

THE LABOR HERALD

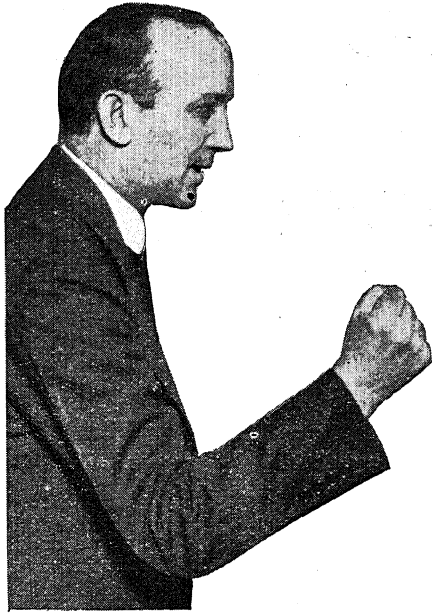
Official Organ of The Trade Union Educational League



SEPTEMBER, 1924

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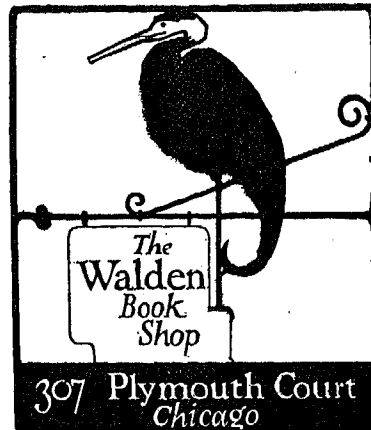
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are perfectly all right. For a program to be worked for by "revolutionary" socialists, this is the limit. But then Debs admitted he had no guidance from Moscow. To see LaFollette and Len Small on the same ticket is enough to puncture LaFollette's sanctimonious appeal for campaign funds "to buy an interest in a crusade of righteousness." Whew! Likewise, phew!

Another indication of what we'll get, even if LaFollette gets elected, is found in what he claims in the "model commonwealth" of Wisconsin. From the way he boasts about Wisconsin, one would think that there the trusts are all busted and the "honest toilers" getting twice the wages as in other parts of the Benighted States. On the contrary, injunctions work against labor in Wisconsin just as elsewhere. In Wisconsin the wage workers average less than in many other states. In Wisconsin the profits of big business have increased many fold under LaFollette's choicest laws to "regulate" them.

In fact, the essence of LaFollette's futile "regulation" is found in the fact that at least sixteen members of the Wisconsin state commissions to "regulate" railroads and other pub-

lic utilities, were handed fat jobs by these corporations, while corporation heads, great and small, bankers and traction magnates praise "regulation" as a great money-maker for big business. Of course, LaFollette now says that trust busting should include jail sentences. But he never has managed to get his personally owned state of Wisconsin to do this, though he has run it for thirty years or more. Also, when Attorney General Morgan of Wisconsin bothered the corporations too much with fines and orders of dissolution, LaFollette, supposedly the enemy of monopoly, left Wisconsin hastily to get into the Wisconsin election to defeat Morgan.

A Fine "Fresh Wind"

SINCE Basil Manley, LaFollette's spiritual adviser, says that the C. P. P. A. is "dominated by substantially the same spirit and purposes" as the British Labor Party, it would be good business to find out what spirit and which purposes are served by the party of which Premier MacDonald is the head. Especially so, in view of the tosh put out by American liberals, such as the *Nation's* note that "a fresh wind" is blowing across Europe with "an atmosphere of decency and friendliness."



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Published monthly at 1113 Washington Blvd. Subscription price \$1.50 per year. The Trade Union Educational League Publishers. "Entered as second class matter March 23, 1922, at the postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879."

Vol. III.

SEPTEMBER, 1924

Subscription No. 7

Doings and Misdoings of the Month

Klan and Koal

ANY coal miner who has been kidded into the notion that the Ku Klux is on the side of the workers against the operators, should notice what has happened in Indiana, where the Klan has practically complete control over the U. M. W. of A.

Who built up the Klan in Indiana to a secret army of 380,000 spies and in Ohio to 255,000? Who boasted that he had a Klan spy system so well worked out that, "the pedigree, business address and various affiliations of every man in the state, whether klansman or not, was on file in our offices"? Who said that "It was possible to find out within thirty minutes what had happened in any particular house at any particular moment of the day or night"? No one but the leading coal operator in the Middle West—David C. Stephenson.

Stephenson is a millionaire, owning the Central States Coal Co., operating in Indiana, Ohio and Illinois, with offices in Chicago, South Bend, Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati, Detroit, Indianapolis and Evansville. He is director of two Indiana banks, president of a real estate company and chief owner of the Central Sand and Gravel Co., of Chicago. He promoted the largest strip coal mine in the country, the Enos Coal Co., of Oakland City, Indiana, and himself owns more than 60,000 acres of coal land besides being interested in smaller business. He has a quarter-million dollar yacht on the Great Lakes, lives in a mansion, owns an aviation field of planes and an assortment of high-powered cars. Look these things over, coal diggers, and see if such guys are for or against the workers.

A Working Class Problem

THE recent conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, after explaining the inter-racial labor conditions making it necessary for labor's interest to attain complete solidarity between black and white workers, addressed the A. F. of L. with the following proposition:

"We propose that there be formed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Federation of

Labor, the Railway Brotherhoods and any other bodies agreed upon, an Inter-racial Labor Commission. We propose that this commission undertake: (1) To find out the exact attitude and practice of national labor bodies and local unions toward Negroes, and Negro labor toward unions. (2) To organize systematic propoganda against racial discrimination on the basis of these facts at the great labor meetings, in local assemblies, and in local unions."

Sammy is, of course, silent. But while he has been, is and always will be against erasing this bar of prejudice between white and black workers, the T. U. E. L. members have been and are fighting for removal of every racial discrimination in the unions. Elsewhere in this issue Comrade Abusian deals with the subject of racial minorities to which the problem of the Negro worker belongs. A study of his article will show that Communists perceive in this problem, as in others, the class division, and recognize that the problem of a subject race is, first of all, a problem of expediency in the mobilization of the working class. Just for that reason it is that the left wing will have to do all the fighting for unionization of Negro workers.

Politics in the Benighted States

AN indication of just how far from a real class party of farmers and workers the LaFollette forces of socialists and labor fakers are taking the trusting workers, may be seen by the latter's endorsement of the present republican governor of Illinois, Len Small, whose political life is one long horse-trade of offices and favors for graft and boodle.

Even in this depraved political swapping of votes for personal favors, the Illinois labor fakers carefully set forth that this doesn't mean that they endorse any third party, let alone a class labor party. Their program is amazing. They are going to save the "legislative and executive departments of government," from the "menacing encroachments" of the judiciary department. Otherwise, the government and the capitalists who own it and run it

In an interview with Edward Price Bell, MacDonald unburdened himself of the most nauseating piffle and hypocrisies concerning the spirit and purpose of what he calls "socialism."

"Socialism would make a gentleman, a Christian, of everyone. It must by its nature abhor violence. It fights only with intellectual and moral weapons. It persuades people. It does not knout or club them."

However, MacDonald made a terrible effort to carry out orders of Hughes and Morgan and break off treaty negotiations with Russia unless it gave up its sovereign right to nationalize property. The trick was only checked by a storm of protest from the British unions. On the same day he had the police raid the offices of the British Communist Party in the most approved Palmer style, and jail an editor for writing something seditious. Meanwhile, the Labor Party Under-Secretary for Air explains that the army was ordered to drop bombs on native men, women and children of Mesopotamia (where British capital owns oil fields) because bombs were more effective than infantry and armored cars—or, we observe, than "intellectual and moral weapons." In addition, these abhorers of violence are making another Ireland out of Egypt, not to mention India. In the "protectorate" of Egypt on August 11, dispatches say that "a labor battalion" (of course MacDonald and Snowden denounced such compulsion applied to capitalists in Russia) of railway workers, were fired upon when they went on strike, and ten were killed, probably dying of "moral" wounds, a non-violent and "intellectual" death.

Rationalizing Prostitution

THE most despicable animal we know of, barring, perhaps, a stool-pigeon, is the alleged "intellectual" who, unable to belong to the capitalist class, seeks to ingratiate himself into receiving some spare crumbs by spiritualizing every assassination and betrayal of the workers.

We are moved to comment thus upon reading two articles by an alleged "liberal" in a well-known magazine. The first one was a very thinly veiled attack on the left wing in the needle trades unions. The cowardice and treachery of the I. L. G. W. officials were decked out in brand new gowns of "constructive revolution" and "accomplishing a victory." A victory, he it said, for which the cloak-makers nearly mobbed Sigman.

It is notable that, because this article's venom against the left wing in the A. F. of L.

was especially pronounced, it was reprinted in the I. W. W. paper published at Seattle; the same paper recently slobbered fulsomely over a chief of police as "a man of his word, a gentleman," etc. Evidently, some of the I. W. W. conceive that it is their duty to protect the labor fakers of the A. F. of L. against the revolt of the rank and file, if such a revolt is led by Communists. The same paper has for the same reason been "seeing industrial unionism working in the Amsterdam International" because the Amsterdam International is fighting the Communists. What cares the editor of the Industrial Worker that Amsterdam stands for the League of Nations and is composed of such murderers of and traitors to the workers as Ebert and Noske, Jouhaux, Henderson and Thomas.

The second article, written by the defender of the labor faker Sigman, rebukes those who talk about "Wall Street" as some malevolent entity which employs its power to subjugate the workers. "Nothing of the sort," says this prostitute, in effect. According to him, the bankers are all noble-minded men engaged in forwarding community welfare and making an honest penny in trade. As for exercising power or conspiring against the people, that is all buncombe. Wall Street isn't so bad, says this "liberal."

If one will but remember how Morgan has been proven to have been the main financial interest forcing the United States into the last war, one cannot but call this defender of Wall Street the liar he is. In addition, he it noted that John Steele, reporting the London Conference in the American press on July 26, says that Thomas W. Lamont of Morgan and Co. told Premier Herriot of France that the \$200,000,000 loan to Germany was comparatively insignificant, that "if France satisfies the American bankers and would do nothing to upset European finances in the future, a much more advantageous arrangement might be made about the French debt to America and the problem of guaranteeing help to France in case of German attack."

With Morgan's bank making arrangements on the debt France owes, not to Morgan but to the American government—an arrangement which may have to be approved by Congress, and, what is more, pledging that if France bows to Morgan, Morgan will put the American army again on the fields of France—the defense of Wall Street appearing in a liberal magazine, seems to need a little chloride of lime to be approachable.

The Next Task of the Left Wing

By Wm. Z. Foster

WHEN the Trade Union Educational League began to take an active part in the labor movement, two and a half years ago, the immediate problem confronting it was twofold, (a) to organize the revolutionary elements within the trade unions, (b) to educate the organized masses to the necessity for a more revolutionary program, better leadership, and higher organization forms. The militants were scattered, unorganized, and inexperienced in nuclei work; it was necessary to unite them into a definite organization and to set them systematically to work in the unions. The masses were abysmally ignorant. It was necessary to teach them the first fundamentals of the left-wing revolutionary industrial program.

The League attacked this two-sided problem with great vigor. Rapidly it got results. Soon the militants in the various industries were brought into line and set to work. And, likewise, the masses responded splendidly to the left-wing propaganda. It is now an old story as to how the League, after only 18 months' work, made its four chief immediate slogans of amalgamation, the labor party, recognition of Soviet Russia, and the organization of the unorganized, the leading issues before the labor movement, and compelled the A. F. of L. Convention of last year to recognize them as such. Its propaganda campaign for amalgamation, coming right in the midst of the great "open shop" drive, was spectacularly successful, more than half of the entire labor movement being won over to a clear expression in favor of the consolidation of the multitude of antiquated trade unions into a few modernly formed industrial organizations. The League made good brilliantly upon its first task.

Democracy Abolished

Now it is confronted with another task, which inevitably grows out of its success with the first. This is the problem of registering the will of the aroused rank and file. The bureaucrats are not only hopelessly unprogressive themselves, but they set up the most desperate opposition to all progressive movements emanating from the rank and file. To break this resistance of the bureaucrats, and thus to open the way to real life and development in the unions, is the new task of the

Communist left-wing. The fate of the labor movement depends upon its accomplishment.

In all countries where Red International militants are carrying on a struggle for revolutionary principles and programs in conservative trade unions, they have to contend with intense opposition from the reactionary leadership. But, in no country is this opposition more bitter and ruthless than in the United States. The American trade union bureaucracy, which is stupid and venal beyond compare, sticks at absolutely nothing in order to block the left-wing. Unhesitatingly and recklessly it completely abolishes democratic procedure in the unions, and even smashes these organizations, in order to prevent their falling into the control of the left-wing. In Germany, Czechoslovakia and France, the Social-Democrats and renegade Syndicalists have warred desperately against the left-wing, but not even they have combatted the militants more cold-bloodedly, cynically, and brutally than the Gompers bureaucracy.

Cheated in Elections

Although the trade union bureaucrats have always been tyrannical and undemocratic towards their opposition, still they did make some show of giving such opposition its rights under the union laws—at least until the left-wing movement began to organize and function. So far as the lefts are concerned, they are considered practically as outlaws, with no union rights whatever. In union elections, for example, they can play no effective part. In many unions, such as the Fur Workers, Ladies' Garment Workers, Miners, and others, they are ruthlessly denied the right even to place candidates in nomination. And, if in other unions they are allowed election candidates, these are shamelessly cheated in the voting.

Typical cases in point were the stealing of thousands of votes by Wm. H. Johnston in his contest against W. R. Knudsen for President of the Machinists' Union; and another of many that might be cited, was the stealing of the election in District No. 5 of the Miners' Union from the lefts by the reactionaries in control of the official machinery. Recently Cook, a left-winger, was elected General Secretary of the British Miners' Union. Such a thing is unthinkable in an American trade union during present conditions. Under no circum-

stances would the bureaucrats have counted Cook's votes. They would have robbed him of the election even if they had to destroy the union in doing so. Any American Communist who hopes to break the power of the Gompers bureaucrats by rank and file elections under the prevailing system, is indeed an optimist.

The trade union bureaucrats laugh at their unions' laws when the left-wing members or policies are concerned. Recently, in the Railway Carmen's Union, the general officers absolutely refused to submit to a vote of their rank and file the question of amalgamation, although the proposition had regularly received many times the required number of endorsements and they were duty bound to submit it to a vote without any qualifications. But they knew the proposition would be adopted, so they defeated it by the simple and unconstitutional expedient of suppressing it entirely. They practically defied the left-wing to do whatever it could about the matter.

Brutal expulsions and suspensions of revolutionary members, usually without trial and in violation of union constitutions, are so common in many unions as to excite little comment. Where active militants do come to the head of local organizations, the reactionary national officials arbitrarily remove them from office just as they see fit. Two flagrant cases in point were those of Alexander Howat in Kansas, and Jim MacLachlan in Nova Scotia, both leaders of big Miners' Unions in their respective localities.

Rank and File Ignored

In their desperate efforts to balk the demands of the rank and file, who are aroused by the left-wing, the reactionary officials have successfully hamstrung and rendered useless the regular system of trade union conventions. They either arbitrarily postpone or cancel these conventions, as was the case recently with the Railway Employees Department of the A. F. of L., the Blacksmiths, and the Boilermakers, or they so pack them with officials and delegates from fake unions, as in the Ladies' Garment Workers' Convention, that it is almost impossible to get any constructive legislation adopted by them.

If, however, the left-wing, overcoming these obstacles, does have a union convention adopt a progressive program, the officials blithely ignore it completely, realizing that they will not have to render an account of their stewardship until the next convention, two to five years hence. A case in point was the last convention of the Molders' Union. Following the lead of

the T. U. E. L. militants, the convention delegates voted in favor of amalgamation, the labor party and several other League propositions. But since then the officials have ignored them as wholly as though they had been rejected by the convention.

Likewise the Clerks and Maintenance of Way workers adopted amalgamation at their convention, yet their officials have bitterly fought against the amalgamation movement boldly and publicly. At last year's convention of the A. F. of L., scores of delegates, in voting against amalgamation, the labor party, and other radical measures, brazenly violated the mandates of their unions, which had, under left-wing pressure, declared in favor of these measures.

At the recent Miners' convention, where the left-wing was strong and aggressive, Lewis ruthlessly ignored hostile majorities several times and declared his own proposition carried. He frankly defied the delegates, assuring them that he was running the organization. He wound up by arbitrarily declaring adopted a report against Howat and by adjourning the convention right in the teeth of a three-fourths majority against him. This ignoring and open defiance of conventions is becoming common and orthodox.

Just as the trade union bureaucrats pay no attention to radical convention actions, so do they disregard the expressed wishes and demands of the lower units of their organizations. They openly scoff at the rank and file. On the railroads, the union officials totally ignore the fact that the bulk of their members militantly favor amalgamation and that 4,000 of their local unions have declared for the Minnesota Plan of consolidation. They have made not a single move in the direction of amalgamation. All they do in the matter is to denounce its advocates as Russian agents.

The same contempt for militant rank and file sentiment is shown in the clothing, printing, transport, and other industries. Similarly, Gompers has completely ignored the demand of 17 state conventions, 7 international unions, and innumerable local unions, that the A. F. of L. call conferences of the various craft organizations to amalgamate them into industrial unions.

The Next Task of the T. U. E. L.

The situation is extremely critical. The trade union movement is in the death grip of an officialdom almost totally unprogressive. The union leaders stand helpless before militant capitalism. Almost like snow in July, the

unions are melting away in their hands, and they have not the gumption to do anything to remedy the situation. They lack the initiative, understanding, and sincerity to take the necessary steps to develop them into real fighting organizations. They will neither amalgamate the unions nor infuse them with a fighting spirit. They will not take in the great masses of unorganized.

And if they will not do these things of their own volition, neither will they do them upon the insistence of the rank and file. Their course is to stand pat with their antiquated system of unionism and to resist desperately all attempts to change it from below. To break this reactionary resistance of the bureaucracy and to release the revolutionary forces of the rank and file, is the latest task of the T. U. E. L.

In these difficult days, with the unions bankrupt in leadership and weakened in morale and numbers from constant defeat, retreating steadily before the capitalist foes, vast numbers of workers become discouraged and quit the unions. To these workers the amalgamation movement shone like a beacon through the dark. It pointed the way to safety. They endorsed it. They passed resolutions for it time and again, until they got weary of doing so. But nothing happened. The hoped-for militant industrial unionism did not develop. The bureaucracy blocked it completely. Then, the workers, thousands of them, lost hope and frittered out of the unions, singly or in little fruitless secession movements. The T. U. E. L. has no part or sympathy with the desertions of these quitters. It goes not their path, which is the way to disintegration, demoralization, and further enslavement for the working class.

But there are fighting elements in the unions. They do not give up easily. They will not submit tamely to their treacherous leaders. In the railroad industry one hears these fighters everywhere talking about amalgamation from the bottom upward. They have seen the unions beaten disastrously, overwhelmingly, in the great 1922 shop mechanics' strike, and they have striven earnestly two years to induce their officials to tighten up the line a little by amalgamating the unions. But these officials have done less than nothing, for they have always fought viciously against amalgamation. So now the rank and filers are saying that amalgamation from the top downward is a failure. They want to take the job in hand themselves.

Again, we find these fighters in the mining industry. It is they who are warring against the union tyrant Lewis. When he arbitrarily adjourned the last convention, they called it together again, condemned him and launched the big movement for a special convention to give Alexander Howat a square deal, and to oust Lewis. With such fighters the T. U. E. L. makes common cause. They are the material of which the revolution will be made.

The next task of the T. U. E. L. is to crack the hard shell of official opposition against the progressive movements now surging amongst the rank and file. The usurping bureaucrats must not be allowed to get away with the present outrageous flouting of the workers' interests. The League must bring direct pressure to bear against them and, wherever possible, drive them from office, or, where this is not achieved, teach them obedience to the will of the progressive membership.

The League must rouse the fighting spirit of the masses and thus compel the consolidation of the unions, the organization of the unemployed, and the solution of the many other immediate problems confronting Labor in its desperate plight. The fate of the unions depends upon the success of this movement. If they go on much further in their present course, they will be hopelessly beaten by the militant employers. From the bureaucrats will come no progress.

The League must give organized expression to the revolutionary will of the membership. It must put into actual effect the demands of the rank and file. The era of passing resolutions, to have them thrown into the waste basket by sneering and stupid officials, is past; the era for action is at hand. The League succeeded in its first task of organizing the militants and bringing the program to the broad trade union masses. It will also succeed in its next task of breaking the arbitrary resistance of the stagnant and unprogressive bureaucracy and of giving concrete expression to the will of the rank and file.

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Revolutionary Strike Strategy

By Wm. F. Dunne

(A speech delivered before the Third Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions on July 16, 1924.)

COMRADES, we are striving here for a unified strategy for the world revolutionary movement. The objectives of the revolutionary movement in every nation are the same—the overthrow of world capitalism, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Yet the method of reaching our objectives is a very difficult one, and no better illustration of the difficulties we encounter can be had than the speeches of Comrades Monmousseau and Heckert.

Comrade Monmousseau comes from a country with a de-centralized industry. Comrade Heckert comes from a nation with the highest developed industry in Europe. Their viewpoints naturally are colored by the character of the struggle based upon the industrial development in their respective nations. As soon as we try to lay down uniform rules for the struggles of the working class, we discover that the countries are in different states of development and in every one of the countries the relationship between the forces of the working class and the forces of the capitalist class are different.

Strategical Situation of the American Movement

In the United States the labor movement has no revolutionary experience. It is weak numerically, but American industry, American capitalism is the strongest capitalism in the world today. American industry is the most highly developed and the most centralized. Exploitation of the working class goes on to almost the same extent as in Germany. But can we use the same strategy in the United States that the revolutionary workers in Germany use, or that Comrade Monmousseau's forces use in France? Of course not. The relationship of the forces are different.

Any discussion of strike strategy for the United States must take into consideration five major factors: 1) That the workers organized in trade unions in the United States number less than one-seventh of the entire working class. 2) The difficulty of co-ordinating the strike movements in as large an area as the United States, having as

many different industrial conditions. 3) The extremely concentrated character of American industry, the complete monopolistic control of every basic industry. 4) The custom of the ruling class of America of outlawing all strikes, big or little, though the use of court processes, the injunction. 5) Lastly, we must remember that the American working class has no revolutionary class history as have the working classes of Germany and France.

The American trade union movement numbers, at a liberal estimate, some 4,000,000 workers. Inside this trade union movement is a handful of revolutionists. Every discussion of strike strategy must therefore cover two points: The broad question, the strategy and tactics of the trade union movement itself, and the strategy of the left wing inside that movement.

The Proportion of Organized Forces

No strike can be won in America without the unorganized workers. In only two industries are there more organized workers than there are unorganized. In the railway transportation industry there is good organization; in the coal mining industry there is about 75 per cent organization; in the steel industry there are 8,000 organized workers out of a total number of 400,000; in the lumber industry there are perhaps 10,000 organized out of 200,000; in the textile industry, 50,000 workers out of more than 800,000; in the metal mining industry there are not more than 10,000 organized workers out of a total number employed of 75,000.

And so the unorganized workers in America are the section to whom any trade union strategist must appeal, upon which he must base his strategy and tactics. Therefore, for the revolutionary movement in America this question—the leadership of mass strikes, the attracting of the unorganized to the strikes of those workers who belong to the unions—is of the first importance.

The leadership that has developed in the American revolutionary movement has come out of the great strikes conducted by unorganized workers. The leadership, the

prestige, of Gene Debs was due to the fact that he organized and led the railway workers in the great strike of 1893 and 1894. The popularity of Bill Haywood springs from the fact that he was in the struggle of the striking metal miners. The prestige of Wm. Z. Foster comes largely from the fact that he organized and led the packing house workers and steel workers. And so, if the revolutionists of America are to secure the leadership of the American working class, they must first of all secure the leadership of the strikes of the American workers.

We Must Build Leadership from the Ranks

The greatest strikes that have ever taken place, those in which the most determination and class consciousness have been shown, were the strikes growing out of an attempt to organize unions. This was the case of the steel strike of 1919-20, the strike of the West Virginia miners, and so forth.

Before the revolutionary movement in America can acquire the leadership and the important position in the struggle which it must acquire, there must be a closer contact with the working masses. We cannot take over the leadership from above. It must grow up with the persons right from the very beginning of their struggles. And so, first of all, the Workers (Communist) Party of America must have in every industry young, energetic and enthusiastic comrades who will grow up with the industry, who will have, not only a political understanding, but a practical knowledge of the working class knowledge in that industry. That is the kind of leadership that we must have in America, and that is the kind we are trying to build.

There cannot be in the United States a great nation-wide strike that will shake the foundations of American capitalism, if it is based solely on economic demands. The conditions under which the workers are employed in America vary too much to make this possible. For the South, the North, the Atlantic and the Pacific Coasts—it is largely impossible to draft uniform wage scales and working conditions.

Most strikes in America, of which the revolutionists will assume the lead, must have some popular slogan that will catch the imagination of the masses and arouse that moral indignation against the exploiters and the tyrants, without which no mass struggle can be successfully conducted. We must not over-stress the

importance of the wage struggle of the American working class. This is the tactic of the bureaucracy of the American trade unions. The American trade unionists have been told for forty years that they should take no interest in politics, that the trade unions are merely for purposes of negotiation with the employers—that they should remain neutral toward political parties.

This fallacious idea must be blasted from the minds of the American working class, and it can only be driven from their minds by a mass struggle against the state power around some slogan that represents something of the moment.

The Relationship of Forces

What is the relationship of the forces in America? Comrade Heckert tells us of the vertical trusts in Germany. He tells us of centralization of German industry. Yet in Germany, growing up with this centralized industry, there was a powerful trade union movement. But this is not so in America. Every basic industry in America is controlled by a little handful of individuals. No strike of the American workers against the employers but becomes a strike against some part of the state power.

The strike of 1922 of the railway shopmen was declared illegal by the government. More than a thousand arrests of strikers were made, but there was no political agitation made by the trade union bureaucracy. The revolutionary minority within the railway unions is as yet too weak to turn the attention of the organized masses to the political nature of that strike.

But we cannot allow ourselves to be discouraged or driven away from the mass organizations of the workers because of our lack of influence and our numerical weakness. We must continue to drive always toward the goal of fixing the minds of the workers upon the state power and against the employers. We must make them see the army and the navy and the courts. We must make them see these, not as impartial instruments operating above both working class and capitalist class, but as the capitalist class itself, the iron forces of capitalism that suppress them every time they show their resentment.

In Germany the working class is already beginning to feel the power of American capitalistic imperialism. They may struggle against their own capitalists, but their battle

can never be won, the victory of the world revolution can never be complete, until American capitalism has been crushed. This is the reason for the presence of American revolutionaries in a congress of this kind. The fact that their country is the last bulwark of world capitalism, gives to the revolutionary movement of America, an importance far in excess of its numerical strength.

The American working class, although without revolutionary experience, has engaged in many armed struggles with the employers, and the fact that it has shown this militancy time and time again under honest and fighting leadership, is an indication that the task of the Communists in America is not a hopeless one.

We hear of the conflicts between strikers and capitalist forces in Germany, and the attacks of French police upon striking workmen. This is explained as due to the fact that the capitalist class of Europe fears the coming of the revolution. It is nervous and sees in every outbreak of the workers the beginning of the struggle for power.

In the United States for years and years the capitalist class, which has had no fear of revolutionary uprisings, has used the same tactics against trade unions that the ruling class of Europe uses against the revolutionaries. Every strike of any magnitude in America turns into an armed clash, and the history of the organized trade union movement in America is a bloody one. There are long lists of plain trade unionists who died before the rifles of the ruling class.

It should be understood, however, and cannot be emphasized too strongly, that in the United States this militancy is entirely without any political inspiration. It is directed solely against the employer, and it is our task to change the current of this fighting spirit and direct it against the American capitalist class and the government.

The American trade union bureaucracy is not reformistic. It is not social-democratic. It is capitalistic. The union bureaucrats are the agents of American imperialists among the workers, and the struggle in the United States is clean-cut, for that reason, between the Communists on one side and the reactionary agents of capitalism on the other. There is no central group which takes up the shocks.

We must strive in America to initiate among the unorganized workers strikes

which we may not even be able to control. We must, in this coming period of depression which looms now in America, when millions of the American working class will be absolutely disillusioned, when their vision of perpetual prosperity will have been shattered—drive home the message to as many as we can reach, that there is no more hope for the American working class without a complete destruction of capitalism than there is for the working class of any other country.

We know now that American capitalism is at last on the down grade, that from now on conditions in America will get worse instead of better. We know that if the Dawes plan is put into operation in Germany it means flooding the world markets with commodities produced cheaper than the capitalists of America can put them on the market.

And this is where we must link up the struggles of the German workers and the



WM. F. DUNNE
American Delegate to the Third Congress
of the R. I. L. U.



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struggles of the French workers with the struggles of the American working class. We must be able to show them and we must be able to organize them for protest against these conditions—that the same exploiter, the same world capitalism, dominates the lives of all. This issue must be raised in every struggle, in every demonstration of the American working masses. At first we will be able to reach only a few. But we must concentrate in the industries of strategic importance.

These tasks that I have spoken of are not going to be accomplished in a few months. The American trade union is governed by bureaucrats who are clever although they are reactionary. They have the solid support of American capitalists. They have the support of the capitalist press. They have tremendous economic power. And all that opposes them in the United States is the

Workers (Communist) Party and the Trade Union Educational League—the section of the Red International of Labor Unions.

I have the fullest confidence that we will solve our problem in America, and the reason I believe so is that here in this congress there will be worked out a strategy for every nation that will be a handbook for the revolutionary minority.

If our findings and conclusions become, not merely words on paper, but living, breathing portions of the daily struggle of the working class translated into action through our own energy, militancy and revolutionary spirit, then, even in reactionary America, the capitalist class will begin to feel that not only in the European countries, where the revolution finds expression in the armed struggle for power—but in “peaceful” America, too, the revolution approaches.

T. U. E. L. Greets British Militants

(Communication sent to the National Minority Conference, meeting at London, England, on August 23, 1924.)

DEAR COMRADES:—Greetings to the revolutionary workers of Great Britain. On behalf of the National Committee of the TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, I take pleasure in extending our heartiest wishes for the success of your historic conference.

The revolutionaries in the United States are watching with the greatest interest the development of your vital movement. The many defeats suffered by the British workers on the industrial field, especially since Black Friday in 1921, have demonstrated the futility of the old line trade union program and the absolute necessity for a revolutionary policy and leadership. Now the Labor Party, with its settled policy of betrayal of the workers' interests for the sake of the employers' support, is making clear also the bankruptcy of its antiquated, petty bourgeois conceptions. Consequently, an increasingly favorable opportunity is presenting itself for the Communist left wing to place itself at the head of the disillusioned masses. We hope that your conference will result in many constructive measures tending to give you the necessary organization

to fulfill your historic task as the vanguard of the British working class in its final assault upon the capitalist system.

We, in the United States, are having a desperate struggle in the face of a multitude of enemies. The capitalist class is highly organized, rich beyond computation, and imbued with a militant fighting spirit. The working class, on the other hand, is incredibly backward intellectually, having hardly the faintest inkling of class understanding. Its organization is pitifully weak and its reactionary leadership is beneath contempt. In such an environment it is exceedingly difficult for us to make headway, but much is being accomplished, nevertheless.

We believe that it would be highly beneficial for our two minority movements to keep in close touch with each other, not only with respect to the general movements, but also those in the individual industries. We will be glad to co-operate with you in this respect. Again wishing your conference the greatest success, we remain,

Fraternally yours,

Trade Union Educational League,

Wm. Z. Foster, Secy.-Treas.

No Alliance With Reactionaries

Statement by the National Committee, T. U. E. L.

SINCE its inception the Trade Union Educational League has made it a basic point of policy that no alliances shall be made with reactionary or fake-progressive officials of the unions. On the contrary, they must be fought vigorously at all times and under all circumstances. This does not mean, however, that support may not be given to non-revolutionary trade union officials on issues where they take a militant or progressive stand. But even in the most favorable cases such support to these officials must be carefully guarded, and accompanied by Communist criticism of their limitations. We cannot accept responsibility for non-revolutionary officials, who will in all likelihood betray the workers at the earliest opportunity.

This principle of revolutionary tactics in the trade unions must be repeated and emphasized, because serious mistakes have been made on this very point. The National Committee of the T. U. E. L. has found it necessary to adopt a motion condemning the action of some of our printing trades militants who, in the heat of the recent elections in the International Typographical Union, voted in favor of the reactionary, Lynch, for international president, in order to defeat the other reactionary candidate, Howard.

There is no possible defense for such a policy. It is a case of the cure being worse than the disease. Admitting that Howard is a fake progressive and that he has betrayed the printers even more flagrantly than his noisome predecessors, still that did not justify left-wing militants voting for the contemptible Lynch. Such a course can only result in seriously compromising our movement. In trade union elections our policy must be as follows: (1) Wherever possible revolutionary candidates must be run upon a straight T. U. E. L. program; (2) wherever, for any reason, revolutionary candidates cannot be nominated, then the militants shall support candidates standing upon definitely progressive platforms, meanwhile pointing out their limitations; (3) wher-

ever there are neither revolutionary nor progressive candidates in the field, as in the case of the fight between Howard and Lynch, the militants shall condemn all the candidates and support none of them.

Recently the revolutionary miners in the Illinois coal fields were confronted with a somewhat similar situation to that prevailing in the Typographical Union elections. When Lewis and Farrington were carrying on their spectacular war against each other, some few militants, not understanding revolutionary tactics, tended to line up with either Lewis or Farrington against the other, just as they deemed one or the other of these two arch-labor fakers to be the worst enemy of the miners. They hesitated to believe the T. U. E. L. when we told them that we must fight BOTH Lewis and Farrington. We told them that as soon as they developed a real fight along revolutionary lines that Lewis and Farrington would forget their quarrel and organize to fight the "red menace." Events soon proved the soundness of our policy. Within thirty days after the launching of the Progressive Miners' Committee, which made war on Lewis and Farrington alike, the latter shook hands in friendship and united their forces to fight the left wing. If the militants in the printing trades had followed a correct policy and fought both Lynch and Howard they would have quickly seen that the quarrel between these two was only a sham battle, and that in a real struggle over principle the two would have joined hands to crush the militants.

The same kind of family quarrels among the labor fakers will repeat themselves again and again in other unions. In such situations the militants must not make the mistake that some of our comrades did in the Typographical Union. They must maintain a clear-cut left-wing position and follow a revolutionary policy. Only by so doing can they avoid the pitfalls of opportunism and secure the confidence and support of the rank and file for the program of the Trade Union Educational League.

Battle Lines Drawn In Minnesota

By C. A. Hathaway

THE convention of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, held in Fairbault, July 21st to 23rd, furnishes further proof of the utter inability of the reactionary labor officialdom to lead the workers in their struggle against capitalist exploitation. This convention was one of the smallest held in years, only two hundred and forty delegates being present, most of whom were under the complete control of the reactionary machine which controls the state labor movement. Delegates from the railroad shop crafts unions, who in the past have been the backbone of the progressive wing, were conspicuous by their absence, nothing having been done to rebuild these unions since the 1922 strike fiasco.

President E. G. Hall and Secretary George Lawson, in their reports to the convention, bewailed the fact that these unions were dead. They admitted their inability to accomplish anything in the way of organization, by stating that they had made several trips across the state and they had found the workers more interested in dances and fraternal societies than they were in their union meetings. They frankly admitted that they were unable to cope with the "open shop" drive of the employers, that central labor unions throughout the state were not meeting, that many locals had been destroyed and that wages had been generally reduced and hours lengthened.

They concluded their reports with an attack on independent political action, amalgamation and Communism, but offered no solution for the unorganized condition of the workers. Nor did they suggest any program which might restore the wages and conditions taken away by the bosses during the past two years. They were blinded to everything that meant progress. They showed themselves to be ready tools of the capitalist class when they urged the expulsion of amalgamationists and Communists and severely criticized the Farmer-Labor Party.

The reactionary delegates, aided by the officials, tried to bring Tom Schall, the Republican candidate for United States senator, before the convention. (During the

primaries Gompers sent a letter to all local unions in the state giving Schall the "labor" endorsement in spite of the fact that the Farmer-Labor candidate, Magnus Johnson, was to be his opponent.) Although Schall was in the convention hall, the motion to have him speak was voted down overwhelmingly by the delegates, showing conclusively that the rank and file were for the Farmer-Labor party and not for some candidate that Sammy might endorse in one of the old capitalist parties.

In spite of their defeat on the Schall issue, they were determined to lead the Minnesota movement back to Gompers. In years gone by the left wing was always given at least some representation on the various convention committees, but not so this year. They

were so determined to sew things up that even the wishy-washy centrist groups were left out in the cold. William Mahoney, for years a leader in the movement, was the last man named on the last committee, the committee on education, which was not to handle any of the controversial matters before the convention.

They had control of the committees and the officers. They had the power to control the order in which resolutions would be brought before the conven-

tion. They had been defeated in their efforts to have Schall address the delegates and also on a proposed bill to regulate motor busses, which was drawn in such a way as to plainly show the hand of the railroad companies. In each case they were defeated after an attack launched by the Left Wing. They decided that the only thing that could save them would be to launch an attack on the Communists who were plainly the leaders of the radical group.

A resolution was therefore recommended for adoption condemning the June 17th Farmer-Labor convention as being a Communist convention. An attempt was made to jam it through without debate, but finally Wm. Mahoney got the floor, and on motion of J. F. Emme was given a half hour to explain the St. Paul convention. The motion to give Mahoney the floor was carried by a vote of 78 to 80 on a roll call, many dele-



C. A. HATHAWAY

gates being absent. Mahoney made an able defense of the convention and if a vote on the motion could have been taken upon the conclusion of his speech, the reactionaries would have again been defeated. They adjourned the convention, however, and upon re-convening hastily closed debate and carried the resolution on a roll call by a vote of 114 to 98.

Back to Gompers

The convention was then stalled until they were prepared to play their next strong card. They had successfully raised the bugaboo of Communism and had frightened the delegates into supporting them. After carefully preparing the ground, the machine-controlled Political Committee brought in a carefully worded resolution endorsing the candidacy of LaFollette and Wheeler, that is, it appeared to be that on the surface. The Communist delegates saw through the sugar coating and exposed the resolution in its true light as a repudiation of the Farmer-Labor Party. The resolution contained four or five sections calling attention to the political policy of the A. F. of L. and the opposition of the A. F. of L. to a new national party. Without having mentioned them previously in the resolution, the final resolve carried the endorsement of the candidates.

The resolution was too raw. Mahoney, Wiggins and other leaders of the rapidly disappearing "center" were in a hell of a hole. They wanted to support LaFollette, "not because they thought he was any good," they said, but "because otherwise it would mean their isolation from the movement and result in their being branded as Communists." Yet they did not want to see the farmer-labor movement which they had helped to build, destroyed. They therefore introduced a weak amendment intended to alter the resolution so that it would declare for a Farmer-Labor Party nationally.

The Communist delegates boldly attacked the original resolution, as well as LaFollette and Wheeler as being candidates of the small business men, independent bankers, and the A. F. of L. labor bureaucracy, and moved as a substitute that the convention go on record as endorsing the Communist candidates, Wm. Z. Foster and Benjamin Gitlow.

After several hours debate in which LaFollette was shown up to be a faker and an enemy of the working class by Frank Minor, J. F. Emme, Oscar Coover and others, and

after the reactionary leaders had warned the delegates "that they should represent the sentiment of the rank and file of their unions and not their personal sentiment," a vote was taken which resulted in Foster receiving sixteen votes (four of which were not members of the Workers Party) to one hundred eighty-five against. Many delegates recorded themselves on the roll call as not voting because they were afraid the reactionaries would lead a fight against them in their local unions if they recorded themselves as voting for Foster.

Farmer-Labor Party Repudiated

The fight then centered on the Wiggins amendment which was defeated. In typical centrist fashion they saw their amendment killed and rather than appear as being opposed to LaFollette, they joined with the reactionaries in support of the original resolution which declared for the A. F. of L. political policy.

This same wavering center saved the face of the officialdom by their stand on the "Anti-War Resolution" introduced by the Workers Party and T. U. E. L. group. A resolution was introduced attacking American imperialism and refusing to furnish munitions or bear arms in defense of a capitalist government. Secretary Lawson showed himself to be a staunch defender of capitalism by taking the floor and declaring that it mattered not to him whether this government was a capitalist government, he would fight for it (too bad he is beyond the draft age as American imperialism may have need for him in the near future.)

Wiggins again proved to be "the man of the hour." His group not wishing to be placed on record as upholding the position of the reactionaries and at the same time scared stiff of being branded as Communist, introduced as an amendment that the convention re-adopt a pacifist resolution that had been put through in 1922. The Wiggins amendment was adopted by a close vote after a hard fight.

The T. U. E. L. group had not come to the convention to destroy. They had studied for weeks in an effort to map out a constructive program that would benefit the working class of Minnesota. Resolutions were introduced jointly by Delegates Wangerin, Emme, Coover, J. O. Johnson, and the writer, covering the question of organization, unemployment, amalgamation, youth labor, equality for Negro workers, etc.

The machine did not dare to wage a fight on any of these issues. Their official reports to the convention had clearly shown their bankruptcy, yet they did not desire to see the left wing get the credit before the rank and file for having introduced the only constructive program to come before the convention. Like all fakers they covered up their failure with treachery. They resorted to the cheapest subterfuge. One of their henchmen on the resolutions committee said, at the time our resolutions were presented, "You guys ain't going to get a G— D— thing through this committee. I know your game. You can't pull no Russian bolshevism here."

The intelligence of this individual was reflected by the report of the committee. They were very careful in one resolution to change the word "capitalist" to "employer." Our resolution on organization, together with the concrete organization plan accompanying it were endorsed "in principle" and referred to the executive council. The proposed changes to the preamble, introduced by us, were referred to an interim committee "for study" (one member of the committee said he could not see anything wrong with the proposed changes, but that three days were not enough time to study anything that those "reds" introduce).

Our resolution on unemployment was introduced to the convention "without recommendation." A motion to adopt was defeated by a viva voce vote. A roll call was demanded. Mahoney got the floor before the roll call started and asked the reactionaries if they were going to let their foolish prejudice blind them against the constructive program introduced by the "left wing"

and announced his intention of supporting the resolution. President Hall saw he was getting on thin ice, so he had the resolution read again, after which he announced that he could see no reason why steps should not be taken to handle the unemployment problem, and expressed himself as in favor of the resolution. It was again put to a vote and adopted unanimously.

This break effectively halted the backward march of the reactionaries. Shortly after their retreat on the unemployment resolution, our metal trades resolution was brought out of the Metal Trades Committee. It provided for an intensive drive to organize the metal industry in Minnesota, for an educational campaign throughout the state in support of industrial unionism to be brought about through amalgamation, and further instructed the officials to introduce an attached resolution at the convention of the A. F. of L., demanding that a conference of all metal trades unions be called for the purpose of bringing about the amalgamation of these unions. Delegate O. R. Votaw, of the Machinists' Union of St. Paul, made an able speech in support of the report, the right wing had lost their fighting spirit and the resolution was adopted.

Austin was chosen as the next convention city, after which the convention adjourned, having established itself as the most reactionary gathering held in Minnesota in the ten years. As a result of its constructive program and its clean, hard fight, the left wing greatly strengthened itself in the Minnesota labor movement. The battle lines are drawn in Minnesota. The slogan of the "Left" is, "Prepare for victory at Austin in 1925."

Notice To Nova Scotia Miners!

YOUR false friends, who are advocating a split from the United Mine Workers of America, are playing the game of John L. Lewis. They are inviting you to repeat the disastrous experiment of District No. 18 in 1919. The only effect of such ill-advised action would be to strengthen the hands of the fakers now in

control in Indianapolis. Don't run away from the fight! Stick with the militants throughout the United States and Canada who, with your assistance, will turn the United Mine Workers into a real fighting organization. Beware of the splitters!
Trade Union Educational League.

Pan-American Adventures of Sam Gompers

By J. Ramirez Gomez

BETWEEN sessions of the American Federation of Labor convention in El Paso, Texas, this fall, Gompers will sandwich in some conferences with a sporty, fat-faced, diamond-studded Mexican gentleman by the name of Luis N. Morones. Gompers and Morones will decide upon some two score of Latin-American proteges with whom it is safe for Mr. Gompers to associate. They will also decide what should be said to these proteges, and what the proteges should be permitted to say in return. The Gompers-Morones confab at El Paso will constitute the "preliminary conference of the Pan-American Federation of Labor"—preliminary to a convention of that body which is scheduled to take place in Mexico City next December.

The name of the "Pan-American Federation of Labor" may have a strange sound to the average A. F. of L. member, who will perhaps be a bit surprised to find that the bona fide American labor movement has affiliations outside the United States. The A. F. of L. has kept primly aloof from the Red International of Labor Unions—and a few years back, Gompers went so far as to break off relations with the Amsterdam International, on the grounds that even that yellow organization was not yellow enough. Gompers' foreign policy approximates that of Charles Evans Hughes.

The Monroe Doctrine in Practice

In the Western Hemisphere, however, conditions have forced a different attitude. This is the continent of Wall Street. When a Mexican goes on strike, it may be against Doheny, or Standard Oil, or the Guggenheimer Copper interests, or the Harvester Trust. The Big Boss behind a Cuban worker's straw boss is likely to be the United States Shipping Board, or the American Tobacco Company, or the Sugar Trust. Every mail from Argentina brings stories of the bitter struggles in the meat packing industry, where Swift and Armour have more than \$35,000,000 invested. In Central America, as in the islands of the Caribbean, there is the ubiquitous United Fruit Company. Everywhere there are the banks—Morgan banks, Rockefeller banks, or Morgan-Rockefeller banks, as the case may be.

To all intents and purposes, there is but

one aggressive national capitalism with which the toiling masses of the western world have to contend; that is, American capitalism.

American capitalism goes into the Latin-American countries not for the glory of the "American Empire" nor in the interest of the American workers, but to pile up more capital for itself. All well-bred employers in this country are supposed to love the American working class but they do not love American wage-scales and working conditions. Big Business has contrived to escape from such annoyances by exporting an increasing proportion of its capital to Latin-America, where wages are lower and working conditions rottener. The cheap Latin-American output is then shipped back into the United States or into the other markets of the world, to compete with the products of American labor. To meet this kind of competition, the standard of living of the American workers is also forced down.

The Peon's Fight for Organization

This process does not confine itself to the Western Hemisphere. Capital knows no boundary lines; it does not stop for oceans or mountain ranges. The class struggle of the workers is consequently a world wide struggle and that is why the Red International of Labor Unions is striving to unite the exploited masses on a world scale. Nevertheless, the situation in the Americas has special features of its own. Two Cuban general strikes within the past four years have been broken through the menace of American warships anchored in Havana harbor. Detachments of American marines are scattered all through Central America, where they "maintain law and order" in the interest of Wall Street investors—and the threat of further invasions hangs constantly over the heads of every one of the weaker nations of Latin-America. This direct contact with the repressive machinery of American capitalism makes close co-operation of the labor movements of the Western Hemisphere a first essential,—which does not take the place of affiliation to the general international movement represented by the R. I. L. U., but is a necessary supplement to it.

The toiling peons in the lands to the south

of us are not accepting their lot without a struggle. They have built up some powerful labor unions. In Argentina there are nearly 125,000 organized workers, including metal workers, textile workers, leather workers, transport workers and agricultural workers. General strikes in Buenos Aires have tied up all traffic in that important port for seven and eight months at a time. In Chile and Uruguay, and also in Mexico, vigorous labor movements exist. The state of advancement of the labor movements in these countries should not be naively exaggerated, but the unions are making sturdy strides, especially in proportion to the development of industry.

In the course of the last few years the workers of North, South and Central America have been drawn into closer and closer association with each other. This is shown by the opposition of Cuban and Mexican unions to the time-honored system of *engancho*, under which Latin-American *peons* are brought into the United States in gangs to scab on their American fellow workers. It is further shown in the demand of the Argentine transport workers for international strike agreements. From the side of the United States, it is reflected in such things as the silent approval by the American workers of the stand taken by the American Federation of Labor officialdom against the uprising of De La Huerta in Mexico. Of course, it must be noted that this stand of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy harmonized exactly with the stand of the American capitalist government.

The Impulse Without Expression.

The so-called Pan-American Federation of Labor arose out of the overwhelming impulse to all-American labor unity which was a direct consequence of the continual expansion of American capitalism. But it arose to distort and exploit this impulse, not to give it legitimate expression. It has never won the confidence of the Latin-American masses. And, despite the solid basis for co-operation of the labor movements of the Americas, the convention which is to meet in Mexico City next December will represent nothing but a paper organization, with hand-picked delegates decided upon by Gompers and Morones in private conference.

Except for the A. F. of L., the only bona fide labor organization belonging to the Pan-American Federation of Labor is the *Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana*, domi-

nated by Gompers' prosperous ally, Morones. The main body of the Latin-American labor movement—as exemplified in the important federations of Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, etc.—has kept its distance.

It was Gompers who started the Pan-American Federation of Labor and his way of going about it provoked universal suspicion. He kept his finger on everything. He insisted on being the sole leader . . . but he refused to lead. Under his financial stewardship the Pan-American Federation has never indulged in a fight of any kind—least of all against American imperialism. In every convention where the Latin-Americans have raised mild protests against outrages committed by United States troops in Latin-American territory, Gompers has rushed to the defense of our national honor, delivering long homages to the American flag, like a newly-matriculated under-secretary of the diplomatic corps. At the first conference of the organization some of the ingenuous Mexican delegates, not yet entirely aware of what was expected of them, introduced a resolution calling for the liberation of political prisoners in the United States. The avidity with which Old Sam sat on this proposition was edifying. The Mexicans never repeated the offense.

Reaction's Restraining Hand.

In fact, the conviction is forced upon one that Gompers' whole purpose in promoting the Pan-American Federation of Labor is to "lay a restraining hand on the Latin-American hotheads." All over Latin-America the organization is looked upon as an adjunct of the American State Department, with the Monroe Doctrine as its inspired creed. Consequently, the P. A. F. of L. has remained insignificant, a mere private affair of Sam's. He is content to have it so, rather than see it "contaminated" with a real fighting spirit. The American Federation of Labor foots the bills for the infrequent conferences or conventions, and Sam digs up the delegates, with the assistance of Morones, and the well-known Porto Rican labor faker, Santiago Iglesias. In between times, a young and enterprising opportunist named Canuto Vargas (who does not pretend to represent any organization) sits in the American Federation of Labor Building at Washington and broadcasts the precious outgivings of Samuel Gompers, in the name of the P. A. F. of L.

The last convention was held in Mexico City in January, 1921. It was to have been quite pretentious, and large sums of money were spent in preparation for it, but it only proved the enormity of the P. A. F. of L. failure. Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Cuba and Uruguay rejected invitations, in most cases roundly denouncing the whole business. Among those present, were three gentlemen from Santo Domingo, claiming to represent 2,500 members of a Dominican patriotic society; Estrada from Salvador, who claimed to represent 2,000 organized workers; Diaz and Solano of Guatemala, who claimed to represent 800 workers; Jacinto Albarracin, the dandy from Colombia, who had the gumption to declare that he and his frock coat represented no less than 200,000 toilers, all of them socialists! I do not give the names of the organizations because they are nearly all false. The membership figures are ludicrous. With one or two insignificant exceptions there are no real labor unions in Central America. Albarracin, the Colombian "socialist," had with him an exhibit from the Bogota Chamber of Commerce, and he passed out cards inviting everyone to go up to his hotel room and see it.

The convention did not accomplish a single thing in the interests of the workers. The one exciting moment was when Gompers choked off some bitter criticism of American military rule in Nicaragua and Santo Domingo. For the original scathing resolutions, Brother Frey, who was on the job as usual as chairman of the Resolutions Committee, offered substitutes in which the United States was duly praised for the benefits supposed to have been conferred on the occupied territories and politely petitioned to withdraw its troops, "now that they are

no longer needed there."

What kind of a convention will Gompers and Morones arrange for at their Preliminary Conference in El Paso next October? Gompers is still Gompers (at least he was when this was written) and Morones is still Morones. The present proprietors of the P. A. F. of L. can never build a powerful all-American labor movement—firstly, because they do not want to; and secondly, because they have lost the respect of the Latin-American masses.

National labor federations in all parts of Latin-American have repeatedly passed resolutions calling for all-American unity, so it is not through lack of solidarity for the workers of this country that they have given a cold shoulder to the Pan-American Federation of Labor. A united movement of labor in North, South and Central America is not only possible but necessary. But such a movement, to have the confidence of the workers of Latin-America, would have to really voice the aspirations of all.

In the first place, such a movement would have to recognize the fact of the Class Struggle, as stressed by the Red International of Labor Unions. Not by any stretch of the imagination can the Latin-American toilers be brought to believe that their interests are identical with those of the capitalists who are exploiting them. Secondly, it would have to take a resolute stand against American imperialism, systematically showing up everything that Wall Street and Washington are doing in Latin-America, and preparing the workers for the idea of organized proletarian resistance. With United States troops actually on Latin-American territory, the fight against imperialism becomes an acid test of the sincerity and class consciousness of the workers of this country.

Bill Dunne's Speech at Portland

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The Struggle Breaks In the I. W. W.

By Harrison George

THE I. W. W. is suffering for its syndicalist sins. This is manifested in a scandalous fight for control of the central offices and organizational mechanism coming to a head in the last part of July. A group of five of the eight members of the General Executive Board, representing the "job-unionist" tendency, in attempting to rescind a routine, trivial action of the General Secretary-Treasurer, Tom Doyle, and the G. E. B. Chairman, Joe Fisher, who is elected by referendum under title of General Organizer, began a course of action which is leading them into appealing to the capitalist courts for an injunction, and leading the I. W. W. as a whole into a ruinous split.

In the fight there is involved a revolutionary syndicalist element which is, however, trying to throw off the results of syndicalist policies without abolishing these policies.

Also engaging in the fight are the Communist members of the I. W. W. in the Red International Affiliation Committee. This is taking a stand against any split in the organization, pointing out the syndicalist confusion and contradictions in the traditional policy of the organization which have caused its decline and threatening disintegration. The R. I. A. C. is calling upon the rank and file to demand an immediate and fully representative special convention to give the I. W. W. a set of officers not subject to dispute, and urging the revolutionary element to organize definitely, clarify its program, co-operate with the revolutionists in other unions and fight for international unity of the I. W. W. with the revolutionary unions of the world through affiliation with the Red International of Labor Unions.

Some Historical Causes

Before the war the I. W. W. existed as a small but compact group with a fairly uniform ideology. In a statement issued by the revolutionary syndicalist group in Chicago which are fighting against disruption by the temporary organization of a Rank and File Committee, recognition is given to the fact that an ideological change had occurred as a result of the dilution of this small, pre-war group—admitted to be more of a propaganda league performing a political rather than an economic function—by a rather sudden inflow of masses of new members.

With a membership of from 5,000 to 15,000

before the war, the boom in the war industries, the outstanding position of the I. W. W. in revolutionary tradition, which, in the minds of the working class, coupled it with the Russian revolution toward which they felt instinctive friendship, the attraction of thousands to its standard by its brave but confused fight against the imperialist war, all contributed toward a tremendous increase of membership. In the space of a year or two it grew to something over 100,000 members.

The Expected Has Happened

"It was always a fear of the rebels in our organization," says the statement of the Rank and File Committee of Chicago, "that when some upheaval among the workers would attract a large membership to the I. W. W., it would be watered and lose its revolutionary punch. The rebels would be in a minority, and unless they managed to hang together and keep up the revolutionary education among the non-revolutionary new members, they would be outvoted and the organization be ruined as far as its service to emancipation was concerned."

This element was fearful of a large membership erasing the word "revolutionary" from in front of "industrial unionism" on the banner of the I. W. W., afraid of what is known to them as "job unionism"—a purely economic attitude of the union toward the class struggle, a wage struggle instead of the fight for a revolutionary goal, much like Gompers' restraining preachments concerning the "non-partisan" or "neutral" position towards both capitalist and proletarian politics.

But so gradually and unnoticeably did the change come upon the organization, that the revolutionary element did not apprehend the change, and even now, although a few in the Chicago Rank and File Committee realize the change and the cause of the change, there is a delusion that the trouble can all be settled by the ejection of some officials and the election of some others. There is—as long as the administration maintains the semblance and phraseology of revolution—no recognition of the necessity of an entire overhauling of traditional ideas and methods, and there is an extreme reluctance to organize the revolutionary elements as a definite left wing, just as the revolutionists have had to do in other unions. There is, even after this overwhelming experi-

ence, only a faint realization of the fallacy of the notion of syndicalism that the economic organization is all-sufficient. Only the Communists in the I. W. W. contend that a political party of selected, disciplined members of uniform ideas, is necessary to educate and direct the larger mass of more backward workers in their otherwise blind struggles for power.

The cleavage between the revolutionary element and the simple unionists began long ago. Even some of the old fighters, when they saw members pouring into the I. W. W., forgot their early fears of dilution, and became ordinary unionists, speaking sarcastically of "that emancipation bunk." As early as the great Chicago trial the unionist elements overwhelmed the "anti-war" war rebels and repudiated the idea that the I. W. W. opposed the government. This was not "defense camouflage" but their real conception.

No Uniform Ideology

This divergence increased, but, as the lines were not clearly drawn, even in the individual, there was much confusion. It manifested itself in internecine quarrels over trivialities among the large group of leading members imprisoned at Leavenworth. Not united ideologically, these men were unable to foresee or prepare to meet as a unit the various inevitable crises in the fight with the government for release. Every crisis left them more divided and embittered. There was division over whether or not anyone should apply for clemency, whether to accept it even if not applied for, whether some should accept if others were not offered, and whether to accept release upon condition.

Upon the last point the final division took place. Some accepted release upon condition of being "law-abiding," etc., most of these resuming organization activity at once. The remainder, left in prison, became extremely embittered at the acceptance by the organization of the viewpoint of the ones released, and upon their own release later on, began an attack upon the first group. The Sixteenth General Convention last November considered the case, but sustained those who had accepted conditional release and ordered those who had circulated attacks upon them to desist, upon penalty of suspension.

Over this ridiculous affair a clash developed in which the more fundamental division is slowly coming to the surface. For violating the convention order, three members were suspended by the general officers, Tom Doyle and Joe Fisher. Five members of the General Executive Board objected to this action. James

Rowan, one of the Leavenworth "bitter-enders," had maneuvered himself into a seat on the G. E. B. as representative of the 10,000 members of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union. He led the fight, seconded by Fred Bowerman, long suspected as a Thiel detective, who represents about 800 Metal and Machinery Workers. Also on their side in the G. E. B. were Charles Anderson, representing some 2,000 Metal Miners, Harry Trotter, representing 2,000 Railroad Workers, and P. D. Ryan, representing 4,400 Construction Workers.

These five held an "unauthorized" G. E. B. meeting on July 15, asserted that they were the constitutional majority of the Board, rescinded the suspensions ordered by Doyle and Fisher, and suspended Fisher in turn. Their position was contested by Doyle and Fisher, who contend that the last convention had ruled that a two-thirds majority was needed for action by the Board. Doyle and Fisher were supported by G. E. B. members representing about 7,000 Agricultural Workers and 1,000 Oil Workers, besides spokesmen without vote (because of per capita delinquency) from 7,000 Marine Transport Workers and 1,000 Building Construction Workers.

The Rebels Mix In

The administration filed charges of disruption against the five G. E. B. members, inviting them to appear on July 22, to answer charges. They refused and were suspended from the Board. But they would not recognize this action. They tied up the organization funds by notifying the bank not to recognize the administration, that they were the G. E. B. The administration thereupon suspended them from I. W. W. membership and, when they attempted to gather in the general offices, ejected them and several supporters by force, with the assistance willingly rendered of a spontaneously formed Rank and File Committee.

The prominence of this committee of sincere revolutionary fighters contrasts favorably with the vacillating and wholly confused administration as well as with the unscrupulous ousted faction. In fact the necessary cohesion forced upon these more advanced workers, together with the shake-up their prejudices are undergoing, is the only promising and healthy sign coming to light. This Rank and File Committee is the only group engaged which—besides the Red International Affiliation Committee—justifies its actions from a revolutionary standpoint.

Far from being careful of remaining within bounds of revolutionary ethics, the Rowan-

Bowerman faction first set up rival headquarters, openly trying to split the organization, and then, on August 11, applied for an injunction before Judge T. D. Hurley of Chicago, commanding the Doyle-Fisher administration to vacate the offices and turn over all property and funds to their alternates, J. A. Griffith and J. J. McMurphy, whom the ousted group had called in and won to their side. A temporary order not granting the petition, but closing the headquarters to both sides, was entered on August 14, and a hearing on the petition set for August 25.

In this crisis, the membership of the I. W. W. is learning who are the real upholders of revolutionary industrial unionism. The Communists in the R. I. A. C. who have long been misrepresented as "liquidators" and enemies, stand firmly against a split in the I. W. W., while sharply criticizing the traditional but futile and destructive tactics of the I. W. W. splitting other unions to organize itself. The Communists in the I. W. W. stand out in the sun with revolutionary clarity and distinctness. While calling for an immediate special convention to let the rank and file decide, to

stop the split that is tearing the worth-while unions of the I. W. W. to pieces, it points out that more than defeating the "injunctionites" and doctoring the constitution is necessary. It points out that the Doyle-Fisher administration is at fault for having coddled the disruptionists and protected them as long as their disruption took the form of expulsions and beatings of Communists, all the while the Doyle regime was suppressing the appeal of the R. I. L. U. to the I. W. W. membership.

The R. I. A. C. takes no side uncritically. Though it recognizes in the revolutionary element which makes up the Chicago Committee of the Rank and File a group of sincere workers with whom it can make common cause against all enemies of working class unity, it points out that until the revolutionary minority organizes in the same manner as the T. U. E. L. groups in the other unions, and until they fight under the banner of the R. I. L. U. for world unity and Communist clarity, their present efforts will be futile and the present upheaval will be evidence, not of returning health, but of disintegration and decay. The revolutionists in the I. W. W. must think well before choosing.

Linking East to West

By Alfred Wagenknecht

THERE are no representatives of the workers of the Orient in the Amsterdam International. Amsterdam really is not an international, but an organization of the reformist elements of western Europe. Leave Europe, and Amsterdam is not to be found.

And the Red International of Labor Unions? From the day of its organization in 1920 it has made it its task to come into closest contact with the workers of the East. Representatives from the Near and Far East attended all its congresses and conferences. It mobilizes the workers of the world, irrespective of race or nationality against international imperialism. It plans common battles with the subject peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies against their oppressors. It establishes organizations of workers in the Orient, co-ordinates the existing trade unions, lays the foundation for a fighting force which will put an end to the super-profits of the imperialists in the colonies and which will, in co-operation with revolutionary labor of the west, write the final chapter in the history of the capitalist class of all nations.

In conformity with its aims, the Red International of Labor Unions called into conference at Canton, China, some weeks ago, the transport workers of the Orient. There were present delegates from dockers', seamen's and railroad workers' organizations from Dutch India, North China, the British port of Hong Kong, South China and the Philippine Islands. The jailing of revolutionary leaders in British India by the MacDonald (Amsterdam) "Labor" government made representation from India impossible. Persecutions of organized workers in Japan and by Japanese imperialism in Korea, hindered delegates from Japan and Korea from attending.

This conference is an event of exceptional importance. The world war forced the establishment of industries in the Far East. This in its turn developed a native bourgeoisie and an industrial proletariat which is daily becoming more conscious of its importance. It is upon this new bourgeoisie and the young working class that the movements for independence of the colonies are predicated. In this nationalist movement the organized workers and peas-

ants are destined to play an important role and the tasks of the transport workers, who of all workers occupy the most strategic position in the struggle, are of especial significance. What is a nation or its imperialism without an unbroken "fetch and carry?" And who better than the transport workers of the world, unified as one revolutionary organization, can coordinate the struggle of the world proletariat? They will constitute a decisive factor in the coming battles with international imperialism.

A more compact organization of the transport workers of the Orient is an immediate need. The imperialists keep nothing more in eye than the development of the labor movement in the Far East and have persecuted and suppressed no category of workers more than the transport workers. The labor movement of the west has had too little news of the major struggles engaged in by oriental labor.

The strike of the Peking-Hankow railroad workers of 1922 needs be recalled, with the subsequent shooting and decapitation of strike leaders in public at various railway stations and the imprisonment of hundreds of others; the strike of the Hong Kong seamen, which involved 200,000 workers of all trades in a sympathetic strike during which the bourgeoisie began to flee Hong Kong because of food shortage and fear, after a foraging expedition up the river to Canton, undertaken by steamers of the Canadian Pacific Railway and headed by 500 heavily armed British soldiers had failed, due to the solidarity of the Cantonese workers; the strike of the railway workers of Java, when the Dutch government brought its police and militia into play to defeat this revolutionary labor union, imprisoning and deporting the leaders; the massacre of Koreans by Japanese soldiery while in peaceful demonstration for their independence; the tramway workers', peasants' and seamen's strikes in the Philippine Islands, where the workers are only just beginning to understand the oppressive nature of the "democratic" brand of United States imperialism.

This first gathering of oriental workers in the Far East, under the leadership of the Red International of Labor Unions gave rapt attention to the reports of the delegates as they recorded the victories and defeats of their unions. Close observance was also given the discussions regarding the reactionary and revolutionary trade union policies in general, the effect of these policies upon the Transport Workers International and the part played in that organization by the left wing, known as the Propaganda Committee of the Revolution-

ary Transport Workers, which now influences nearly half of the organized transport workers.

A ringing manifesto was issued in which this Transport Workers Conference of the Orient declare:

"The toiling masses in the colonies and semi-colonies will achieve their national, economical and political independence as a result of organized struggle against world imperialism, against native feudalists, militarists and capitalists who compromise with imperialism. Toiling masses of the East! We call upon you to organize into labor and peasants' unions! We call upon you to assist in the organization of revolutionary peoples' parties for the struggle against imperialism. We call upon all transport workers' organizations in the colonies and semi-colonies of the East to amalgamate their unions, to affiliate with the revolutionary transport workers of the world. We call upon you to carry on extensive organization campaigns, so that the transport workers may become a real power in the fight against capitalism and imperialism."

The concrete decisions of the conference were: (1) To create in Canton, China, a Bureau of the Transport Workers of the Orient. This bureau shall further organization work, widen the activities of the existing unions, federate them, establish close communication and interchange information. (2) Establish in Manila, Hong Kong and Batavia, International Seamen's Clubs which shall explain to the seamen their trade rights and class needs. (3) To affiliate with the left wing of the Transport Workers International, namely, the Propaganda Committee of the Revolutionary Transport Workers, which has as its aim the creation of a united front of all the transport workers of the world. (4) To issue a bulletin in the Chinese and English languages for the enlightenment of the rank and file.

In conformity with the decision of the Red International of Labor Unions it now becomes the duty of the Trade Union Educational League, the representative of left minorities in this country, to establish apparatus for the continuance of the contact with the transport workers and other labor unions of the Philippine Islands, which constitute the military outpost of our rapidly growing imperialism, so that the Philippine representative upon the Canton bureau may act with full knowledge of the condition of the labor movement in America as well as the further imperialistic designs of our own bourgeoisie.

Nationalism and the Labor Movement

By Abusian

THE national policy of the ruling class is based on exploitation and oppression of the racial minorities; everything is viewed from the standpoint of exploitation and trade. As a result, practically every capitalist state has its national problem, i. e. everywhere there are scattered, backward national groups serving as an object of plunder and oppression on the one hand, and as a preventive against revolution on the other.

The working class which builds its class organizations under the conditions of the capitalist state, is forced to take into consideration these peculiarities of capitalism. The heritage of the national struggle, the high degree of suspicion and distrust, the cultural and economic backwardness of the broad masses of workers of the oppressed nationalities are some of the principal obstacles to the growth of the class labor movement of many countries of Europe.

Must Combat Nationalism

The revolutionary trade unions must solve all the acute national problems inherited from capitalism. They must attract all the workers in the industry, irrespective of race, and become the focus reflecting the cultural peculiarities of the various national groups constituting their membership. At the same time the trade unions must retain their purely class character and become a school of international solidarity, combatting all nationalist tendencies, the ideology of class peace, the attempts of the ruling class to demoralize the labor movement, to poison it with their nationalist spirit and ideas.

The world labor movement knows of various solutions of the national question and these also determine the structure of trade unions. The principal ones are as follows:

a) *The separatist solution*, adopted by the Socialist parties of the national minorities. In the opinion of these parties the trade unions must be built along racial lines, i. e. the workers of each nationality must be united in independent national unions or in special autonomous national sections. Thus in Poland separate Polish and Jewish unions are in existence, in Czecho-Slovakia, German and Czech unions, etc.

b) *An abstract—international solution*, adopted by the Socialist parties of the ruling

nationalities. These parties, standing on a platform of abstract internationalism, ignore the existence of the national minorities and adapt the trade unions to the character of the ruling nationality, disregarding the distinctions and peculiarities of the workers of the national minorities.

The Only Real Solution

Both the former and the latter are merely evading the solution of the national problem in the trade union movement. The creation of separate national unions has been instrumental in intensifying friction between the workers of the various nationalities, has caused strife among them and isolated them from each other, so that the national proletarian solidarity has suffered. The ignoring of the existence of the national minorities, on the other hand, resulted in the working masses of the oppressed nationalities—staying out of the labor movement so that the trade unions became the privilege of the workers of the ruling nationalities.

c) *A concrete internationalist solution, the solution of the Communist Party*. The trade unions must give all the workers of the country a chance to develop class activities to the highest degree; they must therefore be built along lines making it possible to retain the principle of international labor solidarity and to take into consideration the cultural and other peculiarities of the workers of the national minorities.

From this point of view the national question does not represent a distinct question, but merely a question of the most expedient organization of the masses with a view of strengthening the fighting power of the unions and making the methods and tactics of the class struggle more effective. However, this is not only a question of technical advantage, such as economy, etc. but of transforming the trade unions into a genuine school of class struggle and of international labor solidarity.

Thus is the question settled in the trade union movement of most of the European countries. The situation in the colonies and semi-colonial countries is quite different however. Here it is not merely a question of the relations between the workers of the various nationalities, but chiefly of the attitude of the working class as a whole towards the nation-

alist emancipation movement of the country.

The labor movement in the East began and still continues to develop under peculiar conditions, sharply distinguishing it from the labor movement of Europe.

The growth of the working class in the East is not an organic effect of the national development of capitalism in the country, but of an artificially developed "plantation" capitalism imported by European imperialism.

Class differences are submerged under differences of color, race and nationality. The exploiting classes in the colonies are generally composed of members of a foreign nation, and the native workers, driven and oppressed by foreign imperialism, see in the capitalists, first of all, representatives of a strange nationality and not a class enemy, representing the exploiting class.

The rising young capitalism of the colonies, the native bourgeois democracy, feel more acutely the oppression and economic dependence which prevent the development of native capitalism, and they launch nationalist movements against imperialism. National societies, such as the National Weavers' Society in Turkey, the National Cotton Trust of Egypt, the Egyptian National Bank, operating in Egypt, Syria and Palestine, the Indian Corporations, etc., are being created for the purpose of fighting foreign capitalism.

The native bourgeoisie, striving to overthrow imperialist domination, is turning the native proletariat into a weapon of the national struggle. The nationalists of Turkey, Egypt, India and other colonies and semi-colonies assume the leadership of the labor movement, carrying on intense nationalist propaganda among the workers, creating mixed organizations of workers and employers (which usurp the rights and name of trade unions) and subjugating the workers to their influence (the unions of electricians and mechanics in Egypt, of workers of the Suez Canal, etc.) The native bourgeoisie utilize the labor movement for their own political aims. They thus kill two birds with one stone: they divert the attention of the workers from the direct class struggle, become enabled unlimitedly to exploit them, and at the same time they conduct, with the assistance of these same workers, the struggle against European imperialism.

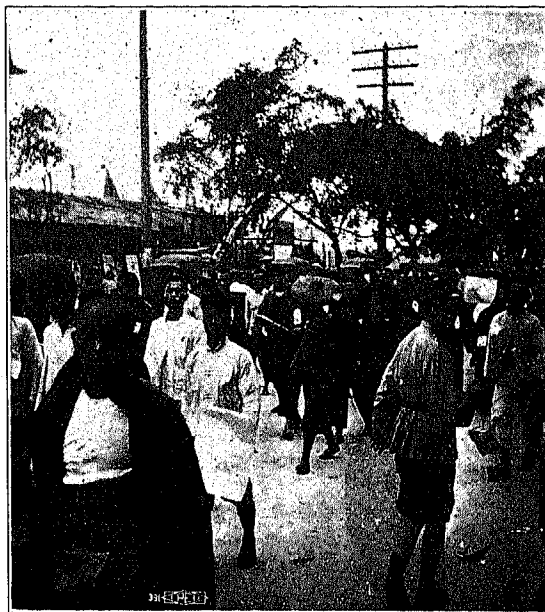
The labor movement in the backward colonial and semi-colonial countries may be distinguished from that of the capitalist countries in that it arises as a nationalist political movement, rather than an economic one. While in

capitalist countries the trade unions lead the economic struggle even at the very dawn of the labor movement, and the political demands arise spontaneously, in the colonial countries on the contrary, the unions direct the nationalist political struggle, leaving the economic struggle practically to take care of itself.

If, in classic countries of capitalism, such as England and the United States, the labor movement is threatened by pure economism on the part of the trade unions, in the colonial countries labor is menaced by a different danger, the danger of falling into abstract politicisism. In nearly all the countries of the East the trade unions are subject to nationalist influences.

The policy of the Communist International on the national question was poorly understood and badly misinterpreted in many colonies. We had a number of cases where R. I. L. U. adherents, seeking to attract the greater masses of backward workers into the unions, were adjusting their program to the degree of consciousness of the masses, instead of merely adjusting their methods and forms of agitation. They want to gain influence over the laboring masses by rejecting the basic principles of the revolutionary class struggle.

Thus, the constitution of the General Federation of Labor of Egypt (R. I. L. U. adherents) published in Arabian and French in September, 1923, hardly looks like the constitution of a revolutionary labor organization,



BLACKSMITHS' UNION, CANTON, CHINA
In First of May Parade



BLACKSMITHS' UNION, CANTON, CHINA
In First of May Parade

and resembles a good deal more the constitutions of the Christian Socialists or of the craft societies for mutual aid; it contains no hint of the principles of the class struggle.

The political struggle of the trade unions must not be carried on under abstract national slogans, but under concrete class slogans of the proletariat, such as the right to organize, the right to strike, recognition of the trade unions, labor legislation, labor exchanges, the struggle against unemployment, etc.

The united nationalist emancipatory front of the trade unions and of the nationalist political groups against imperialism is possible only where the proletariat has its own militant class organizations. The more active part the labor organizations want to play in the national emancipatory movement, the more strictly must they pursue the class principle in building up their organizations.

The basic task of revolutionary trade unionists in the East is the struggle for the class character of the trade unions, i. e. for the purging of the unions of the elements foreign to labor (the capitalist intelligenzia, small employers, who are frequently at the head of the unions, etc).

The young rising bourgeoisie of the colonies understood the importance of class organizations before the workers did. In nearly all the colonies we have a number of local and national, purely capitalist organizations. However, they are not satisfied with their own organizations, to which the workers have no access, but are seeking to spread their influence to the labor unions as well, either by penetrating them or by creating mixed organizations.

The struggle for class unions must not, however, be conducted by disrupting the forces of the proletariat through the creation of little class unions with a revolutionary membership. Such unions would be doomed to a speedy death. It is necessary to carry on activities in the nationalist organizations, and to carry them on in such a way that the revolutionary elements will gradually work themselves up to the leading positions, discredit the capitalist leaders and gradually cleanse the trade unions from all non-proletarian elements, through their expulsion.

In organizing unions in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, it is necessary always to consider the character and composition of the workers of the particular country. In this respect we divide the countries into the following types: 1) countries where the workers are recruited solely from the native popula-

tion; 2) countries with a mixed working class, European immigrants and natives, but where the conditions of labor are identical for both, 3) where the conditions of the natives and of the immigrants are sharply distinct.

In the first case, the trade union organizations will be faced by the double task of creating a united national front against imperialism and of retaining their class character. While participating in the general national activities against imperialism (strikes, demonstrations, etc.) the trade unions must carry out their part under purely class slogans, never allowing the class demands to be minimized in the name of any national slogans. In countries like Turkey, Egypt, etc. where the nationalists have gained partial victories over imperialism, the trade unions must fight for the democratization of the government, for labor legislation, etc. they must show the workers how the bourgeoisie, after having cleverly used the workers in the struggles against imperialism, are now directing their energies against the working class (for instance, Kemal Pasha's persecutions against the Communists and trade unions in Turkey, Zaglul's anti-labor laws in Egypt, etc).

In the second case it is necessary to fight for the united national front against foreign capital and against the Chauvinist nationalist views and aspirations of the native workers. It is necessary most vigorously to combat the attempts of the native nationalists to keep the European workers out of the local unions.

In countries where the European immigrants have better conditions than the native workers, the struggle should be directed towards equalization of wages and conditions for all the workers, against the caste nature of the unions of the European workers, against the so-called European aristocracy of the labor organizations.

However, where national hostility has so deeply penetrated the working masses that it represents an obstacle to the organization of joint unions, the organization of independent unions of native workers may in some cases be permissible. The fear that the trade unions thus created may eventually fall under the influence of the native Chauvinists must not stop the revolutionary trade unionists. The existence of class labor organizations tends only to speed up the development of class consciousness and inevitably helps to clear the minds of the workers from their nationalistic vapors and to develop a genuine revolutionary class labor movement.

Labor Conditions and Labor Unions in Japan

By Louis Zoobock

This is the last of a short series of articles on the labor movement of Japan, the foremost competitor of American imperialism in the Far East.

WE have previously described the unrest among the industrial workers of Japan. This unrest has affected the rural population also, and at present, there is a widespread spirit of discontent and revolt among the agricultural workers. For the first time in the history of Japan, the unions now being formed by tenant farmers aim to be permanent. For the first time they are becoming class-conscious. It is, therefore, of great importance for us to examine the agricultural conditions of Japan which lead up to this stage.

Japan is still mostly agricultural. About two-thirds of the people may be classed as rural, and just about one-half of the families are actually engaged in agriculture as their main occupation. With the exception of Russia, Japan appears to be more largely agricultural than any other great nation.

In spite of this fact, the natural resources of Japan are very limited. The area of Japan proper is 142,000 square miles, or less than one-twentieth of that of the United States. It has to support a population of 56,000,000, which is about half the population of the United States. Considering that the total arable area of Japan is 15,000,000 acres, one acre has to feed a little over four persons.

Besides the arable land, the farmers cultivate their house-lots, and in only a very small percentage of cases are there mountain pastures. Some addition is also made to area and income by forestry. Allowing all these items, the average Japanese farm consists of just about three acres. In the United States the average farm contains 148 acres, about fifty times as much.

The following table classifies the farmers according to area of cultivation per family. (A *cho* is equal to 2.4 acres):

Area	Families	%
Under .5 cho	2,395,276	49.37
Over .5 "	1,174,276	24.20
" 1. "	879,785	18.13
" 3. "	228,748	4.71
" 5. "	121,695	2.51
" 10. "	49,927	.99
" 50. "	4,277	.09

The table shows that the bulk of the

farmers cultivate an area of less than one cho. Yet these farmers are the most industrious, thrifty and best cultivators.

But, as conditions stand, these cultivators are waging a losing struggle. Indeed, the freehold peasant is likely to lose what he already has, and to sink into the class of landless farmers. Statistics prove that the actual farming population is being more and more divorced from ownership of the land it cultivates. Those families which own all the land they work are becoming not only fewer in proportion to the whole, but fewer absolutely. In the last ten years there has been a loss of 100,000. There has been a corresponding increase in the proportionate and absolute number of landless and partial tenants. Thus, the entire increase in agricultural households is an increase in tenants or partial tenants. And besides this, 100,000 of those who owned the land they cultivated, have become tenants.

To the high rents must be added the high local taxes which are growing heavier every year. The large landowners, wishing to escape these taxes, are moving to the cities. Naturally, the burden of expense falls mainly on the small independent farmers. They can hardly bear such loads. They are, therefore, obliged to mortgage their land and their crops and go bankrupt after two or three successive bad seasons, leaving the rural population more sharply divided than before.

This gradual absorption of the land into fewer hands, and the consequent decrease of the number of small independent farmers, has led to a gradual awakening of the farmers. They began to realize that in order to protect their interests they must unite after the manner of the industrial workers.

The Department of Home Affairs of Japan states that in December, 1922, there were 1,114 unions of tenant farmers, 247 associations of landowners, and 176 joint associations. The rapid growth of these organizations may be realized from the fact that in 1918 there were only 897 unions of tenant farmers.

The Agricultural Workers of Japan (*Nippon Nomin Kumiai*) is the only national union of tenant farmers and poor "independent" peasants. Its main objectives are:

(Continued on Page 224)

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Trade Union Magazine

Official Organ of the
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Subscription price, \$1.50 per year

Published at
1113 Washington Blvd.
CHICAGO, ILL.
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REACTION IN ILLINOIS

REACTION is in the saddle in the Illinois Federation of Labor, and is mustering all its forces to retain its hold at the coming convention in Peoria. Its methods and policies are worthy of study, because its directors are perhaps as able reactionaries as may be found, contemptible as their policies are. The lengths to which they will go is illustrated by the desertion of the cause of the Illinois coal miners because the latter have fought against reactionary policies.

While John Walker and Victor Olander, president and secretary of the Illinois Federation, and Frank Farrington, president of the Illinois District of the miners, complete their political alliance with Governor Len Small, republican, and LaFollette, republican-independent, the miners are left to the tender mercies of the coal operators, to starve, for all that is done to remedy the situation, and to the cowardly and vicious attacks of the Ku Klux Klan.

Murder, night raids, terrorism, are the order of business in southern Illinois, directed by the K. K. K. against the union miners. But for over a year the opportunists at the head of the Federation have ignored this, truckled to the K. K. K., and dickered with old party politicians for favors. Outside of Chicago a large part of the state is coming under the control of the reactionary hoodlums. The murder committed in a West Frankfort court by the K. K. K., in which a worker is the victim, is passed over without protest by them.

Walker, Olander, Farrington, are too busy defending capitalism, denouncing the Communists, and repairing their own political fences, to hear the cry for help from the miners. The terrible unemployment created through conspiracy between the operators and union heads, protests against which are suppressed by the K. K. K., draws no word from them. While hordes of unemployed and starving miners look in vain for work, and suffer under the persecution of secret bands of thugs, Olander rants about the beauties of American democracy.

The reactionaries are counting upon lack of finances among the miners to keep their delegates away from the convention on September 8. But in spite of the handicap created by the terrible conditions of the mine workers, the left wing will be present at the State convention, and the revolu-

tionary struggle will be carried into the camp of class collaboration, represented by Walker, Olander & Co. And whatever the immediate outcome of events, the end is near of blindly following the weeping socialist on the part of the labor movement of the State. A new orientation is taking place. The present political chaos shows this fact. The next year will witness the tightening of class lines, the clarification of policies, and the strengthening of the revolutionary forces. Today the political opportunists cash in on their treachery; tomorrow belongs to the revolutionists.

THE WORKERS RESIST

STRIKES are the order of the day! In Paterson, 8,000 to 10,000 silk workers are out; in Philadelphia and Boston, 15,000 garment workers have left the shops; in Hegewisch, Pullman, and South Chicago the employes of the steel car manufacturers, numbering 5,000 or more in all, carry on a stubborn battle; from South Bend comes the news of more thousands of workers walking out of the agricultural implement factories. Hundreds of smaller strikes are reported from over the country.

Thus begins the necessary and inevitable resistance of the workers to the campaign of wage cuts, longer hours, and union smashing of the employers. Two months ago the Trade Union Educational League, judging after careful examination of the entire situation, that the time had come for determined resistance and desperate struggle against the wage-slashing campaign, issued a manifesto with the slogans: "No wage cuts; no lengthening of working hours!" Members of the T. U. E. L. throughout the labor movement and in the unorganized factories have taken up the slogan and carried it to the masses. Meetings have been called throughout the country and in the various industries. The workers are being mobilized.

Only a militant rallying center has been necessary to get the masses started to act. The present strike movement, small as it is and only a beginning, is a promise of what can be done. But for the cowardice and treachery of the official union leaders the wage-cutting drive could have been stopped long ago. It can be stopped in spite of the misleaders. The rank and file must take the initiative. The members must act. The slogan of the hour is: "No wage cuts; no lengthening of working hours."

FOSTER VS. LAFOLLETTE

SHALL the unions and union men support LaFollette or Foster in the presidential election? This question raises every fundamental issue before the labor movement. It is the question: shall the unions accept the leadership of the middle class or shall the leadership be proletarian? It is the question of class collaboration or class struggle. It even goes deeper than that—it is the question of whether there shall be a labor movement.

No more shameful chapter is written in the history of American labor than the one in which is recorded the betrayal of the rising Farmer-Labor Party movement. LaFollette is the symbol of that betrayal, with Gompers, Johnston, and lesser lights grouped about him. At a moment when the working class and farmers were demonstrating by action that a clear lead would bring an independent working

class party into being, confusion and the blurring of class lines was again brought about by a combination of reactionary bureaucrats, who conspired to destroy the promising class movement. Support for LaFollette is support for this treachery.

Foster was the leader of the forces that fought most determinedly against the destruction of the Farmer-Labor Party. As chairman of the Workers Party and secretary of the Trade Union Educational League, he was a principal instrument in the preservation of the unity and class character of the Farmer-Labor movement up to the moment when the LaFollette-Johnson-Gompers combination completely sabotaged all idea of a labor party and forced thru the split. In that moment the Workers Party stepped into the breach and put its own ticket in the field—Foster for president and Gitlow for vice-president—as the rallying point for all class-conscious workers.

The issues are clear: Support for LaFollette means, a reactionary economic program—"Back to 1776"; middle-class leadership; no expression for the labor movement; the continuation of the dictatorship of the capitalist class; the continued rule of Gompers in the unions.

Support for Foster and Gitlow means, a revolutionary program of nationalization and workers' control of industry; proletarian leadership; a labor-farmer party; struggle against capitalism; amalgamation and revolutionization of the unions; and the eventual overthrow of capitalism and establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND THE UNIONS

THE imperialism of the United States is a powerful factor influencing the labor movement and creating the conditions under which it must operate. Heretofore this has been almost completely neglected. We are still woefully ignorant of the problems presented to us by imperialism and it is one of our most pressing tasks to make these problems clear, and to formulate a definite program, both for the labor movement as a whole and for the revolutionary minority, calculated to solve them.

A distinct step in this direction is taken with this issue of THE LABOR HERALD. The general problem of colonialism and its relation to the international trade union movement is dealt with in the article by Comrade Abusian. Manuel Gomez contributes an article on the Pan-American Federation of Labor, and exposes it for what it is, one of the agencies of American imperialism, just as Gompers is such an agent in his domestic policies. The story of the Far-Eastern Transport Workers Conference, by Alfred Wagenknecht, links up our Labor movement, through the Philippines, with the problems of imperialism in the Orient, where America is rapidly becoming a major factor.

In these three most important contributions we have an approach to some of the most intricate problems, and perhaps the most menacing danger, that faces the labor movement. To complete the picture of how and where America is directly involved in imperialist problems it would be necessary also to deal with the Negroes. In addition to being one factor of great import in our internal affairs, the Negroes link us up with the African

question, to the problems of all the black races under British and French imperialism.

It will come as a surprise to some militants to learn how completely imperialism is an essential factor in the policies and power of the reactionary trade union bureaucracy. This fact is another reason compelling us to give some serious and concentrated attention to the subject, to understand it in all its aspects, and thus prepare for the great struggle against imperialism that must be launched if we take ourselves seriously as revolutionists.

A GREAT WORLD CONGRESS

AS this magazine goes to press the Third World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions is over. Inasmuch as the full reports of debate and decisions have not arrived it is impossible as yet to deal with it, fully. The Trade Union Educational League will publish in complete form all the most important documents. In the meantime the reports at hand show that the Third Congress was rich in constructive work that promises great progress for the international movement in the immediate future.

In the struggle for the united front of labor the Congress was able to report great achievements. True, the reformists throughout the world have been able to block action and sabotage the work, as in the united front of the Transport Workers established in Berlin last year. But the revolutionaries, under the leadership of the R. I. L. U., were able, nevertheless, to reach the rank and file, exposing the treachery of these leaders, to such an extent that at the recent Vienna Congress of the Amsterdammers a left wing was developed that demanded approaches to the Russian unions.

On this question the decision of the Congress was an extension of the united front tactic. A commission was selected to handle negotiations for international unity of the trade union movement, and propaganda for an all-inclusive World Congress, based upon proportional representation and a policy of class struggle, was organized throughout the world. Upon this foundation, which will stir the rank and file to action, negotiations can be carried on with the reformist chiefs without fear that the known treachery can be put into effect, except at the cost of disclosing their true nature to their followers. Again the Red International discloses itself as the only energetic and earnest fighter for labor unity.

On the American problems, the Congress approved of the program presented to it published in the July issue of THE LABOR HERALD, with two modifications: The stressing of the independent unions as of probable greater importance in the future was eliminated, while the program for the independent organizations shall include an amalgamation plank, looking to the complete unification of all the labor unions.

General problems of the labor movement, many of which have never before received adequate attention from any group (such as strike strategy) were delved into deeply at the Congress. The Trade Union Educational League will make available all of this most valuable material.

International Notes

GREAT BRITAIN THE Conference of the National Minority Movement, the R. I. L. U. movement in Great Britain, will be held in London on Aug. 23-24. At this writing there is every indication that the Conference will be a success. Many delegates having been appointed from trade unions, central labor councils, unemployed workers' committees, minority groups, etc. Speaking of the Conference, **All Power**, official organ of the Red International of Labor Unions, says,

"This Conference is going to make history. It is going to mark a turning point in the history of the British working class movement. It is going to lay down plans for the intelligent re-organization of the trade union movement, with the concentration of national power in the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and local power in the Trades Councils. It is going, in effect, to lay down the lines for the development of the working class movement so that it will be able to wage the class war in such a manner as to overcome our capitalist enemies. In addition, it is going to give clear expression to the immediate pressing needs of the workers, in regard to wages, working hours, and living and working conditions.

"For the first time a great national effort will be made to mobilize all the active trade unionists of the country to pursue one common program and policy. Upon the success or failure of this effort, will depend, to a very large extent, the future progress of the workers.

"During the past three years the British Bureau of the R. I. L. U. has done much to set the pace for the trade union movement. The Back to the Unions campaign, the co-operation of the organized unemployed with the organized trade union movement, the revival of the Trades Councils, the propaganda for the concentration of the trade union power in the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, were initiated and consistently carried on by the adherents of the R. I. L. U. If our movement is today able to put up a fight on behalf of the workers, it is in no small measure due to the work and sacrifices of those who have pursued the policy of the R. I. L. U."

In its **Monthly Circular** the Labor Research Department reviews the situation of the British trade union movement relative to the question of amalgamation. In the general transport industry steady progress is being made towards consolidation of the various units. Two years ago the Transport and General Workers' Union was formed, combining most of the land and water transport workers. Now another federation has been organized. This is aimed to include the railroad unions as well as other transport organizations. So far, however, only 125,000 have affiliated to it. In the mining industry a couple of small splits have developed and dual unions formed in Fife and Lanarkshire. Two small unions of engineers and mechanics have also seceded. In the metal trades the situation remains unchanged, except that the Amalgamated Engineering Union is negotiating with other unions for com-

mon action. The building trades show activity. Two woodworking unions have just consolidated, and others are considering amalgamation. The Building Trades Workers, a subsidiary organization of the National Federation, has amalgamated with the Quarrymen, with other amalgamations pending. Three unions of laborers have just completed amalgamation. They total approximately 400,000 members. Three organizations of actors, stage hands, and musicians have combined into the Entertainments Federal Council. Among the railroad workers many obstacles exist to amalgamation. Since the last strike the National Union of Railway Men and the Amalgamated Society of Locomotive Enginemen and Firemen are at daggers' point. The Railway Clerks have also refused the proposition of amalgamation. The N. U. R. managed to make an agreement covering the shop mechanics, whereupon the unions of the latter entered into a defensive and offensive alliance with the A. S. L. E. & F. against the N. U. R. A new union of Signalmen has just been formed with, as its president, one A. E. Rochester, recently expelled from the National Union of Railwaymen.

During July an important national strike of building trades workers was under way. It began on July 7th, after a failure of the workers and employers to come to an agreement through the Wages and Conditions Council, at the end of nine months negotiations. The National Federation of Building Trades Operatives demanded the maintenance of the 44-hour week, an increase in wages, and guaranteed payment for lost time. The National Building Trades Employers tried to enforce their demands by a lockout. About 700,000 men were involved. At last report the strike-lockout had not been fully settled. The unions claim, however, that the great mass of the men were back to work, due to settlements arrived at locally.

GERMANY WHEN the German government prohibited the holding of the Workers' Congress, called for the purpose of uniting the whole left-wing movement in the trade unions, the factory committees, the unemployed committees, etc., the Communist Party decided to hold it illegally in Eisenbach on June 30th. But hardly were the 400 delegates to the Congress assembled than they were brutally dispersed by the police. They were able, however, to adopt the following resolution against the Dawes report:

"1. The report of the experts aims to transform Germany into a colony of world capital. The German railroads, the central banks, and all industry, according to the plan of the experts, must be delivered to international capital. The German working class must produce each year two billions and a half of gold marks.

"2. This shameful plan of international capital has found the assistance of the Social-Democrats and the reformist trade union leaders. The English Social-Democrats form the government of His Majesty, King George, the French Social-Democracy is the surest support of the Herriott Cabinet, and the German Social-Democracy

boasts of being the advance guard for the application of the plan of the experts. The Social-Democracy proves once more that it is only an instrument of international capitalism.

"3. The class conscious workers of Germany repudiate the plan of the experts. It signifies the dictatorship of capital. The working class opposes to this policy the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The plan of the experts signifies the control of German production by international capital. The working class opposes to this control, the control of production by the proletariat. The plan of the experts delivers the railroads to international capital. The working class demands the railroads for the workers. As against the banking plan of the experts, the working class opposes its demand: socialization of the banks. As against the system of industrial obligations, which prepare the alliance of international industry with German industry, the working class demands the socialization of all important industries. The fiscal policy of the plan of the experts signifies new burdens upon the workers under the form of direct and indirect taxes. The working class demands the suppression of all direct and indirect taxes and the confiscation of the capitalists' fortunes.

"4. The Congress approves the decision of the Cologne Conference regarding the common struggle of the French and German workers against the policy of the experts and the band of international financial bandits.

"5. The struggle against the policy of the experts must not take place only in the parliaments. The workers must conduct a decisive struggle outside of parliament. All resistance to cuts in wages and to increases in cost of living for the proletarian masses, all resistance to the violence of the capitalists is at the same time a blow struck at the plan of the experts. The great strike in the Ruhr, which includes 500,000 miners, has already made great difficulty for the plan of the experts. New movements are ripening. It is necessary to unite all these movements and to direct them against international capital."

The Voelkisch movement in Germany, the Fascist organization, is now undergoing a severe crisis. One of the sharpest indications of this was the recent suspension of the *Grossdeutsche Zeitung*, central organ of the Party. This was followed soon afterward by the resignation of Hitler. Splits are also developing, one in Munich forming into a new organization calling itself the "Eagle of the Empire." The faction headed by Ludendorf has come into power. The Voelkisch journal, the *Deutsche Zeitung*, says that the disillusionment and disorganization in the ranks of the Fascists is enormous. It declares "We are losing the masses as quickly as we gained them." The Party has been absolutely unable to fulfill any of the glowing promises made to the workers before election. Poverty worse than ever bears down upon the workers and the petty bourgeoisie. The unemployment is tremendous, the 10 and 12-hour day has been re-established, the cost of living is mounting rapidly. The big capitalists are viewing with alarm the disintegration of the Voelkisch movement, many of whose disaffected

working class adherents now awake to the reactionary character of the organization, are going over to the Communist Party.

THE white terror reigns in Fascist ROUMANIA Roumania. The government of Ferdinand Hohenzollern and Bratiano, financed by the French government, have suppressed the Communist press and made the Communist Party an illegal organization. In the country of Queen Marie, lately the object of extravagant praise by Albert Thomas, Communists are being illegally arrested and even murdered in prison. The Roumanian Communist Party has issued a protest against these brutalities. It cites the case of Comrade Joseph Ilyes, who was arrested in the Commune of Baufalo, in Transylvania. He was later transferred to another prison, whence he mysteriously disappeared. It is probable that he died as a result of the savage beating he received. The police maintain that he escaped from jail, but this is not so. It is not the first time that Roumanian comrades have mysteriously disappeared while in the hands of the police.

In every country where the struggle between Fascist reaction and Communist revolution becomes tense, the reactionaries quickly resort to murder. This is seen in the case of Matteotti in Italy.

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Labor Conditions and Labor Unions in Japan

(Continued from Page 219)

1) Socialization of all arable land; and, 2) the unification of the entire agricultural proletariat into one big union.

This union was started in Kansai, during 1921, under the leadership of Kagawa and Sugiyama, both reformists and Christian socialists. It is divided into two geographical divisions: the Kanto Federation, of the east, and the Kansai Federation, of the west. The western section is under the influence of Kagawa and the other reformists, the eastern is under the influence of the Communists.

Last year, another central organization (*Chubu Domei*) was organized. This division includes local tenant unions in the central prefectures of Gifu, Aichi, Shizuska and Miye.

The movement for the establishment of a nation-wide federation of peasant unions is gaining ground. More and more unions of tenants are joining the Agricultural Union. At the second annual convention of the union, held at Kobe in April, 1923, 205 delegates were present. They represented 850 locals with a membership of 106,000. The present membership is estimated at 120,000.

Agricultural Disputes

This unionization of the agricultural proletariat has led to many strikes. Until recently the relation between land-owners and tenant farmers was generally an amicable one of master and servant. With the awakening of class-consciousness, however, this relation has undergone a considerable change and has become similar to that prevailing between industrial workers and their employers. Antagonistic organizations, as shown, have been set up on both sides. The number and gravity of disputes have increased year by year, until we see that from only 85 disputes in 1917, in 1922 there were 1,398 disputes involving 24,900 landlords and 108,300 tenants and 74,240 cho of land.

The principal causes of the disputes are the smallness of the holdings, the absorption of land into few hands, the growth of absentee ownership, the rise of the cost of living together with low income (the famous "scissors"), high rentals and taxes, growing divergence of interest between landlord and tenant, changes in trends of thought

and, in general, the hopeless and restless outlook of the exploited farmers.

Disputes and demands are now collective instead of individual. In some cases the farmers attempted to apply coercion or the abandonment of their farms. This last method caused severe losses to the landlords, but at the same time it injured the farmers themselves. Realizing their error, the peasants adopted new and more rational tactics, such as general non-payment of rents. Most of the strikes were well organized and resulted in victory for the farmers.

In conclusion, it must be remembered that in all these strikes, the Japanese Agricultural Workers' Union has taken a leading part. It is mainly through the guidance of the union that the majority of strikes resulted in victory. True, the leaders of the union are reformists, but the rank and file are not, and, besides, the Communists are gaining more and more influence and their tactics are gradually being adopted.

The agricultural workers of Japan are destined to play an important role in the development of the proletarian revolution. It must be remembered that their number is greater than that of the industrial workers, that they make up the bulk of the army of Japanese imperialism. Conversion of the tenant farmers to revolutionary principles will seriously affect the whole structure of Japanese autocracy.

The Communist Party of Japan is taking proper steps in spreading revolutionary ideas among the agricultural workers. The party is using its influence within the unions and is assisting the peasants in their struggle against the landlords. It already controls, as stated, the eastern section of the union. The *Chubu Domei* of central Japan is entirely the formation of the Communist Party. In the northeast and north members of the party are actively engaged in the work of organizing the unorganized into tenant unions and federations.

But by far the most important work of the Japanese Communist Party is the organization of a Workers' and Peasants' Party and the agitation for united political action of the toiling masses. The work of the party on this field is already bearing fruit. Recent news from Japan tells us that the Agricultural Workers' Union as a whole is to enter the Workers' and Peasants' Party, which is being formed under the leadership of the Communists of Japan.

MILLIONS OF
German Workers Chained to the Rock



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Makes German Labor the Chattel of
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