sooth the ruffled spirits of his anti-labor Klan.

Amalgamation Lost After Battle

Although a large sentiment was shown for amalgamation, and 75 votes were cast for the resolution as introduced by Thomas Parry of the Workers Party, the machine was enabled to kill it by the treachery of Farrington. The Illinois miners were instructed by their convention in May to fight for amalgamation in the Federation convention. But Farrington not only betrayed the trust by not fighting, he even left the convention without saying a word, although he was Chairman of the Resolutions Committee.

Walker again demonstrated his utter disregard for the sufferings of the rank and file workers, in his attitude on the unemployment resolutions. He tried to give the impression that no unusual unemployment problem faces the workers and his weak committee substitute was referred to the executive board with instructions to give "helpfulness and co-operation." Then, in the last few moments of the convention, Walker ruled that the part of the resolution demanding unemployment councils was "dual unionism, and I will extend my help and co-operation only to those organizations already formed."



HUNTING A JOB AT BELL AND ZOLLER MINE No. 1, ZEIGLER, ILLINOIS. OVER 1000 TURNED AWAY THE DAY THIS WAS TAKEN

Referendum Abolished by Decree

The extreme reaction was most clearly demonstrated when, on the day of adjournment, a resolution was jammed through abolishing the referendum in the Federation. Walker, in direct defiance of the constitution, which rules that: "No alterations or amendments to this constitution shall be considered unless submitted to a referendum vote of the affiliated organizations," ruled that the resolution abolishing referendums would not itself be submitted to a referendum vote.

This ruling of Walker, and his insulting speech directed at the miners' delegates, declaring that they only come to Federation conventions when they have some measure they want passed, so angered the miners' delegates that about 35 of them walked out of the hall in protest.

The irony of the machine's action in abolishing the referendum, is that, only the day before, the convention had denounced Dawes, for one reason because he "expressed opposition to the extension of the initiative and referendum, both of which he appears to believe contrary to American constitutional principles."

The left wing is small in numbers but by battle it will grow in favor among the rank and file. The miners know that if they withdrew, black reaction would be in complete and undisputed control. The miners must check all tendencies to isolation, and see that a stronger delegation of progressive miners goes to the Federation convention at Champaign next year.

Our Overpaid Labor Fakers

By C. R. Hedlund

THAT our labor unions are cursed by an incompetent and self-seeking leadership, is today disputed by few students of the American labor movement. The militant and progressive element in the unions finds itself more and more in conflict with reactionary officials. The leaders array themselves in battle formation across any path of progress. They look upon every proposed change solely from the view of how it affects their tenure in office.

Considering the fact that we are living in the most advanced capitalist country in the world, one would naturally look for a well developed and aggressive labor movement. But quite the contrary is true. Corporations continue to consolidate and grow. We have recently seen the example of the Van Sweringen railway merger. And these corporations are interlocked in ownership not only in one industry but covering several industries by financial connection through a few great banking institutions.

Facing this gigantic and centralized control of industry, stands the most obsolete and antiquated labor movement in the world. Really it does neither "stand" nor "face" concentrated capital, it lies in pieces at the feet of capital to be kicked and trodden upon. Divided along craft lines, the American labor movement has as much prospect of success in its struggle with organized capital as has a birch canoe to ram and sink a modern dreadnought. Strikes are being lost right and left. Factories throughout the country are unorganized. Practically nothing is done to rebuild the shop craft unions, almost annihilated in their last encounter with consolidated capital.

What is the cause for these atrocious conditions in our labor movement? To answer this would be to answer other questions, also. Why are hundreds of the best union members expelled every year? Why are charters revoked and autonomy taken away by trade union bureaucrats when the membership agitates for amalgamation of the crafts into industrial unions and abolition of gag rule? Why do union officials advocate retention of craft unionism in spite of its failure? Why do they play up insurance and old age pensions and labor banks instead of the class struggle?

Every animal—and the human animal is no exception—is to a large extent the creature of its environment. While man can as a race change his environment, the material conditions with which the individual is surrounded molds our minds and determines our course of action. Applying this to our labor fakers, we find that their economic interests are in direct opposition to those of the rank and file of the membership by reason of the extremely high salary received by the officers.

The salaries paid to our "labor leaders" are in many cases greater than those paid the highest officials of the United States Government. For instance, the president of the railroad sectionmen's union receives \$500 more per year than does a United States Senator. This is so in spite of the fact that the sectionmen receive only the miserable wage of \$3.12 a day.

The freight brakeman, who faces the many perils of the rail for the sum of \$4.84 a day, who eats cold lunches and sleeps in his caboose to save hotel expenses when away from his home, pays W. G. Lee the same munificent salary as that received by an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court—\$14,000 a year. It may well be added that, besides Mr. Lee being president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, he gives a part of the time he is paid for on that job to the presidency of a \$10,000,000 private corporation at Seymour, Indiana.

The locomotive fireman, who earns his living about as laboriously as any human being on earth, who fires some of the largest engines in freight services, the Mikado type, for the entirely inadequate sum of \$5.43 a day, nevertheless pays his Grand Lodge officials the following salaries: to the President, \$12,000 a year; to the Assistant President, \$10,000 a year; to nine different Vice-Presidents, \$7,000 a year each; to the Secretary, \$10,000 a year; to one so-called "Legislative Representative" stationed at Washington, D. C., \$7,000 a year; to the Editor of the union magazine, \$7,000 a year; to the Medical Examiner, who looks over applications for insurance, \$9,000 a year. This makes a total of \$118,000 for 15 officials!

Besides this galaxy of grand dukes, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen pays a Board of Directors of seven members who receive \$10 per day while in ses-

sion. Of course, all officers receive their traveling expenses, and in addition to both salary and transportation, are paid an arbitrary allowance of \$6 a day for hotel expenses when away from home. Yet simple people wonder why Grand Lodge officials fight amalgamation or any other change which may even remotely threaten to oust them from their swivel chairs!

It remains, however, for the Locomotive Engineers to furnish us with the most conspicuous example of overpaid labor fakers. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers pay their president, Warren S. Stone, no less than \$25,000 a year for looking after his personal banking interests, and they furnish him two assistants who are paid \$15,000 a year each. The B. of L. E. also maintains a Grand Chief, whose salary is determined by the Advisory Board, consisting of the officials. This illustrious "Chief" is furnished with nine "Assistant Chiefs", each of whom receive \$9,500 a year! Of course all officials are paid additional sums to cover rates at the most expensive hotels when away from home.

These are only a few instances. When we compare these enormous salaries paid officials of useless craft unions, with the small yearly wage of the average industrial worker, it is not difficult to see that there is a conflict of economic interest between the officials and the members of our trade unions. The labor faker, who receives many times the income of the individual worker, is not going to agree to any change, no matter how beneficial to the rank and file, which may reduce him to the humble position of the average worker.

Neither will the evil be remedied by electing new officials without reducing their salaries. The present system will inoculate the new officials with the same corruption which renders the present "leaders" useless and even dangerous to the organization. The only effective remedy is to reduce the salaries of our labor union officials to the average wage received by the skilled worker. When that is done the interests of officials and members will be more nearly the same, instead of being, as at present, in flat opposition.

The argument is advanced that "good leaders" cannot be obtained without big salaries being paid. This has no foundation in fact. If this reasoning was true, then the American labor movement would be headed by the most able and effective leadership in the world. To any one who compares the moderately paid European labor union officers with our Amer-

ican variety, our pot-bellied, hog-jowled tribe of mis-leaders of labor are the very incarnation of indolent ignorance.

Under the present standard of wages no labor organization should pay any labor official more than the skilled workers in that trade are getting, plus, of necessity, actual traveling expenses. And there need be no worry about filling the offices with the most able element in the unions for such salary. A trial will show. As it stands, the high salaries fill the labor movement with swarm of professional office holders—a distinct breed of social parasite—who, like vultures, have grown fat and opulent at the terrible cost of disunion and defeat of the workers.

Other evils flow from the same source. In order to protect their fat jobs, the labor fakers have gradually arrogated to themselves the complete control of the organizations. Instead of promoting the welfare of the membership, or dealing in any way with the problems faced by the suffering masses, they use their time to intrench themselves in office by skillful intrigue, gag law and gang rule against the T. U. E. L. and the left wing, sycophantic personal publicity in union magazines and the inauguration of so-called "labor banks."

Militant unionists whose activities are feared by the labor fakers, have been ruthlessly expelled and local charters have been removed. As a case in point we might cite how the B. of L. E. officials revoked the charter of Lodge 673 at Harrisburg, a lodge of 400 members, for the simple reason that the Lodge had issued a circular to other train service unions advocating amalgamation! Such conditions would be almost unbelievable were they not before our eyes. In fact our labor unions are fast being reduced to sick benefit associations and collection agencies for Grand Lodge officials.

To remedy these conditions the immediate steps must be taken to urge the workers to subscribe to the WORKERS MONTHLY and the DAILY WORKER in order that they may become familiar with their relation to the labor movement and its problems. The following constitutional changes should be insisted upon by militant delegates to future labor conventions: Opening of the organization press to all rank and file expression; abolition of the ceremonial mummery of secret rituals and mystical nonsense; adoption of industrial unionism through amalgamation and the election of new officials with salaries reduced from the present outrageous sums.

Shop Committees in the Italian Struggle

By Giovanni Germanetto

(Italian Member, Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U.)

EVER since the Genoa Congress of the Italian Socialist Party in 1892, the Italian trade unions have been engaged in ruthless, bloody battles with the government and capital, battles which left the streets and squares of the cities littered with the corpses of workers and the prisons filled with fighters for the cause of labor. As a result of this long struggle, the proletariat in most of the industries, obtained recognition of the so-called "Committees of Internal Order" formed by workers in shops and factories. The first Committee of Internal Order was organized in the Itala Automobile factory at Turin in October 1906.

However, these Committees of Internal Order were confused, and in most cases three committees existed in each factory; a Confederal Committee (General Confederation of Labor), a Syndicalist Committee (Italian Syndicalist Union) and the Committee of Catholic Unions. But the war stimulated the organization and amalgamation of all labor organizations and affected also the unorganized workers.

Immature Gropings

The creation of Shop Committees was raised concretely during the discussion in the Socialist Party in 1919 by the left wing group of the "Ordine Nuovo" which, after the party split at Livorno, actively participated in the organization of the Communist Party. The leaders of the Socialist Party, together with those reformists of the General Confederation of Labor, invariably attacked all proposals of the Communist fraction and did not endorse Shop Committees. More, on the question of Shop Committees, the subsequent party split occurred.

The end of the war found Italian industry at a much higher level of development than in 1914. The overwhelming mass of workers were employed in gigantic factories as large as cities. The Taylor system was applied, division of labor and ruthless exploitation ruled. Naturally, class consciousness and solidarity were stronger. Connected with each other in the process of production, like complementary parts of a machine, workers began to feel the inseparable connection as one class.

On the other hand, the wasteful use of raw materials and the inefficient direction of indus-

try by employers, doubtless were additional proof to the workers that they, better than the capitalists, are acquainted with the organism of industry and should take over its control in the interests of labor. The example of Russia where, after the establishment of the soviet system, new order—having nothing in common with capitalist discipline—was enforced in the factories, this together with its own conditions caused the Italian proletariat to think of creating organs capable of playing in Italy the role which the Shop Committees played in Russia. In August 1919, the workers of the "Fiat" automobile factory raised the question of a drastic change in the system of workers' representation.

Primarily economic in character, the "Fiat" constitution reduced the functions of Shop Committees to those of trade union representatives in the factory. The delegates elected were trustees of the union rather than representatives of the masses. Elections took place at meetings after working hours, without discussion and by show of hands. The workers did not know the plans of those to be elected. No workers were allowed to vote but members of the union.

The reformist union officials, like Colombino, attempted to nullify the entire revolutionary role of the shop committees and succeeded in making them largely into organs of class collaboration merely to increase production. "Workers' control," said Colombino at the Genoa Metal Workers Congress, in November, 1919, "could lead to considerable improvement in the attitude of the worker toward his work."

The Revolutionary "Councils of Producers"

But a Congress of Labor Chambers at Turin, later advanced the principle that Shop Committees "are a weapon of class struggle of the proletariat for power." It added that "the creation of shop committees is not intended to minimize the importance or authority of the existing political and economic organizations; on the contrary they should serve to further develop the forces of the working classes. And this body asked the coming Congress of the General Confederation to adopt and recognize the organization of "Councils of Producers."

Simultaneously, the general meeting of Factory Delegates at Turin drafted a new plan which, though strongly devoted to the fatal syn-

dicalist notion of the political sufficiency of economic organization, and still intent on collaboration with employers to increase production, embodied new and significant principles. These "Councils of Producers" to supplant the "Committees of Internal Orders," while recognizing the "entire importance of unions organized along craft and industrial lines" as historical developments in the class struggle, considered it necessary for these unions "to further activity towards organization of all categories of workers." This plan said that "direction in the labor movement should emanate directly from the rank and file organized in the place of work and put into effect through factory delegates."

This plan instructed all delegates to advocate amalgamation and that "all craft and industrial unions of Italy should affiliate to the General Confederation of Labor." It set forth that "every factory employe, manual and office, has the right to vote." "Elections take place by secret ballot during working hours." "Only members of any union adhering to the class struggle were eligible to election," however; and it added that "The delegate has a double task. He controls the activity of the trade union to which he belongs and at the same time represents all the workers of his craft and defends their interests."

In spite of obstruction by the reformists this plan found wide acceptance. The problem of getting the unorganized masses, who refused—especially at first—to submit to control of either the revolutionary party or the unions, to accept the shop committee, this problem was settled by the fact that the system of shop committees naturally included the entire mass of workers who directly and immediately fell under the leadership of the militant minority. The Shop Committees became the most important political organs.

Events in Italy were then developing with tremendous speed and in revolutionary direction, and the Shop Committees incarnated and enforced the will of the working masses. Strikes breaking out in April 1920 at Turin spread through the metal districts especially and were carried on under the slogan of recog-

nition of the Shop Committees even though the reformists in the Metal Workers' Federation would not support it. Strange as it may seem, when the Central Committee of the Metal Workers' Federation ordered the workers to seize the factories closed by the employers, it did not foresee the development and future of this movement. To the reformists the capture of the factories seemed only a means of obtaining better working conditions.

The Communist wing of the Socialist Party, which had launched the campaign for Shop Committees, redoubled activity, advocating extension of factory seizure under the slogan "All power to the Soviets." But the fatal syndicalist limitation which held back the masses from attacking and conquering the government

"Factory councils are gradually becoming a new form of the labor movement within the trade union movement. But the trade union remains, remember, also after the victory of the proletariat, an extremely important organization. That, at any rate, has been proven by the, until now, only victorious revolution—the Russian revolution."

—Gregory Zinoviev.

as well as seizing the factories, halted the movement, and stopped it in its economic phase. The reformists in the General Confederation were working night and day to convince the proletariat that revolution was "premature," that it "would interfere with agriculture and the population would be menaced with famine," etc. They made every effort to liquidate the Shop Committees.

Pressed by the revolutionary masses, the reformists at first played a double game. They did not openly oppose Shop Committees, but they discouraged the masses with lies about Soviet Russia and dampened their spirit. Later, they completely went over to the capitalists, and helped them stamp out the Shop Committees which had led the entire working class. A few months passed, and the heroic struggle of the Italian proletariat, insufficiently supported by the broader masses, betrayed by reformists, cursed with syndicalist confusion, unconfident of final victory and undetermined as to tactics, had to be given up and the factories restored to the bourgeoisie.

Immediately a furious, unprecedented reaction ensued. Aided by the Giolitti and Bonomi government, the bourgeoisie quickly organized a counter-attack, and in November 1920 gained a decisive victory with the aid of their Fascist bands and the reformist officials of the unions. The reformists liquidated the Shop Committees and the government imprisoned thousands

(Continued on Page 256)

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BANKING BUNCOMBE

AMONG the minor attractions at the recent convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor was a certain address on "labor banking" which typified a kind of buncombe with which the labor movement is being flooded at the present time. "When labor and the farmers marshal their resources (in labor banks) they will be in control of credit." Ergo, the road to the emancipation of the working class lies thru the counting rooms of "labor banks." To anyone with the slightest acquaintance with the laws of economics and the class nature of society it is a waste of words to expose the silly illusions of this conception of "labor banking."

But the Utopian side of the "labor banks" is only the sugar coat for the rank and file, to help them swallow a bitter pill of class collaboration without gagging. A more realistic view of the meaning of "labor banks" is that taken by the hard-boiled Chicago Tribune, militant expression of capitalism, which utters a congratulatory chuckle every time it notes a step deeper into the mire of Wall Street on a part of a section of the labor movement. Is there any worker so stupid that he will believe the Tribune is rejoicing at the sight of Labor striding towards rulership of the world? Of course not. And the depths of stupidity required to believe that the wily capitalists are being outwitted by our "labor bankers", and are being tricked into a voluntary surrender of the rulership of the world, is hard to imagine outside of the office of president of an international union.

The hard facts about "labor banking" lead more and more to the conclusion that, while there is a restricted field in which unions might, without injury to their fundamental tasks, carry on their own financial machinery in some sort of working arrangement with the capitalist world—yet between such a field and the wider pastures where "labor banking" becomes the rankest kind of class collaboration, binding the unions under the control of the most bitter enemies of the labor movement, the lines of demarcation are so faintly drawn as yet, and the reactionary character of the union officialdom is so favorable to capitalist corruption, that it becomes more and more evident that the entire scheme of "labor banking"—with some few exceptions—is only another gigantic swindle upon the working class, another weapon for their enslavement, and another

obstacle to their emancipation. And so far as propaganda, such as that peddled at the Illinois Federation convention, it can be characterized as nothing but pure bunk.

FREE THE CLASS-WAR PRISONERS

TO the disgrace of the American labor movement be it said once more that the prisons of the country hold hundreds of good fighting union men, locked up by the tools of the capitalist class for the crime of loyalty to Labor. The officialdom of the trade unions, steeped in the spirit of bureaucracy, is totally indifferent to the fate of the martyrs of the class struggle. Once and again, they yield to pressure at conventions, and allow a resolution of protest to be adopted. On rare occasions they permit the donation of a hundred dollars to the Tom Mooney case. But never do they really bestir themselves to bring the power of their organizations, either politically or industrially, to bear against the jailors of Labor's fighters.

Rangel and Cline are still, after 12 years, in the prisons of Texas, because they gave aid to the revolting workers of Mexico. Ford and Suhr in California are starting their second decade of prison life because they dared to speak for striking hop-pickers. Tom Mooney and Warren Billings are incarcerated in the same shameful state, on the most brazen frame-up known to history, denounced as such by the personal investigator of President Wilson, but with no release in sight because they are left-wing militants. Sacco and Vanzetti are immured in Massachusetts, under sentence of death, although the whole world has been convinced that they are the victims of manufactured evidence. Hundreds of members of the I. W. W. are in prison in the western states, under the damnable "syndicalist" laws, and especially in California where they are sent to jail under an injunction, without even pretence of trial, simply for being members of the I. W. W.

This record of persecution by the agents of capitalism against militant workers, with the added criminal negligence and indifference of the official leaders of the labor movement, forces again upon the notice of the progressive, radical, and revolutionary sections of the movement the absolute necessity of securing some kind of united action, at the very least for shouting out such a protest to the world against our shameful and disgraceful condition that no one, on any part of the globe, will have any excuse for saying that he "did not know about it." A United Front for the class-war prisoners is the need of the hour.

A FAKE LABOR GOVERNMENT.

Every day in office of the British "Labor" government has helped to expose that miserable petty-bourgeois aggregation of office seekers before the working class in their true light—as the staunchest servants of capitalism and the most deadly enemy of the workers. The latest revelations that the head of that government, J. Ramsay MacDonald, accepted a "gift" of \$135,000 from Alexander Grant, multi-millionaire exploiter of girls in a biscuit corporation, and that later, Mr. Grant accepted a "gift" of a peerage from J. Ramsay MacDonald, merely puts the necessary personal touch to an already black record that dramatizes before the masses the fact that the "Labor" government is owned, body, soul, and automobile, by the capitalists.

Workers in the United States seem to take it for granted that McAdoo, in the same Wilson cabinet that issued an injunction against the mine workers and jailed thousands of suspected "reds," should take a million-dollar fee from Doheny, the oil king. They refuse to get excited when Fall, Daugherty, Jess Smith, and Harding, are involved in exchange of ranches, satchels of hundreds of thousands of dollars, booze deals, pardon peddlings, etc. They calmly look upon Wheeler as a good business man because he gets \$10,000 fees from oil interests while he prosecutes the "grafters." But the British workers thought that they had a "Socialist," a "Labor" government, and millions of them will ponder deeply over J. Ramsay's calm acceptance of the role of personal protege of Sir Alexander.

A new and vivid light is being thrown upon the record of the "Labor" government for the opening eyes of the British workers. They were uneasy when MacDonald used the Emergency Powers Act against the striking transport workers. They winced when he combined a Christian sermon with a warning of guns against the Indian workers. They protested against the funkey-dress and toe-kissing ceremonies before the king. They spoke up in rage against the bombing of natives in Mesopotamia. They forced the release of Campbell, Communist editor, arrested for writing against the use of troops against strikers. They are now forming a left wing group in opposition to the enslaving Dawes plan, and to force the recognition of Soviet Russia.

Now, with the exposure of MacDonald's personal subservience to the British ruling class, the growing revolt of British labor against its treacherous misleaders should burst into flame. The time is fast approaching for the birth of a mass party of revolutionary labor in Great Britain.

NO SPLITS IN NOVA SCOTIA

WHEN the Trade Union Educational League sent a warning into Nova Scotia, District No. 26, United Mine Workers of America, last month about the activities of certain adventurous elements that were working for a split, it was with the most complete confidence as to what the answer of those miners would be. And the answer came ringing back across the continent clearly and loudly—"There will be no splits in the ranks of the Nova Scotia miners."

It would be impossible to find a better body of fighting proletarians than these same miners of Nova Scotia. Nursed in the cradle of hardship and struggle, disillusioned by a thousand acts of treachery on the part of the "higher" officials of their union, stabbed in the back by a few local stool-pigeons of Lewis, thru it all they have never admitted defeat, have never given up the struggle, have never tried to run away. And not even when the "easy path" of retreat was pointed out to them in glowing colors as the path of a fight against their betrayers did they weaken. The trap was too clumsy for such seasoned warriors as the battlers of District 26.

John L. Lewis, the arch-betrayer of the miners' union, is doubtless deeply disappointed. District 26 is a thorn in his side, one which he had hoped to pluck out thru this secession movement. He is fighting desperately to prevent the calling of a special convention for the reinstatement of Howat. He must find excuses for continuing to deny District 26

the right to vote on this question among the other burning issues before the union, not the least of which are the grievances of District 26 itself. He has but recently suspended the autonomy of District 17, West Virginia, in order to more completely block the operation of the little remaining workers' democracy in the union. In other places he is buying off the local and district officials. Again in others he unites with his ancient enemies with whom he has quarrelled over spoils, as with Farrington in Illinois. Where the militants become too strong, he hopes for and stimulates with provocation and otherwise, movements of secession, that he may wield his big stick of charter revocation. But in District 26, as once before in Kansas, Lewis has met whom he cannot bully, bribe, or break. And that is the guarantee that the United Mine Workers will finally be redeemed from its present condition of abject helplessness before the coal operators.

TOMSKI TO BRITISH LABOR

THE appearance of M. Tomski, chairman of the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions, before the Trade Union Congress of Great Britain in Hull, early in September, marks a new stage in the struggle for unity of the international labor movement. Since the war shattered the corrupt super-structure of international labor relations into its component parts, and since the post-war efforts of the reactionary leadership to prevent active struggle against capitalism divided the unions sharply within the countries, actually splitting them wide open in many lands, the growing need for unity, for solidarity in the struggle against capitalist oppression, has made itself felt with constantly more intensity.

Comrade Tomski spoke, therefore, for many millions more than those in the ranks of the Russian unions of which he is the head, when he pleaded at Hull for re-uniting the international labor movement. Without hiding for one moment the difference of principle that separated the Russian and British unions (the difference between revolutionary and reformist unionism which divides the international movement) he prophesied, despite these differences, trade unionists in the various countries would come to an understanding. Already they are learning, to distinguish between the national interests of their masters and their own class interests which are international. He suggested an international discussion of unity without the laying down of any pre-conditions. Tomski's speech was greeted with cheers from the Congress, while the intense interest thruout the union movement in his appearance and his words before the Congress is reflected by the high degree of attention paid to him by the press.

Tomski's message to British Labor is the message of the Red International of Labor Unions to the entire Labor movement of the world. Unity of the trade unions, nationally and internationally, is the first requisite for a successful struggle against the growing oppression of capitalism. The reactionaries are striving to continue and deepen the split, to prevent the workers from putting up a fight against their masters, to help capitalism back securely upon the shoulders of the world proletariat. Unity for struggle against capitalism, is the crying need, and the chief fighters for this are the revolutionary unionists and Communists of the world.

THE INTERNATIONAL

WORLD UNITY

ON the 16th of July, 1924, the Chairman of the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam), A. A. Purcell, and its Secretary, J. Oudegeest, transmitted a communication to the General Council of the All-Russian Unions, relating the decision of the I. F. T. U. held in Vienna, and inquiring of the Russian unions whether they are prepared to resume unity negotiations on the basis of the decision passed by the Vienna Congress.

In reply to the above communication, the following letter was sent by the General Council of the Russian Trade Unions, dated August 2nd, 1924, signed by M. Tomsky, Chairman, and A. Dogadov, Secretary:

"Comrades:—We are in receipt of your letter of July 16th, 1924. We consider it our duty to express our deepest satisfaction with the decision of the International Congress of the I. T. F. U. to re-establish organizational unity in the international trade union movement.

"This decision we consider of extraordinary importance and significance, particularly so, since it coincides with our own deep convictions that the struggle of the working class against the ever sharpening attacks of capital can be successful only if the forces of the proletarian organizations will be concentrated into one united international movement. The All-Russian Council of Trade Unions is ready to do all in its power to bring about this unity.

"However, we cannot fail to draw your attention to the fact that the manner in which you present this problem is not a correct one, because you are inquiring of us whether we are willing to enter with you into unity negotiations on the basis of the principles and resolutions of the Vienna Congress.

"In our telegram to Comrade Purcell and in our present letter we are giving expression to our desire to restore the unity in the international trade union movement and to our determination to bend our efforts towards bringing this about. We assume, however, that one of the things to be discussed between us is the conditions upon which such unity is possible. We, therefore, believe that your proposal that we recognize the statutes and rules of your international as a condition to be satisfied prior to the beginning of the negotiations is contrary to the interests of unity.

"You, comrades, maintain that you are bound by the decisions of the Vienna Congress, but so are we, the Russian trade unions, as part of the Red International of Labor Unions, equally bound by the decisions of the All-Russian Trade Union Congress and the Congress of the R. I. L. U. In consideration of this fact, and moved by the desire to find a common basis for negotiations which would enable us to better understand each other and to accomplish the purpose of uniting the international trade union movement, we propose that in our negotiations we consider the decisions of both internationals and that we continue these negotiations on the basis of equality.

"We believe that the success of our activities

for unity of the international trade union movement are of more importance than any consideration of a formal nature, and that in order to bring about unity we have got to come together. It is, therefore, our opinion that it would be much better and more just to everyone concerned if we begin negotiations without any conditions attached to it.

"We are ready as soon as possible to meet with you, approximately 14 days after the receipt of your answer. We would prefer to have the meeting held either in London or Berlin.

"With Revolutionary Greetings,

"For the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions,

"M. TOMSKY, Chairman,
"A. DOGADOV, Secretary."

GERMANY

THE section of the Red International of Labor Unions in Germany is the National Trade Union Committee, which is made up of representatives of the revolutionary minorities in the Socialist unions and of delegates of the independent Communist unions. At its meeting on Aug. 7th, it adopted an elaborate program of work to be carried on in the trade unions, based upon the decisions of the recent R. I. L. U. Congress. The meeting developed a strong determination to break the power of the conservatives in the labor movement and to infuse the workers with a revolutionary spirit. It called for the fight against the Dawes plan and every effort that will be made to make the workers pay the reparations costs. It mapped out a militant struggle to establish the eight-hour day and abolish overtime. It proposed that the workers develop a strike strategy to enable them better to withstand the power of the employers. The following were indicated as the immediate tasks of the left-wing in the trade union movement:

1. Establishment of trade union unity. To this end it was urged that (a) a war be carried on against the workers quitting the unions or splitting them; (b) all unorganized revolutionary workers to return to Socialist unions and a campaign be started to organize the unorganized masses into these unions; (c) a struggle to secure the direction of the trade unions in the hands of the revolutionary workers.

2. The opposition in the Socialist unions must carry on an energetic campaign for the unconditional reinstatement of the expelled members. They must demand the establishment of democracy and the freedom of propaganda in the unions.

3. The independent revolutionary unions must show upon every opportunity that they are ready to return to the old unions. The existence of the independent unions is not an aim in itself; they shall not be parallel competing organizations. Their chief task is the creation of the united class front for the struggle against capitalism. They consider the split to be a heavy injury to the workers' interests. In order to demonstrate to the entire working class their willingness to establish the trade unions united

front, they shall propose to the Socialist unions the calling of a conference for the bringing about of their amalgamation with the old unions. In the establishment of proletarian democracy, in propaganda freedom in the trade unions, and in the acceptance of the expelled members, the independent unions see a sufficient guarantee for a lasting consolidation in one organization.

4. So long as the efforts of the independent unions remain fruitless to establish the unity of the trade unions, split by the Amsterdammers, these organizations will work according to the lines laid down by the National Trade Union Committee. Their entire activity, especially among the unorganized, must proceed from the principle of the struggle for trade union unity.

5. Corresponding to the consolidation of capital, the trade unions must also be consolidated. The organization form best fitted for the present situation is the industrial union, which includes all workers in one factory and in one branch of production in the same organization. In no manner, however, do industrial unions grow by the method of bringing the unorganized into new organizations and calling these industrial unions, or through local splits, or through giving the unions of expelled the title of "industrial unions."

6. The consideration for successful struggle and victory is the closest co-operation of the trade unions with the revolutionary party of the proletariat. The oppositional trade union movement repudiates the "principle" of political neutrality as counter-revolutionary demogogy. The trade union opposition and the independent unions consider only the Communist Party of Germany as the representative of the interests of the proletariat and the leader of the emancipation struggle of the working class.

7. For the successful work of the trade union opposition there must be regular organization and co-operation of the revolutionary forces and their concentration in the most important industrial groups, such as mining, metal, transportation, chemicals, etc.

8. Invigorating of the factory councils movement. The factory councils are indispensable organs for the preparation and carrying through of the workers' struggle for production's control and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They must be the basis of the trade union organization in the factories. Industrial unions without the factory councils as basis are powerless organizations.

9. Special efforts are to be made to win the women and the youth to an active participation in the class struggle.

10. The trade unions must establish the closest possible relations with the agricultural workers and the small farmers.

11. The trade union opposition must exert every effort to win over the co-operatives. The co-operatives, like the trade unions, must be changed into instruments of the revolutionary class struggle. With the help of the trade unions the co-operatives must be made independent of capitalist influence.

12. In the factories and in the trade union movement, the revolutionary trade unionists must struggle with all their strength against Fascism. The Fascist pest must be ruthlessly obliterated. In order that the Fascist organizations may be weakened from the inside, trusted revolutionary workers may be sent within them. Every effort must be made to drive the Fascists out of the factories.

13. For the systematic execution of this program and the application of the decisions of the Red International, all oppositional elements throughout the trade union movement and the factories must be organized into solid fractions. The fractions in the factories must carry on their activity in close co-operation with the shop nuclei of the Communist Party.

GREAT BRITAIN IN the last week of August the secret police of MacDonald's government raided the headquarters of the Profintern Bureau in London, and also the headquarters of the National Committee of the Revolutionary Minority in the Trade Unions. The raiders seized from the office of the Profintern Bureau a number of very important documents, among them the resolutions adopted by the National Conference of Revolutionary Minority in the Trade Unions which were addressed to MacDonald and to the Trade Unions Congress.

The police deny all connection with the raid. They maintain that: "If we had wanted your documents we could have gotten them in the regular way." Suggesting the recent raids upon the headquarters of the Communist Party. Officials of the raided headquarters are convinced that the raid was the work of the English Fascist troops.

The Secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, Mr. Cook, has made known that the Executive Committee of the Federation has requested the Prime Minister, MacDonald, to receive a delegation from the Miners' Federation regarding the agreements reached by the allies at the London Conference. MacDonald has agreed to receive the delegation.

Secretary Cook is of the opinion that: "The miners of England are passing through a very serious situation. Our executive committee must be well informed as to what there is in the agreements of the allied experts."

The Secretariat of the International Miners' Federation has unanimously decided to approach each of the governments involved with the proposal that the latter abstain from demanding coal from Germany in payment on the reparations account. The Executive Committee of the Miners' Federation believe that the realization of the plans of the allied experts would be detrimental to the mining industry of Great Britain, and consequently to the interests of the English miners. This is what the delegation of the Miners' Federation intends to discuss with the British premier.

There are thousands of unemployed miners in those mining sections of England which produce coal for export. It is the opinion of Secretary Cook that the Executive Committee of the Miners' Federation will not permit the plans of the allied experts to be operated in such a manner as to hurt the coal mining industry of Great Britain.

Shop Committees in the Italian Struggle

(Continued from Page 251)

of workers who had dared arm for struggle, while the Fascists, under the cry of "national interests" began their campaign of murder and arson and violent terrorism to destroy every semblance of revolutionary struggle among the workers. The Shop Committees were crushed together with all other organizations.

Only the "Committees of Internal Order" survived the wreck. But they were converted into weapons of oppression. However, even in elections to these committees, the workers have clearly demonstrated their absolute opposition both to Fascism and Reformism. The forces of the proletariat are steadily, though slowly, concentrating for future battles. The Communist factory nuclei, now existing illegally, will prove to be revolutionary centers, spurring the masses onward.

The general situation necessitates a long and difficult struggle. But the panic created by open desertion of the reformist leaders to the capitalists is now overcome. The old trade union psychology has been defeated. The factory remains the center of all activity. The workers of big undertakings are responding to the slogan "into the Communist factory nuclei" raised by the Industrial Department of the Italian Communist Party. These nuclei are being organized everywhere.

These nuclei, and the general revival of the movement, serve as guarantee for strengthening the Committees of Internal Order. The defeat suffered by the Fascists in the elections to these committees testify to the proletariat's readiness and desire for struggle. The Shop Committees have already rendered inestimable service. The time will come when the proletariat will again resort to them as the revolutionary organs truly reflecting the will of the workers.

DOINGS AND MISDOINGS

(Continued from Page 229)

Gompers could make a "friend of labor" out of this Wisconsin fraud.

Davis is recommended by Major Berry, of the Pressmen, and, of course, William B. Wilson, whom Gompers used to be sweet on when Wilson was Secretary of Labor. But despite these and many other labor fakers, we cannot forget that Davis is a Morgan lawyer who fought the U. M. W. of A. with injunctions in West Virginia in 1902.

Ah! But here is Coolidge! Surely, after seeing John L. Lewis on the Coolidge national "Committee of Strategy" we ought to be satisfied. And then on bourgeois "Labor Day" no less than 100 "representatives of union labor" called at the White House to assure Kal K. Koolidge that Gompers and the Executive Committee of the A. F. of L. cannot "deliver the labor vote to LaFollette." But the sad fact that Kal's start in life was as a strike-breaker doesn't appeal like it oughta. Also, his campaign manager, W. M. Butler, has lately been exposed as a "friend of labor" in the "broad sense" that he hired a regiment of Sherman detectives to spy on the unions in his textile mills at New Bedford and had on his payroll as spies the textile union officers.

This is "non-partisan political action" all rightee! Gompers ought to be extremely pleased, though it's a bit hard to tell which is the "friend" and which the "enemy." Being rather mixed on this, the workers will do well to support the Workers Party and vote for William Z. Foster and the soviet form of government. Let's go!

The "World's Greatest."

PARDON our quotes around the claim of the Chicago Tribune. But it's so amusin'.

On August 24, when we read our daily penance, we discovered an editorial entitled "Wherein is Lenin Great?" The "world's greatest newspaper" therein took issue with those who claim that Lenin is a great man. It cited that there was in Russia, "starvation and mob risings." The W. G. N. only approves of mobs of wealthy kluxers. But it went on, "The poor," it said, "are sad and miserable victims. Wherein is Lenin great?"

One would think that the W. G. N. spoke for a system where there was no poor to be sad and miserable. But, alas and also alack! On another page of the same issue of this Tribune is an appeal for funds to buy ice for babies in the slums. The headline reads—"Hot Days Back Again! Babies of Slums Suffer! Don't Forget to Send Your Mite." Again on a third page is the call of a "charitable" organization with a headline reading—"Start Drive for Old Clothing to Help Homeless."

We did not wonder at what happened to the Tribune editor, J. M. Patterson, the day after that issue. He was visiting the farm of Sam Insull, traction magnate, at Libertyville, Illinois, when a brown bull charged him and drove him out of his automobile. We will let you write your own comment.

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