

LABOR ACTION

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Leagues Open Convention

Old-Line AFL Leaders Play "Safe" While the Frisco Strike Collapses

Employees Seen Winning, City Launches Drive Against Militants

(By Special Correspondent)
SAN FRANCISCO.—With a blaze of anti-red hysteria unparalleled since 1919-20 and to the accompaniment of protestations by conservative labor officialdom that the whole affair was mere intra-union strategy to force the hand of the militants and bring the situation under control of "responsible" union leadership, San Francisco's so-called general strike, one of the worst fiascos in recent American labor history, is at an end.

All unions, except those previously on strike and the Market Street Railway employees who have grievances of their own, have gone back to work. Union teamsters are now not only hauling general merchandise about the city but also cargo to and from the docks.

Locals of the International Longshoremen's Association up and down the coast, though still fighting and still backed up by the nine maritime unions also remaining on strike, realize that their backs are to the wall and are preparing to vote upon the question of submitting all demands, including that of union control of hiring halls, to arbitration. The balloting will be under the supervision of President Roosevelt's National Longshoremen's Board. Acceptance of arbitration, a partial if not complete victory for the shipowners, seems assured.

Was Not a General Strike
The four-day "general strike" which began on Monday, July 16, and induced one of the worst cases of jitters this city has experienced since the days of the famous earthquake and fire was actually not a general strike at all. For only the one day was the general public subjected to any serious inconvenience. This took the form primarily of having to walk to work as no street cars were running. By the following morning the municipal carmen had been ordered back by the Labor Council's general strike committee.

No Food Shortage
Though reports were broadcast by press and radio throughout the nation that women and children were starving and that a state of mass insurrection existed, the food supply was never threatened for a moment, and violence was at the lowest ebb since the walkout of the longshoremen on May 9. Deliveries of milk, bread, and ice to homes, and garbage disposal were never interfered with. Hospitals and public institutions were assured of regular services. Physicians and the police and fire departments were provided with gasoline. While gas stations were closed to the general public, motorists had little difficulty in obtaining ample gasoline merely by driving across the county line. Food in the stores, with the exception of fresh meats and vegetables, was plentiful. In anticipation of a complete tie-up, San Francisco larders, except those of poverty-

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A.A. Leaders Hear Muste In Pittsburgh

AWP Chairman Speaks In Toledo, Allentown and Bryn Mawr

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Several of the leaders of the progressive element in the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers were in the audience of more than one hundred workers who attended an open meeting of Pittsburgh Branch A.W.P. on Friday, July 13.

Chairman Muste of the A.W.P. spoke on the significance of recent struggles such as Toledo, Minneapolis and San Francisco. In answer to questions, he contended that the progressives and militants in the A.A. must organize themselves if they are successfully to meet the onslaught of the steel bosses and avoid being out-manoeuvred by such men as Mike Tighe and William Green as they have been in the past.

TOLEDO, Ohio.—Fifty delegates of Unemployed Leagues in Lucas and surrounding counties met on Monday afternoon, July 15, at Lucas Co. U.L. headquarters here. Reports indicated real progress in organization work is being made. Great enthusiasm was shown in the preparations for the Ohio and the National Unemployed League Conventions. By invitation, A. J. Muste addressed the delegates, laying special stress on the growing

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NOTICE!

To All Members and Sympathizers of the American Workers Party:

The new, revised, and enlarged edition of the draft program of the American Workers Party is now ready for the printer. The publication of this program is an essential step in the building of the party. The program itself is a document of profound importance in the development of the revolutionary movement in this country. It must be published immediately. But to publish it money is needed, and the money is not on hand.

We appeal to you to send contributions toward the printing of the pamphlet, large and small, at once to the National Office, 112 East 19th St., New York City.

Textile Workers Are Sick of NRA, Strikes Indicate

(Special to Labor Action)
NEW YORK—The strike of 20,000 Alabama textile workers and the many local conflicts in every section of the country and in every division of the industry prove again that the fake strike "settlements" of the NRA in reality mean nothing for the workers but a delay in the fight to win a better standard of living.

The workers in the mills had become sick of the textile code soon after its adoption. After a survey of its operation made late in 1933, George Googe, representative of the A. F. of L. had declared that "no mill that I know of is living up to the code". The stretch-out had been made increasingly unbearable with weavers tending from 100 to 150 looms in many cases. The industrial relations boards which had been set up for

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One Million Persons Represented by 750 Gathering in Columbus

Plan Gigantic UL March in Pennsylvania

Part-Time Workers To Join In Demands On Legislature

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—Preparations are actively under way for a gigantic march of unemployed and part-time workers of Pennsylvania upon Harrisburg, the capital city, to force the state legislature to make appropriations and adopt adequate measures for the relief of unemployment and its attendant problems. The march is being initiated by the Pennsylvania Unemployed League, which selected a committee of 22, known as the March to Harrisburg Committee, to call a joint conference of all labor, farmer and working-class organizations in the Keystone State which shall prepare the program and organize the march.

The preliminary March to Harrisburg Conference will be held in Harrisburg on August 12, and the march proper is expected to take place early in September. Calls have been sent out to the United Workers Federation, the Pennsylvania Security League, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, American Federation of Silk Workers, and numerous other unemployed, union and fraternal groups in the state to participate in this conference.

The State Must Act
Sentiment for the march has been heightened to fever pitch by

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Ohio Meet Ends July 29, National Body Convenes July 30

COLUMBUS, Ohio.—"How did you get here?"

"However I could."

"How are you going to get back?"

"However I can."

Delegates who have gone through five years of depression know how to travel. Footing it, hitching it, riding it, they are pouring into Columbus today from towns, villages, hamlets and cities. Wherever there is an unemployed league—and they dot this state like prairie-dog towns in Texas—the members have sent their spokesmen.

"What a lot of people," a nicely dressed woman, who passed on the other side of the street, exclaimed. "What are they doing here?"

NRA A Washout
Unfortunately for her she didn't hang around. Which was just as well, for the lady's ear would have curled up when William R. Truax, one of the best speakers in Ohio and president of the state leagues, struck the keynote of the convention. Few people realize how the New Deal has failed the unemployed man. The thing is a washout.

Delegates are still arriving. The state convention will end tomorrow (Sunday). Most of the men and women are old heads at this, they know how to wade through a lot of work in two days. And judging by the grim, busy atmosphere, as the leagues get down to business in the Ogden Theatre, where the meeting is being held, the slate will be cleared for the opening of the second annual convention of the National Unemployed League on Monday, July 30.

NUL Delegates Arriving
Delegates to the National Convention began arriving this morning. Anthony Ramuglia, president of the national organization, arrived here from Pennsylvania several days ago. The convention will last for three days, the delegates will be housed and fed, and that is pretty remarkable in these days.

"How many do you expect?" Arnold Johnson, the National Secretary, was asked. He and his comrades of the Franklin County League in Columbus had just completed the miracle of making the arrangements.

"The number of delegates now expected to attend will be around 750", he said. "We would like to have more, but due to transportation difficulties over long distances and the fact that the membership of the leagues is from that section of American labor which is not accustomed to traveling on freight trains, we expect 750. A number of states have written to the NUL office expressing regrets that they cannot come to the convention but expressing solidarity with the NUL."

700 Locals Affiliated
There are over 700 local leagues affiliated with the NUL, involving a total membership of approximately one million persons. The league strongholds are Ohio, Penn-

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Workers Party Greet the Leagues

The American Workers Party extends fraternal greetings to the convention of the Ohio Unemployed League meeting in Columbus, Ohio, on July 28-29, and to the convention of the National Unemployed League meeting in the same city on the three following days. In this crucial period for the American labor movement, these conventions are of the greatest importance.

The American Workers Party, outgrowth of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, has from the beginning given its support to the Unemployed Leagues, local, state and national, as non-partisan fighting economic organizations. Branches and members of the A.W.P. have been instrumental in the founding of many of the Leagues, in their up-building and extension. They have sought to the best of their ability to inspire and help the Leagues to fight the battles of the unemployed intelligently and militantly.

The American Workers Party has insisted and will insist that the Leagues must be governed by their own membership acting in accordance with the constitution of the Leagues and the decisions of its conventions. They must not be subject to the dictation or domination of any outside body. That applies also to political parties and not least to the boss-parties, the Republican and Democratic, which especially in this election year will resort to any corrupt means in order to gain the support of the Leagues and their leaders and members.

All sections of the labor movement are deeply interested in the outcome of the great conventions of the unemployed being held in Columbus. What the

delegates to those conventions, representing the twelve million or more unemployed of the nation, do will affect the welfare of all the workers and farmers in this country.

Conscious of its solidarity with the unemployed, the American Workers Party points to some of the issues which must be faced by the Columbus gatherings:

1. **Charity, forced labor and peonage schemes must be ended forever and immediately.** That means that the OUL and NUL conventions must plan to institute cash payment for relief and cash payment for all work done in the U. S. whether under governmental or private auspices. Let American workers and farmers get relief and wages in the coin of the realm. Anything else is degrading, is forced labor, is peonage and is unconstitutional.

2. **We hold that the unemployed, as well as all other workers and farmers, should demand immediately an assured income of not less than \$30 per week and a maximum of not more than 30 hours.** The degradation of the standard of living must stop. All attempts by subsistence farm schemes and other devices to create a serf-class in this country must cease. Profits are going up, but the masses starve. Thirty dollars per week as an assured income for every wage-earner and farmer in the land is a modest demand.

3. **We must fight against the repression and terrorism which are being carried on by the bosses against organization work and strikes. We must demand unqualified and unlimited right of all work-**

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Mr. Carroway Brings Them Lots of Love, Indeed He Does!

Greensboro, N. C.

It is Friday night. The Court House is filled with the unemployed—men in tattered jeans, children dressed in dirty, faded smocks, women carrying small, underfed babies in their arms. In the corridors outside well-dressed city officials are restlessly pacing back and forth while they listen to R. R. Johnson, chairman of the Grievance committee.

Johnson is telling how he broke open the door of the city relief office. "It is a rule for that door to stay locked, but I opened it and it stayed open all day."

An old Negro rises to his feet: "Yes he opened that door and I got in after the door keeper told me I had no business in there. My visitor had told me I would not get any milk or medical attention for my sick boy. But when Brother Johnson and this committee walked in that office she just said 'have a seat uncle until I write out your order.'"

"What about old lady Speas saying we didn't go to Raleigh and demand an investigation into the distribution of relief in this state?" yells someone from the audience.

Presswood Speaks Up

Bill Presswood takes the floor. "Let her or any of the rest of that bunch of low down, crooked relief officials tell us we didn't go to Raleigh and we'll tell them they are liars!"

Johnson is up again. He clinches his fists, pounds the table until it dances, and says: "I have red blood running through my veins and that is what it takes to fight."

Workers Hear Muste Talks

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solidarity of the employed and unemployed workers.

In the evening Toledo Branch A.W.P. held a meeting which packed the Branch headquarters. Chairman Muste spoke on The Coming American Revolution, pointing out the present strike struggles are on a higher political plane than formerly.

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—More than one hundred workers gathered at an open meeting of the Allentown branch, American Workers Party at Lehigh Saengerbund Hall on July 11th. Art Preis, a member of the AWP, presided. Munsey Gleaton and Louis Breier spoke briefly.

The principle address of the evening was given by A. J. Muste, national chairman of the AWP who spoke on The Way Out for the Workers. Special interest was manifested in the outline of AWP policies in building mass organizations such as the Unemployed Leagues and stimulating them to militant activity while refraining from and opposing any attempts at mechanical domination.

Workers expressed their desire to attend more meetings of this nature sponsored by the AWP and the local Branch is at work arranging for a series of lectures in the near future.

BRYN MAWR.—Students and teachers of the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers in Industry gave an enthusiastic welcome at a meeting of July 11th to the description of the Toledo strike and an analysis of the tactics employed in that situation, as presented by A. J. Muste, national chairman of the AWP.

Great interest was further shown in the presentation of the Trade Union policy of the AWP—militant opposition to all class-collaborationist tendencies on the one hand, and to disruptionist tactics on the other.

Art Preis, of the Pennsylvania Unemployed League spoke briefly. Jane Ogden, member of the New York branch, AWP and chairman of the Student Council at Bryn Mawr, presided.

If anyone thinks I won't fight for my rights let this mess of not supplying food to hungry people continue and I will show them! Yes—we went to Raleigh and the case workers saw us and they are liars if they say they didn't see us."

The crowd cheers. Everyone begins shouting: "We are all ready!" The excitement grows and the city officials decide to go where the air is fresher—and milder.

A worker rises and points to a man with a wonderful bay window who has been standing meekly in a corner all this time. "Mr. Chairman," he says, "I move that we allow Mr. Carroway, who is running for the senate, to speak to us for a few minutes."

He "Loves" The Workingman There is a rising murmur of protest from the audience. Bill Presswood reminds them that politics are not permitted in the organization, but that it might be a good idea to hear what this man had to say, if the members so desire. "Let's see what he has to say," someone cries.

Like all politicians, Mr. Carroway "loves the workingman" and "when I get elected to office I am going to do all in my power to give the workingman a fair chance. I am going to stop some of this dirty work in Washington. . ."

"What's your program?" Oh, didn't he outline that? Well, he must have forgotten it. He sits down rubbing perspiration from his face and neck.

Presswood is up again. "He didn't tell us what he thought of unemployment insurance. . ."

"Oh, I believe in that," says Mr. Carroway.

Another member asks Mr. Carroway to explain the causes of unemployment.

After swallowing hard and nervously adjusting a wilted collar, he says: "Why friends, that requires some thought. But I should say off hand that the main cause of unemployment is investment of our money in foreign countries."

We Want A Party Of Our Own Another worker gets up and

says: "We have got to have our own political party of the working people. All the old parties are rotten. They are not doing anything for us. We want a party of our own."

"Mr. Carroway," he continues, "did I ever see you on the picket line out in High Point? Last summer when unemployed leaders were arrested and charged with inciting to riot during a strike of the unemployed, did you assist them in getting bond, Mr. Carroway?"

"I have always done all in my power for the working man," says Mr. Carroway.

But Presswood says: "When this man gets to Washington and sends his secretary to meet a delegation of us from this state, we will let him know what he can do for the workingman."

"He might be like the relief officials are lately," says Woods, chairman of the League. "They knew I had been living in a shack not fit for cows to live in, but they never said anything until last week when the unemployed demanded an investigation into housing conditions. Then one of the relief officials came around and suggested that I get a decent house to live in. 'Your family should not live in such a shack,' she said. And why did she say that? Because the relief board wants to be able to point my decent house out to the workers when I am telling them of how they are forced to live. If we were not organized do you think she would have cared how we live, or what we said about it? No."

We Are Organized

"But we are organized and we are forcing an investigation into the distribution of relief and the housing conditions of the unemployed in this state. That, Mr. Carroway, is the way the workers get things done. That is the way we are going to clean up the dirt in this state—yes, and in Washington, too. By mass pressure."

"And does it work? Why, the director of relief calls for a body guard whenever one of our committees goes in to see her!"

The meeting closes after an invitation from High Point delegates to attend a re-organization of their league is received and a full turnout is promised.

Worker Correspondent

Boycott Swift-Armour; Heroes Of "Battle of Toledo" Carry On

Toledo, Ohio.

The Swift Armour and Company strike is in its seventh week, but the company, the Central Labor Union and the Committee of 23 have refused to recognize it. The Lucas County Unemployed League at the request of the rank and file committee of strikers is helping to maintain a mass picket line reinforced by a heavy boycott initiated by the Ohio and Pennsylvania Unemployed Leaguers against their community grocers who dare to sell scab products. Although the company has ignored the strike, it was forced to go to the sub-regional labor board and demand that something be done about the "terrible boycott" which has made a serious dent in Swift Armour business.

Sam Pollock, militant Unemployed Leaguer and one of the heroes of the "Battle of Toledo" was beaten up by a scab salesman who made sure he had first broken Pollock's glasses. A whole convoy of scab truck drivers ganged a young strikers and beat him unconscious.

Reactionary officials of the Butcher's Union are powerless to end the strike. The militant rank and filers are demanding to be allowed to sit in on negotiations and take an active part in the final settlement.

The Toledo car men, aroused to militancy by the bravery and strength of their fellow-workers in the Auto-Lite and Armour plants, are meeting to take action on the deplorable working conditions in the transit service. A strike vote is expected in the very near future.

Unemployed workers in Lucas county have just received the slickest direct relief cut ever levied. The authorities have changed the weekly grocery order system to a bi-monthly one. But they figure the twice-a-month order by merely multiplying the weekly order by two, which accounts for only 28 days in the month. This amounts to an 8 to 10 percent direct cut in relief.

Ramsey and Bossler, officials of the Auto Workers Federal Union are being viciously used by the bosses of the Auto-Lite company to knife the union and destroy its effectiveness. Strikers are being discriminated against by a double-crossing interpretation of the June 4th agreement and the militant rank and file committee is bringing pressure to bear against Ramsey-Bossler and Company, sell-out artists.

At a long delayed business meeting of the AWFU, the motion to accept Sam Pollock, fighting leader of the left-wing element, into the union was put off for four hours by slick juggling of parliamentary procedure. Finally, when the officials realized that the militant group meant business, Bossler, the chairman, left the hall without adjourning the meeting and chaos followed.

The company's knifing policy came to a climax when the most aggressive union men were laid off in direct violation of the June 4 agreement. The rank and filers, having had enough of the "Ramsey-Bossler and Auto-Lite merry-go-round" got out a petition demanding the fulfillment of the

IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LORE

In July 1930 I was in Elizabethton, Tennessee. The workers in the great rayon plants of the Bemberg-Glanzstoff corporation had fought heroically to establish their local organization of the United Textile Workers. Three times they had gone out on strike only to be driven back to work by trickery, the National Guard, broken agreements and the cowardice of union representatives.

They were bitter against the union then. The workers, typical southern mountain people, were threatening to make it hot for any union organizers who would dare to poke his nose into the city. The strike itself, exceedingly scanty from the beginning had petered out altogether and no help of any kind was being sent in by the national union. The U.T.W. organizer had sneaked out of town one dark night without letting any one know he was leaving and hadn't been seen since.

WELFARE TRICKS

The company, on the other hand was using the opportunity for all it was worth. An elaborate employee representation plan had been set up, a swimming pool was in construction, baseball teams, parties and banquets were being provided for. I attended a monster July 4 celebration arranged and paid for by the rayon mills. And against this overwhelming employer-welfare offensive, the local union president could offer nothing more than to "wait till the company cuts its own throat".

In view of all this it is the more interesting to learn that in these huge rayon plants organization is again making rapid strides and that the drive to enroll the textile workers into U.T.W. local No. 2207 is receiving widespread response. And they have learned something from the earlier fights. At that time the workers saw the importance of political action when a friendly sheriff was forced out of office by the rayon corporation and the Chamber of Commerce. Now comes the word that the textile workers have taken the first step in a program of class political action. In a recent election they captured the city government. The entire police force has been fired and the city manager left town without even waiting to be given the gate.

UNION LABEL WOOL

With agricultural strikes breaking out in various places, it is of interest to see the development of unionism among another group of those who work beneath the open sky away from factory smoke and noise. The 1,500 sheepshearers, a picturesque army, last of the nomadic tribe which helped to write the saga of the West, are finishing the last lap of their annual journey through thirteen states, following the herds. Starting from Arizona in March they ride and walk with their shears, combs, clippers, wives and children from one district to another to clip the wool for next winter's overcoats and underwear.

Their organization is the Sheepshearers Union of North America. At the beginning of the 1934 season in Arizona they struck solidly and were successful in tying up

strike agreement.

Union officials and the company have been warned that unless action is taken there will be another strike. The element which is fighting for the rights promised in the June 4 agreement is that group of active workers who lead the "Battle of Toledo". Floyd Bossler, the official of the AWFU who is being paid \$200 a month by the administration of Mayor Solon ("solong") Klotz of Toledo, for a small timekeeper's job, and Ramsey, together with the heads of the Auto-Lite Company know that the union men are not green, but rather, veterans of one of the greatest labor struggles in history. These men can not and will not take it, because they are not afraid to fight.

Worker Correspondent

all operations for over forty days. There was also a strike in Texas during the year and organization work is still proceeding there.

Only the strongest and keenest survive in the business. Of those who start only 10 per cent answer the roll call ten years later, according to A.A. Evans, president of the S.U.N.A. He also prophesies that before the season of 1935 the workers will be solidly organized into the union which is affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

"INDEPENDENT" UNIONISM

The capitalist press gave a great deal of space recently to the organization of the "Brotherhood of Railroad Shop Crafts of America" an allegedly independent union of railroad shop workers. It was to be an industrial union composed of 108 individual organizations. In reality, however, it was a last desperate effort by the ultra-reactionaries of the Pennsylvania and other railroads to keep the bogeyman of real unionism away from the door. The shop unions of the A. F. of L. have made considerable inroads on the workers in the shops. The company unions have been shown up completely. Then Joseph B. Eastman, railroad coordinator had ruled that company unionism on the roads was contrary to the provisions of the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act. Companies were not to be allowed to set up and finance these fakes. Further, development of a national organization was necessary under the new Rail Labor Act which requires a union to be national before it can be recognized by the Board of Adjustment set up by that legislation.

So the railroads brought out twenty dummy representatives, told them what to do and how to do it and came out with a brand-new national union for the shop workers. L. T. Henderson, high-powered press agent for the Pennsylvania directed the birth of the Brotherhood and managed the publicity campaign which made the front pages all over the country. The Wall Street Journal admitted with more frankness than tact that the new outfit was only a false-face for the old company unions.

One feature of the Brotherhood, however, is new and shows again the consummate gall of railroad management. In the old days the company at least paid the bills for the organization which did such a good job for it. Under the new set up the men who may be bamboozled and terrorized into joining it will pay dues to keep the company union going.

LOUIS ADAMIC

It is a pity that Louis Adamic had to write the article "Company Unions and the A. F. of L." in the "Nation" of July 18. Coming two weeks after his splendid story of the steel background which was printed in the same magazine, Adamic tries to draw conclusions as to the situation in the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. He begins with a legitimate point, namely that the officialdom of the A.A. is yelling about company unionism largely in order to conceal its own bankruptcy. Then however, he goes off the deep end. "The A. F. of L. spellbinders", he says, "commenced to harp on them (company unions) and thus built them up in the workers' minds to an extent that thousands joined them because they were afraid that if they did not they would—according to the A. F. of L. union leaders whom they heard talk—lose their jobs." And from this he proceeds to the final absurdity that the A.A. officialdom acted "deliberately, consciously, intentionally" to help build up the company unions.

Certainly no one has fought the officers and the official policies of the Amalgamated harder than the AWP'ers in steel. But to state the case against them in this way is to help and not to weaken such leadership.

Convention of League Opens In Columbus

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sylvania, West Virginia and North Carolina. Other states with affiliations are Michigan, Kentucky, Connecticut, Indiana, California, Tennessee, New York, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas and Illinois. States asking the NUL to come in and organize are Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Florida, Colorado, Washington, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Virginia and North Dakota. After the National Secretary of the NUL had explained this, the miracle of feeding 750 delegates for three days appeared less of a miracle and more of a hard-boiled reality.

Mean Business

"The NUL is the recognized national organization of the unemployed," Johnson continued. "The members mean business."

"But what is the outlook?" he was asked. "What will be the future of the leagues?"

"The leagues will play an important role in the American Labor Movement until Capitalism is abolished and the workers take control. The present capitalist government is attempting one half-baked plan after another in an effort to pacify the unemployed, and to divide them from the employed. Yet it has demonstrated its inability to solve the problem."

"The NUL pointed this out at its convention last year, and the situation this year points it out more conclusively."

Solidarity With Employed

The leagues cannot solve the problem by themselves, but must work hand in hand with the whole working class. For over two years the leagues have supported the industrial workers and farmers in strikes and foreclosure sales, said Johnson.

"How many unemployed workers are there?" was the next question.

"For all practical purposes, the country may as well admit that more than 15 million workers are still on the rolls of the unemployed. Any careful census would place the number higher. There is no sense in saying a man is employed when he works only enough to keep him off the relief rolls!"

Relief Gets Worse

"Relief is better in some states this year than last year, to judge by the usual run of statements and figures. However, the total condition is actually worse. When a man has been unemployed for five years, he has exhausted all resources, and he has so undermined the health of himself and his family that a few more relief pennies mean nothing at all."

Most of the unemployed in the United States, Johnson said, are living on one cent per meal per person. Relief administrators do not dare claim they are giving adequate relief. They can only apologize.

Important Issues

Two important items of business coming before the national convention when it opens Monday will be to work out a policy for more complete and extensive solidarity between the unemployed and the employed, and to place the NUL on a national dues paying basis.

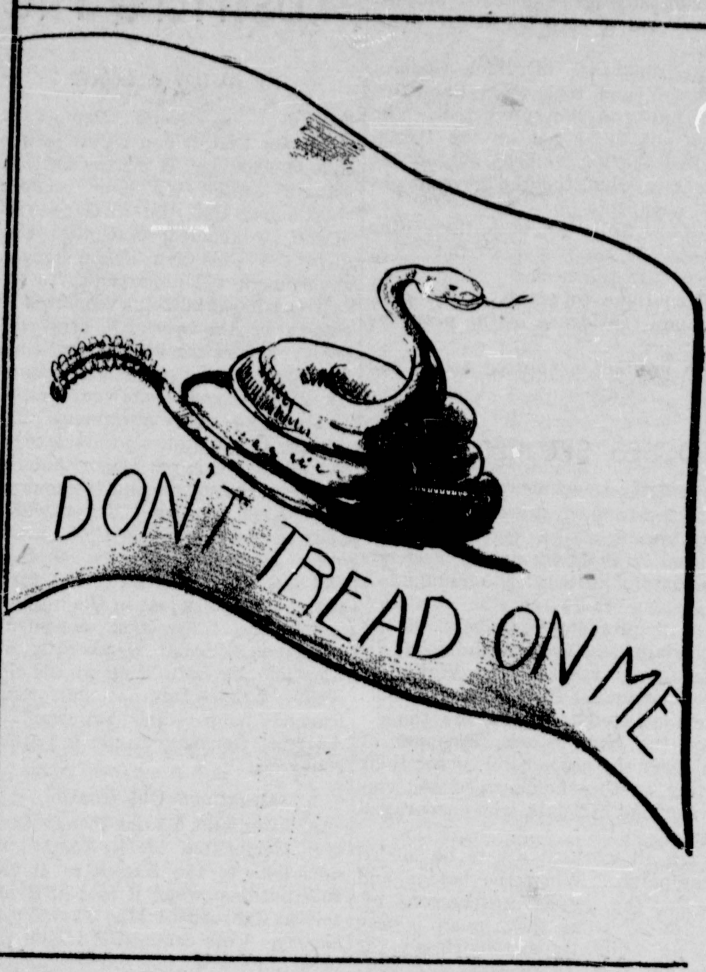
Question Box

See Answers on Page 4

1. In what country is there no unemployment?
2. Who said "No one has ever won anything by a strike?"
3. Who is president of the National Unemployed League?
4. Why is the working class the only revolutionary class in modern society?

If there is anything about the labor movement you want to know send your questions to the "Question Box" editor.

BANNER OF THE UNEMPLOYED LEAGUES



Abundance Is Possible, Yet 12 Million Are Jobless-Why?

By HARRY A. HOWE

At least 12 million workers in this country are still unemployed. Other millions have only part time jobs. And the living standard of all the workers, never really very high, is being steadily driven down to a mere subsistence level, the level of the relief dole. These are facts that no amount of "new deal" ballyhoo can hide—neither the angry sputterings of General Johnson about "subversive influences" nor the smiling words of Mr. Roosevelt. Tens of thousands of American citizens, at this very moment, are in dire want.

The Facts

"Let us face the facts," says an editorial in a recent issue of the Nation, liberal weekly, on the relief situation in New York City. "Let us think only of the one in seven who is destitute and must have help to keep from starving to death. Let us forget, for the moment, the perhaps two in seven who are on the ragged edge, but whose incomes are sufficient to make them ineligible for public help; let us forget the undernourished school children, the overcrowded tenements, the men in the municipal lodging-houses who do not, by any regulation, come under the head of possible candidates for relief. In order, by even the lowest standards of subsistence, properly to house and feed, not to mention clothing, one in seven in New York's population, we must spend three times what we are spending now, 30 times what we spent in 1929. And applications for relief increased at the rate of 1,500 a day for the first three weeks in May..."

This picture of the situation in New York City can be duplicated in every city in the country. Destitution or near destitution is the condition of perhaps one-fifth of the working class population in these United States. And that worker who is totally free from the nightmare of insecurity is indeed a rarity.

Yet Abundance Is Possible

Yet according to surveys of the productive capacity of this country conducted by competent engineers and economists, every person in the United States, every worker, could have all the food he needs, plenty of clothing, a good house in which to live; he could have a vacation of at least one month each year and at the most would not have to work more than 8 hours a day, five days a week; he could have the best of

medical and dental services, could go to the theatre and the movies whenever he wanted, and his children could educate themselves for whatever work they liked.

"We have the capacity to produce an abundance of almost everything," claim these authorities, "and it is a social crime that anyone in this country should have to suffer because of lack of any of the necessities."

Why Starvation?

Why this absurd contradiction, then? Why do millions of people have to go hungry, live in hovels, wear cast off clothing, go without the bare necessities, not to mention any of the comforts, when we could have an abundance of everything? We have plenty of factories. There is no lack of raw materials. The farmers can produce more than enough food. And there is no lack of ability to operate the productive plant—American workers are noted for their efficiency in handling machines.

The Answer

The answer is really simple. The factories, the mills, the mines—all the productive facilities of the country—are owned and controlled by a few individuals. These owners, the capitalists, only produce things when they can make a profit. The fact that you and I, millions of people, need clothing, a place in which to live and food, means nothing. The thing that makes the productive plant operate, that makes the "wheels of industry" turn, is not the need of people for goods but the ability of the owners to make profit.

But why can't they go on making profits? Because in order to make profits, they must have someone to buy their goods. When they can't sell their goods, then there is a depression. Warehouses are filled with shoes, and suits, and automobiles, and food—there is starvation in the midst of plenty.

And they can't sell their goods because the workers have not been paid enough wages to buy back what they produce.

The "Solution"

Well, then the solution is to pay the workers more wages, increase the purchasing power of the masses? Isn't that what Roosevelt said? Yes, but that is exactly what the owners will not do. Nor can they do it to any large extent and remain owners. Their very existence depends upon their ability to make profits, that is, to keep

(Continued on Page 4)

Leagues Need the Unions, and The Unions Need the Leagues

Must Join Together To Elevate Themselves Out Of Darkening Chaos

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

In the wave of strikes rolling over the United States, the organized jobless can play an important part. The history of the unemployed leagues indicates that they have already begun to do so. Toledo was not a mere incident. It was one climax along the road of united action between unemployed leagues and striking union workers.

Such cooperation between employed and unemployed is a development devoutly to be wished; that is as clear as the nose on Cyrano de Bergerac's face. Solidarity against Reaction—in immediate issues and beyond—makes this unity imperative.

The financial-industrial interests have readily grasped this idea, and have sought to build a wall between the jobless and those at work. To the employed, they have represented the organized unemployed as a "bunch of useless, trouble-making bums, who would not work if they could." To the unemployed, they have depicted union men and strikers as "persons not satisfied with having a job, when jobs are so hard to get." They have drawn upon the army of out-of-workers to serve as strike-breakers—on the theory of Jay Gould that he "could hire one half of the working class to kill the other half."

Pledge Not To Scab

The unemployed league movement, from its inception, began to throw monkey wrenches into this plan. In state and national constitutions, the organized jobless were pledged not to scab. Further than that, the organizations definitely offered to cooperate aggressively in picketing and other union activities during times of industrial strikes.

These pledges and offers have been made living things all over the country. The anti-sweatshop campaign in Pennsylvania, with its accompanying drive for union organization, owed its origin to the initiative of the intelligent Lehigh County Unemployed League. The striking pottery workers of Mahoning County, Ohio, found the Smith Township Unemployed League their greatest source of support. Garment workers and truck drivers in Columbus received similar aid from the Franklin County League. These are a few of many instances. Bound up with Toledo, they form a healthy record of achievement.

In the fight for decent relief and other unemployed demands, the unions on the other hand can be of the utmost helpfulness. They can unite in Joint Committees for More Adequate Relief, as they have done in Toledo. They can stage effective demonstrations with the unemployed and bring militant pressure on relief authorities. They can do this with the zeal that comes from the assurance that they are thereby striking a blow at potential strikebreaking, that they are waging a battle for a rise in the workers standards, and that they are safeguarding their unions by such action.

(In Wood County, Ohio, the union quarrymen go out on strike; the unemployed league helps man the picket line and successfully defies the injunction. In the battle for relief, the unemployed committees face the relief authorities, the union quarrymen along with them. Farmers, jobless, and union employed have done a series of neat jobs together.)

NRA Strikebreaking

With the N.R.A. exposing its strike-smashing fist more clearly—in San Francisco and Harriman as well as at Weirton and Edgewater and Budd's—the unions find their backs against the wall. They are sorely in need of allies. General "Insurrection" Johnson has revealed himself as Strikebreaker No. 1. The horde of mediators and conciliation committees serve as helpful devices for the employing interests to secure delay and break

down militant labor action. Despite A. F. of L. official pussyfooting, the union workers will have to fight, if their organizations are to exist and their conditions to be maintained at any stage of decency. In such a show-down, the unions' most substantial allies are the organizations of their own fellow-workers who are "on the streets."

In the period just ahead, then, more than ever before, this alliance will prove to be of vital urgency. Official A. F. of L. dependence on the government will be found to be a snare and a delusion. The workers will confront stark reality—that they can only rely upon themselves, and that means all the workers relying upon each other.

After five years of depression, the organized unemployed also are in dire need of aid. They have fought relief authorities. They have conducted brilliant relief strikes. They have had great demonstrations. But they have been hocus-focussed likewise by government representatives. They have been passed from relief officer to relief officer, in a grand run-around. When such devices were played out, they were handed a new set of letters in a "new" scheme of relief, which lessened their food orders. Then, the same old game went on. They do not now find themselves in a happy mood. Many of them are out of industry for good. They need the unions in their battle for real relief.

Significance in Alliance

From the viewpoint of the A.W.P.—which stands for "All Power to the Workers"—there is a particular significance in the alliance of these groups. Because of their desperate condition, the unemployed have accepted or developed militant leadership, on the whole. They know pretty clearly the value of carrying the battle to the enemy. The union employed, on the other hand, have been trained by A. F. of L. officialdom in conservatism and caution. Organizational discipline will come further to the unemployed from association with the unions in common struggle; militancy will be brought into the unions, in their fights.

Never can the workers think seriously of taking power and elevating themselves out of the present darkening chaos, until they are strong at the point of production—in the mine and mill and factory—and consciously intend to use that strength to carry through their program. Never can the unemployed workers in themselves hope to achieve fundamental change. But they can make their great contribution to this common effort of their class by bringing added militancy into the struggle for workers' freedom.

N. Y. Notes

Police continue to molest striking members of the Independent Building Service Employees Union at the behest of the Brierfield Hotel management. Four pickets arrested recently for "disorderly conduct" were freed in court.

A large mass meeting is planned for Wednesday Eve., August 1, at Broadway and 83 St., to rally support for the Brierfield strikers.

Following repeated disruption of its meetings by CP followers, Local 22 of the Workers Unemployed Union has sent speakers to all workers organizations in the neighborhood asking for volunteers to help defend its meetings.

A recent attack was led by Brandt, Section Organizer of the CP, and Overgard, N. Y. Secretary of the TUUL.

\$5,882,712

The General Food Corporation reports a net profit of \$5,882,712 for the half-year ended on June 30.

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Organ of the
AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY

GREETINGS TO NUL

(Continued from Page 1)

ers and farmers to organize for the defense of their rights and the advancement of their interests, free speech, free press, free assemblage and the right of peaceful mass picketing. We want no Fascism or Hitlerism in the United States.

4. Unity of the employed and unemployed must be promoted. Already the Unemployed Leagues have written a glorious chapter in labor history by not only preventing scabbing on the part of their members, but actively helping the employed workers, the unions, in organizing campaigns and on the picket line in strikes. The Unemployed Leagues have been shock-troopers in many strikes. This is as it should be. If the standard of wages goes down, relief standards will go down, too. If the employed are prevented from organizing, the Unemployed Leagues will also be blocked and smashed. The reverse holds good, too. The unions, therefore, must more and more back up the Unemployed Leagues and stand shoulder to shoulder with them in their battles.

When a crisis arises in any locality, let the employed, the unemployed, the farmers, all the workers demonstrate their solidarity against the massed forces of their enemies by forming a Joint Congress of Action of all workers' and farmers' organizations. In union is strength.

5. Only by smashing the whole profit system and building a workers' world will the workers really solve their problems. The Leagues are economic mass organizations, not political parties. They welcome workers regardless of political, racial, religious differences, to membership. That must not be forgotten. But equally we know that the workers will more and more clearly understand that the political parties of the bosses, Republican and Democratic alike, can only hurt not help them—that revolutionary political action of the working-class is finally the only way out!

We hail the past achievements of the Leagues!
We greet the Columbus Conventions!
We see ahead new and splendid achievements of the fighting battalions of the unemployed!

THE HARRIMAN SETTLEMENT

THE NRA has "settled" the Harriman Hosiery Mills strike.

Who do you think won—the workers who believed the government when it told them they had the right to organize into unions of their own choosing, or the bosses who thumbed their noses at General Johnson and the NRA?

You are right. The bosses have won. They have been given everything they asked for.

The "impartial mediator," the government that "stands above the selfish interests of any group or class" has decided that in the interests of the "public" and of recovery, the months old strike of the 300 Harriman Mills workers should be broken.

Assistant NRA Administrator Glancy has negotiated the sell-out. Without consulting the strikers, and over their protest, the firm's agreement with Glancy declares "the strike is hereby called off".

HOW DID YOU ANSWER THEM?

(Continued from Page 3)

1. Soviet Russia is the only country in the world where there is no unemployment. There, the workers own the factories, the farms, the universities, the printing presses, the scientific laboratories and all the other direct and indirect instruments of production.

2. It was General Johnson, Chief Administrator of the NRA, attempting to crush the San Francisco general strike who said, "No one has ever won anything by a strike." Johnson also told a delegation of NRA workers who came in to protest the discharge of Donovan for his union activity in behalf of the NRA Union that "if they wanted an argument" he would "throw them out on their ears." Elinore Herrick, the New York NRA Administrator, taking her cue from her superior recently told a delegation of striking taxi drivers that is she had her

way she would "Throw the delegation out of the window." It is in this way that the cynical agents of the boss class show their contempt for the working class. By making statements such as that quoted above, Johnson is trying to curb the growing militancy of the workers. Throughout the country, however, he is being answered by the growing fighting spirit of the workers who are fast learning that only through organized mass strikes can they wrench living wages and conditions from the capitalist class.

3. Anthony Ramuglia is the president of the National Unemployed League. Comrade Ramuglia has been in the forefront of many labor struggles. Under his leadership of many other experienced and self-sacrificing workers the National Unemployed League has grown into a powerful organization fighting for the millions of un-

employed workers throughout America.

4. Karl Marx writing in the Communist Manifesto pointed out why the working class is the only revolutionary class in modern society:

"Among all the classes that confront the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is really revolutionary. Other classes decay and perish with the rise of large-scale industry, but the proletariat is the most characteristic product of that industry. The lower middle class—small manufacturers, small trader, handicraftsmen, peasant proprietors—one and all fight the bourgeoisie in the hope of safeguarding their existence as sections of the middle class. They are therefore, not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary, for they are trying to make the wheels of history turn backwards. If they ever become

Every demand of the striking workers is ignored. What's more, the company agree to rehire only 25 of the men on strike. And it need not rehire these for two full months.

Thus the one important case in which General Johnson "cracked down" and took away the Blue Eagle turns out as Labor Action predicted. The cracking down turns out to be not on the Harriman bosses who defied the government but on the workers who did exactly what the government told them they had a right to do.

The Harriman Hosiery Mills get back their Blue Eagle without making one concession to the NRA. And the workers get it in the neck.

And workers will continue to get it in the neck so long as they put any confidence in the promises of the government.

Only by their own militant organized action can they win anything.

THE BOSSES SEE RED

THE tremendous strike movement is bringing with it a shameless and hysterical "anti-red" campaign. In every recent strike, employers, editors, State and Federal officials are united in shouting about "outside agitators", "Reds", "Communists", "revolutionists". In San Francisco, the combined encouragement of the capitalist newspapers, Mayor Rossi, Governor Merriam, and General Johnson, directly provoked the fascist raids of the Vigilantes on the offices of the Communist Party organizations. These brutal, leather-jacketed terrorists are the direct forerunners of the Nazi Storm Troopers of the United States. And the responsibility for their actions rests squarely on the shoulders of the employers and the government officials, who encouraged and supported them.

We especially warn all workers not to be misled by the anti-Red campaign. When the bosses and the bosses' papers and the bosses' government officials talk about "Reds" what they mean is any worker who stands up militantly and fearlessly for workers' rights—for the right to organize and picket and get a living wage. These are the workers they fear, for these workers threaten the profits that the bosses grind out of the blood and misery of the working class.

Do not fall for the anti-Red propaganda. Its sole aim is directed against the interests of the working class as a whole. It is part of the drive of the bosses against militant unionism, against all workers' rights, and a leading step toward fascism.

WHAT KIND OF LEADERS?

WHAT kind of leaders should the workers follow?

Today when the bosses' press is filled with editorials and articles attacking the leadership of the growing number of militant strikes, and when officials in high government positions refer to this leadership as "subversive elements" that should be driven out of the country like rats, it is highly important that the workers ask themselves this question:

Should they follow the kind of leaders the bosses like, or the kind they hate?

The kind they praise as "sane", "conservative", "responsible", "patriotic", "good Americans"?

Or the kind they attack as "reds", "radicals", "subversive influences", "irresponsible elements", "foreigners" who should be deported?

The answer should be plain. But unfortunately there are still large numbers of workers (the number is decreasing) to whom it is not. When the bosses yell "red", "radical", etc. they fall for it. They forget that they are fighting the bosses and turn on their fellow workers, and the strike is lost, the country is saved—the bosses have won.

Yet it should be plain that the kind of labor leaders the bosses hate are the kind that are too honest to be bought and too intelligent to be bamboozled—the kind that really defend and fight for the interests of the workers.

The leaders the bosses love are the kind that are either corrupt or too stupid to know what it's all about—the kind that betray the interests of the workers.

One should not listen to one's enemy as to how best to fight him.

Austria's 'New Beginning'

By LUDWIG LORE

IF ever a Social Democracy proved that it can fight, it was that of Austria. It is true that its leaders waited too long because they hoped that the final conflict might be avoided, true that this gave the Christian Social fascist government the opportunity to arrest the important functionaries in charge of the workers' arms deposits before it struck its final blow against the party and ordered its soldiers and Heimwehr troops to smash the labor movement. But despite the mistakes of its leaders the world will never forget that the workers of Austria and the men at their head put up a fight which embued the proletariat of every other country with new courage and did much to restore the faith they had almost lost in the mission and future of the labor movement.

Austria's Social Democrats, always on the Left Wing of the Socialist Labor International, have learned from what happened in Austria, Germany and in other countries.

Questions Old Guard

A letter sent by the Vienna Central Committee of Revolutionary Socialists to the Executive of the International when it met in Brussels at the end of May shows this clearly. This committee is the representative of the Party's underground movement in Austria and recognizes the authority and publications of the Social Democracy. But it is dissatisfied with its program. The Austrian comrades are realists enough to know that, in the present situation, it would profit the Social Democracy of Austria little to adopt revolutionary precepts while the International persists in its "Old Guard" stand.

For that reason it turns to the Executive of the Socialist Labor International in a letter which, after expressing its appreciation of the financial assistance rendered by the affiliated parties to the Austrian comrades continues as follows:

Why Want in a Land of Plenty?

(Continued from Page 3)

from the workers part of what he produces. Each individual owner is engaged in constant warfare with every other owner for the market, for the people's dollars. That means that he must keep his costs down, he must be able to produce for less than his competitor. In order to do this he must get as much from his workers for as little as he can possibly get away with.

Have Wages Been Raised?

The proof of this is all around us. A little more than a year ago President Roosevelt told the owners of industry that in order to save themselves, bring back prosperity, they would have to raise wages, the purchasing power of the masses of the people would have to be increased. What has been the result? Not only has there been no substantial increase in the purchasing power of the masses but every attempt on the part of the workers to raise their wages, or even to keep them from being reduced, has been brutally fought by the owners.

And what is more, the government has helped the owners and not the workers. It has helped the owners to organize themselves, in fact has compelled them to organize, in order that they would quit cutting one-another's throats. But although it has told the workers that they had the right to organize it has not protected them in

revolutionary, it is only because they are afraid of slipping down into the ranks of the proletariat; they are not defending their present interests, but their future interests; they are forsaking their own standpoint, in order to adopt that of the proletariat."

For Armed Uprising

"But Austria's Socialists expect from the International ideological as well as practical help in the form of a serious consideration of their particular problems. The fascist dictatorship has destroyed whatever democratic or reformist illusions the Austrian masses may have cherished in the past. Today they know that fascist oppression can only be broken by the power of labor, by an armed uprising of the proletariat: To prepare for this revolution of the people is the task of the Austrian Social Democracy. Its work can have but one aim: conquest of the power of the state and the erection of a proletarian dictatorship which must destroy the political and economic foundations of capitalist society to achieve the classless state, the socialist democracy."

"Undoubtedly", the letter continues, "the International accepts these precepts as the common property of those who have gone through the inferno of fascist dictatorship. But it will bring the world nearer to a socialist future if the International and its affiliated parties will make these precepts their own as well."

Appeals For Unity

The letter closes with a warm appeal for unity of the proletariat: "In the fight against fascist dictatorship nothing distinguishes the Socialist worker from his Communist class comrade. Both endure the same persecution and suffering, as they always worked for the same ultimate aim. Under a fascist dictatorship there is nothing in their tactics which divides them. We do not underestimate the difficulties which stand in the way of an understanding between the SLI and the CI on both sides; nevertheless we demand that on the side of the Social Democracy everything be done that is humanly possible to bring about a union of our forces. As a minimum we demand that the SLI approach the CI with proposals for an honest non-aggression pact, at least for all fascist countries."

exercising that right. Quite the contrary. It has permitted troops to be shipped into strike areas in order to defeat the attempts of workers to organize.

The Way Out

What then is the way out? If the only way that the factories can be opened is for the workers to be able to buy the goods they need, and if the owners, the capitalists, will not and cannot pay enough wages to the workers so that they can buy back what they produce, what then can be done?

The workers will have to take over the factories, the mills and the mines—the entire productive plant, and operate it themselves. They will have to kick the profit-takers out. Until they do this there will be no end to starvation, to unemployment, to insecurity for the great masses of the American people. The real crime in the United States today, and in every other country with the exception of the USSR, is starvation in the midst of plenty. The real criminals are those who own and control the machinery of production.

It is our duty to fight this crime, to get rid of the criminals. We can have no freedom, no decent and sane life, so long as insecurity haunts us. And we cannot get rid of insecurity until we own and control—not individually but collectively as workers—the means whereby we can produce the things necessary to sustain life.

But in order to carry on this fight we must organize, we must learn to act together. The forces that oppose freedom today, that stand in the way of progress and humanity, are many and powerful. They are well organized. They control the press, the schools, the churches, the radio, the movies—and they control the government. Against these forces of oppression, of reaction, we must oppose the organized power of the working class.

**THEIR
Government**

by James Burnham

One by one the "liberal" pretensions of the Roosevelt Administration have been thrown overboard. The pressure of economic circumstance makes it expose itself more and more openly as the armed dictatorship of the big bankers and industrialists. Tanks and field guns rumble through the streets of San Francisco; tear gas and vomit gas, clubs, rifles, machine guns, in Minneapolis, Alabama, Toledo, Kohler, Bridgeport, wherever workers try to exercise their most elementary rights. These are the means whereby the Happy Warrior carries out the demands of his class for profits and more profits.

General Hugh Johnson, the man to whom Roosevelt gave supervision over his chief administrative act, the mighty NRA, is one of the most clear headed of all the Roosevelt army. General Johnson has none of the dreams and illusions of the Brain Trusters. He never imagines for a moment that he is "working toward socialism", helping small business or protecting labor.

The General Knows

General Johnson knows what he is doing. He knows that his job is to bring profits to big business, and he is out to do that job at whatever cost. From the beginning he saw the NRA for what it was—a large-scale venture of monopoly capital to bring the corporations out of the red. He knows what NRA Codes and NRA Labor Boards are for: to jack up prices in the first case, and to break strikes in the second. The General is a realist.

The General Helps The War

His speech in the midst of the wonderfully inspiring—though badly planned and badly led—general strike in San Francisco was frank enough. There was no doubt about where he stood. Did he point out that the shippers had insolently refused to grant the simple demands of the longshoremen and the other maritime workers? That they had defied every principle of collective bargaining? That they had collected a "War Chest" from the business men of the city to finance what was in exact truth a "civil war"? That they had not hesitated to spread the blood and bruised bodies of workers over the streets of San Francisco? That they had without any qualms gassed and machine-gunned and murdered strikers?

No, indeed, he did not. He denounced the general strike—the only weapon left to the working class of San Francisco, driven beyond endurance, and realizing that all forces except its own collective strength were directed against it—as "bloody insurrection". He called upon "responsible elements of organized labor" to "purge themselves of this blight immediately", to "wipe out this subversive element as you clean off a chalk mark".

Starve And Lie Down

What did his speech and his advice mean? It meant simply this: That labor should lie down and take the crumbs the bosses offered, and be grateful if that was one step ahead of starvation. It was the Johnson interpretation of the NRA, the official and authorized interpretation. Between the lines, here is what Johnson said: "Sure, workers, you've got rights; but just try to use them, and the government will crack down on you with everything it's got. And when talk and Labor Boards and arbitration won't do the trick, there are plenty of tanks and machine guns."

And it meant more than this: It was a deliberate provocation to violence against any workers who didn't accept this "official" interpretation. What is this "blight" that Johnson wants "purged", this "subversive element" he wants cleaned off? It is simply the work-

THE PARTY AND THE LEAGUES

By A. J. Muste

NO more important or difficult question confronts the members of a revolutionary party than that of correct and effective participation in the work of mass organization. The problem presents ever new aspects and therefore needs to be analyzed again and again.

Mass economic organizations, such as unions and unemployed leagues, have an important part to play in present struggles. They must be permitted to play that part. They are not the same as a revolutionary political party.

Workers, whether backward or advanced, belong in these organizations. They must not be limited to the members and sympathizers of a particular political party.

It follows, also, that no political party should exercise dictatorship or mechanical control over the mass economic organizations. They must have a real life of their own under democratic government by their own members.

However, members of the A.W.P. must not merely observe these precautions; they have also positive tasks and responsibilities in the mass organizations. As politically developed workers, they must inspire and lead the unemployed leagues. They must take the initiative in building them where they do not exist. Some one is bound to take the lead in mass work. Shall it be the backward workers who still believe in the Republican or Democratic party, let us say? The thought is absurd.

Both logic and experience teach that unions left to themselves become "pure and simple" unions, with no social vision, given to collaboration with the bosses, and thus presently unfitted to advance or protect even the most simple interests of the workers. Frequently, in fact, they become so completely imbued with capitalist psychology that they become mere racketeering outfits.

Here and there one observes tendencies in the unemployed leagues, as they achieve more stable organization, to become devoted to mere self-preservation, to become "pure and simple" unions of the unemployed, bargaining for favors with relief authorities. The Leagues themselves and especially A.W.P.

members in them, must put up a relentless fight against such tendencies. The Leagues must remain militant. They must be shock troops in today's struggles. If they become a mere replica of the A. F. of L. as it is today, the workers will indeed have been betrayed. A.W.P. members will not sit idly by and see such tendencies prevail. We do not believe in any policy of "neutrality" in mass organization as the Socialist Party does. We are not going to barter for votes in exchange for pussyfooting with regard to any dangerous tendencies in unions or leagues!

Even this is not stating the full case, for unemployed leagues left without help and guidance from revolutionists may easily become the prey of capitalist politicians (this has happened more than once) or of Fascist elements. It would be foolish and criminal for A.W.P. members not to exert all possible influence in order to prevent elements whose policies are detrimental to the interest of the unemployed from gaining control of the leagues.

It can be shown, indeed, that the mere continued existence of the Leagues generally depends upon the active interest of the members of some political group. Where is there any functioning League movement of any significance of which this is not true? A revolutionary political organization gives continuity and direction to the mass movement.

League activities and propaganda must be adapted to the stage of development of the workers involved. Most decidedly, however, it is the business of the Leagues constantly and as rapidly as possible to advance the level of the members. Nor should any attempt ever be made to hold workers back. Where they are ready for a full revolutionary program, let them have it. If the workers are indeed to be freed, the mass organizations will some day have to follow fully the lead of the revolutionary party. Where they are prepared to do so now, that is a welcome development.

In the mass organizations new workers come forward. They are tested. From among them a constant stream of recruits for the A.W.P. must come. One of the foremost responsibilities of A.W.P.

branches is to observe the workers, pick out those who are potential A.W.P. members, educate them, bring them to party meetings when they are ready, etc. There must be no hesitation or backwardness about this. There is no time to lose in building the party.

Party members do not work as individuals but in an intelligent organized way in mass organizations. They work out a policy to be pursued in their respective organizations and then all work together along the lines laid down in the party fraction. During conventions they caucus on important problems. This is entirely legitimate and necessary.

There have been instances where this has been done and criticized as meaning cliques and clique control. Sometimes such criticism comes from spies of the bosses or from persons who want to advance their own political ambitions and whose schemes are thwarted by A. W.P. vigilance.

Sometimes honest workers who have had only too many sad experiences with selfish or corrupt cliques and rings, have doubts. In such cases we must patiently explain our aims and methods; but it would be the height of folly for A.W.P. members to give up a correct and necessary policy because it is misunderstood. Misunderstandings are bound to occur. We must meet and remove them, not capitulate before them.

Sometimes A.W.P. officers and members make mistakes. When that happens, we must face them and immediately and ruthlessly correct them. By every legitimate means we seek to advance what we believe are correct policies. We seek to gain the confidence of the masses by the correctness of our policies, and by the persistence, intelligence and courage with which we carry on our work. We do not seek domination. We abhor mechanical control and political trickery.

Both mass organizations and revolutionary political party have their place in the workers' movement. We do not build first one, then the other. They grow and act together, until in the revolutionary crisis they fuse their forces for the death-blow to capitalism!

Textile Workers Restive Under NRA, Press Hard on Leaders

(Continued from Page 1)

the textile workers. The same thing happened to a threat of strike action by 75,000 New England wool and worsted workers.

But the inadequacy of the steps taken soon became obvious. Sporadic strikes continued to break out. Nothing was done to end the workers' grievances. The U.T.W. has again been forced to confront the situation and has begun the circulation of a resolution calling on all its affiliated units to vote in favor of a general textile strike. The recent convention of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers also went on record for a general stoppage. In the South there is great unrest and a desire for real action.

Now Strongly Organized

The textile workers are more strongly organized at present than they have ever been. In rayon, silk, wool, hosiery and cotton tremendous gains have been made in the past year. While no blanket figure is available for trade union membership, there can be no doubt that textile labor has flocked into the ranks of the United Textile Workers in unprecedented numbers.

It was announced in May that 130,000 workers had joined the union ranks in the three months previous and that 42,000 of the 65,000 in South Carolina cotton fabric mills were enrolled in labor unions. 300 locals were claimed for

the Southern states, 74 of them in the key state of North Carolina and the total membership in the Carolinas was set at 100,000.

The Hosiery Workers Union reports 16,500 new members since September 1933. Rayon and synthetic yarn workers have been strongly organized—over 70 percent according to President McMahon, while the woolen and worsted division claims to speak for 50,000 in that branch of the industry.

Union Weaknesses

There are unfortunately serious weaknesses in the union. The leadership has shown itself unwilling and incapable of leading a real nation wide movement against the attacks of the textile barons. It is generally believed that the gesture of circulating a general strike petition is pure bluff on their part and that they have no real intention of carrying it through. Certainly no serious preparations are under way for a battle of such size.

The Silk Workers

The American Federation of Silk Workers (affiliated to the U.T.W.) is not yet a real national organization capable of rallying the silk workers on a national scale. With no machinery of its own it is forced to rely almost exclusively on the U.T.W. for organizing work. In addition, the silk layers have been kept separate from the rest of the silk workers and are not in the A.F.S.W. The same situation exists among the woolen workers where efforts to build a strong wool workers organization have been held up by the officialdom of the union.

NEWS REEL

By A. A.

The "liberal" New York World-Telegram states in an editorial, "The World-Telegram needs only the record to prove its friendliness to organized labor."

And then it continues with these friendly words, "But we believe the New Deal promises enough for labor to make it unnecessary to crush strike breakers by withdrawing police and guardsmen while unions fight it out with employers regardless of what happens to the public."

New Deal promises enough for labor? Sure, plenty of tear-gas, machine-guns, violence, brutality and murder from troops and hired gunmen!

God's Country

More items for the President to think about while fishing in the calm Pacific:

Textile workers in Alabama strike because they are getting wages averaging less than \$10 a week according to some estimates, certainly not more than \$13.41 even by NRA figures—

Two die, three shot in Cleveland relief rioting—

New Jersey cannery workers battle to regain pitiful wages of 30c an hour—

"Reds! Rats! Subversive interests!" roars General Johnson.

"Law and order!" scream Governor Merriam of California and Mayor Rossi of San Francisco, with weather eyes cocked to political winds and the record of Calvin Coolidge.

"We demand martial order!" orders the real ruler of California, the San Francisco Industrial Association.

"The San Francisco general strike was not authorized and has no national significance," says "labor leader" President Green of the A. F. of L. and adds his stab in the back of Pacific Coast labor fighting the overwhelming forces of industrialists, government and misled public opinion.

New York City's great police commissioner, General O'Ryan has just made a contribution to the welfare of his community by working out that policemen are to be permitted to remove their coats when temperature hits 85 degrees, but must immediately put on the coats when the mercury falls below this figure.

He was probably too busy to note in the press the report that a pregnant woman who was beaten up by his choice cops in a relief demonstration has just given birth to a dead child.

Famous press agent Ivy Lee has acted as public relations counsel for the Nazi German Dye Trust at \$25,000 a year.

Mr. Lee is best known for his work for the Rockefeller interests.

The German Dye Trust is linked in the United States with the Standard Oil of New Jersey, a Rockefeller organization.

It's really all very simple, if you stop to figure it out.

Headlines

Strike-breaking Agencies Report Huge Profits . . . New York City Park Avenue Militia Regiment Learns How to Scatter Mobs With Gas . . . Pacific Coast Industrialists Raise Five Year Fund to Crush Labor . . . Steel Production Doubled Since 1933 . . . General Electric Orders Increased 52% . . . Baldwin Locomotive Business Tripled . . . American Car & Foundry Booked Orders Totalling \$9,477,000 Compared to \$662,000 a Year Ago. . .

Recovery is here . . . but for whom?

There's a supposed embargo against American munitions and arms to Bolivia and Paraguay. But will that stop the armament boys? Not so that you could notice it! Since the embargo some \$600,000 worth has been shipped and there are orders to be executed for \$1,400,000 more.

Business Cries "Revolution" in Frisco; Wreck Radical Halls

(Continued from Page 1) strikers workers, were well-stocked anyway.

Nineteen restaurants remained open on the first day of the strike by the express permission of the strike committee. Food trucks were detailed to serve them. On the second day, the number was increased to fifty.

Opposed Mass Strike

From the beginning, the calling of the mass strike was opposed by San Francisco's old-line labor leaders. When the issue was forced by the militants, the conservatives grudgingly gave in. Through their efforts Harry Bridges, fiery leader of the longshoremen, was defeated for vice-chairmanship of the strike committee. From that moment, the old timers, men of the stamp of Michael Casey of the teamsters, were in complete control.

Business Cries "Revolution"

Despite the caution and "reasonableness" of the strike committee, the rigid discipline imposed on the rank and file, the almost complete lack of violence, San Francisco's business and industrial elements, under leadership of the Chamber of Commerce and the Industrial Association, immediately set up the cry of "revolution" and brought tremendous pressure to bear upon Mayor Rossi and official Washington for martial law. Banks and business houses circulated petitions among their employees declaring that the city was in the grip of a mass insurrection and advocating the sending in of federal troops. Names signed to this were appended to the telegrams which deluged Washington. Employees refusing to sign were labeled "reds" and are now facing loss of their jobs. As an aftermath, the Retail Dry Goods Association is now requesting a pledge of loyalty from all employees in the city's stores which reads in part as follows:

"I pledge my support to the constituted authorities of our city, State and Nation in upholding this Government and opposing all revolutionary attempts against it, and in maintaining order. . . . This I do of my own free will."

Crusade Is Pure Irony

In light of the nature of the mass strike and its leadership, the anti-red crusade generated by it is pure irony. Constant reiteration in newspapers, over the radio, and elsewhere, that this was a

Communist-inspired strike has given the red-baiters the opportunity of a life-time. General Hugh S. Johnson, arriving here in the midst of hostilities, added fresh fuel to this fire by terming the mass walkout a "bloody insurrection" and calling upon labor "to drive out subversive elements like rats." So, too, did a purported statement of Earl Browder, given banner headlines in the local press, to the effect that the strike was being directed by Communists and was but one of a series of such disturbances which his party expected to lead.

Wreck Cultural Center

Communist and other radical halls throughout the Bay Region have been raided and wrecked. The Finnish workers' hall in Berkeley, one of the best equipped cultural centers for workers in the country, with its grand pianos, excellent library, little theater, etc., is a shambles. Flying squads of vigilantes and police have vied with each other as to which could do the most damage. Asserted Communists, over 350 of them, have been rounded up, in many cases severely beaten and jailed on charges of vagrancy. They are booked "en route to Los Angeles" which gives authorities a chance to hold them several days before bringing them to court for a preliminary hearing. Later, they are put under excessive bail. The I.L.D. attorney who appeared to defend them has been threatened with death by vigilantes and is reported to have withdrawn from the case.

Raids Continue

The raids, still continuing in the Bay Region, are now spreading throughout the state and are particularly marked in the agricultural districts where the Communists have been most active. Pat Chambers and Caroline Decker, organizer and secretary respectively of the Cannery and Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union, together with some twenty suspected Communists, have been arrested in Sacramento. Criminal syndicalism cases are expected to spring out of some of the arrests being made. A vigorous move is underway to remove Communist party candidates from the ballot. It seems almost certain at this writing that official Communism, as well as all other brands of militant radicalism in California, is to be definitely driven underground.

Highlights In Frisco Strike

By GRACE METTEE

Johnson called the General Strike "Civil War" and "Mutiny" . . . he ain't seen nothing yet . . . The general also remarked that Section 7a did not give the workers the right to organize against the employers, but rather the right to cooperate with the employers . . . This sounds like Mussolini's "Corporate Fascist State" but the general doesn't like fascism (he said so). He probably just wants company unionism!

If you go to Frisco and listen to the bosses you'll learn that unemployment has been wiped out in the east, and labor and capital kiss each other on the cheek . . . they're telling the Frisco workers that it's unpatriotic to hinder Reconstruction and The New Deal . . . this is the old gag about the "Dirty New York Reds" set to a west-coast tune.

The I.L.A. rank and file wouldn't take any of the bosses "naughty-naughty" stuff when they voted down a motion to read a special message sent by Roosevelt on the grounds that there was important work to be done at the meeting. . . .

Ryan is still as popular as Roosevelt . . . and the workers boo whenever the President's name is mentioned . . . What the workers think of Ryan and Company's arbitration sell-out was summed up by one militant union man who said "You can't arbitrate a shoe string

or a safety pin so how can you arbitrate a hiring hall? . . . He might have added that you can't patch labor struggles with a shoe string or a safety pin either.

While it lasted the General Strike made things pretty uncomfortable . . . seen on the sidewalks: Overstuffed society dowagers thumbing rides from trucks . . . High-hat executives carrying dinner pails . . . Strikers riding the streetcars without paying fare . . . A small boy being arrested for carrying over-ripe eggs in the vicinity of the National Guard headquarters . . . A wounded 'vigilante' raider who turned out to be a city detective in plain clothes . . . Strikers stopping a scab truckload of rice and pouring the rice into the radiators, letting the engine run until the rice boiled over . . . Scab truckmen who were living, eating and sleeping beside their trucks guarded by strikers . . . Civil service employees in jail—because the county had no other place to house them . . .irate neighbors destroying the stock and fixtures of a grocery store whose owner jacked up the prices sky-high . . . The movie elite sight-seeing on bicycles and roller skates—they sure got taken for a ride . . . Masses of strikers and unemployed jamming halls to hear news and shout about solidarity with workers all over the country in their fights against capitalist exploitation,

To March on Harrisburg 48 Join Workers Party As Johnson Struts Thru South

(Continued from Page 1)

the announcement of the Federal Emergency Relief Board, through its director, Harry L. Hopkins, that no more federal funds will be allotted Pennsylvania for relief purposes after August unless the state legislature provides two dollars for every dollar allocated the state by the national government for the unemployed. So far, Governor Pinchot has failed to act, and is doing all in his power to avoid calling a special session of the state legislature as he has been asked to do by Hopkins.

A million and a half unemployed and their dependents face outright starvation after September 1 if the state government does not meet the demands of the FERA.

A Show-Down Fight

No state funds have been used for relief purposes for many months, and the political agents of the steel, coal and bank barons of Pennsylvania have been howling for relief cuts and pleading bankruptcy. The March on Harrisburg is expected to be a show-down fight with the entire capitalistic and reactionary forces in the "richest state in the Union." Thousands of organized, disciplined workers will pour into Harrisburg from all sections of the state to demand an end to the steady stream of soft-soap and promises which they have been fed in the past, and to secure legislation which will assure them some measure of decency and health living standards.

By BILL REICH

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—West Virginia: home of majestic mountains, fabulous mineral wealth, gigantic industries . . . and exploited humanity.

One of the richest states in natural resources, yet at one time 42 percent of its population was "on relief!"

Scene of violent labor struggles: the "Bull Moose" armored train steaming up Paint Creek firing into tent colonies, murdering innocent women and children. Mother Jones knee deep in water addressing miners from the middle of creeks, the only "free" land not controlled by the despotic coal operators. Armies of armed miners marching to "bloody Logan" to aid the union in its struggle there. Periodic "hungry marches" on the \$15,000,000 golden domed capitol dedicated to the children of the state. . . .

New Deal Birthday

The New Deal brought a short lived period of illusory "prosperity" to West Virginia. Industry enjoyed a brief boom. Mines which had been closed for years opened (due to labor conflict in other fields) and wonder of wonders! miners were granted the right to organize!

The principle for which thousands of valiant West Virginians had fought, bled and laid down their lives had been conjured overnight by the miracle man in Wash-

ington. It was no mere accident that the NRA birthday party was held in Charleston. Thousands of ragged and hungry people trekked from the ugly, tumble-down mining camps in forlorn valleys to the celebration.

General Hugh Johnson (under heavy police guard) rode at the head of a huge parade of gaunt, lean miners—with the right of col-



lective bargaining under John L. Lewis and Van A. Bittner!

Comes The Awakening

Every dream has its awakening. Union dues are high. Codes and agreements are conveniently forgotten by coal companies. Compensation for injuries is as difficult to obtain as ever. Company store prices increase faster than wages. Mines are shutting down "temporarily due to seasonal fluctuations". Pocket-books are empty. The diet, still of necessity, consists of sow-belly and beans. Thousands of children in "God's Country" have never tasted cow's milk. . . . Letters of complaint pour in to Mrs. Roosevelt, the patron saint of the miners. She makes personal visits to destitute mining camps and is responsible for subsistence colonies housing 600 of the 200,000 excess miners!

Doubts are beginning to arise. Embarrassing questions are asked of politicians. "Why the vicious sales tax on our flour and beans?" Miners are flocking from the UMWA into more radical unions and unemployed leagues.

48 Join AWP

Into this situation comes the AWP under the leadership of Brant Scott, state organizer, and veteran of many a struggle against the bosses as an officer in the UMWA and West Virginia Mine Workers Union. The Charleston branch of the AWP has 48 enthusiastic members and applications from many more. Activities for the near future include an intensive educational campaign to train masses along revolutionary lines and to swing local unions toward militant class-conscious policies. At last a movement has arrived in West Virginia which really appeals to workers tired of A. F. of L. betrayals, Socialist inaction, Communist verbosity and local labor tickets' lack of direction. The AWP promises to become a power in West Virginia.

in the telling. Bursting on the boards like a tornado, the play has a wallop in both hands.

Swift-Moving Story

As a result of union activity a lynch spirit is unloosed against the Negro wharf workers of a Gulf Port town. Lonnie Thompson, spirited stevedore, leads a fight against the wage-cutting Steamship Co. This heaps fuel on the already blazing fire, a 'race riot' between the Negro hands and a gang of the bosses' thugs ensuing. The cowed stevedores are given heart when the white workers from the union proffer their aid in fighting the mob! The slam-bang action comes to a whirlwind close with the Negroes assisted by the white workers beating back an attack on their homes,

Caldwell Strikers Establish Mass Picketing, 28 Arrested

NEW YORK.—Strikers of the Caldwell Co. have at last broken through police repression and have established mass picketing. Louis Budenz, executive secretary of the American Workers Party, initiated this move by calling upon the 150 strikers to defy the police. A mass picket line overwhelming the small army of the police which "defend" the struck plant was the result.

The strike at the Edward F. Caldwell Co., one of the largest manufacturers of electric fixtures and equipment in the United States, has been in progress for over 8 weeks. The men walked out when the company refused to recognize their union, the Electrical Lighting Equipment Federal Local. Until recently the police have stopped mass picketing. Led by Munsey Gleaton, representative of the A.W.P., the strikers made a test case of it. Twen-

ty-eight were arrested, but the mass picketing continued.

In the past the company hired cabs to transport the scabs. But now the bosses will have to find another way, for the strikers have crippled it by jumping into the taxicabs before either the cops or the company plug-uglies have a chance to hail them. Police Sergeant McAllister who had been stopping cabs for the Caldwell Co. ever since the strike started, arrested one striker for attempting the same thing. The striker has brought counter-charges against the Sergeant for "assisting the Caldwell Co. in breaking the strike."

The International of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers has aided the strike of the Caldwell workers by declaring a boycott against fixtures manufactured by this company.

ATTACK NUL

NEW YORK.—Only 25 delegates with little mass support answered the call of the Socialist-Lovestone clique of this city to the regional conference held in the headquarters of the Workers Unemployed Union on July 21. Ostensibly to unify the forces of the unemployed in the eastern area, the conference was used by the Socialists to initiate a splitting move to set up a rival to the National Unemployed League.

Although invitations were sent to 40 organizations in the east, only 8 responded. The strength of the organizations represented can be measured by the fact that the New York group took the lead. Their prominence was based on padded figures of the Workers Unemployed Union, which has about 2,500 but claimed 8,000 members.

The attacks against the N.U.L. by the delegates revealed the real purpose of the conference.

A resolution which stated that a national organization of the unemployed was needed, and that no satisfactory body as yet existed was presented. The resolution attacked the N.U.L. by name charging that it was sectional and partisan.

Stevedore Is Good Theatre, Packs Wallop

By RAY ROBBINS

The Theatre Union's recent production has placed a tombstone over what seemed to be a never-ending argument. For once and all it is demonstrated that entertaining theatre and working class ideas have a place on one and the same stage. The stage in question is that of the Civic Repertory Theatre. The play is "Stevedore" by George Sklar and Paul Peters, and has been playing to record audiences since early last spring.

Starting its career with an anti-war play "Peace on Earth" which met with immediate and enthusiastic response, the Theatre Union has made notable advances in technique in this its second production. "Stevedore" concerns itself with the story of race hatred in the Bible Belt. The story of how the Negro wharf-hands of the Oceanic Steamship Company defeat the lynch spirit comes to the stage with all the verve, color and warmth of life itself. The authors don't pull any punches for there is much to tell and no time to be lost

USSR, Where Unemployment Can Never Exist, Believe It or Not

By TESS HUFF

JACK LEVER, who knows how to tell stories, tells this one about Russia. Several years ago, before there was any such thing in the United States as a POC of the American Workers Party, of which Comrade Lever is a member, or any such thing as Cooperative Distributors, of which he is president, he was traveling as a member of a delegation through the Soviet Union. And one night in a village he attended a meeting of the local Soviet.

The men and women of the village, having finished the day's work, met to thresh out the problems before the community. There were no bosses present, of course—no politicians, bankers or landlords. Only workers. The workers and peasants in the October revolution had taken power.

A little old man with blinking eyes got up in the meeting to welcome the visitors from America.

"I hear you all in America have a mighty fine country," he began, "with lots of iron and steel and coal and good wheat fields. And I hear you all are mechanical geniuses—Bless me! you know how to make machines bigger than a house. But Comrades, I hear that you all in America are being exploited. Well, now look about you here! Not a landlord or a capitalist anywhere, eh? That's a lesson, eh? When you get back home kick them out and invite us over to see you. I allow you all can do that in about three months."

Three Months?

Russians are great talkers, and the old man had not finished, but a red-bearded worker, huge-shouldered and long-armed, rose to the floor, demanding a word.

"Comrades," he said, "my old friend ought to be ashamed of himself. He says you Americans can overthrow the capitalists and the landlords in your country in three months. Now I know better than that and I am ashamed of him. The capitalists in your country are powerful strong. According to my reckoning it will take you a good while. Your country is far away from here, and it will take you three months to return. So my opinion is it will take you every bit of six months to kick them out proper."

All of which transpired several times six-months ago, but of course the Russian brothers were a little optimistic.

Today while using the scissors on a pile of accumulated newspapers in the editorial office of Labor Action, which is on a seventh floor of a building overlooking a small area of the tremendous conglomeration of buildings which is New York, I happened to remember the story, for I found some news items from Russia. The editor had said it would be a good idea to have an article on what's happening in the U.S.S.R. So with clippings and a recent book I made a "hasty voyage" to the Red Republic, and I'll jot down what I found.

A Picture of America

But first, a word. Most of us are aware of what's happening in

our own back-yard, so to speak, but for the sake of the record, as a matter of contrast to make the picture clear, let's begin by glancing at some of the items from this stack of papers on home conditions. Here's one telling where the unemployed figure stands now, and how many families in the 48 states are on relief. Pretty bad. Another one links Ivy Lee and Wall Street with Hitler. That's pretty bad too, but no surprise.

Look at this one—the big army men are out for blood, to judge from the government's frantic expenditure of public works' money on armaments—and yes, the Army is now recruiting men. But here are a couple of items that almost fill in the picture.

"General Johnson, NRA Administrator, asks labor organizations to run radicals from their ranks like

rats; Police squads and business men raid radical union headquarters in San Francisco." And then, "An analysis just made of 280 NRA codes shows that 36 of them contain restrictions on the installation of new machinery and on increase in production."

What can one say but that at home we have brutal reaction and ruthless curtailment of production, sanctioned by the government?

Let us remember that the United States has more unemployed workers than any other two countries combined. In this light, let's turn to Russia.

The Workers State

There are some striking developments and contrasts.

The OGPU, the most dreaded secret police force in the world, say the reports, has just been dis-

solved, which means that the Soviets have conquered all internal enemies. Which is another way of saying that the reactionary elements, the anti-labor, anti-radical forces (the General Johnsons) have been driven from power—like rats! What a contrast!

Another item: a 26 year-old Russian has discovered a method of making rubber from saw-dust. At once an order goes out for the erection of 10 new factories!

Life in the Soviet Union, writes Louis Fischer in *The Nation*, is growing easier. Yet the workers (and if you live in Russia, you can't be anything else) are still making great sacrifices in the way of personal comforts to insure the quick industrialization of the nation, and the building up of perhaps the world's finest fighting force, the Red Army—all of which activity is considered as a race against time and war. They mean to protect themselves, the Reds of Russia, and they don't appear to have any illusions about the "friendliness" of capitalist nations.

In the book, *The Planned Econ-*

omy of Soviet Russia, written by Edward Lamb, an attorney of Toledo, Ohio, who this year completed a first-hand study of conditions and trends in the U.S.S.R., we find some further facts, some of them quite marvelous when contrasted with the cold facts of life under capitalism.

For example, in the U.S.S.R. there is no unemployment.

This is striking enough, but more marvelous still is the fact that there is and can be no limit to production—the producers themselves are also the owners of the means of production and the consumers of what they produce. The more they produce the better it is, and there can be no limits either to employment or production. What a contrast that is with the situation here!

Some 17 years ago before the Revolution or the kicking-out process began, Russia was a very backward, undeveloped, sprawling land of impoverished millions. Today she forges ahead under the Second Five Year Plan. Already the Russians have a national 7-hour-day, 5-day-week. Wages under the Second Plan are to be doubled and tripled, and maybe they will be able to institute the 6-hour-day; that goal is part of the picture. And that the goal will be realized (providing war does not intervene) may be deduced from the fact that already, in 1934, the actual output of the machine building industry in Russia has surpassed England by 40 percent, Germany by 51.1 percent, while in 1933 she had more tractors in operation than did the United States, and the industrial output was steadily increasing (as it still is), while in all capitalistic countries the industrial output was declining.

A Land Of Marvels

One might go on for pages, giving facts and figures and telling such things of human interest and social import as how women for the first time in history are actually free, and of how prostitution is being completely wiped out without recourse to jails or clubs or criminal statutes, and of prisons without walls or guards, and of the utilization of leisure and culture on a national scale, etc., all of which bespeaks a land of multiplying marvels when compared with life as seen and lived by the majority of workers and farmers in America. But without the addition of another word, the mere fact that in the U.S.S.R. there is no unemployment, and that there are no limits to production, and that anti-radical forces have been finally crushed, marks Russia as undoubtedly the greatest force for civilization in the world today.

ed at false heroics, pitied others but never themselves, lived not unhappily, and died without repining.

Why, then, was the harvest so meagre? A fault of the young mind, may be; that and the taint of America's jungle fever; the new dream sickened by the breath of the old nightmare.

The Intellectuals

THEY are sick, but gaining. Too many want peace, not conquest. They call their trading work. Well, that small change soon won't pass, won't even buy them peace. Why are they ashamed? What have they done for which they blame themselves so much? The fat thumb of the trader spoils the dish; the good workman is given silly tasks. Does that make him silly? Their egos I think, are still sick. Let them get back the old pride, the old arrogance; let them stand by their work. Why do they not realize their power? Traders are the humblest of the humble. Laugh at them, insult them, and they will lick your boots.

And the people? They will not reject you. You are strange, they will sniff you, but not for long. Do your work, by your work they will know you. Did they reject Lenin? Was Lenin ashamed? Of what was he to be ashamed? Do your work and the great comradeship is yours, not peace, but conquest: the hands of the millions your hands: their dream your dream.

"Would the Preachers Be Hot And Bothered - About What?"

After All, The Employers May Not Yet Be Ready To Mediate Away Their Rights

By RED

Consider the churches. They supported the World War. The preachers got hot and bothered about the necessity for sending all the young men to the battlefields. They prayed for victory. And Morgan won.

Now we are in the midst of another war, another kind of war. This war too is a world war. Classes are aligned against classes. The issue is whether the benefits of modern technology shall continue to accrue to the manipulators of finance and deeds of property rights, or whether the unemployed and the toiling millions shall be freed once and for all from poverty.

This is the class struggle, the irrepressible war of the classes.

It cannot be mediated out of existence, it cannot be compromised or hidden. It will continue while the basic reasons for it last—the technological possibilities of security and plenty for every living being, the actuality of low wages, unemployment, insecurity and suffering.

Where Are The Churches?

Where are the churches in this conflict?

They are doing a lot of talking. They are paying lip-service to peace—to industrial peace.

Thus, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America sees an "increasing tension between labor and management in some of the great industries of the nation." This tension "creates a serious menace to civic order and social progress."

So the churches heartily endorse "The right of employes as well as employers to bargain collectively through persons freely chosen by themselves to present their interests."

Thus, the churches talk civic order, industrial peace, collective bargaining.

But they do not understand that the growth of unions, strike waves, injunctions, police brutality, the use of the militia, the slaying and jailing of workers, are skirmishes in a class war.

They see the "increasing tension" and they think it is a "serious menace", and they want it mediated before it results in disorder.

But Just Suppose

But suppose the employers refuse to relinquish any of the power they have over industry and the workers? Just suppose, not entirely in fancy, that the employers wish to retain their advantages, the benefits of technology, the benefits of armed forces? After all, they may not be ready to mediate

away the rights of capital. And suppose the issue came to a showdown.

Would the churches take sides? Would the preachers be all hot and bothered?

About what? The necessity for sending the young men of the National Guard where?

The Shocking Truth

The average preacher, ignorant of class relationships, and knowing less than a child about economics, would be shocked by this.

He would deny that he would take sides with the Morgans, or that he would wish to send the militia against the workers.

Thus, all preachers in all times. But something more fundamental than sentiment and sympathy decides the issue.

Ordinary thieves and murderers, if they are poor, are expelled from the churches, but thousands of employers and finance manipulators who rob and murder on a grand scale are "pillars of the church." Expel them, and the preacher's family will sink into the hell of poverty.

When labor actually fights for its rights, the churches line up with the bosses. Thus it has been, thus it will be in the future.

SOLILOQUY In Time of Revolution

By JAMES RORTY

America

THE skein snarls and tightens. Hitler is trapped, kills his punk, kills, kills . . . the skein is not cut; it snarls, tightens, a hundred plucking fingers grow desperate. Incapable of life, flinching from the blood bath, Europe prepares for death.

Underneath, the buzz of the new life. Is there time? Will it be strong enough? How will it arise? Through whom? How armed? Will it be clean, or clean enough—not dirtied and cursed with the old death?

To the Workers of San Francisco

THIS is the lesson:

Life is work and workers are the world.

When the workers down their tools
This life is cancelled.
The world is a paunchy person
Staring into empty streets.
No song is heard but the raw music
Of those who march in anger.

THIS is the lesson:

There is no force but your force
And no truth but the rending truth
Your spirit is.

Bayonets, gas and bullets
And Conciliators
And the "impartial" printed word
And the innocent "public"
And the "reds"

And the traitor within your own ranks . . .
These are the words, the images, the tools of decay
The blinding vapor of dissolving flesh.

Your blows are mighty, and blind,
Your sight is piercing, and diffuse.

THIS is the lesson:

In the end you will see.
In the end you will strike to the heart.
For the workers there is no defeat,
Only delay.
You will wash the world
Of all things that nibble, chain and poison
Cleaner than the waves of Frisco bay.
Someday Frisco shore
Will encircle the world.

LOUIS BREIER

NEW BOOKS

Stop the Voice!

OUR MASTER'S VOICE: ADVERTISING, by James Rorty. Published by John Day Co. Price \$3.

When a book manages to be both an important social document and entertaining reading as well, that's News! Our Master's Voice is that kind of News. Under the confident guidance of the author, the Voice blares out, and the story of advertising as the most fantastic and vulgar outgrowth of the profit system is told. And when the tale is complete, it has become a hell-raising, rip-snorting indictment of the capitalist system in its entirety.

Comrade Rorty does not believe in the reform of the advertising business. He does not attempt to find the means for modifying its tone, for reducing the blast of hot air. Basing himself upon Veblen's brief but clear-sighted paragraphs on the function of advertising under capitalism, he develops the idea of advertising as an instrument of rule. Advertising is no isolated phenomenon, no bastard outgrowth of a business civilization, but a legitimate, logical and necessary development out of it. As long as capitalism stands, its wares will be advertised as usual. The Voice must shriek—or be silenced!

The sound was always an ugly one. From the beginnings of commercial enterprise up to the present giant growth, the blare and bluster have flourished with increasing intensity. So that today the Voice of advertising fills the land. It has become the Voice of America, brassily drowning out all other sounds, with its incessant command to buy, buy, buy.

But more than mere salesman, the advertising business is today a great industry with a tremendous yearly intake, employing millions directly and more millions indirectly. No longer an adjunct, but now a thing in itself: a new and mighty prop to the crumbling structure, a source of profit to be fought for and maintained.

Thus the Voice becomes the body and all the elements of the Voice—the newspapers (75 per cent of their support from advertising), the magazines (66 per cent advertising), the social scientists who conduct "disinterested" research, the psychologists engaged in studying customer reactions, down to the office boys who guard the portals of the agency palace, have an interest in keeping it blaring at full blast.

We meet in the pages of Our Master's Voice American heroes whom we had been taught to admire and exemplify, Ben Franklin and Elbert Hubbard among them. Their contributions to the pseudo-culture of advertising, their philosophic sanctions of the ideal of profit before all else, fall into line with the noisier and less respectable sales talk of P. T. Barnum and Henry Ward Beecher. Bruce Barton, the man who re-fashioned Christ in the image of the twentieth century business man merits an entire chapter in his role of most successful advertising man of our day and contemporary American hero.

Rorty was formerly an adman, but he is not interested in "exposing" what he knows about the advertising business. The strange men, the ludicrous situations he depicts, are caricatures or burlesques not by virtue of the author's exaggerations, but by their own contrast with human decency and the dignity of human relations. The Voice has no regard for qualities of man from which no profit can be extracted.

As a revolutionist, the author has contributed to the knowledge of the system which he is engaged in fighting an exact, a comprehensive and a witty study of one of its important aspects. He offers no solution for this specific evil other than destroying the whole

set-up of which it is a part. As to what will be left to salvage out of the advertising business itself when the final breakdown comes, his own prediction is that "when a formidable Fascist movement develops in America, the admen will be right up in front."

M. WILSON

More Dynamite

DYNAMITE—The Story of Class Violence in America, by Louis Adamic. (Revised Edition). \$2.00. The Viking Press, New York.

In this year 1934, when American workers are moving again martially in the fight for organization, it is appropriate that this book should appear in a new, revised edition. Friction between employed and employing classes has been accompanied by more day to day violence in America, perhaps, than in any other nation. In the continuing crisis ahead, there will be no diminution of this intensity in the struggle. The American industrialists and financiers, with their ruthless anti-union policies, will see to that.

The first edition of this work, which appeared in the spring of 1931, was a vivid and noteworthy contribution to this subject of class warfare. Its journalistic style commended it, not detracting in the least from its substantial accuracy of content. The present volume, bringing the record down to this current date, has been improved in that the economic background of the struggle has been more sharply developed.

From the Molly Maguires and the great riots of 1877 to the Battle of Toledo, the story of the grim

struggle moves stirringly across American industrial history. Haymarket, the Homestead Strike, the "Debs Rebellion," the Moyer-Haywood-Petibone trial, the McNamara case, the Mooney-Billings frame-up, the Centralia outrage, and countless other incidents all are there.

The evolution of the A. F. of L. officialdom toward smug respectability is outlined with brutal frankness. The hope of the author, out of the battle for union recognition, is the creation of "a new movement, a real American labor movement, fresh, radical, and revolutionary, along industrial and political lines—a realistic American movement of the producing masses, born of the economic and social problems of American life." Out of the terrific conflict will come, in his opinion, a left America—"for," as he correctly states, "in its very nature it is a left or revolutionary country."

As Adamic himself admits, "the book undoubtedly still has flaws." His prediction that labor racketeering will increase is quite questionable. Racketeering grows in direct proportion to the non-militancy of the mass of the workers, and we appear now to be in for a period of rising militancy. There may likewise still arise in the minds of some of his readers a confusion between racketeering and mass militant action. But these defects are so slight compared to the fine skill with which this difficult subject is handled as a whole that it would be childish to dwell upon them.

In brief this book is one that no labor activist or student of labor activities can afford to be without, today. It should be on the "required reading list" of every A.W.P. branch in my opinion, and we should seek to popularize it among all mass organizations in which the A.W.P. has influence.

LOUIS F. BUDENZ

The Manager Speaks

SEND IN YOUR SUBS

Going, going—and by midnight July 31st gone, your chance as a branch to win a typewriter, mimeograph machine or banner, and as a member of the Vanguard to win a book in the LABOR ACTION campaign. Final results to be announced in the next issue!

Toledo, Ohio and Gulfport, Miss., are fighting it out for first place, with Newark, the Finnish branch, Paterson and Illinois in the running for second place.

We also report with cheers that Pittsburgh has emerged from the shadows with 24 subs at one blow,—such a blow! As we go to press, West Virginia sends in nine subs.

Brief history of a sub:
Solicitation
Anticipation
Realization
Education
Expiration

Rejuvenation OR Lamentation! And just now we lament! Expirations are giving the grand little k.o. to that rising sub. curve on the office chart. The July 15th issue, though over 100 subs came in, suffered 180 expirations. This issue has another 75 falling due. We must make these up, and then some!

YOU, DELEGATES TO THE N.U.L. CONVENTION, GREETINGS! A year ago I was there sweating with the hottest of you. If I were this year, I'd try to squeeze a sub out of you, so be glad I'm broke! Please consider this a personal appeal, anyway, and send in the blank on this page.

If you're at the N.U.L. Convention, you certainly should be a subscriber to LABOR ACTION, for this paper has loyally and continuously fought with and for the organized unemployed. If you're broke, as most delegates to the Convention probably are, write about taking a small bundle of the papers for sale. With the profit on this, you could easily earn a sub.

BOOK NOTE

Nothing like having some of these writers as members of the Party! Our latest literary child is "OUR MASTER'S VOICE: Advertising," by James Rorty, and it looks to be as popular in its field as Sidney Hook's TOWARD THE UNDERSTANDING OF KARL MARX is in another.

Comrade Rorty has dealt a body blow to the ad business, and he knows his stuff, for he's been in the business himself and is telling secrets out of school. He convincingly proves the case against our "fantastic ad-man's civilization" in terms of the profit system's blaring voice, and he does it with tremendous violence and humor. As one critic says:

"The neatest, most amusing and at the same time most thoughtful piece of fundamental muckraking of the last season."

If you are a worker, you should know how and why your newspaper, radio and movie bring you the blah-blah-blah of the salesmen. If you are a revolutionist, you should fortify your understanding of the forces you are fighting by reading "Our Master's Voice."

We hope an inexpensive edition may be published, but meanwhile we urge you to stretch the pocketbook to get this. We repeat also the offer on Sidney Hook's book.

CARA COOK.

DEAR COMRADE

"Bacteriological Revolutionary Compulsives" Buddy, What Did You Say? The Comrades Bring Up Some Big Words

Dear Comrade:

Your answers to the letters in Labor Action are so helpful I want you to explain a few things for me. But if you don't mind my saying it, you can leave out some of the big words when you answer this letter. Every time I get a letter from you I have to run to the dictionary to see how to pronounce the words. I thought Schizophrenia was a reducing salts until I read your definition in your last letter. I once heard a doctor use that word about a stout girl who used to work in a five and dime store out here but they sent her away to a state hospital.

What bothers me now is this talk about the inevitability of a workers' revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party. My friend from the C.P. was over here again and we had some hot arguments. I asked him how he expected to conduct a revolution if the C. P. had no part in such important struggles as the Toledo and Minneapolis strikes. He tried to explain those two strikes away by saying that they were not expecting them to take place and because of that they were a bit late in arriving on the scene. This argument was fishy because it seems to me that a genuine revolutionary movement would know what to expect in the industrial field. But he consoled himself by saying, "We tried to sell a lot of Daily Workers."

"I Sprang One On Him"

While we were arguing back and forth, I sprang this one on him, I said, "What has happened to your membership since 1919? I heard that you had sixty thousand then and only twenty-six thousand now. What has happened to them?" This made him sore and he could not speak for some time. After he had recovered a little, this is the answer he gave: "The Communist Party is the only genuine revolutionary movement in the United States. Why do I say this? Because we have the only correct political line. We have the only correct theoretical base." "Wait a minute," I cried, "if you have all of these onlies why do you have a dwindling membership?" He looked at me with contempt and replied with scorn, "Numbers don't count. When you have the correct theoretical base the workers will flock into your party. History is on our side, and we will inevitably win out in the end. You just wait."

"I Can't Wait"

Now, dear comrade, will you explain to me why a party with a membership that has declined so much within the past 15 years is bound to win out in the end? I simply can't understand this. This sounds too much like rejoicing over the salvation of one lost sheep while the ninety and nine continue to graze in the pastures of the A. F. L. Please help me to understand this. I can't wait.

The argument lasted until morning hours and I don't want to bore you with too many questions. I am trying to understand the revolutionary movement and I get all mixed up on this theory business. I had a hard enough time trying to

understand what the word "inevitable" meant and to apply it to revolution under the leadership of a party which is on the outside of the labor movement confuses me more than ever. Any light that you can shed on this problem will be appreciated.

Fraternally,

MUNSEY GLEATON

Dear Comrade:

Your objection to unfamiliar words and phrases angers me. Some time ago I found you engrossed in the study of a little book called "Fifteen Lessons in Modern Russian". You were all in a sweat over the correct pronunciation of "Dnieprostroy" and I remember the degrading spectacle it was; a strong man gripped by extreme agony as that word defied bone, nerve, tissue and that pair of tonsil-like cell-structures which in your case seem to do duty for brains. If I appear excited, it is because knowing you capable of this, I cannot imagine why you should carp at understanding "schizophrenia", a word that is at once native, meaningful, decorative and very useful in debates on Internationals.

That is what causes me to hesitate in resolving some of your doubts on the inevitability of workers' revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party. The only satisfactory manner of characterizing such an awe-inspiring doctrine is to call it the "Bacteriological Theory of Revolutionary Compulsives". I could do this without fear of being misunderstood if you, in common with so many other comrades, were not less concerned with destroying the bourgeoisie than with destroying the English grammar. Without that understanding it becomes obligatory to answer pompous absurdities in a language equally pompous and absurd. On top of that, your naive explanation, and to force most theorists to explain their dictums is like asking Christ who his father was.

"It Operates As Follows"

However, comrade, in the labor movement no one who asks for light is denied; on the contrary, you run the risk of being given the sun when you ask for the moon.

The "Bacteriological Theory of Revolutionary Compulsives" operates somewhat as follows: dedicating July 1st, 1935 as the deadline of reaction and the birthday of revolution, we find John Jones, a simple American, a good Democrat and a law abiding citizen preparing for sleep. He yawns, lays aside his tabloid newspaper, stretches luxuriously and as if in profound thought climbs the steps to his bedroom. Here he gets into his pajamas, inserts himself between the sheets and blissfully thinks of a tomorrow like all other tomorrows.

"Earl Browder At Work"

But destiny and Earl Browder are at work. About three or four in the morning Jones's bedroom is invaded by a new species of microbe. They permeate his lungs, they snuggle in the cracks of his hide and they propagate with such amazing rapidity that by seven in the morning Jones is in a high fever and by half-past he is awake, dashing out of the house gun in hand for the nearest barricades and shouting, as he runs, the proper Communist slogans. For all over the country the same thing has taken place, millions of Joneses have been revolutionized through the agency of history and pathology.

If, with this splendid prospect in view, Communists sometimes seem overbearing and clannish what can we dullards do, comrade, but bide our time and wait for our share of historical hashish?

Fraternally,

LOUIS BREIER

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