

LABOR ACTION

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY

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A W P Leaders Face Trial

Jobless in Nationwide Convention

2,000 Leaguemen to Open 2nd Annual Parley July 30

(Special to Labor Action)
COLUMBUS, O.—Over 2,000 men and women from states scattered throughout America will convene in this city on July 30 when the second annual convention of the National Unemployed League opens to hammer out the next steps of the 13,000,000 unemployed.

Rallying to the slogan of the leagues, "DON'T TREAD ON ME!", made famous by the Rattlesnake Flag of the early revolutionary days in America, the leaguemen will demand jobs for all, unity of employed and unemployed, and the establishment of a comfortable living standard for all workers and farmers.

Tired of Doles
"The National Office of the Leagues expects over 2,000 delegates," Arnold Johnson, national secretary, and Anthony Ramuglia, national president, said. The unemployed are tired of subsisting on doles and the time has come to open factories, mills and mines under control of the workers, they declared.

The convention will continue three days. The call to the convention has been broadcast by the Leagues through every state in the union.

The NUL call states:
THE NATIONAL UNEMPLOYED LEAGUE issues this Call to the WORKERS, FARMERS, and UNEMPLOYED of America, to all Unemployed Leagues, to all unemployed and workers' organizations not affiliated with any other national organization. Come to the Second National Convention of the National Unemployed League to be held on July 30, 31, and August 1, 1934, in Columbus, Ohio. Rally to the Rattlesnake Flag of the Colonial Revolution and the slogan: "DON'T TREAD ON ME!"

Five years of depression have brought starvation doles, closing of schools, breakdown of homes, destruction of health, and serfdom. Under two national administrations we have been told to wait, to live on promises, on words.

On July 4, 1933 the National Unemployed League was organized by delegates from 13 states, raising a voice of organized protest. The Unemployed Leagues have stopped evictions, have increased relief through mass action, have carried on strikes, marches, and demonstrations. In all parts of the country, Unemployed Leagues have been organized without discrimination according to race or nationality, religious or political belief, industrial or farming, trade or craft.

PURPOSE OF THE SECOND NATIONAL UNEMPLOYED LEAGUE CONVENTION

1. TO DEMAND JOBS FOR ALL. We can no longer remain on doles. We demand jobs at full Union wages in cash. Factories, mines and shops must be opened with workers in control. We want work—not words, not prison labor, not ditch-digging in mid-winter.

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Rank Split, Sabotage, Stay Strike

"Committee of Ten" Fails To Function As Single Unit

(Special to Labor Action)
PITTSBURGH. — Uncertainty and division in the ranks of the "Committee of Ten," elected by the last regular convention to carry through the strike; sabotage of strike preparation by the International officials and strong pressure by the government and the chiefs of the American Federation of Labor, has headed off the immediate calling of a national steel strike by the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

Convention
The convention opened two days before the date set as the beginning of the general walkout. The prospects were not of the best. There were a number of delegates from newly formed locals who had not been present at the May convention which had made the strike decision. Others came from locals which had not developed sufficient strength and were therefore reluctant to see the strike called. The union old guard in charge of the union machinery had completely neglected the job of setting up strike organization. No plans or strategy had been laid out. While the corporations had pushed their company union campaign vigorously and had set loose a barrage of propaganda against the A.A., the Amalgamated had not printed a single leaflet or done anything else as a national organization.

Militants Divided
Worst of all, the young group of militants who had taken over the

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Bankers Snubbed In Red Volume

NEW YORK.—Practically all the prominent people in New York City, except those who operate in Wall Street, are "dangerous reds," according to the Red Network, a book used by the city police force numbering 18,000 in its recent club-swinging drive against "dangerous elements," including the unemployed.

The book, listing hundreds of outstanding writers, educators, preachers and others, most of them liberals, including Mayor La Guardia himself as well as President Roosevelt's wife, is the alleged basis of Chief O'Ryan's red-scare campaign, in which he issued orders to his men condemning their patience and ordering them to use more force.

The book names no Wall Streeters.

The club-swinging under a barrage of red-baiting is being directed against the unemployed, thousands of whom are fighting back as thousands are being dropped from relief rolls.

Jersey Relief Heads Find Soft Soap Fails

WASHINGTON, N. J.—How relief administration officials soft-soap the unemployed was revealed when a delegation of the recently organized league headed by Frank Keeney, president, journeyed to Newark to demand correction of grievances. Representing over 2,000 men in Warren county who are asked by authorities to work for 10 cents an hour, the committee was told by relief heads in Newark that they ought to be willing to make sacrifices for their country. After more soft-soap the men came away unconvinced, and more determined than ever to build their organization.

Muste, Cross, Mayer, Seized for 'Conspiracy To Upset Government'

Trio Released on \$5,000 Bail Each After Being Held Incommunicado; Condensed AWP Program Held as Evidence

BELLEVILLE, Illinois.—"The working class of Illinois, and its vanguard—the American Workers Party—are on trial."

This is the preliminary verdict of the capitalist agents to A. J. Muste, James Cross and C. H. Mayer, leaders of the American Workers Party, because of their picket activities before the Knapp-Monarch plant, manufacturers of electrical supplies, on June 11. The trio were arrested, held incommunicado and summarily given a preliminary hearing before justice of the peace Wangelin who asserted that there was sufficient evidence to hold the defendants for the September grand jury. The charges are that the three labor leaders attempted "to

reform and overthrow the United States government by unlawful means." A previous charge of "vagrancy" was dropped by the prosecution.

Would Railroad Leaders
The charges against Muste, Cross and Mayer are referred to in the Illinois statutes as "criminal syndicalism" and carries a sentence of one to ten years in the state penitentiary in the event of conviction.

The prosecution showed beyond a doubt that it intends it possible to railroad the three militant labor leaders. This was proven by the fact that the Attorney General of Illinois dispatched one of his assistants to help in the prosecution. From the beginning, the prosecution laid careful plans to make a strong case, out of evidence that simmers down precisely to this—the condensed program of the American Workers Party. A copy of the May 15 issue of the "Fighting Miner," which Muste had in his possession, was also introduced as evidence.

Called "Outsiders"
The charges against the three came about as A. J. Muste, chairman of the American Workers Party, was completing his speaking tour throughout the coal fields of Illinois reporting the valuable experiences of the heroic Toledo strike. Muste and his two comrades were leaving St. Louis early Monday morning for a scheduled meeting at Buckner, Illinois, when they stopped at the Knapp-Monarch plant to greet the strikers who were engaged in picket activities.

The Belleville city police force, who had previously interfered in the strike activities of the electrical workers, were on the lookout for what they term "outsiders." The arrival of the three militants was the signal for their arrests.

Members of the Progressive Miners of America and the Women's Auxiliary immediately came to the defense of their fellow-workers but not until fifty-three hours later were they released by the assistance of Irving Spencer, Civil Liberties Union attorney of St. Louis and bondsmen from East St. Louis. The three were released Wednesday on \$5,000 bonds each.

Workers Crowd Courtroom
The preliminary hearing took place before Justice Wangelin's court on Friday, June 15. Delegations of miners, Auxiliary members and other trade unionists, came to Belleville to listen to the hearing. So large was the crowd

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League Aids Meat Strike

TOLEDO, Ohio.—Refusing to eat Swift and Armour products, and calling upon all workers to do likewise, the Lucas County Unemployed League in cooperation with strikers have thrown picket lines about the meat packing houses.

With the heroic injunction-smashing of the Toledo battle to its credit, the Leagues were called upon for help by a rank and file strike committee when it became apparent that the strikes at both plants were being worn out by mediations.

Strikes Were Drifting
The strikes, called May 29 by the newly activated ALF Butcher's and Packinghouse Employee's Union and the Drivers', Teamsters', and Chauffeurs' Union, was 100 percent strong until local independent houses gave in, leaving the Armour and Swift employees high and dry. The situation drifted on in the usual AFL fashion of depending upon the government machinery to take care of the strikers.

Dunnigan the "mediator" was called in and he "mediated and mediated"—the Internationals sent men in and they were given the cold shoulder by the companies.

Three weeks rolled by and the Business Agents, local and international, kept telling the boys to "hold everything," "take it easy," "everything will come out all right," etc.

Ask For Help
When the rank and file saw that the policy of lady-in-waiting was getting them nowhere, a committee representing both locals came to the League headquarters June 17th. They asked for help.

Sam Pollack, Ted Selander and other League leaders placed before the committee the basis upon which the U.L. would enter the strike situation. A plan of action was outlined.

The agreement included:
1. Official sanction by vote of the rank and file of the locals.

2. Unofficial representation on committees.

3. Rank and file union control of the entire strike handling and settlement.

4. Union cooperation with the organized unemployed in fights for relief, etc.

5. Membership in the U.L. by the union rank and file committee.

The agreement was sanctioned by the official unions.

A New Spirit
On Saturday a mass picket line was thrown around the Swift and Armour plants. The line put new spirit into the strikers and they perked up for the first time since the strike was called. The pickets went to the terminals and prevented two large trucks from unloading and sent them back to Chicago where they came from. (Later it was learned that they transferred their loads outside the city.)

Decide Boycott
At a subsequent meeting, it was decided to boycott Swift and Armour products. A bulletin issued by the Research department of the U.L. requested "All League members and all friends of the working class to prevent distribution and sale of all Armour and Swift products until full union demands are granted." Members were requested to see their grocers.

The boycott is effective, and they are going about it with a vengeance.

Meetings are being held, trucks chased, meat-markets picketed. The Federal Auto-Workers have assured the strikers and the League of their whole-hearted support.

Muste, Cross, Mayer Seized for 'Conspiracy'

Court Room Applauds Leaders at Hearing; Trio Held to Answer September Grand Jury

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that the place of trial was moved to the county courtroom.

When the trial convened there were fully two hundred workers in attendance. No sooner had the prosecution put on the stand its first nervous witness when Joseph Klamon, defending attorney, and Webb, St. Clair county assistant prosecutor, clashed. The crowd of workers immediately took sides with the defense against the prosecution by vociferously applauding the biting attack of the defense. Justice Wangelin reprimanded the audience by curtly stating that "this was no show." Again the workers laughed.

Masses Applauded

In the later part of the all-day trial when A. J. Muste testified in answer to a question of the prosecution concerning the program of the A.W.P., which Muste answered partly as striving for "a government of the workers, by the workers and for the workers," the masses again applauded and this time the infuriated justice ordered the police and special deputies to clear the courtroom. Only a few workers agreed to depart. The bulk remained on their seats.

The only "incriminating" evidence the state secured from its witnesses was that one of the pickets had received a copy of the American Workers Party program from C. H. Mayer.

Muste Explains Program

A. J. Muste testified at length. He expounded the theories of the American Workers Party and immediately turned the courtroom into a forum for revolutionary discussion. Calm and manifestly at ease, the chairman of the American Workers Party delivered a lecture on the class struggle, the fight of the workers to organize and the need to overthrow the present capitalist system by placing the working class in power.

The prosecutor began by attempting to ask trick questions. Muste disarmed him quite effectively by answering all questions frankly on the basis of the A.W.P. program.

No "Outsider"

Young "Jimmie" Cross, former

student at Brookwood, organizer for the A.W.P. and son of Robert Cross, a Progressive miner from Gillespie, Illinois, made a powerful impression on the workers present. Cool and quite comfortable, Cross answered all questions with determination and defiance. He stated that Muste was no "outsider" as alleged by the prosecution. He said that the very much alive A.W.P. of Illinois had invited Muste to speak in the state.

The prosecution had attempted to show that Muste had been removed from his position as dean of Brookwood Labor College, as an attempt to discredit the standing of the famous labor leader and educator.

Quite The Contrary

"Quite to the contrary," Cross testified, "Muste resigned as Chairman of Brookwood. I was there when Muste refused to change the policy of the school to satisfy a reactionary tendency. When Muste resigned I quit the college in protest."

C. H. "Hank" Mayer, tall, knky veteran of many labor struggles in Illinois, also testified. His testimony was brief and to the point. "My record speaks for itself," he said. The most effective part of Mayer's testimony was his criticism of the authorities as to the manner they had arrested him and his comrades and the privations they suffered during the many hours in jail.

Held For Grand Jury

Both the defense and prosecution took twenty minutes each to wind up their arguments. The defense showed conclusively that there was not the least evidence to hold the defendants for the grand jury. The prosecution concentrated its attack against Muste with the assertion of "an outsider."

Justice Wangelin rendered the decision that the trio should be released on \$5,000 property bonds each, pending a hearing before the September grand jury. Bonds were immediately procured and the three fellow workers were released which enabled them to continue their work of fighting for a better world for the workers.

Miners Local 77 Adopts Resolution On Strike Arrest

WHEREAS—A. J. Muste, James Cross and C. H. Mayer were arrested at Belleville, Illinois, June 11 while picketing the Knapp-Monarch plant where electrical workers have been on strike for a union of their own choosing, and

WHEREAS—The three aforementioned brothers are now released on bond pending a hearing before the St. Clair county grand jury which will try them on the charges of criminal syndicalism, and

WHEREAS—Eleven other workers are being held in the Montgomery county jail on the same charges because of their activities in connection with unemployed organizations, and

WHEREAS—James Cross is the son of a Progressive miner and five of the workers held in the Hillsboro jail are Progressive miners, and

WHEREAS—Criminal Syndicalism is a law aimed primarily against the Progressive labor movement, therefore be it

RESOLVED—That Local Union No. 77, Progressive Miners of America, in regular meeting assembled June 18, 1934, goes on record condemning the arrest of fellow unionists and demand that the fourteen workers be released at once, and be it further

RESOLVED—That copies of this resolution be sent to the States Attorney of Montgomery county, States Attorney of St. Clair county and to the labor press.

James Peyton, President
John Filcsak, Recording Secy.

Green Halts Strike With 'Peace Plan'

(Continued from Page 1)

ast convention were not a unit. They were not organized, had no unified program.

Early in the campaign the newspapers and steel bosses had begun a "red scare." Although it died a natural death owing to the insignificant role that the communist Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union plays in the industry, it helped to confuse the situation and to make it possible to check the strike movement. The tactics of the S.M.W.I.U., incidentally, have done more to militate against it than any attacks sponsored by the press or the steel companies. Immediately after the first AA convention, the S.M.W.I.U. began negotiating with the A.A. locals for a "united front." Many of the more militant leaders of the Amalgamated rank and file were more than sympathetic to a united campaign. However, members of the Steel and Metal Workers reverted to their old tactics of packing and disrupting meetings and at the same time attacked the leading militants to such an extent that even their sympathizers in the A.A. soured on them.

Stage Is Set.

Thus the stage was set for the final act in the convention drama; the dramatic arrival of Bill Green, president of the A. F. of L. with a "peace plan." Tighe used Greens visit very cleverly in order to prevent any sentiment for action crystallizing. Instead of drawing up plans for battle everyone waited for Green to arrive on the scene with his wonderful formula.

It was certainly more than mere coincidence that Green's plans was so similar to the provisions incorporated in Roosevelt's Labor Board Bill. All the indications are that Green acted as Roosevelt's personal representative before the steel workers and that the plan he presented to the convention was the product of the administration.

An amendment was tacked on Green's proposal later which delivered all power back into the hands of the International officers. All the power, in other words, that

Trial Sidelights

By GERRY ALLARD

BELLEVILLE, Ill.—Joseph Klamon, professor of economics at the Washington University, and member of the St. Louis committee of the A.C.L.U., came to attend the trial as a visitor. When trial began he plunged into leadership of the defense. An excitable and liberty loving person Klamon fought the case largely on technicalities. This in my opinion, and that of the defendants, was wrong. There is a class struggle on. The court is the court of the bosses. This should have been made clear by the attorney. The best assurance our people have for their eventual freedom is to rely solely on the working class and its fellow travelers. Any merciful appeal to a bourgeois court is incorrect and a waste of time.

The St. Louis Star-Times in a featured news story predicts that the Muste-Cross-Mayer case will become probably as famous as the Tom Mooney, Scottsboro and Sacco-Vanzetti case. From a distance this may not look probable, but at the actual scene of the planned frameup there are plenty of reasons to believe that the authorities of Illinois want to convict the trio as a precedent to hamstringing future labor activities.

Three policemen were placed on the witness stand and cross examined. All were bulky and pumpkin-faced.

"Did you know that Washington had the price of \$5,000 on his head because he was a revolutionist?" Klamon asked.

"On his head?" replied the mazed copper. He hasn't understood the question to this day.

The most embeccile of the police must caused a riot of laughter. Klamon sought to show that even evolutionists were not outlaws by ringing out the traditions of the evolutionary fathers.

"Do you know who John Hancock was?" queried Klamon.

The cop was flabbergasted. "Well, do you know who Thomas Jefferson and John Adams were?" came a second question.

The policeman stumbled, reddened and succeeded in saying: "Which John Adams; there's a John Adams living here." The crowd roared. The justice beat the gavel.

"Do you believe that the constitution of the United States may be suspended?" Klamon shot again.

"What's that?" The question was repeated. "Sure." The nervous cop answered. Newspaper men worked speedily on their note books.

With one exception, the six daily newspapers making their appearance in the St. Louis-Belleve territory ridiculed the arrest of the three labor leaders. One went so far as to advise Muste to sue the county. Another referred to the trio as the pioneers of the future. Columns of space were given to the arrests and the trial. It was front page stuff in these parts.

Among those present at the trial were miners and auxiliary members from Virden, Springfield, Gillespie, Wilsonville, Mt. Clair, Mascoutah, and other towns. In the audience was a delegation sent by the Socialist Party of Gillespie who presented a resolution to the three defendants pledging solidarity "irrespective of consequences." Andy Steed, John Fisher, Sid Figgins, Robert Cross and Bill Donaldson presented the resolution.

Muste, Cross and Mayer assumed a dignified air throughout the whole procedure of the trial. Ordinarily simple and unpretentious, the trio gave the courtroom a taste of proletarian dignity and honor. They met their accusers intelligently and unflinchingly. That night on the road home they sang revolutionary songs; an outpour of their fervent feelings from stout hearts.

7 Expelled from Silk Union; Say Fight Has Just Begun

BULLETIN

Case of expelled members came before the Broad Silk Department membership meeting today. Motion made and passed that the Broad Silk Department Executive Board, the Joint Executive Board and the general membership that the 7 expelled be exonerated and reinstated.

(Special to Labor Action)

PATERSON, N. J.—Because they were militant and fought for trade union democracy in the Associated Silk Workers, seven of the best known unionists in the silk have been expelled from the union by the Joint Executive Board, controlled by General Manager Eli Keller. Among those who have been framed up are members of the Broad Silk Department Executive Board; shop chairmen; members of the constitution committee, election committee and the last strike committee. They were all candidates for election for the Broad Silk Executive.

Railroaded Through

The expulsions have been railroaded through in a manner that made a mockery of all democratic union procedure. Even before the hearing was held and before a shred of evidence had been presented, three members of the Broad Silk Executive were suspended. Another worker was expelled without a hearing or a trial on charges

which he was told nothing about. They were kept out of shop chairmen meetings in which they had a constitutional right to be present.

We'll See About That

One of the seven had been able to get a job in a mill which was starting up a night shift. He was elected shop chairman and on notifying Eli Keller of his election was told "We'll see about that." The next night two representatives of the union came to the shop and talked with the boss for some time. At quitting time the worker was informed that he was fired.

Had Keller "seen about it"? The conflict originally began when the expelled militants, most of them members of the United Silk Workers Club, sought to keep the name of the union clean from Keller's tactics in sending Associated members into the Albert Silk Company shop to scab on workers on strike against discrimination and a wage cut.

Fight Just Begun

The expelled seven, among them such well known fighters as Anna Fisher, Felix Giordano, Ross Moran, Eddie Swaiyfal, and "Red" hulihan, say that the fight has just begun.

"We have asked time and again for an open investigation by the union of the whole affair," they say. "We are anxious to submit our case to the highest body of our union—the general membership."

STEEL UNION CHIEF

15,000 Stop Greer Dinner



MIKE TIGHE

NEW PHILADELPHIA, Ohio.—15,000 union workers and sympathizers of Tuscarawas County stormed this city and put a stop to a meeting and banquet which was being staged by the company union of the Greer Steel Company of Dover.

Angered by the company union drive, workers of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers Union, who for months have been organizing the Greer plant, served notice that they would not tolerate any form of company union. Fearing to have the meeting and the banquet in Dover, the company scheduled them to take place in New Philadelphia where the mayor is a relative of the mill superintendent.

Sending Them Home

Organized men from all sections of the county poured into New Philadelphia. From 6 to 11 o'clock the city police were held powerless as determined men picked out members of the company union and "sent them home." Company union literature was confiscated, and according to eye-witnesses some of the would-be company unionists were merely roughly jolted while others were "knocked on their ears."

The meeting and banquet were called off and the company union was disbanded.

Now all but one man in the Greer plant belongs to the A. A. and are wearing special membership badges designed by the Dover local.

MACON, Ga.—Nineteen thousand on relief in this county receive 14 cents a day each, or \$51 a year. "They would be delighted to live as well as a Negro's mangy coon dog lived a few years ago," declared an editor. They are not organized.

had been granted the "Committee of Ten" was stripped from them.

What Next

The settlement has settled nothing. Just as a fake auto settlement brought strikes in its train, so this equally ridiculous "solution" will satisfy none but the steel lords. At a great mass meeting held in Gary, Indiana, the day after the settlement was announced, called by the locals of the Amalgamated Association, speaker after speaker emphasised that strike was inevitable. The grievances, the company unions, the spies and low wages are still there. And the Steel workers know it.

PHILADELPHIA.—The NRA was given a black eye in this city when it was discovered, as a result of an impartial investigation, that women workers' average earnings are only \$8.71 a week.

Hosiery Mills Under Nazis, Union Hears

By JOHN T. GODBER

READING, Pa.—Enthusiasm and a keen spirit of militancy, in contrast to the funeral atmosphere of the 1930 meeting in this city, marked the 23rd annual convention of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers.

Rieve Accuses Nazi

Emil Rieve, national president of the union, threw a bombshell into the convention by charging that Arno P. Mowitz, Nazi consul general in Philadelphia was the "leading spirit and guide" of the anti-union manufacturers.

"Mowitz is the leading spirit and guide of the manufacturers association," declared Rieve, "and you delegates will fully realize the importance attached to that situation. You will realize that your fight is against the establishment of a Hitler form of government in the United States."

Mowitz aside from being the representative of Hitler in the Philadelphia district is also the counsel for the Association of Full Fashioned Hosiery Manufacturers, a group made up of 160 non-union mills in Eastern and Northern Pennsylvania and controlled by the Reading manufacturers.

Tells Their Names

Enlarging on the Rieve's charges, John W. Edelman, research director of the union, said, "The figures in control and to whom Prussian tactics are requisite in dealing with their employees, are William Meyer, head of the hugh Apex Mills in Philadelphia; Hugo Hemmerich, chief executive of the equally large Berkshire Knitting Mills in Reading; George D. Horst, of the Nolde and Horst Mills, Reading; and H. Van Praag, Kayser Hosiery Company executive, of Bangor, Pa., and Brooklyn, N. Y."

"Only last week, Ferdinand Thun, Berkshire executive and banker, gave the show away at the Carl Schurz Foundation dinner with an urgent plea that attempts be made to "understand Hitler."

"This is highly ironical when it is remembered that the foundation was established by Gustave Oberlander with a fortune made by exploiting over many years the employees of the Berkshire Knitting Mills."

Close to 200 delegates, coming from points as widely separated as Holyoke, Mass., and Anniston, Alabama, made it the largest convention in the history of the organization.

Some form of production curtailment is inevitable, Earl Constantine, managing director of the American Association of Hosiery Manufacturers and executive director of the Hosiery Code Authority, told the delegates.

More Burdens For Labor?

"We've got to have some plan of production control," Constantine declared. "It is to be hoped that labor will take some share of the burden. I am confident that labor will make that gesture, for I don't see how the management can bear further burdens now."

Power To Strike

The convention granted the Reading Branch the power to call a strike at any time they see fit. The agreement with the Reading manufacturers expired on June first. The union intends to demand the thirty hour week, with no reduction in present weekly income and recognition of the organization.

Southern delegates at the convention are of the opinion that the North Carolina district will be ripe for a general strike within the next two months. They are determined to wipe out the present wage differentials existing between the North and South.

The convention went on record favoring the alternating of day and night shifts in all plants where the two shift method of operation is in effect.

Need Homes, Food, League Call States

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not barter or scrip plans, but work in productive industry at full wages.

2. **UNITY OF THE EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED.** The unemployed must support the workers in their strikes. Company unions must be smashed. Wage cutting must be crushed. The common fight for a comfortable standard of living must be made. In pottery, steel, auto, mining, garment, rubber, and other industrial strikes, the Unemployed League shows solidarity with the strikers. New pages of Labor History have been made. The unemployed and employed workers must stand solidly together.

3. **A COMFORTABLE STANDARD OF LIVING MUST BE ESTABLISHED.** We are fed up with beans and rotten meat diets. No more paper shoes and ragged clothes. We demand homes, food, clothing, health, recreation and education. Subsistence or so-called "adequate relief" is not enough. Schools must be opened. Health must be preserved.

We call upon our fellow-workers and unemployed, through their various organizations, to elect delegates to this National Convention. Each local unit is entitled to five delegates. Credentials must be sent to the office of the NATIONAL UNEMPLOYED LEAGUE at 214 East Rich Street, Columbus, Ohio by July 21, 1934.

Further details on program, delegates, accommodations, etc. will be sent separately. Write at once to the Convention Committee, National Unemployed League, 214 East Rich Street, Columbus, Ohio, for further information.

We must be organized this Fall and Winter as we have never been before. Write another page in the History of the Marching Unemployed! Elect your delegates now to the National Unemployed League Convention.

For the

National Unemployed League
ANTHONY RAMUGLIA, President
ARNOLD JOHNSON, Secretary

Government Fails In its Effort to Break Ship Strike

SAN FRANCISCO.—In spite of an ultimatum issued by the government demanding that the striking longshoremen on the West Coast return to work immediately, accompanied by the dispatch of large details of police to protect scabbing workmen, the boats in most of the harbors were unable to move their cargoes. The first effort to open the Seattle water front failed as strike pickets sat on the tracks in front of a locomotive and refused to move until the engine was backed away.

Reject "Settlement"

The latest "settlement" presented to the locals at San Francisco, Portland, Tacoma, San Diego, and other ports, was overwhelmingly rejected because it did not meet the major demands of the strikers, and did not make any provision for the other unions, which have joined the longshoremen's walk-out. The proposal was presented by the International Longshoremen Association and approved by its president Joseph P. Ryan. Immediately after the rejection vote, the allied unions decided to name a joint strike committee to seek a general settlement for all the maritime workers involved.

The minimum demands of the marine workers are immediate discharge of non-union workers, full recognition of the I.L.A., complete control of hiring halls, and non-discrimination against those participating in the walkout.

700 Girls Strike, Get Help From A.W.P., Ohio League

by Special Correspondent

COLUMBUS, Ohio.—Seven hundred girls walked out of the two plants of the Hercules Pants Company and picketed twenty-four hours a day. Every day brought the breath of life into the corpse that has been the Columbus Federation of Labor.

The Hercules strike has a great many elements of the Toledo strike, the same timid local officials, the same picture of leadership coming from outside the immediate ranks of the local union, the same militant participation of the Ohio Unemployed League, American Workers Party leadership, the same attempted sell-outs by the International officials and the same demand of the workers for leadership.

Call in Leagues

When the girls walked out on Thursday, June 11 following refusal of the ownership to deal with union committee of the United Garment Workers local No. 255, the workers called for help from the Ohio Unemployed League. Warren C. Montross, National Executive Board member of the National Unemployed League and member of the American Workers Party was detailed for work with the strike.

The union had been formed as a result of a "passive-resistance" strike last year and had never before been on a real strike. The local president had been lured off by the management and spent all his time fussing around declaring that there were too many pickets.

Raises Slogan

Friday morning at 5:00 o'clock Montross addressed the pickets and raised the slogan, "These two plants must be closed so tight that not a mouse can get in or out of them—AND NO RATS."

Strike signs were put over the door knobs of the plants and over the shipping room platforms "Strike or Starve" signs close the cracks in the doors. All through the nights from Thursday until the following Wednesday workers slept on the shipping room platforms and across the doorways of the plants.

Striking to Music

To keep up the spirit of the strikers a seven piece string band alternated between the two plants from daylight to dawn. Square dances and singing enlivened the nights.

The news soon spread that this strike, beside being militant was a good time. By the time the strike had ended more than 450 of the 700 employed in the two plants were taking an active part in picketing. When it was necessary to cross the street to attend a meeting members of the Unemployed League and members of the Truck Drivers and Taxi-drivers Unions stood guard.

500 Say No

Berkeson, International official of the United Garment Workers attempted to sell the girls the idea of letting the shippingroom return to work before they voted on the proposed agreement, but he was answered by a resounding NO from 500 throats. Federal Conciliator Friel, suggesting that the girls go back to work was hooted off the platform. Officials of the militant taxi-drivers and truck-drivers unions assailed the proposed agreement and Myers' Machinist Union organizer, old in the movement and keeping his integrity, crucified the International officials for staying away from the strike until the strike had been won.

Another sell-out was attempted by Berkeson and Friel when they tried to get the girls to accept a proposal that the management should be allowed to lay off whom they chose and hire back in the order laid off. The proposal was rejected in toto.

Meeting Is Railroaded

The final meeting was railroaded by Berkeson and Friel after they had succeeded in having Montross leave the hall. Knowing that the strikers would not allow anyone to take Montross out, Berkeson an-

nounced that no business would be carried on until all not members of the local had left the hall. Then Montross got to his feet and told Berkeson that the only reason he was there was because the strikers had asked him to be there, that three times during the strike sell-outs had been attempted and that each time he had been instrumental in blocking the them and that if a sell-out were attempted that afternoon, he would continue to help fight against it as he had helped to fight the boss.

The proposal was then put by Berkeson after he and Friel had put the girls to sleep with long speeches against "outside influences." Reading the proposal rapidly and giving no time for debate, he called for a vote.

One third of the workers present, largely from the company union that had been broken during the strike, voted for the proposal—the balance refrained from voting. Berkeson then threw his arms in the air and cried "Unanimous."

What Price Settlement?

Several of the workers asked Friel if he was to get a suit of clothes or a car out of the strike.

As the new agreement stands it provides the closed shop and control of lay offs by the union committee. The union committee is to give the management a list of those to be laid off when slack periods arise.

Ex-Motorman in Los Angeles Sees Need of AWP Aid

To Labor Action:

I live in Los Angeles and I used to be a motorman. The very day I signed up for service, I had to sign a certain insurance policy which was entirely blank except for my signature. After a year, I was told, they would doctor up the policy according to schedule.

Later on I was caught in an accident, and seriously injured, and the company sent a doctor to see me. Finally they paid me \$7 and that was all I ever got. This is personal I know, but there are many cases like it, and far worse.

Saving "Juice"

The company pinched down on the carmen something terrible. One day the company decided to cut down on "juice," or electricity. They put meters on the cars and limited the amount of juice for every city block, and for every mile on the system. You must have noticed, in riding street-cars, the crews are always uneasy and trying to push against time. At all hours it is the same. There is no respite on Sundays. They put as few cars out as possible and make them go faster, the men have to work harder, watched every minute.

Big Bird Comes

So then along comes the Big Blue Bird, and the A. F. of L. says this is a swell time to have a talk with the boys down in Los Angeles. They come here and organize one of the sloppiest unions in history and started fooling around with the powerless Regional Labor Board. Some of the officials of the union dash up to smoke a cigar with Bob Hill or even maybe Haskins. They josh around a bit and come back empty handed.

What the Amalgamated Association of Street & Electrical Railway Employees of America, Division 997, Los Angeles, needs, is someone like the AWP to step in and help them build a UNION.

An ex-motorman of the Los Angeles Railway. (I was not fired—I quit.)

LIKE NEW DEAL

HOT SPRINGS, Va.—The nations business leaders and members of the National Advisory Board of the NRA meeting here in a three

Says Masses Will Destroy Capital Rights

MT. CARMEL, Pa.—Conditions in the United States are similar to those prevailing in France and Russia before their respective revolutions.

So Russel Davis, speaking to a meeting of the Leagues, declared.

"A small group of men dictate the living conditions in America. By concentration of industry these men control the nation. It is the old doctrine of rule by the divine right of kings, under a different name—the Rights of Capital. But these men have forgotten one thing, your right to live."

Right To Live

Capital rights have brought oppression, starvation and destitution, he said.

"The government provides a low standard of charity, brazenly protecting Capital, telling us that we have no right to expect anything more. But the people have the right to live, to get the best there is in life, and whenever they assert this right, it always destroys every other right."

France And Russia

Davis related the experiences of the people in the French Revolution. Ruled by the "divine right of the king", they were oppressed, taxation was unbearable, the aristocracy confiscated the farmers grain and sold it in the world market. The people had to eat whatever they could find. A few men who were called radicals, started a movement which took possession of the masses. Mass thought became mass action. The people of France wrote the pages of their history in the blood of the aristocracy.

In Russia, the same conditions prevailed, Davis told the Leagues.

"There were men who knew better, and they told the people. The Czar tried to crush the movement but it would not be downed. Finally the masses were thinking and mass thought led to mass action. It did not stop until the people had cut the Czar and his aristocracy down, tore it out by the roots and burned it in asserting their right to live."

Step To Mass Action

"The condition of the people of our nation is exactly the same as in Russia and France. Taxation is unbearable. Capital burns corn and wheat and destroys the cotton, while millions of people are in desperation. In industrial centers and cities they pour milk in sewers while children search the garbage pails. Oppression, uncertainty haunt us. But the workers and farmers are thinking, and it is developing into mass thought. It is only a step to mass action."

If Capital Rights perpetuate present conditions the masses will destroy Capital Right, Davis declared.

Ohio State Leagues Meet July 28, 29

COLUMBUS, O.—The second annual convention of the Ohio Leagues will be held in this city, July 28, 29, before the National Conventin opens on the 30th.

Calling for a comfortable standard of living, work and not words, the printed call, signed by William R. Truax, president, George Perkins, Guy Lawrence, vice-presidents, V. C. Bauhof, secretary, and Arnold Johnson, director of organization, has been forward to Leagues throughout the state.

day session went on record as favoring President Roosevelt's New Deal program as beneficial to industry. Requested by General Johnson to outline their ideas, the industrialists adopted a plan to establish an additional permanent board of business men in Washington to advise in the conduct of the NRA and to "give business an influence more effective than in the past." The NRA code system was highly approved.

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Organ of the
AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY

DILLY-DALLYING

WHAT looks like a tremendous battle is on in the Socialist Party over certain declarations adopted by the recent convention in Detroit and referred to a referendum vote of the membership.

The right-wing is in revolt against the Party pledge to "meet war and the detailed plans already mapped out by the war-making arms of the government by mass war-resistance."

The right-wing is in revolt against the Party statement that "if the capitalist system should collapse in a general chaos and confusion . . . the SP, whether or not in such case it is a majority, will not shrink from responsibility by organizing and maintaining a government under workers' rule."

Louis Waldman, right-wing leader, announces in advances of the Party referendum that he and his adherents "repudiate" the essential features of the Detroit Declaration, and the right-wingers have organized a National Committee for the Preservation of the Socialist Party!

They denounce the Detroit majority as anarchistic, pseudo-Communist, and talk openly of splitting. Waldman even loudly informs the government that they are law-breakers.

The majority elements, meanwhile, talk of Party unity.

Norman Thomas expresses the pious hope that Waldman will "have the good comradeship to stay in the Party," and the National Executive Committee hustles about to ask the opinion of lawyers on the Detroit Declaration!

Labor Action has repeatedly said that the Militants and the other centrist and left elements in the SP are more concerned about control of the Party machinery, than about principle. Obsessed by the notion of unity at any price, they seem to think that revolutionists and non-revolutionists, self proclaimed, can work together in one party, and that the party will be revolutionary! Only let an assortment of Militants and "lefts" have a majority on the NEC, and the miracle is accomplished!

The right-wingers have a more realistic outlook.

As the battle in the SP is being carried on, the right-wingers who split the Party in 1919 will do so again, at such time and under such conditions as they choose. The alternative is bound to be a compromise under a slogan of "Party unity," leaving fundamental issues in confusion. But unity in this sense can only be a name without any reality.

The need of the hour is still that all those who want to see an effective, realistic revolutionary party in the United States, differentiate themselves from non-revolutionists and get together without further dilly-dallying.

SETTLE DOWN -- TO WHAT?

THE emergency is over, declares Lewis Brown, president of the great Johns-Manville Corporation. He proposes that there be less government regulation of business. Business wants to "settle down."

The same issue of the metropolitan press reports that Alfred H. Schoellkopf, chairman of the New York State Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, requests Governor Lehman to order an impartial survey of the emergency relief machinery, in order to replace it by a permanent organization with powers of long time planning.

Mr. Schoellkopf asserts that there are now half a million unemployed needy families in New York State and that these families will continue to need public assistance for several years "despite some

recent improvement in business."

The financial pages of the same issue of the papers report that the index of business activity has been dropping for the past five weeks, even when the usual seasonal variations are allowed for.

What we are asked to settle down to, in other words, is letting the profiteers gather in the profits on the basis of the new set-up which the Roosevelt administration has kindly provided for them while the economic system rests on a foundation of sand and millions are reduced to permanent pauperism.

Would it be correct to suggest that Mr. Brown and his colleagues are fiddling while Rome burns?

We can assure them that if they think the steel workers, the automobile workers, the farmers and the unemployed are going to "settle down" on any such basis, they are greatly mistaken.

A LIBERAL MAYOR

WHO is La Guardia?

He's the man they said would do the work. He would clean up the city, destroy the Tammany Tiger, unsaddle the bankers, feed the destitute.

Thus, he was one of the country's great liberals. And the people of the New York City made him mayor.

La Guardia, the liberal, set to work. He has worked hard. What has he done?

The city is still graft-ridden, the Tiger is still alive, the bankers are still in the saddle, and the unemployed are being dropped from the relief rolls—by the thousands.

Like other mayors, he has failed.

But in a sense he has succeeded. He has shown once again, for those who can see, that a liberal mayor can do no more in the frame-work of capitalism to relieve the people than the ordinary party-machine politician. Whatever his intentions were, this is what he has shown. And today it is a sorely needed lesson.

Enough of "good" men! The idea that a "good" man can relieve the people of the burdens of the economic system known as capitalism—has it not been exploded after each election for the past hundred years?

As the good mayor attempts to excuse his abysmal failures, the rotten, shameful side of his administration comes to light. There is always a rotten side for the masses in every liberal regime.

How does the good La Guardia save his face when his policemen answer the demands of the jobless with clubs?

He tells the editors of the metropolitan newspaper, called together by the mayor in a secret "emergency" conference, that they should not criticize his administration or the police. Why? Because the "Reds" are responsible for all the trouble!

Well, why not a red-scare?

Chief of Police, O'Ryan, tells his men that there is danger of a "revolution." The "Reds" are responsible!

So a red scare it is with a salvo of police clubbings—

And that is how the great liberal mayor of New York relieves the people!

But the cries for relief are turning into demands for relief. Let La Guardia save himself, if he can.

A WORKERS' PLATFORM

IN place of the measures which the last Congress passed, or failed to pass, and of the smoke-screen proposals about which Roosevelt wants the people to debate in the coming election campaign, the American Workers Party proposes:

1. Immediate nation-wide thirty-hour maximum week.

2. Immediate guarantee of thirty dollar a week minimum wage to all workers and farmers employed or unemployed.

3. Moratorium on all rent or interest payments or mortgages by workers and farmers at least until the \$30 per week minimum is in effect.

4. Absolute outlawry of company unions.

5. A law compelling employers to bargain collectively with independent unions.

6. A law barring the use of injunctions, militia or the army against workers in labor disputes.

7. No appropriations for naval and military expenditures. Workers will not be slaughtered in another capitalist war.

But assuming the passage of these laws, who would compel the employers to abide by them? Only one force could do such compelling, and that, the organized power of the working masses.

Without force behind them, laws are meaningless.

DEAR COMRADE.....

Mr. Breier:

I know you are very busy and that you have other things to do besides answering the many questions which are bothering me but I felt that I just had to write you. I hear so many conflicting reports about the Toledo strike that I can't get it straight in my mind. I read the account which Budenz wrote for Labor Action and I thought that I had the whole story straight until a friend of mine, a member of the C.P., came over to my house with copies of the Daily Worker in which John Williamson wrote about "THE GREAT TOLEDO STRIKE." After reading the story in Labor Action I was under the impression that maybe the Daily Worker would merely denounce the A.W.P. members who led the strike as "misleaders" and let it go at that. But this man Williamson writes about it as if the C.P. had something to do with it and I cannot understand it. His accounts are so confusing that I can't make any sense out of them.

A friend of mine who happens to be a member of the Federal Automobile Union wrote me all about how the A.W.P. members in the Unemployed League had defied the injunction and got themselves arrested and how the workers took new life because of their action. He told me that it was the leadership of the A.W.P. that made of the Toledo strike a real class struggle.

I want to understand all I can about the way in which radical movements are run and I get confused and perplexed when I see so many conflicting accounts of one strike. What I want to know was in its height why does Williamson claim lessons for the party from it?

It seems to me that the one lesson that the C.P. could take from the Toledo strike is that they should issue fewer leaflets and defy more injunctions. They should be on hand at the beginning of the next big strike instead of having to horn in after it is about over.

Now, Williamson says, "the party was a force, but not an organized force inside the strikers or the Toledo labor movement." When I read that line I asked my C.P. friend, "force for what?" and he looked at me with a blank expression on his face.

Another thing that I don't understand, how did it happen that a girl, a member of the C.P., admitted in court that she did not know that there was an injunction? This seems odd because I thought everybody knew that there was an injunction.

I am getting tired and will sign off for this time. Oh yes, tell me, what is a "social-fascist"?

M. S. G.

Question Box

Letters to the editor ask many questions. This is a modest beginning to answer a few of them in Labor Action. Before looking at the answers, which appear on page 7, see how many you can answer. Look for more questions in the next issue.

1. Is Huey Long a fascist?
2. Why do you say Women instead of Ladies?
3. Why can't the New Deal succeed?
4. How much would I get under a worker's government?

(Answers on Page 7)

Dear Comrade:

You believe in the unconquerable power of reason and you imagine that every action has somewhere a core of motivating thought. One need only to look for this core, you think, to learn everything. And, if an action of the Communist Party seems to pass beyond the restrictions of space, you suppose that a little research would bring it back again, a little scholarship would unravel the mystery.

That is why, although you have lost all power of belief in them, you can still react to articles in the Daily Worker. You are still young and your wings retain their gloss. The CP is your oyster and you alone will open it to discover the pearl of truth that it must contain. Therefore you "analyze" the activities of that party, you ask "how?" and for what "reason"?

I will give answers, but I warn you they are to no purpose. If there is any discoverable reason in the Toledo attitude of the CP it is probably lodged outside of the party and not within it. It is a flower of decay and it works on the same principle that makes of George Washington a greater hero dead than he was living. The CP, after a period of frantic reality is passing into a period of frenzied schizophrenia. Schizophrenia, my dear comrade, is the completest form of day-dreaming.

You say that Williamson is drawing "lessons" from the Toledo strike. This puzzles me, too. When the workers of Toledo were throwing bricks and bottles at the scabs and the National Guard they cried: "Take that you big . . . !" and "How do you like that—you slob?" but nowhere was it reported that a worker on having a tear-bomb explode at his feet, cried: "What a lesson this is!" or that, picking up the bomb and throwing it back where it came from, he shouted to his fellow-workers: "That was some thesis, eh, comrades?"

Williamson said, according to your letter: "the party was a force, but not an organized force inside the strikers or the Toledo labor movement." When a person talks that way about force I can't determine whether his remarks are political or physical. If Williamson meant the latter, he was right and every worker in Toledo could support him with plenty of evidence.

I am not disposed to judge that girl harshly. The difficulties of unorganizing the workers must be incalculable and building force a la Williamson would leave her little time to think about injunctions. We can afford to let that incident pass. As a matter of fact, the entire affair should be dropped, for as long as the workers get the cash, the credit can go where it pleases.

Did your CP friend call you a "Social-Fascist?" He was only trying to exorcize you. Anxious to prevent blasphemy through ignorance the ancient Greeks raised temples to the Unknown God. In another form, this anxiety underlies the modern concept of Social-Fascism." It is the CP incantation against all demons and succubi not yet included in their lists of prescription and anathema. The proper way of performing the incantation is to shout the dread words as loudly as possible and to kiss three times a piece of the true hammer and sickle. The ceremony is not pleasant, but I have heard that it is very powerful.

Fraternally,

LOUIS BREIER

Von Papen Points the Way in Germany

By LUDWIG LORE

Papen's much discussed speech is more than a vent for his personal misgivings over the course steered by the Hitler government. After more than a year in the National Socialist Cabinet in which his individuality was completely eclipsed, he now speaks once more for the group he truly represents. Von Papen had become the floor-walker of the Nazi regime. It was his job to cover up with the placating suavity of the trained diplomat, the crudities of German fascism. The

Chancellor appreciated the services of this smooth and facile Westphalian aristocrat and industrialist.

A million and a half were spent for the monumental palace on No. 1 Voss Strasse which house the Vice Chancellor and his official mail box. For it is Franz Von Papen's outstanding function to be the recipient for all complaints against the Hitler regime. He is permitted to open the endless stream of letters from the Steel Helmet, German Nationalist and

Centrist sources and to send out mildly assuaging epistles to their indignant authors. Not one of these protests ever comes to Hitler's ears and nothing is done about them. Papen's bureau has developed the art of soothing malcontents to such a degree of efficiency that his elimination from the Cabinet would have been felt as a real loss by the Ministerial roughnecks. His ineffectual efforts to maintain amicable relations with Rome and his dummy-commissioner's shop of Germany's in-

terests in the Saar are other aspects of his wide and varied usefulness.

Von Papen's Role

Why was Papen satisfied to play this secondary, largely decorative role? Because he still hoped to safeguard the interests of the group he represents by boring from within the Nazi government. He is the voice that speaks for the great industrialists and for the semi-industrialist-landed aristocracy which have abandoned their passive resistance for open

opposition to National Socialist rule. The collapse of Germany's political economy, its shutting down on imports, its decision to forbid the importation of raw materials in quantities sufficient to guarantee uninterrupted production and last but not least the threatening mark inflation have persuaded them that the time has come to send their faithful servant into the list to break a lance with their Nazi opponents.

To those who know von Papen's
(Continued on Page 7)

**What's Happening
ABROAD**

by Ludwig Lore

AUSTRIA

On May 27 the government arranged youth demonstration in all parts of the country. They were poorly attended, however, and proceeded with little enthusiasm. On the evening before the Socialist youth organizations had called meetings at seven different places in Vienna. They were all crowded. The young people waved red banners, sang revolutionary songs and cheered. Police broke up the meetings, but their purpose had been accomplished.

BELGIUM

The Socialist International met in Brussels to discuss the fight against fascism in the democratic countries of Europe. After listening to reports from Vandervelde, Blum, Gillies and Hilferding on the important questions of the day, they elected a commission of three to which were referred various motions and proposals for immediate action.

BULGARIA

The new fascist government has ordered the dissolution of all non-fascist parties. The Communist Party had been suppressed some time before. All newspapers and periodicals are strictly censored.

FRANCE

Renaudel, who left the Socialist Party to become the chairman of the Neo Socialist Party, has resigned from that office because of differences in political opinion. Whether he will remain with the party—he was always on the extreme right wing in the S.P.—is not yet certain.

GERMANY

Fourteen Executions

In the thirty days from May 17 to June 16, fourteen men were executed in the Reich for political offenses. In the same period five new death sentences were passed. According to a report appearing in the "Frankfurter Zeitung" German courts sentenced political offenders to 418 years in prison and 400 years in jail between the dates of May 22 and June 13. . . . The "Neue Front," the official organ of the SAP which appears in Paris, says, 220 former members and functionaries of the SAP will be brought to trial in the next few weeks. The "Ernst Eckstein Fund" was created to assist these comrades and their families. "Labor Action" will accept contributions to this important fund. . . . Ernst Thaelmann will probably be brought to trial on July 2 before the new People's Court which was created especially to try revolutionary workers and condemn them to death or long prison terms without "hampering chains of bureaucracy." It is important that comrades the world over voice their energetic protest against German murder justice. Fourteen political executions and five death sentences should arouse even the most lethargic out of his equanimity. . . .

GREAT BRITAIN

In a by-election to fill the seat vacated by the death of Wallhead Merthyr in the Tydfil district S. O. Davis (Labor Party) was elected. The Liberal candidate received the second highest number of votes. Campbell Stephen (Indep. Labor Party) polled 3508, W. Hannington, (Com.) 3409 votes. The result has been a serious set-back for the ILP which had controlled that district for decades until the late Wallhead went over to the Labor Party. The Communists had never before placed a candidate in the field in that district. . . .

INDIA

The All-India Textile strike now enters on its ninth week. Neither the arrest of leaders nor police terror have been able to break up the striker's front. A firm united front has been maintained between the National Congress Socialists and

"Achievements" of the 73rd Congress

By A. J. Muste

After shelving the Tugwell-Copeland Pure Food and Drug Bill, the Wagner Labor Bill, the Oil Administration Bill, the Connery Thirty-Hour Week Bill, Old-age Pensions, Unemployment Insurance, Six Hour Day for rail employees, Patman's Veteran's Bonus Bill, the McLeod Bank "Pay-Off" Bill, the Birth Control Bill, and numerous Banking Act Amendments,—after all this, Roosevelt's Congress suddenly passed one or two liberal measures (which had been shelved by F.D.) listened to the Marine Band play some rousing songs of patriotism, joined in singing Yankee Doodle, packed its bags and went home.

Next fall the Representatives and a third of the Congressmen will ask the people to re-elect them. They will point with pride and make promises—

But what is the truth?

In killing or shelving these measures, Roosevelt and his Congress, like other Congresses and Presidents in our generation, betrayed the masses.

Yet it was a busy Congress.

Never have these United States seen a busier Congress. Never in peace time, one which appropriated so much money—mostly to business. New schemes poured from it like sausages from a sausage mill—NRA, AAA, FEPA, HOLC, LMNOP, XYZ and on and on.

For the masses of workers and farmers, what does it all amount to?

Will the people do well to vote these politicians back into office next fall?

Capitalize Betrayal

Shortly before Congress adjourned, Roosevelt, shrewd politician that he is, made political capital of this betrayal. He laid before Congress a program—not for enactment—but for discussion by the people during the next election campaign, and for enactment by the next Congress, maybe.

This program includes some very fine things. For one thing, there must be "sound housing projects." The benevolent squire of Dutchess County says that "we are working toward the ultimate objective of making it possible for American families to live as Americans should." What could be more decent than that?

In the second place, we should have land planning. Farmers must be moved off submarginal lands. Miners who will never get jobs in the mines again must be moved—somewhere.

Thirdly, we must have unemployment insurance and old age

pensions.

But why was nothing substantial done about any of these things during this Congress? Why delay when millions are cruelly suffering? And what assurance that any of these beautiful generalities will be translated into concrete fact by the next Congress?

Nothing But Wind

We can be assured, rather, that there is nothing but wind in these, as in all other, Roosevelt promises. For his "sound housing" he depends mainly, as the partial housing measure passed in the seventy-third Congress indicates, on private banking and real estate interests which have conclusively demonstrated that they cannot and will not provide decent housing for the masses.

Nowhere is any clear indication given as to where submarginal farmers are going to be put when all crops are being restricted and both foreign and domestic markets shrink. And where are these subsistence farmers to get cash to spend? By spare time work in factories, perhaps, when there are still ten millions or more jobless?

The fund for social insurance the President says should be raised by contributions rather than by taxation. Just how the workers are to contribute when they have no jobs or jobs at subsistence wages, we cannot imagine.

Back in the spring of 1933, when even the U. S. Chamber of Commerce was begging Congress to give Roosevelt virtually dictatorial powers over industry for a couple of years, Congress and the President were apparently making monkeys out of J. P. Morgan and the "money-changers" and assuring the workers that their one aim in life was to see that the workers' purchasing power was increased.

They said that to increase purchasing power, bargaining power must be increased, the workers must have the right to organize and bargain collectively. Still another corollary was that hours of labor must be drastically reduced. On every one of these points Congress and Roosevelt have utterly betrayed the workers. The Connery 30-hour bill was shelved last spring and again this year. From 10 to 13 million, therefore, still walk the streets.

Strike Breaking President

The collective bargaining clause of NRA proved a mockery, as Labor Action predicted from the beginning. Every attempt to put teeth into that clause, to outlaw company unions, etc., has been foiled by Congress and the President. Even the Wagner bill, mak-

ing a feeble gesture against company unions, was deserted by the strike-breaking President and thrown into the discard by Congress. Only the terror inspired by Toledo, Minneapolis and the threatened steel strike led them to rush through at the last minute a law creating Labor Boards which may investigate labor disputes and order elections, to which the lords of industry need pay no attention if they go against their company unions. The railroad unions, because they have power, did make Congress at the last minute pass a bill which Roosevelt was going to toss into the discard, strengthening their hold against company unions.

"Achievements"

The "achievements" of the seventy-third Congress may be summarized thus:

1. Relief measures for farmers and workers were enacted—utterly inadequate from the point of view of human need or what our productive system could furnish.
2. No basic changes in the condition of the workers were made.
3. Certain reforms in banking, the stock exchange, etc., which capitalism had long ago found it necessary to introduce in other countries, were introduced here.
4. The whole system of private banks, insurance, mortgage, real estate companies, etc., has been saved for the time being.
5. The industrialists have been given a chance to organize their forces such as they never had before. Over against this newly organized force labor is not given a proportionate increase in bargaining power. And even the pretence that government has any real power to restrain business is being given up. On June 16 Congress failed to renew the licensing provision of the NRA, the club which the President had for one year held over industries which violated the NRA and which—you who regard him as the great foe of predatory business, take note—he never used even on such notorious violators as Weirton and Budd and bank-robber Miniger of the Toledo Auto-Lite who used the National Guard to murder human beings before he would pay code wages or recognize a union.
6. Finally, this seventy-third Congress provided for big military and naval expenditures, the biggest in our own peace-time history. Soldiers may be needed to crush strikers who still take NRA seriously. And after all capitalism may soon find there is no way to "restore prosperity" and, as the last straw, clutch at war.

**Radical
INTERLUDES**

by Louis Breier

NORMAN Thomas is at this moment the one best bet against disturbances of the peace that may grow into bloody insurrections. He is a radical, but one who has set his face steadfastly against violence; he has maintained for years that every important aim of the Socialists may be attained more easily and more quickly by peaceful persuasion than by armed rebellion. His influence has helped restrict American radicalism to legal methods, and for that very reason he is hated far more bitterly than any capitalist by the wilder element.

Who wrote this? Mike Gold, in a prodding mood? One of the New Masses messiahs, dripping irony from every pore? Or Louis Breier, continuing his series of slanders against the noble party of Jim Oneal and Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr?

"Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings . . ." or more factually from the pen of Gerald W. Johnson, staffwriter of the liberal Baltimore Evening Sun, come those quotations. Rendered indignant by the arrest of Thomas and the unprovoked gassing of his meeting at Taylorville, Illinois by the local police, Mr. Johnson, as a good liberal should, rushes to the defense of "free speech", "law and order", "the American gentleman" and Norman Thomas, the apotheosis of all these entities.

Mr. Johnson continues: ". . . to have the one great radical leader who constantly insists that radicals must respect the law, himself manhandled by an idiotic constabulary, breaks the force of his plea and adds strength to the advocates of violent resistance."

LET us not be unkind. Let us not inquire of Mr. Johnson by what manoeuvre of logic radicals are enabled to respect the law. The whole intention of Mr. Johnson's article is noble, and he himself a profound student of the aims and spirit of both Norman Thomas and the party he leads, as this further quotation demonstrates:

"If as mild a man as Norman Thomas is to be subjected to imprisonment for no cause save that some moron in a uniform chooses to imprison him, of what use is it to tell despairing men that the law will respect their rights?"

The emphasis is mine, but the credit for this remarkably complete and lucid exposure of the rose-water and sugar-pill "radicalism" of the Socialist Party belongs exclusively to Mr. Johnson.

He is likely to receive little praise, however, from Mr. Thomas who must feel when he reads Mr. Johnson's article that one truly needs protection from one's friends.

For the way of a peaceful persuasionist is hard and the technique delicate. Like the momentary magic of the theatre, it may not suffer structural exposure without incurring an immediate and drastic disillusionment.

"Illinois radicals," writes Mr. Johnson, "were prevented by Mr. Thomas, from hurling bricks at the Taylorville sheriff and his deputies."

HOW typical of the American workman who, without the benefit of Mr. Thomas's superior manners and powers of persuasion, inevitably fancies that a well-aimed brick might improve the Sheriff considerably and would certainly help to develop the innate intelligence and public conscience of his deputies.

Mr. Thomas, of course, was on hand to prove this procedure unwise, since the law would, or at least ought to, respect their rights. But the point is: were these radicals to learn by what art, what philosophy and to what end they were constrained from committing

(Continued on Page 7)

the Communists. Good use has been made of the tactics learned in the civil disobedience campaign. There has been splendid solidarity between the Textile Unions and the other unions and between the strikers and the unemployed. . . .

LUXEMBOURG

No Dictatorship

The election for members of the Chamber of Deputies in the Duchy of Luxemburg brought the Communists two seats for the first time in the history of that tiny country. They were won from the Catholic-Conservatives in one case, from the Social Democrats in the other. The Liberal-Clerical bloc remains in control. The intention of the Catholic Conservatives to establish an authoritative government was thereby defeated.

NORWAY

The Youth organization of the Norwegian Labor Party held its Congress in Oslo. Reports showed a healthy growth in membership, from 14,000 to 22,000, the number of sections having increased from 250 to 450. The Leftist elements were victorious all along the line. It is true that both the party and its youth movement are badly in need of clarification. But cooperation with the old revolutionary elements in the party and the encouragement of these young revolutionaries will give Norway a

militant and revolutionary labor movement. . . .

POLAND

The assassination of the Minister of the Interior Pieracki by a fascist impelled the government to establish a number of concentration camps which—for the present—are to be used only for fascist rioters. It is to be feared, however, that these camps will soon be used to house "troublesome" workers as well.

SOVIET UNION

The Executive Committee of the Communist International has decided on the order of business of the next international Congress which is to be held in Moscow in the coming fall. According to the decisions of the Executive Committee a new Program of Action against Fascism and a plan for the reorganization of the Executive organs of the Comintern will occupy the attention of the Congress. The last International Congress was held in August 1928. It is estimated that from one to two thousand delegates will attend.

SWEDEN

The Social Democratic Party has forced the Socialist government to order the suppression of all semi-political military organizations. The Labor government thus prevents the arming of labor against an eventual fascist force.

**Ask Aid in Fight
For Robins, Gras**

N. Y.—In response to an appeal from Harold Robins and Andrea Gras, New York workers sent to Sing Sing on framed charges of felonious assault because of their activities in the recent New York hotel strike, the united front Robins-Gras Defense Committee has been organized to launch a fight for their appeal. The Committee has temporary headquarters at 22 East 17 St., Room 731 and has issued a call to all workers to aid it in its fight.

Join in Defense

The organizations now making up the defense committee are the American Workers Party, Communist Party Opposition, General Defense Committee, Il Martello, Org. Comm. for a Revolutionary Workers Party, Poale Zion Left, Provisional Comm. for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, and Socialist Party. Invitations have been sent to the Amalgamated Food Workers Union, which led the hotel strike, A. F. of L. locals in the industry, and the I.L.D. to join up.

According to P. Fisher, temporary secretary, the workers must remain in jail several years unless a stiff fight is made. Legal red-tape necessitates immediate raising of \$400.

The Chairman Rapped for Order

by ERNEST RICE McKINNEY

Tom Jones got up in the weekly meeting of the Smith County Unemployed League and announced that he had just been talking to Mr. Austin, the county commissioner, who was running for reelection. Mr. Austin wanted to come around and talk to the League. Jones was of the opinion that it would be no more than right since Mr. Austin had always been on the side of the unemployed. "He has always been willing to help us in every way" said Jones, "and furthermore he's a friend of the working man."

"I thought we didn't allow no politics in this organization," Pat Gary yelled from somewhere in the rear of the hall. "Fellow worker Jones has the floor" ruled the chairman.

"Of course the Unemployed League is not a political organization" Jones said, "but there's no harm in letting a man who is a friend of the working man come in and talk to us. If I may be permitted to say so I believe that Mr. Austin should have our support. We've got to get men in office who can help us. Furthermore . . ."

Point of Order

"Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of order," called Pat Gary.

The chairman asked Pat to state his point of order.

"This League is not a political organization and Jones is talking politics. Our constitution says . . ."

"Just a minute," said the chairman, "you have stated your point of order."

The secretary leaned over and told the chairman that Jones was not out of order according to the constitution.

"Your point of order is not well taken" said the chairman. "Have you finished fellow worker Jones?"

"Yes" from Jones "but I'd like to hear what some of the other members think about it."

Pat Tells 'Em

"I want to talk about this" said Pat Gary moving to the front of the hall. "This is not a political organization. We don't want no politics coming in here. All these politicians are alike. I don't know of a hell of a lot that Austin ever did for the working man. Wasn't he in with the rest of the county commissioners who had that piece in the paper about the unemployed was to be taken off relief if they didn't report for work on RWD? I don't trust none of them. Austin is a Republican but he's no better than the Democrats. They're all alike."

"This League was organized to fight for relief. What we want is more to eat, some clothes and a house to live in. I put in an order for shoes for my children six weeks ago and I ain't got them yet. Do you thing voting for Austin will get them shoes? Hell no! What he wants is votes. I'm for keeping politics out'a here."

Sarah Henderson, a new member, got the floor. "I partly agree with fellow worker Gary. Before I lost my job I didn't pay much attention to the League. I knew about it because I had seen you out demonstrating against evictions and at the relief unit. I would not join for a long time because I felt that you were breaking the law when you interfered with the constable or the sheriff. After all they are only doing their duty."

Order, Please!

Pat Gary began yelling. "Let us have order," rapped the chairman.

"I don't want you to misunderstand me," said fellow worker Henderson. "I am not against demonstrations and I don't like to see people evicted. Don't believe that these politicians mean us any good. Our organization is non-partisan and should remain that way. This means that we take in everybody and don't ask them anything about their politics or their religion."

"Nor their race or where they come from" called Pat.

"Fellow worker Gary please ask for the floor when you want to speak," said the chairman.

"Fellow worker chairman, I

want to say a few words." This from Ben Wolfe who had been a member of one of the older radical parties but had resigned because as he said, "They didn't do anything."

"Down front Ben," said one of the members. "Yes make him get up front where we can see him," said another. Ben pulled off his coat, laid it on the back of the seat and marched down front.

It Seems To Me

"I've been sitting here listening to all this talk about politics, politicians and whether or not the Unemployed League is a political organization. I just got to thinking, perhaps this is a political organization. Political means that its got something to do with the government and the law. We're always talking in here about changing the government and getting a workers government. We say the workers have got to own the machines and control the government. That's political. Of course we want politics only we want our kind of politics, the working man's politics. Austin nor none of the rest of them have our kind of politics. They've got the politics that the big fellows want. And how about the NRA and the government saving what the unions shall do and what they shant do? Suppose we'd had the steel strike. We were planning to picket with the strikers. Suppose the government had ordered the strikers back to work and they kept on striking. Seems to me that would be political, because its against the government. And suppose they told us that if we did not stop picketing our relief would be cut off. If we didn't stop wouldn't we be opposing the government, and don't that make us political? And as I said before we are always talking about changing the government. Some people say you can't change the government unless you have a revolution. I don't know I always thought it might be done peaceful . . ."

"The cons won't let us be peaceful" yelled Pat Gary.

There was loud applause at Pat's remark and the chairman had to rap for order. Fellow worker Wolfe went on.

"Fellow worker Henderson says the Unemployed League is non-partisan. I've been wanting somebody to tell me what we mean when we say we are non-partisan. We're non-partisan about taking people in, unless they are politicians or business men. Then we aint

non-partisan. We're against them from the start. They're against us and we're against them. When it comes to taking in workers we're non-partisan. We take in black, white, Jews, Eytalians, Catholics, Protestants, citizens and them that aint citizens. We take in women just like men. Republicans, Democrats, Socialists and Communists can all join the League. That is s'long as they aint running for office or holding office in a political party that aint working-class. If they're running for office or holding office on the Republican, Democratic or Independent tickets then we say they can't be members. We don't let them in because they are capitalist parties and we're against the capitalists. We want our own party, a working man's party. That's the only way."

There was great handclapping. The chairman said that this discussion was the kind that the local should have more of. He asked the educational director of the League to speak.

Getting It Straight

The educational director said that he had been very much interested. "The points raised here" he said, "are very important for any militant movement such as the League is. Brother Wolfe has done such a good job that I will not take much time on this point. I want to call your attention to the fact that there is a difference between a political organization and a political party. The Unemployed League is not a political party. It does not put up candidates for office. We have elections for officers of the League but only the members of the League vote in our elections. The Unemployed League will never be a political party. We are concerned with certain demands that center around our position as unemployed men and women. We have no jobs, therefore we have no money to buy the necessities of life with. But we have to eat, wear clothes and live in a house. Relief is dished out to us by the relief board. The money comes from the government. First of all we fight for relief and for increased relief. We demonstrate against evictions and chase the constable. We hammer at the relief stations.

"While all of this is true, we have found out that it is not enough to be concerned with relief alone. If we don't look farther than relief we will be fighting for relief fifty years from now, or our children will."

(continued in next issue)

IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LORE

One Year of NRA

The first anniversary of the New Deal shows a fundamentally different picture in the unions than that presented when the Blue Eagle first hatched from the shell. The American Federation of Labor has almost doubled its membership, an unprecedented gain. Independent unions have been formed in many industries and centers and some of them have attained national scope and significance. It is certainly no great exaggeration to estimate the number of workers organized in these unaffiliated groups at 250,000.

New Labor Line-Ups

It is the job of revolutionists to watch this situation carefully. Especially at this stage of the game when the lines are not yet sharply drawn and when the entire labor movement is in a state of flux and change. The Toledo fight, the developments in the steel workers union, the rank and file control of the West Coast longshoremen strike and the fighting leadership of many of the Federal Unions, shows conclusively that the new mood among the workers is challenging the established labor leadership on a wide front.

It is our job to crystalize this revolt; to turn it into constructive channels so that it will not go to pieces or (and this is a very real danger) turn to government agencies for help.

Danger Signals

Recent developments in the Akron, O., rubber workers unions give a danger signal to radicals and point to some of the dangers that must at all costs be avoided in our trade union activity. In that great rubber center, a few young and militant men did a tremendous job in building Federal Unions. They were new to the trade union movement but they did a fine organizing job. Then the A. F. of L. leadership began to take an active interest in the situation. They began to make efforts to break up the industrial structures. The Federation organizer proposed a formation which would have put the great mass of the production workers under the thumb of the small group of highly skilled men in the industry. Under the leadership of the progressives the membership turned the proposal down flat.

But the militants became disgusted with the constant battle against reactionary efforts. They decided that the thing to do was

to pull out their forces and start an independent organization. They did so but the masses of the workers stayed in the Federal locals. Coleman Claherty, the A. F. of L. organizer for the area, skilled in pulling wires and playing union politics, tricked and outmaneuvered them at every turn. Today, the militant are almost completely isolated, the unions are entirely in the hands of the Federation officials and the unions, which once numbered 20,000 in their ranks in the Akron area are losing strength.

Oil Workers Grow Strong

Another one of the unions in a great basic industry which has grown very fast is the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers which held its first convention since 1926 at Fort Worth, Texas. The 400 delegates hear their officers report that the union had grown from 21,000 a year ago to a strength of 75,000. A number of strikes, and victories won in Labor Board elections have strengthened the organization while a recent agreement with the Sinclair Oil Company, one of the largest in the country will give it a further hold on the workers in the industry.

The Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers are industrially organized and they face a number of jurisdictional disputes with the old line craft unions on the right to take various groups into their union. The convention instructed its officers to maintain its claim to the 600,000 filling station operators and to proceed to organize them as soon as practicable. It was brought out at the convention that the Retail Clerks organization had granted charters to some of these workers and that the A. F. of L. had given out several Federal Union charters to local groups. The situation is complicated further by the fact that a number of these Federal organizations of gas station workers have already held a conference at which they talked over permanent cooperation and were only prevented from organizing their own national industrial union by the personal intervention of President William Green.

Company Union Tactics

The delegates at another important union convention which met recently were given interesting examples of the lengths to which manufacturers will go to prevent their workers from organizing into the unions of their choice.

Edward Callaghan, Reading Pa., organizer for the American Federation of Hosiery Workers and Harry Boyer, newly-wed secretary-treasurer of the Reading branch with 12,000 members told the story to the union gathering.

Wives of both men have been getting poison pen letters reflecting on the character of their husbands. Another active unionist's wife received not only letters but also telephone calls. This members wife had a visitor one day while her husband was away. The visitor (a young woman) showed her credentials identifying her as an agent of a notorious scab herding and gangster agency.

She then told the wife that she and other agents had trailed her husband when he was supposed to be at union meetings and found him going to roadhouses, getting drunk and making love to chorus girls.

When she got that far the wife threw her out of the house.

tempted to pass out the leaflet at the mill gates, the police confiscated all the literature and informed them that the permit had been revoked.

Such a protest was raised by organized labor, that the permit was re-established and Leaguemen distributed the leaflets without opposition.

ATLANTA, Ga.—In practically every county in the state there are men, women and children working from 12 to 14 hours on farms for 40 cents a day.

This Onward March to Power

By ARNOLD JOHNSON

(Excerpts from a speech delivered by Arnold Johnson, secretary of the National Unemployed League, to the Pennsylvania state convention of the Leagues held in Allentown, June 9, 10.)

It is sort of foolish at times to think of our constantly battling away at an immediate demand, but the Unemployed Leagues recognize that these demands have to be faced. Each and every worker could have 7 pairs of shoes if the shoe factories of this country were owned and controlled by the workers. The same applies to one thing after another. Clothing, homes, food supplies and all the rest, and yet we starve in the so-called midst of plenty.

\$5,000 Income

That issue of looking forward to a workers society needs to be carefully brought out in every local league. Workers get tired of continually fighting for just a crust of bread. I am coming to the opinion that instead of making a minimum expense budget, we go and tell the state and everybody else that we are organized to take the whole business and we are going to have plenty because this is a country of plenty. You have read in Labor Action and other papers what can be done in this country. For instance, every worker can have

\$5,000 income in a worker society.

If in the past workers have fought for freedom from chattel slavery, is it not time that we say we will fight for freedom from the capitalist system? It is not simply a matter of opening up a few factories here and there, as is being proposed by relief administrators, which they do merely to keep the workers from starving.

American Workers Party

Some of you people may be asking yourself, who are these people who say we are going to establish a workers order?

I am here to say that I am a member of the American Workers Party, and I am proud of it. I want to clear up here a very important point, so that workers will understand what the American Workers Party is, and will not have to listen to a lot of rumors from people who are afraid a revolution may put the workers in possession of the productive system. There is no use to mince words about this. The American Workers Party is a revolutionary party which we maintain is the revolutionary party out to help the workers and farmers overthrow the capitalist state and establish a new society and workers state.

The American Workers Party stands on this principle.

So far as mass organizations are concerned, those mass organiza-

tions as such must be non-partisan economic organizations, and we say that we must trust the workers in these mass organizations. There is no necessity of mechanically controlling these mass organizations or the leagues from the top. The AWP stands against that principle. It takes the position that workers can be trusted in their own mass organizations, and as they make these daily battles and keep their eyes open as to what is happening, they themselves will see the fundamental need of marching steadily onward, building the mass organization as an economic organization, and in addition, the need and necessity of a political party as an indispensable aid in the onward march to capture state power for the workers.

ARRESTED, FREED

WARREN, Ohio.—Four members of the Warren Unemployed League were arrested by local police when they attempted to distribute leaflets exposing the company union before the gates of the Republic Steel Company plant. The men were released when leaders of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers Union protested the arrests and presented a permit from the mayor.

When the workers again at-

Stack Cards, Deals Them Royal Flush

(From a Reader)

A blind man can see that President Roosevelt is doing the best he can to deal a royal flush to the banks, railroads, trusts, corporations. How well he has stacked the cards against the workers is clear when we know the names of the men who are in power in the New Deal. Here they are:

Robert G. Elbert, of the International Holding Company; Ralph E. Flanders of the Jones and Lamson Machine Company; Alexander Legge, of the International Harvester Company; Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., of General Motors Corporation; Edward N. Hurley; William A. Julian, Treasurer of the United States; Robert L. Lund, of the Lambert Pharmacal Company; Pierre du Pont, of E. I. du Pont de Nemours; Dr. C. K. Leith, of the University of Wisconsin; Walter S. Gifford, of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company; H. R. Safford, of the Missouri-Pacific Railroad; William A. Harriman, of the Union Pacific Railroad; George H. Mead, of the Mead Corporation; H. P. Kendall, of the Kendall Company; Lionel J. Noah, of the American Woolen Company; Baldwin B. Baldwin, of the Disbee-Baldwin Corporation; Austin Finch of the Thomasville Chair Company; Edmond C. Van Diest, of the General Service Corporation; Fred J. Lingham, of the National Millers' Federation; Henry H. Heimann, of the National Association of Credit Men; Thomas H. McInnery, of National Dairy Products Corporation; James H. Rand, Jr., of Remington, Rand, Inc.; Thomas J. Watson, of the International Business Machines Corporation; Henry S. Dennison, of the Dennison Manufacturing Company; Walter C. Teagle, of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey; M. L. Benedum, oil man of Pittsburgh; Morris E. Leeds, of Leeds and Northrup; William T. Kemper, of the National Bank of Commerce, Kansas City; Gerard Swope, of General Electric; Henry I. Harriman, of the United States Chamber of Commerce; R. E. Wood, of Sears, Roebuck; A. Lincoln Filene, of William Filene's Sons; Clay Williams, of the Reynolds Tobacco Company; Fred I. Kent, of New York; De Lancey Kountze, of the Devoe and Reynolds Company; A. P. Greensfelder; Everett G. Griggs, of the St. Paul and Tacoma Lumber Company; Melvin A. Traylor, of the First National Bank of Chicago; Edward T. Stannard, of the Kennecott Copper Company; Lew Hahn, of the Hahn Department Stores; Arthur W. Little.

N. Y. Notes

JULY 4th EXCURSION

All aboard for Camp Conawopa July 4. All day outing. Bring your swim-suits and lunches. Up the Hudson, leaving 42nd Street pier, 8:30 AM. See Camp Conawopa. Hear V. F. Calverton and A. J. Muste. Return 9 PM. Tickets \$1.50 covers all. Reservation AWP. 112 E. 19 St., Tel. AL4-9058.

JOIN THE PARTY

Order the Program of the American Workers Party. Read it. See for yourself the "evidence" of the Illinois courts against Muste, Cross, Mayer. Evidence that the AWP believes in and fights for a workers government: and join the party.

Regular Labor Action features, NEWS REEL, by A. A. THEIR Government, by James Burnham, and the third part of DIXIE TODAY, by Oliver Calson will appear in the next issue.

Against Uncritical Criticism

By RICHARD F. PAIGE

If the program of the American Workers Party is to be "analyzed" in the manner of the appraisal made by D. Benjamin in the May first issue of "Workers Age", the party may congratulate itself upon having a program which is proof against adverse criticism. For, whatever may be the faults of the programmatic statement of the A.W.P., Benjamin is too busy caricaturing the program with unwarranted inferences to discern any actual defects the program may possess.

For example, his first reference to the AWP program states "The language of the AWP is the language of a party that hopes to achieve power thru parliamentary and peaceful methods". Wherein does Comrade Benjamin find such language in the AWP program? This assertion, as well as a later one that the "AWP expects to be elected into state office in the same manner as capitalist parties, or Labor parties or Social-Democratic parties—yes, even into the same form of bourgeois democracy that we have today" is refuted by the distinct and unequivocal remark on the efficacy of parliamentary method on page 14 of the program, where the statement is made that "No parliamentary triumphs can insure the victory of a workers' democracy".

Can He Read English?

Benjamin's statement that the AWP intends to use the same parliamentary apparatus to transfer ownership and control from the hands of bankers and industrialists into the hands of the workers and the other producing elements of society and "not a word by the AWP on the necessity of using revolutionary force, not a word on the need of smashing the present state and its entire apparatus" is given the lie by the statements in the AWP program that "Against capitalist legality, serving the interests of a bankrupt minority, must be set revolutionary legality, resting on the will of the overwhelming majority", page 14, and on the same page "In order to consolidate the positions it has won against the efforts of enemies of the new social order, the workers government will issue and enforce stringent revolutionary laws, directed against all who attempt to undermine the new regime. It will mobilize the greatest possible number of workers into special organizations devoted to the defense of their revolution". (Emphasis mine—RP).

Benjamin repeats his slander that "the process of getting power is to be peaceful, legal, and parliamentary." There is not a suggestion in the AWP program that it is possible to secure state power thru peaceful, legal and parliamentary means. There are more than suggestions that power can be secured only thru revolutionary means. Chapter V emphasizes the necessity of mass action, of leading strikes, of directing "every force of social unrest, every protest against suffering and poverty, every vague wish for a better ordered society, into a direct attack on the present system itself, into a will to achieve and hold power and to administer that power in the genuine interests of a free society of workers", and on page 46 appears the statement that "A Bourbon class, whether blue blooded or gold lined, never has the sense to retreat when its continuance in power become a social liability".

The statement that "no parliamentary triumphs can insure the victory of a workers' democracy", which, to most users of the English language clearly suggests the inadequacy of parliamentary methods, and the necessity of other methods, means to Benjamin that more parliamentarism is needed.

Verbal Violence

Benjamin asks "Why not arm the masses to resist the counter-revolution?" He is referred to that part of the AWP program which states that "Against the forces of reaction, seeking to recall the old order, the workers must fight with every weapon to establish their own democracy", and to the already quoted sentence, "Against capitalist legality, serving the interest of a bankrupt minority, must be set revolutionary legality, resting on the will of the overwhelming majority". Are the words "every weapon" not inclusive enough for comrade Benjamin, or does his penchant for verbal violence require bloodcudling language which says no more but is more melodramatic?

Benjamin asks "Why not break up the whole bureaucratic apparatus, the whole parliamentary form of the capitalist state, so that it can not be used by the former ruling class?" He is invited to reread the AWP program and to observe the following on page 13: "It (the AWP) proposes not simply to step into state office, into the Presidency and Congress, but to do away entirely with the present basis of state power. It recognizes openly that the actual control of state power must always be

in the hands of those who own and control the basic social and economic institutions. It therefore proposes that that ownership and control should be taken from the hands of bankers and industrialists, and be put where it belongs, in the hands of the workers and the other elements of society."

Mutual Blindness

Benjamin's misrepresentation that the AWP maintains that by winning the Presidency and Congress with AWP candidates "you have its concept of a workers' state" is refuted by page 45 of the AWP program, wherein it is pointed out that "Naturally, the party will not expect to carry through its program simply by gaining a Congressional majority . . . Success in elections will put Party members in position . . . to show publicly the real nature of government policies". In other words, one purpose of securing election to office will be to use the parliamentary rostrum as a public forum, and party members will use parliamentary office not to secure reelection, but to expose the capitalist system.

And as to a dictatorship of the proletariat: Our "Marxist" Benjamin is not satisfied with the term "workers' democracy". When some Marxist groups use the term "dictatorship of the proletariat" they follow its use with the explanation that "dictatorship of the proletariat" means "workers' democracy", but when the AWP uses the term "workers' democracy" instead of what has been defined as a synonym of the term, fault is found with the AWP for not coming out for the "dictatorship of the proletariat."

Benjamin, who represents a group which makes much of the necessity for the use of American terms in propagating the revolutionary message to American workers, finds much of the AWP's "centrism" and "reformism" in its use of American terminology.

The lying inferences made by Benjamin when he says the AWP presents the new state as interested in peace, security and happiness for the capitalist class, is refuted on page 15 of the AWP program, where the statement appears that ". . . socialization of the means of production injures only the small handful of financiers, landlords, and industrialists whose private control of the productive resources of the country is now and will continue to be the source of hunger, eviction, unemployment, and insecurity for the great bulk of the people."

It is plain that Benjamin has first adopted the premise that the AWP and its program must be wrong, and then has set out diligently to prove that he is right. Not being able to discover any fundamental errors in the program, he immediately began reading "errors" into it. As an "old and experienced Marxist" he knows that these errors should be there. And presto! they are there.

Although the AWP program, in certain places, is not as clear and specific as it should be, the explanation for the unfriendly attitude toward the AWP on the part of many radicals is undoubtedly the conviction held by them that it is impossible for a movement which is predominantly American to be revolutionary. If the AWP or any other revolutionary movement which is indigenous to this country, overthrows capitalism and constructs a cooperative economy, it will be damned as counter-revolutionary by these self-styled Marxists.

The method, the dogma, is the thing; the objective is secondary, and maybe inconsequential, according to these purists.

the prospect of being subjected to the indignity of the "medical examination," they appealed to the International Labor Defense for aid. Though Miss Booth had formerly been a member of the C.P. her activities going to jail, the I.L.D. refused to help the girls. Austin Lewis of A.C.L.U. is handling the case.

Von Papen Talk Shows Fascist Rift

(Continued from Page 4)

political history it was clear from the start that this time-serving weakling was acting as the agent and spokesman of others. Left to himself the Vice Chancellor would never have had the courage to throw the gauntlet to the National Socialist government. That President Hindenburg sent him a congratulatory telegram on the day after his speech, gave the answer to the riddle. Hindenburg and the German Nationalist clique behind them together with the industrialist group had given the signal for attack and did as he was asked.

The Chasm Grows

Had this been otherwise Hitler would have accepted Papen's resignation on the following day. That he permitted him to remain in office and went to Neudeck on the following day to discuss the situation with the President proves that the National Socialist regime feels its strength seriously endangered. Germany's finances are in extremely bad shape. Its foreign credit is nil. The last word in the moratorium has not been spoken, and it is more than likely that Schacht will have to come to terms with Germany's creditors after all.

The economic position of the masses is becoming worse from week to week. The awakening which expressed itself so emphatically in the recent shop elections is making itself felt all along the line. Terrorist justice and death and prison sentences are a sign of weakness not of strength of the fascist government. The peasants are dissatisfied, the middle class feels that it has been cheated and even the SA, the Brown Army of the Nazis, is becoming more unreliable from day to day.

Under these conditions it is not surprising that the German Nationalists and monarchists should believe that the time for action has come. Hitler and his followers will try to cover up the rift as best they can, will make an effort to minimize the differences between them. But the chasm will grow. Fascism offers no cure for capitalist ills—that the German people will learn to understand—not this month or next, but after a few more years of needless suffering.

Radical Interludes

(Continued from Page 5)

this grateful act, might they not take it unkindly? And Heavens! might they not so far forget themselves as to hurl a brick at Mr. Thomas himself? Undoubtedly supposing by doing so, that the temper of Mr. Thomas's radicalism might be toughened, its militancy heightened and the general tone of the man rendered a bit less peaceful and persuasive.

AND this unfortunate defense somewhat ill-timed, too. The front page of the same issue of the Baltimore Evening Sun is loud with these headlines:

NATIONAL GUARD BATTLES HUGE MOB WITH DRAWN BAYONETS AND MACHINE GUNS, GAS BOMBS . . .

Why shouldn't Mr. Thomas apply some of his talents to the peaceful persuading of the officers and members of the National Guard who are not only too apt, I fear, to overlook legal methods in the performance of their sometimes ungentlemanly duties?

They wouldn't listen to him? But workers who face machine guns, pooh-pooh at gas bombs, battle bloodily with thugs, police and soldiers in defense of their right to live, to wear clothing and to feed their children would be just as impatient with him. Mr. Thomas in the midst of the Ohio melee, peacefully persuading everybody but the dead and wounded to go home and wait for the workings of the legal method would be somewhat unconvincing, I fear. He might even be insulted.

For this is one of the aspects of Mr. Thomas that makes the wilder element wild.

How Did You Answer Them?

(Questions on Page 4)

1. Potentially, yes. He is making his appeal to the small shop-keepers and the farmers of the south, primarily, but at the same time maintains close relations with some of the largest financial and utility magnates. Long has been a force for weakening labor in New Orleans.

2. Because there are no "ladies"—or "gentlemen" either, for that matter—on the picket lines, at relief or eviction demonstrations. The excitement of a good fight cancels good manners. To the next cop who throws a tear-bomb your way, try saying, "I beg your pardon?"

Once, during an eviction demonstration of the Lehigh County section of the Leagues, a Woman's Auxiliary member banged a particularly mean landlady on the eye and was only restrained from setting to work on her hair, face and clothing by the arm of the law. "Take your hands offa me!" she yelled at the cop.

"Try acting like a lady," the cop suggested.

"Act like a lady—hell! I'm a woman and my husband is a worker. Leave go of me, and I'll show you."

He let go. And she showed him.

profits to a few that the masses did not have the purchasing power to buy back the flooded goods which they had produced. The so-called New Deal set about to remedy this situation. One of the things it did was to tell the employers to organize, and to continue to operate for private profits!

The "New Deal's" intent to bring about substantial improvements in the condition of the workers and at the same time keep the profit system going, is an attempt to ride two horses going in opposite directions.

It can't be done.

4. From \$5,000 to \$20,000 a year. None of the estimates place the figure at less than \$5,000 for each adult over 18. Rodger Babson, the capitalist economist, places it at \$10,000. The Technocrats say \$20,000. This is on the basis of a short work week, with industry freed from finance capital and operated to produce for use, instead of for the "market," as at present.

WHY WE MUST BUILD NON-PARTISAN DEFENSE ORG.

San Francisco.—Two members of the Communist League, Eleanor Booth and Florence Wils, arrested here recently on a charge of "vagranacy" for distributing radical literature among striking longshoremen, have been released on bail. While under arrest and facing

NEW BOOKS

THE ROBBER BARONS. By Matthew Josephson. Harcourt, Brace & Co. \$3. 453pp.

Undeniably this book is a splendid introduction to the activities of the capitalistic thieves of the post-Civil War period who wasted the natural resources of the country and exploited its workers for their own private profit in the process of organizing a national industrial economy.

Vividly written, dramatically presented, the book gives us the gross and sensual Jim Fisk putting over with Drew and Gould the Erie steal on Vanderbilt, keeping his women not on Park Avenue but in the very office building where the Erie headquarters lay, hiring gunmen to protect himself, Gould and Drew against Vanderbilt's mob, and finally, apparently, double-crossed by the slippery and ubiquitous Gould.

Or there is Drew sniveling his prayers to God and pretending to leave his money to a seminary while milking the Erie, cheating the stock-holders and letting the railroad fall into such a stage of disrepair that "Erie Massacre" meant to newspaper readers workers killed and trains wrecked.

Josephson does not cover all monopolies or personalities of the period, Havemeyer of the Sugar Trust for instance. But he presents a fair enough sampling from all over the country—the Hills, Huntingtons, and Harrimans of the Far West, the Carnegies, Fricks and Rockefellers of the Middle West, and the Morgans, Cookes, and Vanderbilts of the East—to indicate that the process of robbing was independent of place and position.

The theory of industrial monopoly capitalism, preceding finance capitalism, and Josephson's own theory of the "narrows" unite the particular cases. These men built a national economy, killing off definitely the small entrepreneur; and they did it by taking a strategic point in the course of an industrial process and by working in both directions creating a monopoly.

Undeniably this book is a splendid introduction. . . . But why was it written? Despite the number of anecdotes it contains too many statistics and detailed factual data to interest the great mass of workers. It has nothing that a student of the period has not already known. A book-of-the-month it was evidently written for an articulate section of the middle class. Perhaps as a funeral song, perhaps as a remembrance of forgotten glories. Yet this must be the reason why it is sicklied o'er so very often with that Lippmannesque cast of "fairness" and "impartiality" which is so irritating when it is recalled exactly what these men did and what could have been done more efficiently and more humanely under a different economic system.

O. R. FUSS

VAN KLECK AND COAL

Miners and Management. By Mary van Kleck. Russell Sage Foundation. New York. Price \$2.00.

The conclusion of Mary Van Kleck on the subject of coal is what the contention of the enlightened labor movement has been for several decades; namely, that only by socialization of the coal mining industry, as part of the general socialization of all industries, is offered the practical method for the solution of the problems inherent in the weakest link of the chain of capitalist economy.

Her book deals with two parts. One, an analysis of the union-management cooperative in the case of the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company of Colorado and the United Mine Workers; and two, a general analysis of the national state of coal, its problems and solution.

The part dealing with the class collaboration scheme leaves much to be desired. The story of how the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company embarked upon the "Roche Plan" is incomplete. From my ob-

servations (I was working in the mines in Colorado when the plan was inaugurated) the recognition of the U.M.W. of A. became effective when the I.W.W. challenged the control of that situation. What took place between the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company and the U.M.W.A. is identical to what took place recently in the case of the Progressive Miners in Illinois, and the National Miners Union in Utah and the new miners' union in the anthracite region—the U. M. W. of A. became an official strike-breaking organization and a capable substitute for coal company gangsters.

The "benevolence" of the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company, so strikingly inferred by van Kleck in comparison with other coal companies, was not shown when that coal company deliberately murdered four adherents of the I.W.W. at the Columbine Mine. If the company reformed as an aftermath of the bloody ordeal, it was not shown when the families of the murdered miners filed claims in various courts for compensation. Josephine Roche successfully defeated the claimants.

The second part of the book is as brilliant as the first part is incomplete. Here we have a staunch defender of the human element in coal. Miss van Kleck has studiously diagnosed the case of coal and laid bare the wanton waste, suffering, slavery and avarice imposed by the private owners of one of our countries most important basic industries.

Her repudiation of the theory of nationalization as out of date and unworkable, is as intelligent an analysis as I have read on the subject. Nationalization is no longer a popular slogan within the militant labor movement. It is interesting, however, to note that the Socialist Party still clings to the idea. To those Socialist workers whose conceptions of nationalization are somewhat vague van Kleck's Miners and Management is a source of enlightenment.

We have entered the era when labor should begin to assert definite revolutionary efforts for power. In the face of this development, it is important that we have at our command a summary of the specific weakness and faults of production under capitalism. With this equipment the working class will be better fixed to enter the socialist stage. If the Russell Sage Foundation undertakes to complete such a series for all industries, its existence will have been a real social contribution.

—GERRY ALLARD.

Nature Steps in, Helps AAA
Limit U.S. Crops - "It's Hell"

By TESS HUFF

Dr. E. W. Sheetz, director of emergency activities of the AAA—Agricultural Adjustment Administration—is speaking. The drought, he tells us, is a calamity. Crops in broad sections of the mid-west are literally burned up. More than 125,000 farm-families have been left, for a year at least, without food. Several hundred relief stations have been set up in Kansas, Texas, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Colorado, Wyoming and New Mexico. The AAA must spend some \$525,900,900 in addition to the money already provided for farm relief. Dr. Sheetz says "it is hell."

Mr. Roosevelt, who hastens to reassure the nation again, denies that there is danger of famine.

Just a week ago, we remember, AAA officials were saying that the drought was a great boon. Nature, uninvited, had simply stepped in and was lending a big hand to the AAA in its vast program of curtailing the production of grain.

The Big Farmer Gets His

When the "new deal" for the farmers got started, the farmers, most of them in rags, grown gaunt in the land of plenty, were gazing with hungry, angry eyes upon their mortgaged abundance. They were striking, resisting foreclosures, defying sheriffs and judges. The mortgage debt was tremendous, farm produce brought nothing, and the farmers were apparently doomed, caught inextricably between the bankers and the middle-men.

But temporarily the farm revolt was halted. Emergency money was thrown into the West and South, the domestic allotment plan was put into effect to limit production, and the farmers were promised price increases. Roosevelt reassured the farmers and pleaded for patience, until the farm program could be put into effect. It is very well known that up to now the farm population has been held in check largely by faith in Roosevelt. Somehow, they have been hoping, he will save them.

But today this hope is less bright than it was.

The NRA has increased prices on everything that farmers have to buy. Recently a farmer's wife wrote to a newspaper, complaining that "the price of overalls has increased more than double." It is a notorious fact that the big farmers are getting the breaks, while the tenant farmers, dirt farmers and agricultural laborers are gradually being squeezed from the land. They are the millions

who constitute the "breadlines knee-deep in wheat." In South Carolina before they can get relief they must have a written order from the landlord. In the Cotton belt the tenant farmers are "now being reduced to an even lower plane than before," says a report. And in the West, as elsewhere, it is the big farmers who get the big government checks.

A Westerner, writing in the *New Republic*, says a rich rancher was flourishing a check for \$11,000 received from the government for not planting crops. Asked how much he had paid his farm workers for not planting the crops he replied that he wasn't paying them anything.

Speculators Happy

The fact that "big business" gets the breaks of the Roosevelt program, whether in the country or the city, is no surprise. Even the drought, which was hailed in the beginning as a boon, serves to further enrich the grain speculators and middle-men. Wheat and grain prices have shot upward, but the "carry-over" grain is already in the hands of the speculators, and they will get the big prices.

Bread prices, and practically all food prices, are mounting daily as a result of crop limitations and the drought. Prospects for middle-men profits are good. The attitude of big business was expressed by a Chicago grain speculator in words of satisfaction, "If the crops in other countries are damaged sufficiently, there will be no limit to the increase in prices."

Hell for Whom?

Dr. Sheetz, the emergency director for the AAA, is right, of course: the drought is hell. Whether he meant it was hell because his department is forced to keep 125,000 families from starving for the next year, or that it was hell to have nature step in and give the administration a hand in limiting crops, or that the farmers' hope that Roosevelt will somehow "save" them may not survive the effects of AAA and the drought, one cannot say. But we may be sure that the small dirt farmers and tenants, who are being squeezed from the land, and their fellow-workers in the cities, millions of whom have already been squeezed from the factories, cannot long be held in check by "reassurances" from Roosevelt. Unless and until they raise some hell on their own account, the New Deal leaguers will continue to show breaks for big business, including the big farmers. That much, at least, seems sure.

BOOK SERVICE

A real bargain we offer you this time, Sidney Hook's brilliant contribution to radical literature, "Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx; a revolutionary interpretation."

Everybody is talking Marx now, both those who know something about him, and those who don't. All LABOR ACTION readers, certainly, should be in the former group. As Comrade Hook puts it: "The challenge of Marx's ideas to our contemporary social order is so fundamental and pervasive that every intelligent person must now define his attitude towards them."

So much praise has been given this book, that we needn't review it again. If you want to read what the critics said, send for the leaflet we have.

Because of our connection with the author, a member of the P.O. C. of the American Workers Party, we are able to make a special, though limited, offer as follows: List price of book \$2.50
3 mos. sub to Labor Action25

\$2.75

and you may have both for \$2.00. If you already subscribe to the paper, you may substitute any 25 pamphlet on our Book List for the sub.

Send for the complete Book List.

MANAGER SPEAKS

Did I get left last time, and how! I trailed in with the Manager's column two hours after the Editor had gone to the printer's to make up the paper, and when I phoned was told "This will be a lesson to you."

I replied that the manager's readers, panting for last-minute reports on the subscription campaign, would suffer, and hung up.

However, I haven't been deluged with telegrams, so I begin to wonder if I don't need a vacation. If I weren't here to bawl you out each time, maybe you'd send in more subs. Is it a bargain?

I began my lost column by asking "If it takes 2/3 of the subscription campaign period to secure 1/5 of the total quota, how many minutes per day must YOU put in to help get the remaining 4/5 of the quota in the remaining 1/3 of time?"

Figure it out yourself, but anyway, rush the rest of those subs in before

August First

Yup. All things considered, it has been decided to extend the campaign period until the end of July. That will give us a chance to write branches and Vanguard members again giving them final hell, and will allow branches, over-worked the past month with defense fund appeals for Ohio and Illinois labor struggles, time to catch up on those subs they have been meaning to get all the time. But July 31st midnight is positively the last minute of the campaign!

There are at least 20 comrades eligible for prizes in the Vanguard group, made up of those who are securing 10 or more subs. Several, however, have asked that their names not be printed. In fairness to all, therefore, no names will be printed, but you'll be hearing from me presently!

I want to make a special appeal here to the New Reader, the comrade or friend who has recently come to know LABOR ACTION, or who reads this for the first time. We earnestly solicit your cooperation in the final month of the campaign. You may join the Vanguard and be eligible for the prize, which is any \$2.50 book of your choice if you send in the largest number of subs. The most sent in by anyone to date is 20, and a little work on your part could better that record.

LABOR ACTION pleads its own cause. Read its columns. Such a fearless and fighting paper is needed at this critical hour, and should command every bit of help you can give it in any of a dozen ways. Write in! CARA COOK

CONAWOPA OPENS

The Colony House, Crompond, N. Y.—Everything is set for the opening of Camp Conawopa June 30. With a list of noted speakers a yard long, the camp, under the direction of Walter E. Peck and Oliver Carlson, features outdoor sports and classes in revolutionary economics.

Speakers listed for the summer, several of whom will spend a week at the camp, giving lectures daily, are Sidney Hook, Ernest Sutherland Bates, Alfred Bingham, James Rorty, Irving Altman, Louis F. Budenz, Elliot Cohen, George S. Counts, Nathan Fine, Herman Gund, Felix Giordano, Oliver Carlson, James Burnham, Michael Blankfort, C. Hartley Grattan, J. B. S. Hardman, Munsey Gleaton, Scott Nearing, Tom Tippet, Walter E. Peck, Anthony Ramuglia, Ludwig Lore, Rabbi E. I. Israel, E. J. Lever, Karl Lore, Harold Loeb and A. J. Muste.

The second week-end Institute, July 7-8, will consider "The outlook and politics of American Revolutionary Groups and Parties."

SWITZERLAND

The Ecclesiastic Court of the Swiss National Church has entered its "emphatic protest" against the admission of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations.

Miners Fight to Dethrone
John L. Lewis, Writer Says

John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, rose to power through appointments and chicanery and not by the votes of the miners over whose union he sits today as a Czar, and the rank and file miners are fighting to dethrone him. This is the story told by Tom Tippet in "The Miners Fight their Leaders" in the June issue of the *American Mercury*.

Lewis played politics, built a machine, crushed opposition from every source, and today he is a "key man in the NRA, a big shot in the A. F. of L., a power behind the doors where it counts." He has never been in the habit of catering to the coal diggers.

Lewis Machine

Ruthlessly building his political machine, relying upon "Lewis men" and union funds, he has contributed to the degeneration of the once powerful, class-conscious miners union, and has been the chief sort spot in the movement. The inner conflicts, splits and fights center around Lewis, his autocracy and efforts to end his

rule.

Tippet relates how Lewis wages war on the Progressive Miners in Illinois, with the help of the operators.

Little for Labor

The new unions are identical with the U.M.W. of A., and represent efforts to get rid of Lewis, he writes.

Caring little for labor, but being "cunning and smart," and "tossing around big words that the miners can't understand" he is pictured as a powerful but dangerous man in the labor movement, who has in the past used every questionable means to retain power over the miners without considering their desires in the matter. The article takes Lewis over the coals.

The author, Tom Tippet, was one of the founders of the CPLA, and is a member of the Provisional Organizing Committee of the American Workers Party.

SOMETHING TO DO

Build the American Workers Party in your section. Have your friends subscribe to Labor Action.