

The American Foreign-Born Workers.

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CHAPTER ONE

The Foreign-Born Americans — Who They Are and Where They Came From.

Who Are the Americans?

Are they the Scottish-born Carnegies, the German-born Schiffs or the English-born Marshall Fields, whose Americanism has paid them in hundreds of millions of dollars?

or

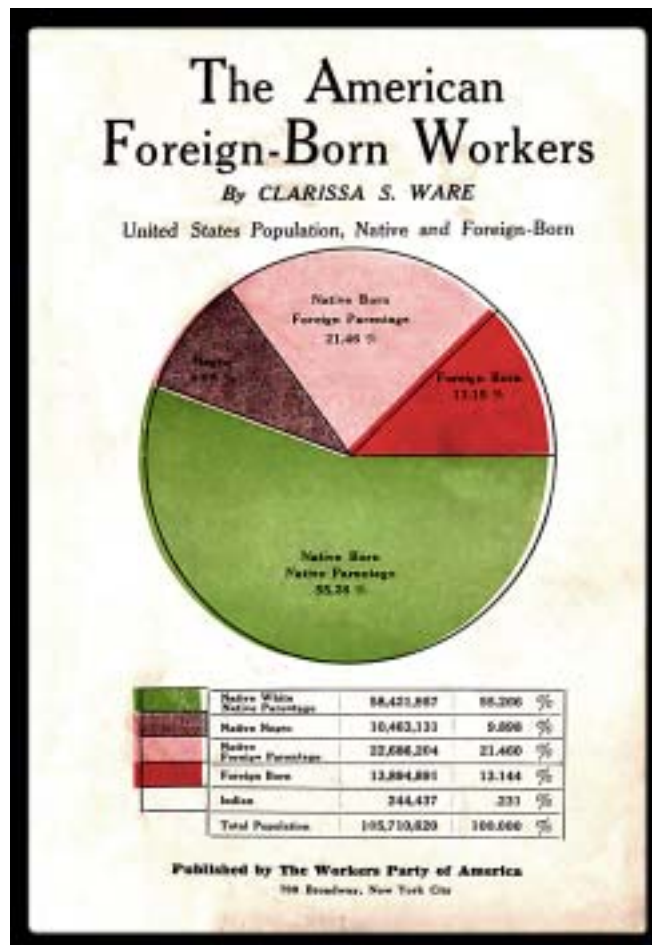
Are they the many millions of workers, who, coming from far lands, have dug the coal, made the steel, laid the railroad tracks, and run the textile looms — have built the giant industries of America?

Who Are the Foreign-Born?

There are 13,894,841 *Foreign-Born*; 13.4% of the total population of America. Over 34% of our population are of foreign-born stock, that is either foreign-born or of foreign-born parents.

There are 6,208,697 *Foreign-Born* who are over twenty-one years old — qualified voters or 10% of the citizens of America. The 17,816,181 citizens of foreign stock make up 29.2% of the potential voting population of America. Fully another 10% of the population over 21 years old are, as Secretary of Labor Davis has said, naturalizable. The *Foreign-Born Workers* are 58% of the total employed in American industries.

In the basic industries, mining, iron and steel, meat packing, and clothing, 60-70% of the workers are foreign-born.



“Americanizing” the Foreign-Born.

What has been the lot of these foreign-born American workers? The longest hours and the lowest wages; the worst housing and the poorest schooling; and discriminatory State and National laws against them. This has been the lot of over 34 million immigrants who have come to the United States within the last hundred years.

Millions of foreign-born workers, herded in the mining and industrial centers of America, have, with

sweat and blood, ground out fabulous profits for the employing class. And today it is against these workers that the employing class is launching a new offensive. This offensive is part of the organized campaign to intensify the oppression and exploitation of all the workers — *Native and Foreign*. The capitalists aim to foster and perpetuate artificial divisions in the ranks of the workers, divisions along lines of nationality.

It is the task of all workers regardless of their place of birth to unite and present one front to the common enemy in the common struggle — the fight against the exploitation of those who work by those who own — the fight against capitalist slavery.

“We are a nation of immigrants” is admitted even by that spokesman of pure Americanism, James A. Emery, General Council of the National Association of Manufacturers who adds, “Within a hundred years we have admitted to the United States some thirty-four and three quarter millions of immigrants.”

Country of Birth of Foreign-Born.

The First Period of Immigration.

From the countries of Northwestern and Central Europe came the first tide of immigration which swept the builders of America’s industries to our shores.

According to the United States census of 1920, 47.9% of the *Foreign-Born* in America came from those countries which furnished the bulk of the earlier immigration.

The following table gives the number from each country of North Western Europe and also the percentage of the total foreign-born population represented by each nationality.

Country of Birth of Foreign-Born White

All countries	13,712,754		100%
<i>Northwestern Europe</i>			
England	812,828	5%	
Scotland	254,567	1.9%	
Wales	67,066	0.5%	
Ireland	1,037,233	7.6%	15%

Canada	1,131,120	8.2%	8.2%
Sweden	625,580	4.6%	
Norway	363,862	2.7%	
Denmark	189,154	1.4%	8.7%
Netherlands	131,766	1%	
Belgium	62,686	0.5%	
Luxemburg	12,585	0.1%	
Switzerland	118,659	0.9%	
France	118,569	0.9%	
Alsace-Lorraine	34,321	0.3%	3.7%
Germany	1,686,102	12.3%	12.3%

The characteristics of this group of foreign-born workers were:

- 1) They came from industrial countries;
- 2) They were largely English and German-speaking;
- 3) Their traditions, customs, and habits resembled those of the people living in the United States.

For these reasons and because of the rapid development of American industries during this period they quickly passed out of the ranks of the unskilled workers, not handicapped by differences of language and customs, it was less possible to exploit them, as a group, separate from the American-born workers.

The Second Period of Immigration.

From South Central, Southern, and Eastern Europe came the second tide bringing the labor which developed and expanded our railroads, mines and industries. Until 1890 the great portion of this foreign stream flowed from the Nordic countries — during the next 25 years that preceded the Great War, the Slavic and Southern countries of Europe increased their immigration flow — economically the industrial, agricultural and transportation and mining development of the nation moved in continuing dependence upon an immigrant stream of willing laborers.

The 1920 census figures of the United States show that today 46.3% of the foreign-born population came from these countries of the South and East.

**Country of Birth of Foreign-Born White
Central and Southern Europe**

<i>Central Europe</i>			
Poland	1,139,978	8.3%	
Czechoslovakia	362,436	2.6%	
Austria	575,625	4.2%	
Hungary	397,282	2.9%	
Yugoslavia	169,437	1.2%	19.2%
<i>Eastern Europe</i>			
Russia	1,400,489	0.2%	
Lithuania	155,068	1 %	
Finland	149,824	1.1%	
Rumania	102,823	0.7%	
Turkey in Europe	10,477		
Bulgaria	5,284		13.0%
<i>Southern Europe</i>			
Greece	175,973	1.3%	
Albania	5,608		
Italy	1,610,109	11%	
Spain	49,247	0.4%	
Portugal	67,453	0.5%	
Other Europe	5,901		13.2%
<i>Asia</i>			
Total	110,450	0.9%	0.9%
<i>South and Central America</i>			
Total	593,193	4.4%	4.4%
		98.6%	98.6%

The foreign-born workers, coming from these countries, differed greatly from the first group. Largely peasants from agricultural countries, they knew little or nothing of modern industrial methods or machinery. Cut off by differences in language, in customs, religion, they more easily became a prey to the employing class, today the most exploited and oppressed section of the American working class.

The Recent Immigration.

During the World War, the stream of foreign-born flowed back from the industries of America to the battle fields of Europe.

In 1920-21, however, 668,000 immigrants landed in the United States. Fearful of an invasion of the politically unorthodox, Congress, as the expression of a panic-stricken capitalist class, passed the so-called Three Percent Restriction Act. Since then approximately 356,995 foreign-born have been admissible.

This number has been divided according to the law, among the different countries on the basis of 3% of the number of each race present in the United States, according to the 1910 census. During this last period of immigration no changes have taken place in the composition of the working class.

From every corner of the earth they have come, strong, sturdy people, eager to realize liberty and happiness in the promised land. They have come, hoping for a new and better life, in which the misery and suffering of the past will be ended. Instead they find that in the United States they are the despised burden bearers, who, performing the hardest and most unpleasant work, are condemned to live in squalor and poverty while they create wealth for the class they serve.

CHAPTER TWO

The Importance of the Foreign-Born as a Section of the Population, the Voting Force, the Industrial Army.

Proportion of the Foreign-Born to the Total Population.

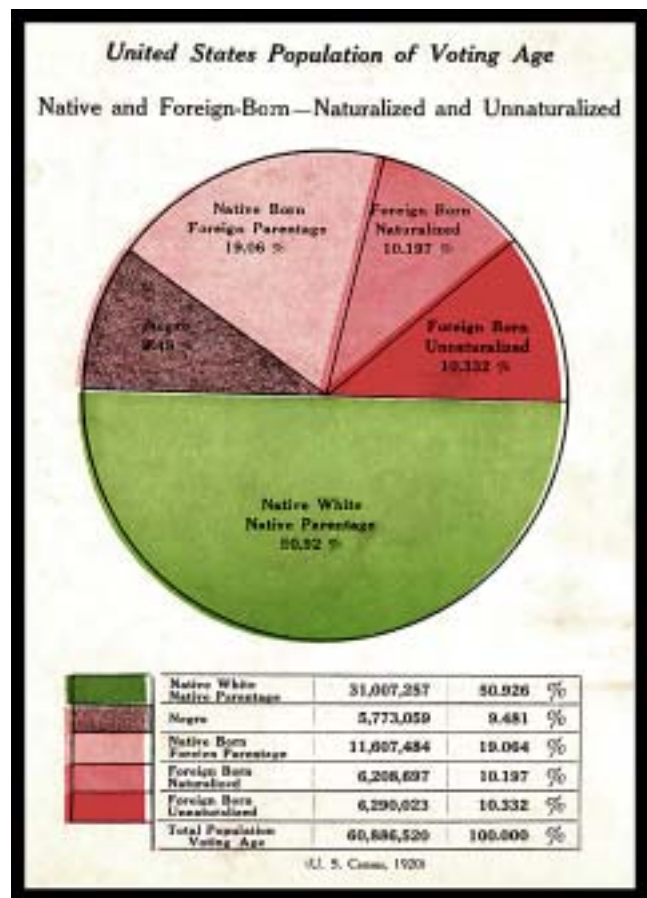
As shown by Chart No. 1 on the cover, the foreign-born and foreign stock make up 34.8% of the total population of the United States. According to an analysis of the census figures for 1920 the foreign-born make up 13.4% of the total population. Those of foreign stock, that is whose parents were foreign-born, make up 21.4%. The Negro native-born are another 9.8%, and the native white of native white parentage make up the remaining 55.3% of the population. Thus it is that the foreign-born stock comprises over one-third of the total population.

Proportion of the Foreign-Born Over 21 to the Total Population Over 21 Years Old.

According to a statement made recently by the chairman of the Executive Council of the Civic Federation, "out of 54 million eligible voters in the United States, only 26 million votes, or 48%, were cast." There are today over 6 million naturalized foreign-born citizens eligible to vote — that is one-ninth, or over 11%, of the total number of voters in the United States.

The political power that this one group could wield is suggested by the fact that it numbers nearly one-fourth of the number of votes cast in the last election. But because of the wholesale disenfranchisement practised on large sections of the working class, notably the Negro masses in the South, and because of the tendency of many of the qualified voters not to make use of the vote, a sounder analysis can be made by taking as a basis the entire population over twenty-one years of age who are potential voters.

Chart No. 2 [see this page] shows the composition of this population. Only 50% are native white of native white parentage, 9.5% are Negroes, and 39.5% are foreign-born or of foreign parentage. Actually 19% are of foreign parentage, and 10.3% are, as Secretary



of Labor Davis has pointed out, naturalizable.

Thus it can be seen that the worst exploited groups, the Negroes and the workers of foreign stock, have a potential voting force of 40% of the total voting strength and if we add the naturalizable foreign-born to this group it equals the voting strength of the native white of native white parents. Of course the many obstacles which have been intentionally created to prevent these workers from participating in the elections make the possibility of their expressing their strength effectively through voting.

The Foreign-Born Workers in Industry.

It is, however, when we consider the foreign-born workers from the standpoint of their part in the industrial life of the nation that the great part they play in the life of this country becomes apparent.

Lauck and Sydenstricker give figures to prove that 58% of the industrial force of America are foreign-born workers. In their book "Conditions of Labor in American Industries," they present a table show-

ing that from 60-70% of the workers in the clothing, mining, iron and steel, meat packing, and leather manufacturing industries are foreign-born.

The National Association of Manufacturers in its official organ, "American Industries," states that the foreign-born workers are found in the basic industries according to the following table:

**Proportion of Foreign-Born to Native Workers
in the Basic Manufacturing Industries.**

<i>Industry</i>	<i>Foreign-Born</i>
Iron and steel manufacturing	58%
Slaughtering and meat packing	61%
Bituminous coal mining	62%
Woolen and worsted manufacturing	62%
Cotton goods manufacturing	62%
Clothing manufacturing	69%
Leather manufacturing	67%
Furniture manufacturing	59%
Oil refining	67%

Turning to the geographical distribution of the "Foreign-Born" in the United States, we find that 11 millions of the 13 millions are located in the East and North-Central, or industrial sections.

A comparison between the native white population, the Negro population and the foreign-born population in the different districts shows that in the industrial centers of the Northeast and Central, as well as in the mining districts of the West, the main proportion of foreign-born is high and the proportion of Negro low. In these districts the foreign-born workers are the main source of cheap, unskilled labor.

On the other hand, in the South where the Negroes are the lowest-paid so-called common laborers, the proportion of the foreign-born is small and the Negro runs correspondingly high.

The following table, made up from the figures of the United States census of 1920, shows the distribution of the foreign-born, native white, and Negro, both as to number and percentage of the population:

**Distribution of the Foreign-Born and Native,
Population by District**

	Total Pop.	Native-Born <i>Foreign-Born</i>	White	Negro
United States	105,710,620	91,789,928 <i>13,920,692</i>	76.7% <i>13.0%</i>	9.9%
New England	7,400,909	5,514,964 <i>1,885,945</i>	73.6% <i>25.3%</i>	1.1%
Middle Atlantic	22,261,144	17,300,726 <i>4,960,418</i>	75.2% <i>22.1%</i>	2.7%
East North-Cen.	21,475,543	18,243,402 <i>3,232,141</i>	82.5% <i>15.1%</i>	2.4%
West North-Cen.	12,544,249	11,168,596 <i>1,375,653</i>	86.5% <i>10.9%</i>	2.2%
South Atlantic	13,990,272	13,659,735 <i>330,537</i>	66.7% <i>2.3%</i>	30.9%
East South-Cen.	8,893,307	8,820,318 <i>72,989</i>	70.8% <i>0.8%</i>	28.4%
West South-Cen.	10,242,274	9,777,396 <i>464,828</i>	74.8% <i>4.5%</i>	20.1%
Mountain	3,336,101	2,868,481 <i>467,620</i>	82.7% <i>13.6%</i>	0.9%
Pacific	5,566,871	4,436,310 <i>1,130,561</i>	77.6% <i>18.6%</i>	10.9%

New England and East North-Central.

In Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, where the foreign-born are 25.3% of the total population, the leading industries are textiles, boot and shoe manufacturing, and in these industries the foreign-born workers are to be found working the longest hours for the lowest wages. In the Middle Atlantic States — New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey — where the 4,960,418 foreign-born are 22.1% of the total population, the clothing industries, the steel and the mines as well as general manufacturing, employ a majority of foreign-born workers.

This holds true for the East North-Central dis-

trict — the states of Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana and Ohio. Mr. S.L. Lawton of Hancock, Michigan, stated in the hearings before the Committee on Naturalization and Immigration of the House, January 1923, “98% of all men working in the mines (of Michigan) are of foreign birth.”

Mr. J. M. Larkin, Assistant to the President of the Bethlehem Steel Company, in the hearings before the Committee on Naturalization and Immigration of the House of Representatives, January 1923, also said: “From 40-45% of the employees of the subsidiary companies of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation are people of foreign birth. They comprise, in the main, the following nationalities: Austro-Hungarian, Slavic, Russian, Italian, Swedish, Polish, Greek, Portuguese, and Spanish, coming in the main from the Central and Southern European countries.”

The Chairman: “Do you think it is a good plan to be continually bringing a stream of aliens here to work 12-hour shifts in a hard industry?”

Mr. Larkin: “I will answer that by saying that if the industry is to progress and to operate we must have this class of labor or a similar class.”

Today, if the steel industry is to “progress,” if the dividends are to be paid, if the industry is to continue to roll up millions in profits the employers must have the foreign-born workers and they must intensify the exploitation and increase their ruthless oppression. Or they must have a similar class” for like purposes.

The only “similar class” is that of the Negro workers. In the southern states the Negroes — a disfranchised group — are working in the textile mills, the mines and the steel mills under much the same conditions of discrimination, degradation and exploitation as is the lot of the foreign-born in the industrial and mining centers farther north.

South Atlantic.

In the South Atlantic district — Maryland, the District of Columbia, Virginia and West Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida — the Negroes are 30.9% of the total population and the foreign-born are only 2.3%. Large numbers of Negroes are farm laborers, tenant farmers but it is also true to the extent that where there is an industrial development the Negroes are the so-called common la-

borers.

East South-Central and West South-Central.

In the East South-Central, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and where the Negroes are 28.4%, the foreign-born workers are only 0.8%. In these states the Negroes are working in the mines and mills and factories under conditions of work, hours, and wages very much as prevail for the foreign-born workers in similar industries.

Much the same is true for the West South-Central, the states of Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas and Louisiana. In these states the Negroes take the place of the foreign-born workers as the most oppressed section of the working class.

Mountain and Pacific Districts.

In the Mountain district, the states of Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Arizona and New Mexico, as well as in the Pacific district — the states of Washington, Oregon, and California — where the Negro population drops off to less than one per cent, the proportion of the foreign-born rises to 13.6% for the Mountain and to 18.6% for the Pacific.

The foreign-born workers are back at their places in the mines — digging the coal, and metals, at work in the smelters and oil refineries.

West North-Central.

The West North-Central district — North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri — non-manufacturing states, have the largest proportion of Native White to be found in any district, 86.5%. The proportion of foreign-born— 10.9%—are largely at work in the mines. There is, however, one factor which is worth noting in regard to this district. It includes 200,000 foreign-born farmers—more than a third of the total number of foreign-born farmers in the United States.

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These figures show that the foreign-born workers occupy a position in American industry which

makes them the most essential group in bringing into existence the wealth produced in the United States.

Their work has created the great fortunes of their exploiters. Frederick J. Haskins has well depicted their place in the life of America in his poem, "The Immigrant":

I have shouldered my burden as the American
man-of-all-work.
I contribute eighty-five percent of all the labor
in the slaughtering and meat-packing industries.
I do seven-tenths of the bituminous coal mining.
I do seventy-eight per cent of all the work
in the woolen mills.
I contribute nineteen-twentieths of all the clothing.
I manufacture more than half of the shoes.
I build four-fifths of all the furniture.
I make half the collars, cuffs and shirts.
I turn out four-fifths of all the leather.
I make half the gloves.
I refine nearly nineteen-twentieths of the sugar.
I make half of the tobacco and cigars.
And yet, I am the great American problem.
When I pour out my blood on your altar of labor,
and lay down my life as a sacrifice
to your god of toil, and make no more
comment than at the fall of a sparrow.
But my brawn is woven into the warp and woof
of the fabric of your national.
My children shall be your children and your land
shall be my land because my sweat and
my blood will cement the foundations
of the America of Tomorrow.

(Reprinted by the Department of Missions and Church Extension of the Episcopal Church in their folder entitled *Americans All.*)

CHAPTER THREE
The Oppression of
the Foreign-Born Workers.

Living Conditions.

The foreign-born worker finds the dice loaded against him from the moment he arrives. The living conditions in our slums, industrial towns, and mining camps are horrible. Thomas Burgess, in "The Foreign-Born Americans and Their Children," paints in the following picture their life in America:

"Bitterly hard toil, and bitterly hard living have been the beginning of most of their lives in their adopted country, and such have often continued to the end.

"Hard, terribly hard is the lot of the poor little children—those who survive the tenement life of our great cities, living in homes of some two rooms with their large families, often mixed indiscriminately with additional boarders. There are two blocks on the East Side of New York covering less than nine acres in all, that house eight thousand souls.

"Whole families toil their lives out; sewing all day and far into the night in reeking tenements finishing garments for the merest pittance, making myriads of artificial flowers, neckwear and the like."

The living conditions are even worse in the mining and mill towns. Here the company is also the storekeeper and sells the food and necessities for the family at exorbitant prices. Often a system of charging and counter-charging goes on so that the wages are paid by the company back into its own pocket and the workers are kept always in debt, always in fear of eviction and always facing the spectre of unemployment which means starvation.

Large numbers of foreign-born workers find their way into the mines. It is impossible to give an adequate picture of what a miner's life is, but the following extract from a recent book, "The Government—Strike Breaker" by Jay Lovestone tells the story.

"Irregularity of employment is one of the worst diseases afflicting the miner's life. It means aggravated unemployment for him. The miner cannot know today whether there will be work for him tomorrow. Many times, at the whistle's call of "work" in the evening and the morning, the miner will rise at 4

o'clock in the morning, get himself ready for work, walk more than five miles to the pit, and then be informed that there is nothing doing because the railroad company had failed to furnish empty cars.

"Men working in this district (Crooksville) never have an opportunity to straighten themselves or straighten their backs during the day until they go out of the mine in the evening, unless they choose to lie flat on the floor or bottom of the mine. They enter the mine in the morning and sometimes they have to walk for miles in a stooped position to their work. They are frequently compelled to go through mud and water in order to reach their work." (Cong. Record, Vol. 62, Page 5698)

"Pneumonia, consumption and colds are not uncommon amongst the miners. They are always exposed to gas and dust explosions, to the falling of slate and coal, mine damp, fire, drowning and electrocution. Denial of sunlight and fresh air accompany the starvation wage of the miner in his hard lot.

In 1921, despite severe unemployment, the toll of killed in the mines was 1,973 according to the report of the Bureau of Mines."

Exploitation of the Foreign-Born.

The form of exploitation of the foreign-born worker varies in the different localities, but there are certain general practices which are to be found where foreign-born workers are numerous.

Exploitation in Securing a Job.

"Employment Agencies."

The Commission on Industrial Relations Report of 1915, states: "The business as a whole reeks with fraud, extortion and flagrant abuses of every kind. A charging of fees out of proportion to services rendered, discrimination of charges to different applicants for the same job, sending men long distances only to find no one had ordered men. Splitting fees with foremen and superintendents, leading foremen to hire and discharge more often than necessary in order to have more men hired through agent; misrepresentation of em-

ployment; and terms of employment, exploitation by countrymen under the so-called padrone system under which foreign-born are recruited and exploited by employment agents of their own race.”

Exploitation by Foremen and Superintendents After Securing Job.

“The foreman and his superiors and inferiors sometimes form a regular hierarchy of exploitation in which the ignorant immigrant is the “victim”. Often the immigrants are forced to pay monthly bonuses to a superior in order to keep their jobs. An example of this is the case of 19 Lithuanian workmen who had signed affidavits to the effect that they are regularly paying part

of their wages to one foreman in order to keep their jobs, within two weeks after the affidavit had been presented to the president of the corporation the 19 men were fired.” Report of the Mass. Commission on Immigration, 1914, Page 40.

Wages.

According to Lauck and Sydenstricker in *Conditions of Labor in American Industry*, “Statistics of annual earnings of native and foreign-born show a considerably lower economic status for the latter group, both for males and females.” In the mines of Michigan which employ almost entirely foreign-born workers, “over 80 percent of the miners were found to be earning, at annual rates, between \$700 and \$800.”

Withholding Wages.

It has been shown by the investigation conducted by the Carnegie foundation for the advancement of Teaching by Reginald Heber Smith that: “Hundreds of thousands of men, many of them immigrants, have been unable to collect their wages honestly earned...”

The practice of withholding wages is one to which the foreign-born workers in unorganized industries fall an easy prey. Under the pretext of being learners they are often paid much less than the regular wage for such work. On the pretext of having spoiled material or on the pretext of theft, wages are withheld. Prom-

ised overtime pay is often not forthcoming on the ground that no written contract was made. The records of the New York Legal Aid Society are full of such cases. For instance, “a Russian woman who was employed at \$7 a week as a button hole maker was informed at the end of the first week that she would have to work four weeks for nothing before she would be entitled to any pay.” —*The Immigrants’ Day in Court.*

The Foreign-Born Worker and the Courts.

Ignorant of the English language, our laws, our court procedure, the foreign-born worker is the victim of fraud and dishonesty practiced by unscrupulous and vicious constables, lawyers and judges.

Lawyers and Lawyers’ Runners.

Hanging about the corridors of our court houses and homes of justice are to be found the lawyers’ runners who drum up business, usually of the most vicious sort for their employers.

In 1918 the Massachusetts Bureau of Immigration made an investigation which showed : “Over twenty individuals were found daily in the corridors adjoining the First and Second Sessions of the Municipal Criminal Court of Boston, soliciting business for attorneys and furnishing bail for persons arrested.

“These runners dealt mainly with the foreign-born, ignorant of our customs, our language and our legal procedure. Pretending to have great influence with the courts, the police and the district attorney, they were ready to guarantee the discharge of accused persons, whether innocent or guilty, on payment of a fee to them or to the attorney whom they represented. On the other hand they threatened with severe penalties, long prison terms or heavy fines, persons accused of even minor offenses, for which in any case, the penalty would be light, should they fail to engage the attorneys recommended by the runners.” This form of intimidation, blackmail and swindle is carried on by the lawyers who in many cases are directly in the pay of the prosecution.

Compensation Illustrations.

Justice courts such as exist in many states, notably Ohio, Illinois and Pennsylvania, find in the foreign-born workers a source of unlimited spoils. The judges in such courts do not have to know any law and they are not salaried officials, but depend on the fees, costs and fines levied in cases brought before them. Such judges, having practically unlimited power, with the connivance of their constables and thugs, round up the Foreigner, trumped up on minor charges, and collect court fees which are divided between the judge and the constable. This exploitation is the kind of justice handed out to the foreign-born.

According to "The Immigrants Day in Court" by Claghorn, "In Pennsylvania justice had combined with certain railroad detectives to arrest immigrant women for stealing coal from the railroad tracks. The value of the coal stolen in many cases was not more than ten or fifteen cents, but the women were brought before the judge in large numbers for trial, had to pay from \$20 to \$25 for fines and costs. As the women were seldom able to pay this in one amount, it was made payable in weekly installments for \$1 to \$2, and for a long time it was a common sight to see a line of 20 to 25 women standing outside these justice courts waiting to pay the weekly installments on their fines."

In the Aldermanic courts the same conditions prevail. In Pennsylvania for example there is a state game law under which the alien is not allowed to have in his possession either fire arms or a dog. The law in this case provided for a fine of \$25 for infraction, half of which goes to the informant, the rest to the justices, constables, etc., quoting again, "In many cases the alien was fined because his children had some small pet dog—obviously not a game dog, and as to fire arms constables are known to have arrested several foreign-born residents under this law because their children had been playing with toy pistols." Claghorn says, "The aldermen, like the justices are paid by fees, and their incomes are out of all proportion to the services they perform. In Pittsburg quite recently it was estimated that one alderman received over \$10,000 a year in fees, another over \$20,000. In no case does an alderman take less than \$5,000 a year. The aldermen for the most part are men of mediocre abilities and attainments,

without legal training, and in their courts are found the usual evils of the justice court."

When he comes into court in connection with a strike or any form of industrial dispute the foreign-born worker is met with an attitude which was expressed by a New York magistrate who said that he believed in collective bargaining but that foreigners who were allowed in this country must be thankful, obey the law, and keep their mouths shut." In the strike of the clothing workers in Cincinnati in 1919, where a large percentage of the strikers were foreign-born, the attorney for the strikers said, in no case were they given a fair trial, and the fact that they were foreign-born practically convicted them before their cases came up in court.

The history of terrorization and manhandling used by the police, the cossacks, and the troops, as the case might be, in the Textile strike at Lawrence, in Passaic and Patterson in 1919, as well as the great steel strike of 1919 are bloody testimonials to the methods of Americanization employed by the American capitalist class. In each case the majority of the strikers were foreign-born.

The story of the practical enslavement of the foreign-born workers has been told again and again in the labor history of the United States. The conditions to which the foreign-born workers were obliged to submit in the steel industry, the mining industry and the textile industry are but outstanding examples of the lot of these workers in industry generally.

Laws Discriminating Against the Foreign-Born.

It is not only in the operation of the courts that the immigrant is victimized but written upon the statute books of many of the states are laws which restrict the foreign born, his rights and freedom. There are for example laws in fourteen or fifteen states which limit in some ways his right to acquire and hold property. Davis in his recent book "The Russian Immigrant," states certain of the laws as follows:

In the state of Oregon, foreigners have no right to read newspapers and magazines which are not printed in English. The same law is proposed in the states of Maryland, Kentucky and New York.

In the state of Pennsylvania, the foreigners have no right to keep dogs.

In the states of Michigan, New Hampshire, Tennessee and Washington, the foreigner has no right to teach. The same law is pending in the state of Massachusetts.

In the states of New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Washington, Nebraska, Kansas, Maryland, Oregon and New Hampshire, in case of accident, a foreigner does not receive the compensations which are due to the American citizen in a similar case. This law exists, notwithstanding the fact that among foreigners there are a great many more accidents than among Americans.

In the states of Pennsylvania, Illinois, New Jersey, California, Arizona, Rhode Island, Idaho, New Mexico, Wyoming, foreigners cannot be employed for public works. In Arizona, if a foreigner tries to evade this law, he is fined \$1,000, or imprisoned for six months, or both.

In the states of Massachusetts and Oregon, the same law is before the legislature. In the states of Massachusetts, New York, Washington, Illinois, Utah and Louisiana, a foreigner is accepted for employment on public works only if there is no American to be found in his place.

In the state of Idaho, the foreigner is accepted for work in a factory only if he has his first citizenship papers.

In the states of Illinois, California, Minnesota, Idaho, Texas, Missouri, Nebraska, Indiana, Montana, Arizona, Oklahoma, Kentucky, Iowa and Mississippi, aliens have no right to own property, or the ownership is limited between five and twenty years. In many places, foreigners are allowed to own not more than 320 acres, or are without the right of succession.

In the state of Maryland, it is proposed not to allow the foreigners to carry on commerce at all.

In the state of Louisiana, foreigners cannot do any public printing work.

Besides these, there are many offending customs in the American attitude toward the foreigners. From all this it is plain that the relationship to the foreigners is not very warm. Foreigners having to bear all this cannot write home very enthusiastic letters about America, and, of course, they want to leave, the sooner the better.

If the work of the foreigner is appreciated, if he is needed in the mines, in the construction of subways, and for the work in the factories and farms, one must give him human rights, and one must not offend him at every step.

Some of the worst state laws are as follows:

Kansas: Unless the alien has filed a declaration of intention to become a citizen, his property shall escheat to the state, in the event of his death.¹

Michigan: Persons not citizens can teach in the public schools only if they have filed their intention of becoming citizens.²

Nebraska: All public meetings-political meetings or conventions, the purpose and object of which and the consideration and discussion of political or non-political subjects of general interest, or relating to the well-being of any class or organization-shall be conducted in the English language exclusively; providing the provisions of this Act shall not apply to meetings or conventions held for the purpose of religious teachings, instruction or worship, or lodge organizations.³

Aliens are prohibited from holding any public office in the state.⁴

Aliens may not teach in any public, private, or parochial school.⁵

It is illegal for aliens to own, keep, or have firearms in their possession.⁶

Nevada: Only a citizen of the United States or a person who has declared his intention of becoming one shall be employed in the construction of public works in any office or department of the state. Exception is made in the case of convicts, and exchange instructors in the University, from North and South

1. Laws of Kansas, 1921, p. 278.

2. State of Michigan, General School Law (1919), Act 220, p. 111.

3. Laws of Nebraska (1919) ch. 234, p. 991.

4. *Ibid.*, ch. 171, p. 383.

5. *Ibid.*, ch. 250, p. 120.

6. *Ibid.*, ch. 140, p. 606.

7. Laws of Nevada (1919), ch. 168, p. 296.

American countries.⁷

New Mexico: The possession of a shot gun or rifle, or the hunting of wild birds, game or fish, by unnaturalized, foreign-born residents is prohibited.⁸

Oregon: It is unlawful to display or circulate or offer for sale any newspaper or periodical except in English unless a literal translation shall be conspicuously displayed.⁹

The employers are creating by law a class of wage labor which can be compelled to accept low wages and bad working conditions, and then using these oppressed and exploited workers to destroy the organizations and reduce the standard of living of the native and foreign-born alike.

They hope through oppressive exception laws directed at the foreign-born workers to create a class of workers who cannot fight back, and thus weaken and destroy the whole labor movement.

8. Letter from the attorney general of New Mexico to the author cites State of New Mexico, Sessions Laws, 1921, ch. 113.

9. General Laws of Oregon, 1920, ch. 17.

CHAPTER FOUR
***The New Offensive Against
the Foreign-Born***

Now it is proposed that there be added to these state laws, discriminating against the foreign-born workers, oppressive federal laws through which the exploitation of the foreign-born can be intensified.

In a Manifesto issued on January 10 [1923], the Workers Party of America stated the case with a simplicity and directness which cannot be bettered:

**AMERICAN WORKERS !
PROTECT THE FOREIGN-BORN
WORKERS AGAINST THE ATTACKS OF THE
CAPITALISTS AND THE GOVERNMENT**

Manifesto of the Workers Party of America

The capitalists, with the aid of the Government, are launching a new attack on the workers of this country.

They are preparing, through oppressive laws, to make it impossible for the foreign-born workers to fight against the open shop and for better wages and working conditions.

They hope that by enslaving the foreign-born workers they will be able to force the open shop and lower wages on native and foreign-born workers alike.

The foreign-born workers have suffered for many years in this country because of their inability to speak the language and their lack of knowledge of the country. The capitalists have taken advantage of this to rob and oppress the foreign-born even worse than they rob and oppress the native-born workers.

They have compelled the foreign-born workers to accept low-wages. They have kept down the standard of living of the foreign-born workers and compelled them to live under the worst possible conditions. In the mining regions and steel districts and many other industrial centers the foreign-born workers have been herded together in shack-towns, without social life, without recreation, mere slaves of the bosses.

In recent years the foreign-born workers have joined the native-born in the struggle against the bosses, the open shop and low wages. The bosses have learned that they can no longer use the foreign-born workers to cut the standard of living of all American workers. The great steel strike of 1919 showed that. The repeated strikes of the coal miners, in whose organization there are many foreign-born workers, showed that. The strike of the clothing workers and the textile workers, whose unions are almost entirely made up of foreign-born work-

ers, proved that.

In order to stop the movement of the foreign-born workers to join the native-born in building strong labor unions, which will protect the interests of the foreign-born and native workers alike, the capitalists and the Government are proposing to pass oppressive laws directed against the foreign-born and intended to keep them hopeless slaves of the capitalists.

THE FOREIGN-BORN WORKERS ARE TO BE REGISTERED. THEY ARE TO BE FINGERPRINTED AND PHOTOGRAPHED LIKE CRIMINALS. IF NATURALIZED THEY ARE TO HAVE THEIR CITIZEN'S PAPERS TAKEN FROM THEM IF THEIR CONDUCT DOES NOT SUIT THE BOSSES. THEY ARE TO BE DEPORTED IF THEY PARTICIPATE IN STRIKES OR MAKE SPEECHES IN STRIKE MEETINGS.

All these measures to keep the foreign-born workers in the grip of the employers are now being proposed by Government authorities.

Secretary of Labor Davis in his annual report advocated the annual enrollment of all foreign-born, stating, "They must be made worthy of the high privilege of citizenship in the United States. To do this we must know who they are and what they are. For this purpose I propose to enroll the stranger within our gates. To learn to know him, to aid him to become a real American if he is worthy, or to send him whence he came if he prove unworthy."

President Harding in his message to Congress on Dec. 9th, stated: "There are pending bills for the registration of the alien who has come to our shores. I wish the passage of such an act might be expedited Before enlarging the immigration quotas we had better provide registration for aliens, those now here or continually pressing for admission, and establish our examination board abroad to make sure of desirables only."

That the government is merely carrying out instructions of the employing class is shown by the similarity of the recommendations of the Secretary of Labor and of the President of the United States, to the demand, of the National Association of Manufacturers in a letter to its members, "That the United States assert the right to register, distribute, educate and otherwise supervise the alien during the period of his alienage."

That the plans for registration, fingerprinting and cataloging of the foreign-born are but a step in the

direction of the registration and cataloging of all workers is shown by the fact that recently a bill was introduced in the Legislature of the State of Michigan which provides, "That every person in the State of Michigan shall be required to register once a year with the authorities, giving information as to name, sex, age, date and place of birth, color, nationality, citizenship, present and past address, occupation and one or more fingerprints. This bill also forbids any firm or organization from employing anyone who is not registered." *Detroit Labor News*, January 12th, 1923.

The New Immigration Policy.

For over a half century the employing class has encouraged mass immigration to this country. Great industrial organizations had their representatives in Europe to paint rosy pictures of the conditions in the United States in order to induce the workers of Europe to come here. The employers urged the foreign-born workers to come to the United States in order to provide themselves with an unfailing supply of cheap labor.

The foreign-born workers, who came to this country by the millions as a result of this propaganda of the employers, did not understand the customs of the country. They had no political rights. They were strangers in a strange land. They could consequently be oppressed and exploited, paid low wages and subjected to worse working conditions, without being able to make an effective resistance. Thus the employers coined great profits out of these foreign-born workers.

During the period of the war in Europe the stream of immigration to this country was dammed. The foreign-born workers already here became more familiar with the life of the country. Even before the war there had been great outbursts of protest from the unorganized foreign-born workers. The textile strike of Lawrence, Mass., the strike of the steel workers at McKees Rocks, great struggles in the mining industry showed that the foreign-born workers were restive under the oppressive conditions from which they suffered. At the end of the war came the great strikes of the steel workers and the miners, a great majority of whom were foreign-born workers. These struggles showed the employers that the foreign-born workers

were no longer docile slaves but were ready to unite with the native-born workers in the struggle for a higher standard of living and better working conditions.

With the end of the wartime prosperity and the coming of hard times, with millions unemployed, the employers did not need foreign-born immigrants and the law restricting immigration was passed. Now, however, with the period of depression modified, the employers are planning to secure cheap labor in a new form.

Realizing the danger and opportunities offered in an immigration law further to oppress and enslave the workers, the National Association of Manufacturers has likewise given its instructions, as follows:

"The Secretary of Labor ought to be authorized, upon presentation to him of satisfactory evidence of a continuing shortage of labor of a particular class or type, to admit otherwise admissible aliens in excess of the quota until in his judgment such conditions are improved."

Perley Morse, a Government investigator, in *The World* of December 3, 1923, goes even farther. He advocates careful selection in Europe and distribution in America by a Commission, "This commission should intelligently distribute the immigrants throughout the United States allowing none to settle in our big cities. Further, it should be their duty to see that they stay in the country and do not go to the cities. This should be obligatory for a period of ten years, after which time, if the immigrant has in every way proven himself worthy, he should automatically become a citizen of the United States and a certificate of citizenship should be granted him."

This recommendation was one of the forerunners of the Colt immigration act which was introduced into the last Congress. Although no action was taken to change the Immigration Law many bills were presented. All were sidetracked, however, in favor of Senate Bill S 4303 — a bill to permit the introduction of CONTRACT LABOR.

Today the employing class is faced with this dilemma: The industrial reserve army must be augmented with a new supply of common, heavy, machine labor. It has been depleted by the cessation of immigration and the attendant increasing homogeneity of American Labor. We are "back to normalcy" with the shortage of labor and 1,500,000 officially unem-

ployed according to Secretary of Labor Davis. Industrially, therefore, the employers want immigration labor coming from the Balkans and Southern Europe. Politically, however, such immigration is still "dangerous." These countries are in a state of flux. Their political tomorrow is questionable. Workers coming from these countries are looked upon as a source of revolutionary contagion. On the other hand, the politically "safer" and "saner" workers from Northern and Western Europe cannot meet the industrial demands of our employing class. Furthermore, even if these workers could meet the industrial demands, letting them in and getting them to come are two different propositions. Politically, the employers want Northern European laborers; industrially, they reject them. Industrially, they must have Southern European laborers; politically, they must reject them. Senator Colt has introduced the real answer in his Senate Bill S. 4303, which reads as follows:

"The Secretary of Labor may, upon submission to him of satisfactory evidence that there is a continuing shortage of labor of a particular type or class which, after reasonable effort, has not been found unemployed in the United States, authorize contracts with and the admission of otherwise admissible alien labor to such extent as will in his judgment meet such established shortage . . . notwithstanding that such aliens so authorized may exceed the quotas of their respective nationalities now admissible under this Act." Babson advised all employers to see to it that that bill is supported, as the solution of the problem from the employers' viewpoint lies in importing slave labor on the contract basis.

Under the provisions of this bill it will be possible for the employers to bring into this country foreign-born workers bound by contract to work for low wages and under working conditions which no native or foreign-born worker in this country would accept.

Thus the employers propose to strike a new blow at the standard of living of the whole working class of the United States.

Citizenship Papers to be Revoked.

Secretary of Labor Davis after proposing to select, fingerprint, and distribute the foreign-born workers advocates as the final step for the security of the Dictatorship of the Capitalists that,

"The law authorizing the Government to institute proceedings for the revocation of naturalization certificates which have been procured through fraud or illegality, should be enlarged so that the Government would have the authority to revoke naturalization certificates because of gross misconduct or disloyalty occurring subsequent to naturalization. The purpose of this suggestion is so manifest that further comment or argument in its favor seems unnecessary."

It may be as the Secretary of Labor states that comment is unnecessary. Undoubtedly the United States Congress to which he was referring his suggestions knew exactly what he meant. The question is: Do the 14 million foreign-born in the United States know? Do the 36 million who are either foreign-born or whose parents were foreign-born, do they know?

Or do the 6 million naturalized foreign-born citizens realize the attack which is advocated against their citizenship?

These 6 million foreign-born naturalized citizens represent one-ninth or over 11 percent of the voting force. True, the majority of them are workers, but Secretary Davis goes far in thus attacking the foreign-born workers. Let the American working class give its answer.

CHAPTER FIVE**Why the New Drive Against the Foreign-Born Workers?**

We have seen that America's mighty industries have been largely built up by millions of foreign-born workers.

We have seen that the foreign-born workers comprise 60 to 75 percent of those employed in such basic industries as coal, mining, steel, clothing and textiles.

We have seen that the foreign-born, the overwhelming majority of whom are workers, are a great proportion of our total population and voting population.

Therefore, the problems and hardships of the millions of foreign-born workers are of the greatest industrial and political importance to the native workers.

The wonderful pictures painted by agents of the employing class to encourage mass immigration to America are entirely false. The capitalist class has taken advantage of the foreign-born workers' ignorance of the language, customs, and institutions of the country and of their lack of political rights to force upon them the lowest pay, the longest hours, and the worst working conditions.

And today the employing class is redoubling the force and momentum with which it normally oppresses and exploits the foreign-born workers.

A Few Questions for the American Workers.

Why has the capitalist class launched a new drive against the foreign-born workers? What does this new attack mean, to the native workers? To the whole working class, native and foreign-born workers alike?

Why must all workers unite against the employers in this new attack upon the foreign-born working masses?

What must the workers do to defeat this offensive of the exploiters?

How shall the workers organize against the capitalists?

The oil capitalists, the kings of finance, the copper barons, the steel magnates, and the packing and textile lords are uniting their forces. Witness the giant mergers of the Anaconda and Chile Copper Cos., the merger of the Industrial Bank and the Manufacturers' Trust Co. of New York, the \$250 million alliance of the Consolidated Textile Co. and the Woolen Trust, and the \$600 million merger of the Armour and Morris Packing Companies.

In order to force lower wages, longer hours, unspeakable conditions of employment, and a higher cost of living on all the workers, the employers are uniting their own forces and trying to divide the working class.

The struggle between the working class and the employing class, no matter what the nationality, race, or religion be, is a war. In this war, the class war, as in all other wars, an army picks the weakest sector in its enemy's front as the first point of attack. This is the quickest and easiest way of breaking through and smashing the whole line of the enemy's defense.

The employing class has picked the foreign-born workers as the first workmen to be attacked because they are the weakest politically, the worst oppressed industrially and the most handicapped socially. Not knowing the language and institutions of the country and often being victims

of the prejudice and hatred fostered among the native workers by the capitalists, the foreign-born workers offer the easiest picking for the owning class.

Thus, the drive of the exploiters against the foreign-born workmen is only an entering wedge to split wide open the army of the working class, native and foreign-born. The employers' aim is to pit one section of the working class against another.

With lower wages and worse conditions of employment forced upon the many millions of *foreign-born workers*, the defeat of the better organized and better paid *native workers* is made sure. The success of the capitalists in forcing lower wages, longer hours, and intolerable working conditions on the native workers is then only a matter of time.

Meaning of the New Attack to Native Workers.

It is clear that the present drive of the employing class against the foreign-born workers is only preliminary to and an integral part of the new offensive that is being prepared against the whole working class — the native and the foreign-born workers. The American capitalists have used such tactics before.

In preparation for their “Grand Offensive”— the great Open Shop Drive of 1920-21— the employers first launched a fierce offensive against the foreign-born workers. They established a reign of unbridled brutality against these workers. Hundreds were beaten up, thrown into jails and deported in the notorious “Red Raids of 1919-20.” In order to separate the native workers from their foreign-born brothers, in order to prejudice them against the foreign-born workers, the capitalists and their Government raise ridiculous and false alarms about revolution. The struggle of the steel workers against the 12 Hour Day and industrial slavery was branded a “RED” conspiracy. And the strike of the miners in defense of their meager pay was broken by a Government injunction!

With so large a number of the workers intimidated, the capitalists felt safe in launching their Open Shop drive against the whole working class. The divided workers were then easily crushed by the united capitalists. Union after union went down to defeat. Wages were slashed to the bone. The workers — native and foreign-born — lost many of the gains won through years of bitter struggle.

The procedure of the capitalists’ attack is clever. First, the exploiters force the damnable working and living conditions upon the foreign-born workers. Then, the same employing class curses and condemns the foreign-born laborers to the native workers for the intolerable conditions that it has forced the foreign-born workers to accept. The exploiters and their press spread the brazen lie that the foreign-born workers are a menace to the American standard of living. The capitalist class thus hides its own guilt by shifting the blame to the foreign-born workers.

Thus the enmity of the native workers to the capitalists who are to blame for the falling American standard of living is turned from these exploiters and against the foreign-born workers instead. Thus the

employing class misleads the native workers into believing that their foreign-born brothers are responsible for lowering wages and lengthening hours. The American workers are in this way divided along the artificial lines of nationality. A disastrous defeat for the working class is assured and a capitalist victory is secure.

All the Workers Must Unite To Stop This Attack.

The millions of foreign-born workers employed in the basic and other industries can be a source of great strength or terrific weakness to the whole working class in its struggle against the capitalist class.

When these millions of foreign-born workers are oppressed, unorganized and separated from the native workers they are a source of weakness and danger — politically and industrially — to the whole labor movement.

But if these foreign-born workers are organized and united industrially and politically with the remaining American workers — the native workers — then the working class can successfully fight back the capitalist attack. Opposed by a united working class the employers are bound to fail in their campaign to break the unions, cut the wages, lengthen the hours of labor and lower the standard of living of all the American workers — native and foreign-born alike.

In the class struggle against the exploiters, the foreign-born workers are splendid fighters. Who has forgotten the heroic fight put up by the many thousands of foreign-born steel workers against the greedy Steel Trust in the Great Steel Strike of 1919? And it was the valiant resistance and inspiring solidarity of the foreign-born textile workers and miners in their great strikes of 1922 that were highly instrumental in checking the Open Shop drive to smash the unions and slash the wages of all the workers!

If the American workers are to save themselves from capitalist slavery, if the American workers are to win freedom from exploitation and oppression by the employing class, then all the workers, native and foreign-born must unite in the common fight. The heroic fighting forces of the foreign-born workers must become a living part of the whole working class army. A divided front of the workers will crumble before the

first capitalist onrush of the mighty united capitalist army, financed by billions of dollars and officered and led by the military and judiciary forces of the most powerful government.

How the Workers Can Defeat the Exploiters.

1. All workers must unite and wage a strong campaign for the removal of all existing exception laws against foreign-born workers.

2. All workers — foreign-born and native — must unite to prevent the enactment of new laws against foreign-born workers.

3. The labor unions must wage a strong campaign of unionization amongst all unorganized workers, especially amongst the unorganized foreign-born workers in the basic industries.

4. All the workers must wage an active campaign to uproot the prejudices fostered by the employing class against the foreign-born and to draw the millions of foreign-born workers more and more into the political life, of the country.

A Plan for Organizing The Workers' Campaign.

A Council for Protection of the Foreign-Born Workers should be formed and call upon the workers everywhere to organize local councils for the protection of foreign-born workers. These should consist of delegates from labor unions, labor political organizations and organizations of foreign-born workers, such as benefit societies, Turn-Vereine and similar organizations.

Organization Form and Purpose of the Council for Protection of the Foreign-Born Workers.

1. The purpose of the Council for Protection of Foreign-Born Workers should be to carry on a campaign against all legislation against foreign-born workers and all other forms of discrimination. It should

endeavor to bring to the foreign-born workers a realization of the necessity of their joining the labor unions and participating in the political struggles of this country and thus fighting side by side with the native born workers in the struggle against political oppression and for a higher standard of living and better working conditions.

2. The National Committee of the Council for Protection of Foreign-Born Workers should be made up of representatives of national organizations of labor unions, state federations of labor, central labor bodies, labor political organizations and of organizations of foreign born which are predominantly made up of workers, such as benefit societies, Turn-Vereins, and similar organizations.

3. Local Councils for Protection of the Foreign-Born Workers should be formed on the same basis as the National Committee by local branches of organizations such as those named above.

4. The work of the Council for Protection of Foreign-Born Workers shall be financed through voluntary contributions from the affiliated organizations.

The Capitalist Class — Our Common Enemy.

The American workers are in a struggle against the best organized and most powerful capitalist class in the world.

In America, more than in any other country in the world, the workers must, regardless of the place where they happened to have been born — the foreign-born and the native workers — unite, against their common enemy, the exploiting class. The native and foreign-born workers are oppressed by the same employing class. The capitalist class that breaks up the unions — of the native railroad workers, is the same owning class that evicts the striking foreign-born miners. The executive committee of the capitalist class, the Government, that hands out infamous strikebreaking injunctions against the native striking shopmen is the same Government that issued injunctions and sent soldiers with bayonets and machine guns against foreign-born textile workers, miners and steel workers.

All the American Workers — native and foreign-born — have but one enemy — the capitalist class

that exploits and oppresses them.

We denounce the laws directed against the foreign-born. We denounce registration, fingerprinting and photographing as un-American and intolerable, making boasts of freedom a lying mockery in any land where it is done. Further enslavement of the foreign-born wage earners must not be permitted as a subterfuge by the bosses to destroy the standard of living of the American working people. Labor's best possible answer to this attack is increased unity of native and foreign born workers and a more strongly organized Labor Movement.

Conclusion.

Down with the laws oppressing and enslaving the workers, foreign-born as well as native!

Away with the outrageous capitalist plans to register, fingerprint and photograph foreign-born workers like criminals!

The enemy of the workers is the employing class.

The fight is between those who work for a living and those who own ; between the workers and exploiters!

All the workers, native and foreign-born, must unite as a class against their common enemy — the Capitalist Class!

All for the unity of the workers against the unity of the exploiters!

All for the solidarity of the workers against the solidarity of the exploiters!

Let there be one mighty army of labor!

The United Front of the Workers against the United Front of the Capitalists!

One front against the one enemy — the employing class that robs and oppresses all the workers!

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