

For a workers' world — peace and plenty, justice and freedom.

# LABOR ACTION

What Kind of a Party See Page 3

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Price 5 Cents

## Inflation Back Of Gold Bill

### Devaluation of Dollar Means Rapid Rise in Prices

## New NRA Move To Drive Down Living Standards of Workers

By HARRY A. HOWE

The question as to how the Roosevelt administration will raise the 10 billion dollars which, according to the budget, it intends to spend between now and July 1 is answered by the President's revaluation bill. At least this is the opinion of Professor James Harvey Rogers, one of Roosevelt's inner monetary advisers. According to Professor Rogers the potential inflationary possibilities of the bill is from 7 billion to 17 billion dollars. And this, thinks the professor, is one of the major virtues of the measure.

But specifically, what is this gold measure? The Government and the Federal Reserve System, between them, own a little more than 4 billion dollars in gold. This gold is supported to be the base of the dollars which you and I, if we are lucky, have in our pockets. The Government now intends to take all this gold, deposit it in the federal treasury, and devalue it between 40 and 50 per cent, make it worth in dollars between 40 and 50 per cent more.

### Wizardry Money

By doing this the Government will acquire several billion dollars. If it devalues the dollar 50 per cent, for example, it will turn the 4 billion gold dollars into 8 billion. But since by law only a 40 per cent gold reserve for currency is now required, this 4 billion dollars, it has been pointed out, could easily be increased to 10 billion, should the Government issue dollar certificates for its gold.

What effect will this have on the value of the dollars we have in our pockets or expect to have in our pockets from the wages we are paid? All past experience of governments doing this sort of thing says that our present dollars will buy less and less food, clothing, etc. In other words, prices will rise. A 50 cent dollar, says Professor E. W. Kemmerer, conservative authority on money, would mean a general price level ultimately 86 per cent higher than now.

### Prices Rise, Wages Do Not

The rise in prices has already begun, although the bill has not yet been enacted by Congress. This is shown by the labor department's food price index which shows a rise after six weeks' decline. Wholesale prices are also going up steadily. It is obvious that unless wages can be forced up the workers will foot the bill for the gold program.

Of course the administration vociferously denies any inflationary intentions. *Sound money* is what we are after, says the President. But who knows what is *sound money*? A reading of the opinions of the "experts" would indicate that there are just about as many kinds of *sound money* as there are "experts."

### Revolt Is Brewing

However, one thing is certain. The National Recovery program has not been the howling success General Johnson and the other administration ballyhoosers have tried to make us believe. Business has not shown any substantial revival. The unemployed have not been put back to work. Despite the billions of dollars poured into insolvent banks, railroads and other business enterprises by the RFC, American capitalism is still on the down grade. And, although the workers and far-

## Federal Unions Plan Defense Against A.F.L. Craft Unionism

Washington. — Meeting in response to a call sent out by Federal Labor Union No. 18872, the organization of the Westinghouse Employees of South Philadelphia, delegates from many parts of the country, empowered to speak for almost 100 Federal Unions with an estimated membership of 250,000, planned a defense against the attempt of the American Federation of Labor officialdom to split these industrial organizations and force their members into the regular craft unions of the Federation.

The delegates heard reports proving that the conference of the Federation to organize on an industrial basis, made when organization of Federal Unions was first begun, were being ruthlessly broken, and that the Federation Executive was not even observing the decision of their own convention on the matter. Delegates testified that even though the A. F. of L. convention had decided to leave the matter for settlement to a conference of International Presidents later, the executive council has begun almost immediately to break up the industrial Federal Unions.

A union of General Electric workers in Mass. was offered a Federal charter—if they gave up the machinists and electricians to the craft organizations. They refused, rejecting the charter. The Westinghouse group at South Philadelphia had also been ordered to give up its machinists to the Machinists Union and refused. Leaders of the largest Rubber Workers Union in Akron, were summarily expelled from the union by the local A. F. of L. organizer when they supported industrial unionism.

A member of these local Federal

Unions have begun to take action toward the forming of real national industrial organizations in their particular industries. During sessions of the conference, word was received that the Aluminum workers were organizing a national grouping of this kind. The Radio workers, claiming 70,000 members in many locals, have established a national council to coordinate their efforts. Similar steps are being taken in other industries such as food, metal products and electrical equipment.

The main resolution adopted by the conference demanded that "the issuance of Federal charters to units formed with the mass production industries be renewed and aggressively continued as the adopted policy of the American Federation of Labor. (Issuance of Federal charters has been stopped in recent months); that these Federal unions shall not be separated or segregated into craft unions but shall be held intact on industry lines."

"That a bureau be established within the A. F. of L. having a competent and responsible official head to aid in and stimulate the formation of such industrial unions"; and "that where a reasonable and sufficient number of such Federal unions form a national association and apply for a national or International charter, same shall be immediately granted by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor."

Emphasizing its determination to work within the American Federation of Labor, the conference tried without success to get a chance to present its views to the conference of International officials held on January 24.

## Real Estate Interests Fight Petty Government Housing Program

When Comptroller-General McCarron awoke on the morning of Jan. 17, 1934, with the brilliant dream discovery that the Founding Fathers living on farms and plantations in 1787 had not thought of slum clearance and low-cost housing when they wrote the Constitution, he proceeded immediately to tie up \$48,000,000 set aside for one of the few socially legitimate revival measures of the Roosevelt administration.

## Bosses Cut Wages As Profits Stay Up

Wages have suffered the most in the general decline since 1929, dropping about 60 per cent from that level by 1932. This was the conclusion reached by Willard L. Thorp, director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in a report described as the "most complete and detailed ever compiled" which he submitted to the Senate. Farmers' income, he asserted further, dropped almost 50 per cent in the same period of time while those who were living on interest payments "suffered" a slash in income of about 2 per cent. When it is recalled that the cost of living fell in this same period, it is apparent that this latter class gained considerably in real income.

The wages of workers dropped from about 17 1/2 billion in 1929 to 6 1/2 billion in 1932. On the other hand the income of the public utility industry fell only 7 per cent. Dividends did not fall at all in 1930 as compared with 1929, though in 1931 and 1932 these payments were cut about 40 per cent. Landlords received about 1 1/2 billion in 1932. Summarized, it appears that in 1932 the owning class took about 10 billion from the national income as compared with about 6 billion going to wage-earners. In terms of index numbers this means that the latter class saw their income slashed to 39.8 from the 1929 level of 100, as against the 96.8 equivalent for the owning classes.

This report which was done by the Department of Commerce in connection with the National Bureau of Economic Research is the result of a year of intensive research.

A real and comprehensive project of slum clearance and low-cost housing would do more to start industrial activity than any other of the NRA "cures." Not that the likes program of housing is a real one! Far from it! In the construction industry which averaged over \$8 billion a year in the period between 1925 and 1929, the \$100 million which the Secretary of the Interior proposes to spend is ridiculously small. It is certainly not enough to make much difference to building trades workers or the users of low-cost housing.

If the government actually desired to increase the purchasing power of the mass of workers, is there a better way than re-employing the six million workers who were in the construction industry between 1925 and 1929? Over 150 industries depend in one way or another upon building activities. A real housing plan would start the capital goods market going and add workers to payrolls.

Does the country really need a housing program? Dr. Edith Wood, an authority on housing problems, says that at least one-half of American houses are below minimum standards. By that she means:

They do not have inside running water; there is no water closet in the house for the exclusive use of the family; and the rooms are neither large enough nor sufficient in relation to the number of occupants. Further, the amount of ventilation, sunlight, and garbage makes them closer to manure-pile sheds than houses.

The Department of Agriculture, says that three-fourths of the farm houses are without running water, a kitchen sink, and bathrooms with stationary tubs. In New York some 2 million people live in "Old Tenement Law" houses; that is to say there are 250,000 rooms without direct contact with air. At the rate they are being demolished legally, before they are all down, 138 years will have gone by.

Why in the face of all this—what even the Roosevelt administration knows—is the Constitution being evoked? Because banks, real estate interests, speculators, and some contractors do not want to see slum clearance or low-cost housing.

## AWP Gets Ready For Meetings

### Dinner on Friday To Be Followed by Conference of Field Workers

## Activity Grows Movement Toward Party by Many Groups of Workers

A conference of active workers in the American Workers Party will be held in New York City, Saturday, February 3. This conference follows a dinner at the Town Hall Club, Friday night, at which organizers from Ohio, Illinois, North Carolina and Pennsylvania, States in which the AWP is especially active at this time, will tell about what the Party is doing in mass organizations. Among the speakers at the dinner will be:

Agnes Burns Weick, famous leader of the Women's Auxiliary of the Illinois coal miners; Bill Traux, president of the Ohio Unemployed League, having a membership of more than 150,000; Arnold Johnson, organizer of the National Unemployed League, just back from participation in a successful strike of CWA workers in West Virginia; Louis F. Budenz, veteran strike leader, and executive secretary of the Provisional Organizing Committee of the AWP; and J. B. S. Hardman, vice chairman of the POC. The chairman of the meeting will be A. J. Muste, chairman of the POC.

In addition to the above speakers, George S. Counts, professor of history at Columbia University will speak, and Sidney Hook and V. F. Calverton will tell why they have joined the AWP.

In New York City the work of the Party goes forward with accelerated speed. During the month the most active group of workers in the Finnish Workers and Farmers Unity League have formed a Finnish branch of the AWP and are organizing a Finnish Federation to be affiliated with the AWP. The new headquarters at 112 East 19th Street are crowded daily with workers who want information and literature about the new party and new members are being taken in at each branch meeting.

In addition to these groups of industrial workers a number of professional workers' groups, including teachers, technicians, writers, artists, etc., have been meeting with members of the POC to work out ways in which they can most effectively cooperate with the Party.

The growing interest in the AWP, nationally, is reflected in the more than 50 per cent increase in Labor Action subscriptions during the past month, and in the demand for literature about the Party. Hundreds of copies of the first brief statement of AWP program and principles have been sent out, while requests for the fuller statement by the Party to be published in pamphlet form, February 1, keep pouring into the office.

## NRA No Santa Claus

### A. F. L. International Presidents Are Finding Out at Last

News from Washington, where the International Presidents of the American Federation of Labor unions have been meeting, indicates that the boys have found out that the NRA isn't Santa Claus. After listening to a speech by General Hugh Johnson, several of the big guns of the Federation are said to have raked him for and aft with criticisms of the NRA administration and policies.

It is understood that Wharton of the Machinists, Duffy of the Pottery Workers and Tobin of the Teamsters were especially warm under the collar about the practices of the Recovery Administration.

## FLASHES

### Relief for the Rich

Two-thirds of this year's 10 billion dollar budget goes to property owners, the People's Lobby estimates.

### Tax the Rich!

A 100 per cent tax on all incomes over \$10,000 and inheritances over \$100,000, to allow the State to take over industry, and to create a farm products emergency agency, was demanded of Gov. Schmedeman in a resolution passed by the Pierce County Farmers Union, which asks the governor to call a special session of the State legislature to enact these reforms.

### Local Patriot Convicted

Tom B. Boyd, former State Treasurer and well-known patriot of Topeka, Kansas, was convicted by a District Court jury of illegally removing \$250,000 of bonds from the State vaults last July.

### Wins Recognition

After long years of bitter struggle, Butte Local No. 1 of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers has won recognition by the Anaconda Copper Mining Co.

### German Income Shrinks

Germany's national income during the first half of 1933 declined about \$150,000,000, according to an official estimate of the Federal Statistical Bureau. What's the matter Herr Hitler? We thought the Jews and radicals in the "new Germany" were all killed or suppressed?

## CWA Gets Ready To Cut Wages And Fire All Workers by May 1

By LEE HEWITT

The Roosevelt administration plans to drop one million men from the Civil Works Administration every two weeks beginning Feb. 15, as a result of "lack of funds," despite the fact that less than one-half of the original CWA allotment has been spent for this purpose.

Immediate layoffs are demanded in fourteen states, \$1,000 in Wisconsin, 20,000 in Arkansas, 1,500 in Maine, 1,500 in New Hampshire, 8,500 in Minnesota, 1,500 in Oklahoma, 45,000 in Texas, 1,000 in Utah, 10,000 in Washington, 16,000 in West Virginia, 13,000 in Kentucky, 16,000 in Michigan, 46,000 in Ohio.

Government authorities estimate four million men working on CWA projects. At the rate of dismissal planned—500,000 a week—they would again be unemployed by April 15. In an effort to extend this period until May 1, the government has embarked on a program of ruthless wage cutting.

Professional workers will be slashed to a maximum of \$15 a week.

Laborers in the large cities will be slashed from \$13.50 a week to an average of \$10.80.

In the smaller communities, especially in the South, it is planned to reduce the pay to \$4.50 a week!

At the latest, "the show is going to close on May 1," declared Relief Administrator, CWA head, Harry L. Hopkins.

President Roosevelt expresses the pious hope that with the coming of summer the four million men will be absorbed in "normal outdoor work." There is no comment on the usual seasonal slack which takes place at this time. Nor is there anything to say about the figures released by the Labor Department which show that already the effects of the artificial stimulant business has received has started to wear off. While prices have risen, there is a marked loss in both payrolls and employment figures.

Despite the government's complaint of lack of funds, skilled observers reveal a more fundamental reason. Low-wage employers, especially in the South, cannot meet even the starvation wage level maintained till now by the CWA! These employers have complained

## CWA Workers In West Virginia Down Their Tools

### Starting in Kanawha County Strike Is Spreading Throughout State Under Leadership of Fighting Unemployed League

## CPLA Asks Perkins To Fire McGrady For Interference

New York.—An emphatic demand that Edward F. McGrady, Assistant Secretary of Labor, be immediately dismissed from his position was sent this week to Frances Perkins, U. S. Secretary of Labor, by Louis F. Budenz, executive secretary of the CPLA. Budenz severely denounced the former A. F. of L. official for his part in railroading Ben Gold, secretary of the Fur Workers Industrial Union, to jail.

"Such interference by government representatives in international union disputes," said Budenz, "is a criminal and intolerable invasion of the independence of the trade union movement."

Gold, who was about to be given a suspended sentence by Judge Rodney on the plea of his attorney, received instead a 49-day term in jail when a letter from McGrady was introduced as evidence. In jingoistic phrases reminiscent of Matthew Woll at his worst, this former A. F. of L. official denounced Gold not only as a trouble-maker and slacker but also as a menace to society.

## Demand More Pay Charge State Administrator W. N. Beehler Is Playing Politics

Charleston, W. Va.—The county-wide strike of CWA workers was suspended by joint action of a large rank and file mass meeting on Jan. 25, as a result of partial victory. A federal investigation is immediately to be launched, the amount of work is to be increased per man, and the CWA projects are to be extended until May. The League is organizing further mass action, as the result of this success, with a view to renewing the strike if the state and federal investigation does not lead to a complete meeting of the strikers' demands. Gunboat Smith and Hugh Fisher are out of jail, on five hundred dollar bonds, awaiting trial.

Over 5,000 CWA workers, members of the West Virginia Unemployed League, laid down their tools throughout Kanawha County on January 23 in a general strike which is spreading to other parts of the state. A shut-down was immediately effective on projects in this city, Point Creek, South Charleston, Spring Hill, South Hills, Vandalia, the Blue Creek area, and other places.

The strikers are demanding more money, better working conditions, and the discharge of W. N. Beehler, State CWA Administrator, on charges of showing political favoritism in dispensing relief.

Following a large mass meeting at the Reynolds St. showgrounds in this city, pickets were thrown around all relief projects and their lines have been maintained vigorously. The city and county authorities have called out extra police forces, while automobiles carrying squads of state troopers cruise about the city and county day and night.

Arnold Johnson, Secretary of the National Unemployed League, is in the city in connection with the convention of the state unemployed league, to be held here January 28. He addressed the mass meeting at the showgrounds, and is cooperating in the strike. C. F. Searcist, acting for his brother Walter, who is president of the league, has taken direct charge of the strike in its initial stages, because of Walter's illness. Edward Snyder, veteran leader of many mine strikes, was made chairman of the Strike Committee.

Among the charges made by the league in calling the strike are:

That politics is playing a prominent part in the selection of men for all kinds of work, from laborers, timekeepers and foremen to supervisors.

That married men are being cut off from the jobs, under a reduction order by NRA headquarters in Washington, while single workmen are permitted to remain at work.

That there is no uniform scale governing the wages of the workers, all sorts of variations in pay existing for the same specific kind of work.

The strikers demand a minimum of \$22 a week, on CWA projects, in contrast with \$13.10 a week now being paid. They also demand the 6 hour day and 5 day week on these jobs, while they state that persons on direct relief rolls and not working receive at least \$13.50 a week.

The CWA rolls in the state have been ordered reduced 25 per cent by Harry L. Hopkins, national relief administrator. A complete new set-up in the relief organization "from Beehler on down" is insisted upon by the unemployed league. "Also," Searcist stated, "we demand that men who have been cut off CWA projects be put back to work."

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# ABROAD

By LUDWIG LORE

**Bulgaria**  
In the city of Barna a monster trial is being conducted against 47 sailors and 10 civilians for Communist propaganda and revolutionary activity before a special court. The state attorney moved death penalty for 20 of the accused, and heavy prison sentences for the rest. The sailors were charged with maintaining radio connections with Communist propaganda centres of the Soviet Union on board their ships.

**Czecho-Slovakia**  
142 men lost their lives in a coal mine catastrophe of the Cessker Nelson mines; only the bodies of 13 were recovered. The shaft was sealed up since the danger of gas poisoning continues. In reply to an interpellation by social-democratic deputies in Parliament, the Minister for Public Welfare admitted that the legal requirements for the prevention of coal gas explosions had not been observed by the company.

**Denmark**  
Premier Stauning informed the leaders of the important parties that the government is about to present a bill strictly forbidding the creation of or participation in political organizations of a military character.

**France**  
During a demonstration of unemployed workers in Calais, a clash between the unemployed and the police occurred in which eight policemen were more or less seriously wounded. Two of the demonstrators were arrested. The permanent Executive Board of the Socialist Party has decided to negotiate with the directors of the Communist Party and of the Independent Socialist Party concerning the establishment of a United Front. The next convention of the SP will be held on February 10 and 11 in Lille.

**Germany**  
The Professors Bossert and Dr. Nennenschneider, two Protestant German Nationalists, were condemned to 3 and 4 months in prison respectively for "circulating false reports" about the Reich government and the National Socialist Party. The Special Court of Dessau, according to the Press Service Bureau 'Infa', ordered the sterilization of two workers charged with repeated anti-Nazi propaganda, and gave them a six months jail term. Ernst Torgler has been sent from Leipzig to Berlin and there placed in the custody of the Secret State Police. The three Bulgarians also officially acquitted by the Nazi courts in Leipzig, "remain for the present under protective arrest." The Los Angeles attorney, Leo Gallagher, who was sent by the International Labor Defense to represent the interests of Dimitrow, has been ordered out of the country.

According to the 'Voelkische Beobachter' "Wuerttenberg is viewing with alarm the new formation of Communist Organization." Recently 26 Communists were arrested. The former editor of the social democratic "Volksstimme" in Schmalkalden, Ludwig Pappenheim, was "shot while attempting to escape" from the concentration camp in which he has been interned since March. . . . In Mahlsdorf near Berlin the worker Vesper was arrested and has not been heard of since. A week ago his wife was notified that the body of her husband had been delivered into the morgue. His skull was shattered and his body bruised and broken as if it had been trampled upon.

**Great Britain**  
Unemployment figures published for December by the Labor Ministry show a decrease in the number of unemployed since the previous month of 55,000 and an improvement of 429,800 over the figures of the corresponding month of the previous year. . . . The National Council of the Independent Labor Party met in London and decided to write to the Executive of the Committee of the Third International putting a series of questions as to the conditions of association and stating what, in the view of the I.L.P. is the necessary basis of a revolutionary Socialist International. The I.L.P. council suggests changes involving the extension of the right of criticism within the Communist International, the preparation of important decisions through international discussion and the replacement of the supremacy of the Russian Communist Party over the International by a collective international leadership. The council requested a reply by Feb. 5 so that a decision may be taken by the annual con-

ference of the I.L.P. at Easter after consultation with the branches.

**Hungary**  
The three hitherto existing groups of the national socialist movement in Hungary have now united in a National Socialist Party of Hungary under the direction of a Board consisting of Nesko, Count Palffy and Count Alexander Feszetic.

**Latvia**  
The Social Democratic Party called a special party convention to Riga on whose order of business the "political situation" and the "Discussion of the Referendum on Old-Age, Unemployment and Invalid Insurance" will be the outstanding subjects of discussion. The initiative on Social Legislation inaugurated by the Social Democracy received 200,000 signatures but was voted down by Parliament. It is hoped, however, that a referendum will adopt the proposed law over the head of Parliament.

**Portugal**  
To relieve its crowded prisons, the government shipped 240 political prisoners to various Portuguese penal colonies. The punishment of these prisoners who are now exposed to various tropical diseases, is greatly increased thereby. . . . The government announces a decree that will change all trade unions into corporate organizations.

**Soviet Union**  
In accordance with a motion made before the Moscow city soviet Dimitroff will be made the Honorary Citizen of Red Moscow. As soon as—and if—the liberated Bulgarians enter the Soviet Union, huge mass demonstrations will be arranged in the entire Soviet Union in their honor and against Fascism. All Reich-German engineers who have worked in the Soviet Union for its apparatus of national defense have now been dismissed and American and French engineers have been appointed in their stead. According to information published in the Soviet press, Tschadschikistan, the Chairman of the CC and Maksim, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars in the autonomous Soviet Republic of Chodschibajew were removed from office because their work had shown bourgeois nationalist tendencies. Their expulsion from the party is more than probable.

# More About The Kind of Party We Are Building

By J. B. S. HARDMAN

## What Do We Stand For?

OUR ultimate aims is to do away with what is commonly described as the capitalist system. Under this system the nation's wealth and resources are either owned or controlled by a greedy, unscrupulous and reckless minority. The majority of the people are forced to live on the crumbs that the rich leave behind them. Mighty little is being left after the rich and the powerful take their pickings. The depression years have reduced this little to next to nothing. In consequence nearly every third person of our population is thrown on private or public charity or is left to shift for himself the best way he knows how. Labor, even when employed, is exploited to the bone. The farmers and the men and the women in the services and in the professions fare no better.

Well, we want to do away with all this. What's more, we want it all done away with very soon. But that is but one part of the job. The other part is to establish a social system based on the organized and all-inclusive cooperation of all the healthy and able persons in the community and in the nation, for the common good. The leading principle of this cooperation should be: *take from everyone the best he or she can give, and give every one as much as he or she needs for a comfortable, healthy, useful, and intelligent living.* When we get that far we might think up something else we would want, but about that we will worry later.

This program is often described as socialism or communism, but labels don't matter. We want the thing. The real thing.

But how is this all to be secured?

Well, for one thing: it won't be delivered to us on a silver platter just because we want it. Some hard fighting for what we want is in store and we may as well prepare

for such fight. Thus we stand for two things:

1. for putting an end to the capitalist rule of this nation and the establishment of a cooperative economic and social order where only the socially useful workers in all fields of human endeavor will run things and everybody, the people as a whole and every individual will be the beneficiaries of the cooperative run of things.

2. for an effective fight for this great change, which, we may as well realize, won't come otherwise unless by way of a true, thorough and all-inclusive social revolution.

And we also want to add this: fight is the best preparatory training school for acquiring strength. Hence, the preparation for the eventual great struggle for our ultimate ends is not to be closeted or kept in cold storage: it will grow out of the day-in, day-out struggles of the workers and all of the other socially-militant and insurgent groups of the people waging battle against the capitalist labor-exploitation, against the abuses of power by the organs of capitalist authority and the encroachments of the system upon the social and human rights of the common man.

Through fighting militancy we shall accumulate the power for the eventual great struggle for power.

## Do We Need A Party for That?

YES. All economic and social struggles inescapably face the resistance of the political powers of the present system. No basic change in the social order will be brought about unless control of political powers will be shifted from the class of the "best people" who now hold power to the revolutionary party of the real people. The existing political order and its major organs of authority: the government, the armed forces, the judiciary, the police, as well as its intelligent defenses; the press, the church, the school system and the universities, are all bent on upholding the present control of income and wealth, and we want that control taken away from them. The workers, the farmers, the professional and the technical people, the white collar men and women, all want and fight for a redistribution of income and wealth. In this they meet with the resistance of the powers of the political state, and consequently every industrial and economic struggle, as well as every attempt to free the intellectual life of the nation from control by the present possessors of wealth, must take the form of a struggle for political power. A political party alone can unite all the so-called underprivileged and give unity and direction to their forces and purposes. They must organize in a political party.

## How Does the A.W.P. Differ from the Other Parties?

THE difference between the American Workers party now in progress of formation, and the older parties of political radicalism, goes far afield and in many directions. At this time it will be sufficient to indicate the major differences, and hence the reasons for this new party of ours.

me and I don't—I almost said I don't understand it, but I think I do. I think you can hit the heads of all the farmers or fur workers you want to, or even shoot them, and it is all right if you are a cop or a soldier or one of the sheriff's men. They will give you a new uniform to wear and give you extra money. That's the way it looks to me. But if you hit a cop on the head with a club it will get you into trouble. They put you in jail and the newspapers all say you are a bad man, very dangerous to society.

So it looks like we are up against it. That is what Wees said. But wait till I get out. When I get to Midway I will tell the farmers and workers to stick together and not expect any help from anybody. To tell the truth a cop is always a cop even if he is your uncle. I have found that out. The thing that makes me so mad now, though, is that out in Midway my father and mother are praying. Wees sometimes curses hell off the hinges, but I never heard him pray. That is why I like him.

The End

## But Why Not a Farmer-Labor Party?

WE do not say: no. But we say—that the task ahead of us, at this time, is primarily one of building a party of an outspoken social revolutionary orientation. The American Workers party hopes eventually to become both the party of the American revolutionary forces and a mass party. But the two developments obviously won't go together before the situation will have become fully revolutionized, and the task ahead of that of revolutionizing the minds of the various workers' groups, in the factories, the mills, the offices and in the field. In the realization of this task, the efforts of a party like ours, if intelligently, devotedly and energetically carried on, may equal the force that objective developments will lend to the movement. It is an historic task that they who want to count can only very well neglect.

It is not at all inconceivable or impossible that in the course of events, as the workers and the farmers awaken to political consciousness, there will come into existence parties of labor and of farmers, in the several states or even nationally and we do not commit ourselves in advance either to unequal support or to unconditional opposition to such formations. It is, however, fairly certain that for the present, with the governmental forces leaning toward a weak and much diluted variety of state capitalism, and simultaneously and actively playing ball with the constituted labor and farmer leaders, independent farmer labor formations are not in sight. The Farmer-Labor Federation as yet remains a mere label. Its programmatic vagueness has not been rewarded by practical achievements. The Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota remains the one outstanding unit of this type of movement, and its political course has been of declining value. Parties in other states have not come into being save some very small and, on the whole, inconsequential local efforts.

The sure-to-come failure of the Roosevelt administration's effort to restore the capitalist profit system to sound continued functioning is not unlikely to lead, among other probabilities, to a political activation of great masses of workers and farmers, and there will then be much talk and some action in the direction of forming farmer-labor parties. The programs and the course that such parties, if and when formed, will follow would depend very largely upon the circumstances attending their formation. The active existence of a revolutionary party in such an eventuality, is certain to be of great and positive value to the movement. The AWP is rightly organizing now to be prepared to be a constructive part in whatever development the future holds in its wake.

## Just What Is Political Action?

CERTAINLY more than the mere business of naming dog-catchers under-sheriffs or judges and voting them into office. While all things were just good and nice and the boobs were putting their dollars into stocks and bonds, domestic, foreign and "blue-sky," and the manipulations were turning paper into gold, the reform parties degraded political action into plain and so very often entirely meaningless electioneering, or participation in elections. Yet political action, in its wider meaning is the stuff of which the Russian, the French, the American revolutions were made.

When the AWP refers to political action, the participation in elections is viewed as only one form of activity, and not necessarily the most important form. The scope of political action properly includes every form of mass demonstration, from presentation of petitions to Congress and legislatures by great numbers of citizens and mass pressure upon candidates, to every kind of popular action which may be developed around every significant issue of social, economic, cultural and political life. Economic and industrial struggles may under properly coordinated circumstances take on a destructive political nature. Political action may further, under favorable circumstances, and with a revolutionary party in the field, also include the creation of

extra-legal institutions and assemblies, such for example as a lay congress, or lay city councils of workers in the various industries and the services, to parallel the regular legislative bodies in a fight for political rights, or for economic issues of the masses and who demonstrate by their activity the fallacies and the anti-labor, or anti-farmer class character of the existing organs of capitalist authority.

Political action is the name for the practically endless variety of means and ways that the people, organized and led by a purposive socially-directed movement, may bring to bear upon a situation which they want to affect. The AWP concept of political action is of this wide, truly revolutionary nature.

## What About Allies and Unity?

BROADLY speaking, the social base of the workers' revolutionary movement is the working class. We use the term working class to include all those who work for their living, and their dependents. A revolutionary movement set upon the overthrowing of the social order must be based solidly and deeply in the social class which stands to gain most by the proposed revolution. However, there are in the political, industrial, agricultural and professional fields numerous parties, groups, trade union movements, and theoretic associations. They all claim their special jurisdictions, insist on special purposes and defend particular tactical lines.

To achieve results in a situation so complicated and difficult, we need allies. The AWP will endeavor to cooperate with all other genuinely advanced and militant groups when cooperation will tend to strengthen the major cause of the labor movement. In all questions of unity, primary consideration is to be given to the one paramount issue: whether or not cooperation will help the workers achieve results and tend to increase their power in the ultimate struggle against capitalist mastery and for the establishment of a thoroughgoing and complete workers' democracy. In all cases, cooperation is to be approached sincerely and exercised honestly. The AWP proposes to work in the trade union field, with all those progressives who are willing to do their share in making the movement aggressive, socially militant, to free it of bureaucracy, and of course, all forms of graft, corruption, dishonesty, racketeering. Upon the political field the AWP will endeavor to enlist the cooperation of all the groups and parties of the left, if such cooperation will tend to clarify social issues, unite large numbers of workers in pursuance of these issues, and strengthen a mass workers' opposition to capitalist control. In the direction of theoretic orientation the AWP will seek to develop a base for the movement, free of dogmatism, sectarian outlook, and revolutionary romanticism. In these efforts at unity, every willing individual is a welcome ally, provided he otherwise qualifies. Every party is a possible fellow-traveler, as long as joint purposes can be defined and a mutually acceptable course of procedure prescribed.

Non-political organizations of individuals of the working class or of the farmers, or in the professions and white collar groups, are a logical field upon which the party will enter, not for purposes of mechanical domination, or to break them up, but in order to activate these groups and to cooperate with them in the great battle of the people against capitalism.

The unity of revolutionary forces, essential to final victory, will grow out of the needs of the evolving revolutionary upheaval, rather than out of vain and insincere appeals to "united front" unity. The AWP addresses itself to the task of unifying the purposes of the groups rather than their politics. Thirty million American wage and salary earners and the many more millions of professionals, farmers, and those in the services are the depository of dormant energy and social unrest. We propose to take our stand with the major aims of the masses as against the petty ambitions of political cliques. An aroused mass movement for social regeneration and revolution will roll over factions, sects and intrigues who will dare to place their small selves in the way of the movement.



# LABOR ACTION

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HARRY A. HOWE ..... Editor  
CARA COOK ..... Circulation Manager

Organ of the Provisional Organizing Committee  
of the American Workers Party

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### NEW HEADQUARTERS

THE expanding activities of the American Workers Party and the Conference for Progressive Labor Action required a new headquarters. We have moved a few blocks away from the old quarters, and are now at 112 East 19th Street. Besides half a dozen offices there is a large room in which classes, meetings of the New York branch, union meetings, etc., can be held.

We hope that the workers, trade unionists and others who have in large numbers become acquainted with our old headquarters, will have no difficulty in finding the new one. We hope and expect that large numbers of new comrades and friends will join with the old in the many headquarters activities.

The larger and more efficient National Office is a symbol of the greater responsibility we have undertaken in building the American Workers Party as the revolutionary expression of the American working class and of our iron determination faithfully to discharge that responsibility.

### DRIVE LEWIS OUT!

JOHN L. LEWIS in his report to the national convention of the United Mine Workers likens the NRA to Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and adds that "dissension, bloodshed and cutthroat competition have been eliminated" from the mining industry.

So far as the cutthroat competition is concerned, excited conferences are even now going on because price-cutting threatens to break out in a virulent form in the soft coal fields. As for the elimination of dissension and bloodshed, that will be news indeed to the 50,000 members of the Anthracite Miners Union of Pennsylvania who are on strike against bad conditions, with the U.M.W. joined with the operators in fighting them, and to the thousands of members of the Progressive Miners of Illinois, many of whom are still on strike against Peabody-Insull interests while members of the Lewis union scab on them!

We are for one united organization of miners. We have no illusions about the shortcomings of the independent miners' unions. The P.M.A. has taken a leaf out of Lewis' own book and expelled its own militants. Some at least of the leaders of the A.M.U. of Pennsylvania are czars of the Lewis type. However, these unions exist and have mass following because the miners have scores of grievances and the U.M.W. under the Lewis leadership is not meeting their needs. When these miners sought through the constitutional machinery of the U.M.W. to protest, Lewis and his henchmen did not consent to argue; they clubbed and shot the opposition.

It is not surprising that the Lewis outfit hail the NRA. The Roosevelt administration took Lewis when he was utterly discredited among the miners and had lost practically his whole organization, at least in the bituminous fields, and made him a big figure again in the labor movement. Now when the P.M.A. or the Anthracite Miners Union go to the government with their grievances, they have to deal with an NRA agency on which Lewis is the "labor" representative! This business of government using its power in intra-union disputes is a step toward Fascism. It is a crime against unionism. It means the end of real unionism.

The miners of the U. S., to whatever union they may belong, have a common interest in keeping up the fight to drive Lewis and Lewisism out of the midst and in building one strong fighting industrial union for the whole country.

### FEBRUARY ANNIVERSARIES

FEBRUARY brings the anniversary of Washington's and of Lincoln's birth. The occasion will be used by the "sons and daughters of the revolution" to urge that out of loyalty to the memory of these national heroes, we must keep things as nearly as possible as they are and above all must avoid doing anything revolutionary. Sons and daughters of revolutions often have a horror of being fathers and mothers of revolution themselves!

The American Workers Party calls upon the workers, farmers and intellectuals of the United States to reaffirm the right of revolution laid down in the Declaration of Independence. After speaking of the right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," that instrument declares: "Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter, or abolish it." Abraham Lincoln in a great Inaugural Address reasserted this right: "The country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it."

There have been three great struggles in American history. The first culminated in the Revolutionary War. That struggle decided that this was to be an independent nation, not an agricultural colony to be exploited by British landlords and capitalists. Washington played a part in that struggle. That is the basis for his claim to a place in history.

The second struggle in American history culminated in the Civil War. That struggle decided that the resources of this country were not to be owned and controlled mainly by a slave-holding feudal aristocracy but were to be exploited under a capitalist, competitive economic system. Lincoln played

his part in deciding that issue. It is the basis for his claim to a place in history.

Today the third, the mightiest and the most important struggle in American history is going on. This struggle will decide whether the modern lords of industry and finance will be allowed to retain their power and to force the American workers and farmers into want, insecurity and slavery under a Fascist regime; or whether the masses shall collectively own and control the vast resources of this continent and its productive mechanism and so at last realize the American dream of a "nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal"—a nation of free men and equals, knowing no oppressors, no oligarchy of birth or wealth living off the toil of the masses, no class distinctions.

The present task is even more fundamentally revolutionary in character than that of 1776 or 1863. Let the workers, farmers and intellectuals of today be true to the revolutionary tradition in American history by courageously performing that task!

### HANDS OFF CUBA

THE Roosevelt administration has recognized the Cuban government under the presidency of Mendieta a couple of days after the latter took office. The course of the administration in this matter is a good illustration of how, despite declarations to the contrary, the U. S. does intervene in Cuban affairs.

The unspeakably vile tyrant Machado was kept in office for years by American bankers and indirectly by the Coolidge-Hoover regimes. At last Cubans revolted. At that point Sumner Welles, Roosevelt ambassador in Cuba, worked hard to see to it that it would be a "safe" revolution. A former Machado henchman named de Cespedes became president. It looked as though the U. S. would promptly recognize him.

The Cubans were disgusted with the fake, revolted and put Grau San Martin in and a government considerably farther to the left. This time the Roosevelt administration became very cautious. They had to be sure the Cuban government would command the confidence of all elements in Cuba, including presumably the sugar and banking interests, and could maintain "law and order." American battleships rode in Cuban waters. The Grau San Martin government had to do without U. S. recognition. It collapsed. Mendieta, representing more conservative elements, and considered safe by Wall Street, became president and was immediately recognized.

If this is not intervention, what is it? We demand immediate withdrawal of all U. S. warships from Cuban waters. We must build a powerful revolutionary workers' movement in the U. S. to unite with similar movements in Latin American countries to put an end to imperialism, exploitation in every form, and war!

### WORKERS' EDUCATION?

FRANCIS PERKINS, Secretary of Labor, and George F. Zook, U. S. Commissioner of Education, have called a conference on workers' education. "The Federal Government through the Federal Emergency Relief Administration is aiding workers' education," they state, through a grant of funds to pay the salaries of unemployed teachers for adult groups. It is necessary now to formulate a definite program.

We do not attempt an exhaustive or final appraisal until we know more about what this "definite program" is. But one or two observations need to be made immediately. Any "workers' education" scheme which is an agency for "putting over" the NRA, the administration point of view, etc., is not workers' education. Workers' education must be under the control of the workers' own organizations if it is to be genuine.

Secondly, the Roosevelt administration "has a way with it," a way, e.g., of putting liberals, progressives, even near-radicals on some job and thus putting them in a position where it is hard to criticize. That was done with the trade union leaders in the NRA. As is pointed out elsewhere in this issue of Labor Action, even conservative A.F. of L. leaders now know that they got their fingers burned and that the Roosevelt administration is not Santa Claus. We suggest that workers' education leaders heed the danger signals and consider carefully what road they should take.

### OTHERS SAY

#### COMPANY UNIONISM

According to a survey just completed by the National Industrial Conference Board, company unions have grown nearly five times as fast as trade unions since the enactment of the Recovery Act. The Board sent a questionnaire to 3,314 manufacturing concerns, picked at random. These companies employed 2,585,000 wage earners, or 27 per cent of all employed in manufacturing and mining industries. The report shows that 223 companies, employing 365,937 workers, had employee-representation plans in effect before the NRA; at present there are 400 more companies, employing 678,141, with company unions—an increase of about 180 per cent. Some 232 companies, employing 106,696, had trade-union agreements before the NRA, while now there are an additional 174 with 137,272 employees under such agreements. Thus, of the workers organized into unions since the NRA 678,000 are in the company variety as against 137,000 in the independent trade unions. If this survey is a fair sample of what has happened in industry generally, it suggests that Section 7a has not given the independent unions any such advantage over the company unions as was hoped.—From the "New Republic."

#### AWP Meetings

Mass meetings at which A. J. Muste, Louis F. Budenz and V. F. Calverton will speak on "A New Party for America," are being arranged in Washington, D. C., on February 14th at the Arlington Hotel, and in Baltimore, on Feb. 11th at the Kensington Labor Lyceum.

# Lincoln On Capital and Labor

By A. J. MUSTE

ABRAHAM LINCOLN frequently referred in his public utterances and private letters to the subject of the relations between capital and labor, employer and employe. This is natural since the principal issue with which he dealt, chattel slavery, had to do with this relationship.

In discussing these utterances of Lincoln it is important to remember that he was living in a different age from ours. In that period the question that pressed for settlement had to do with the exploitation of slaves by their owners, with a feudal, slave-holding system. Today the question that demands settlement has to do with the exploitation of wage-slaves by employing and financial interests, by the system of private ownership and private profit. Lincoln was the saint and symbol of the forces which gave chattel slavery its death-blow. In that very act, they opened the way for the development of capitalism, of the economic system which now means want in the midst of plenty, insecurity, and war for the masses.

#### Marx on The Civil War

Karl Marx realized that this was so, and nevertheless understood that it was to the interest of the workers, an essential step in economic evolution, that chattel slavery be abolished. In the address of the First International to Lincoln in 1864 he writes, therefore: "When an oligarchy of 300,000 slaveholders dared to inscribe for the first time in the annals of the world 'Slavery' on the banner of armed revolt, when on the very spot where hardly a century ago the idea of one great Democratic Republic had first sprung up, whence the first declaration of the Rights of Man was issued (Declaration of Independence), and the first impulse given to the European Revolution of the eighteenth century, when on those very spots counter-revolution, with systematic thoroughness, gloried in rescinding 'the ideas entertained at the time of the formation of the old constitution' and maintained 'slavery to be a beneficial institution,' indeed, the only solution of the great problem of the 'relation of capital to labor,' and cynically proclaimed property in man 'the cornerstone of the new edifice,'—then the working classes of Europe understood at once . . . that for the men of labor with their hopes for the future, even their past conquests are at stake in that tremendous conflict on the other side of the Atlantic."

The ideal condition, in Lincoln's mind, was that of the "free laborer" as distinct from the chattel slave and the wage slave both. "Men, with their families—wives, sons and daughters—work for themselves, on their farms, in their homes, and in their shops, taking the whole product to themselves, and asking no favors of capital on the one hand, nor of hirings or slaves on the other." He describes a typical experience under such a regime. "The prudent, penniless beginner in the world labors for wages awhile, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself, then labors on his own account another while, and at length

the hammer of Hitlerism. "In face of Fascist and other dictatorial forms of government," he points out, "revisionists' arguments appear to have no relationship to reality, while the growing movement back to the political ideas of Marx is an indication that those ideas are charged with life and are full of meaning for the labor movement. . . . Class conflicts are not being blunted, but are becoming keener than ever before in history. . . ."

In a final section dealing with dictatorship and revolution he says: "The possibility of gaining socialism by peaceful means gets proportionately less as the number of capitalist countries which openly discard democratic methods of government increases. . . ."

As already said, it is the opinion of this reviewer, that this pamphlet is sound; that there is nothing in it that can be interpreted as counter-revolutionary. He recommends it and hopes that thousands of workers will read it.

### BOOKS

What is Marxism? By A. L. Williams. Published by the N.C.L.C. Publishing Society, Ltd., 15 South Hill Park Garden, London, N.W. 3. Price sixpence.

ACCORDING to Plebs, organ of the National Council of Labor Colleges, the British Daily Worker has refused to publish an advertisement of this pamphlet, "until their experts have passed on it," and the Workers' Bookshop in London has "instituted what is, for all practical purposes, a boycott" of it.

The present reviewer has read the pamphlet, and in his humble opinion, which he admits would not perhaps be called expert by the managers of the British Daily Worker, it is a simple and plain explanation of Marxist theory, written in such language that workers, unacquainted with the vocabulary of the professional "theorists," can understand it.

The pamphlet has a chapter on Marx himself, and other chapters on historical materialism and the class struggle, Marxian economics, Marxism and politics, and winds up with a discussion of Revisionism, which was born in the German Labor Movement and which the author thinks is largely responsible for German Labor's collapse under

hires another new beginner to help him."

#### The "Mud-Sill" Theory

Lincoln, whenever he commented on the capital-labor relationship, as for example, in his address before the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society at Milwaukee in September, 1859, laid it down as a basic principle that "Labor is prior to and independent of capital; that, in fact, capital is the fruit of labor and could never have existed; that labor can exist without capital, but that capital could never have existed without labor." Hence he holds "that labor is the superior—greatly the superior—of capital."

He waxes sarcastic about those who think that it is "natural" for the mass of human beings to be either "hired or bought" to labor for others. This, he says, is "the mud-sill theory." He realized clearly that any genuine democracy, any advanced civilization, was impossible under such conditions.

According to the "mud-sill theory," he said, pointing out in striking language what has happened to the workers under capitalism in a machine age, "A blind horse upon a treadmill is a perfect illustration of what a laborer should be—all the better for being blind that he could not kick understandingly. . . . In fact, it is, in some sort, deemed a misfortune that laborers should have heads at all. Those same heads are regarded as explosive materials, only to be safely kept in damp places, as far as possible from that peculiar sort of fire which ignites them. A Yankee who could invent a strong-handed man without a head, would receive the everlasting gratitude of the 'mud-sill' advocates."

The ideal condition, in Lincoln's mind, was that of the "free laborer" as distinct from the chattel slave and the wage slave both. "Men, with their families—wives, sons and daughters—work for themselves, on their farms, in their homes, and in their shops, taking the whole product to themselves, and asking no favors of capital on the one hand, nor of hirings or slaves on the other." He describes a typical experience under such a regime. "The prudent, penniless beginner in the world labors for wages awhile, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself, then labors on his own account another while, and at length

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In a final section dealing with dictatorship and revolution he says: "The possibility of gaining socialism by peaceful means gets proportionately less as the number of capitalist countries which openly discard democratic methods of government increases. . . ."

As already said, it is the opinion of this reviewer, that this pamphlet is sound; that there is nothing in it that can be interpreted as counter-revolutionary. He recommends it and hopes that thousands of workers will read it.

#### What Has Happened to Lincoln's "Free-laborer"?

Of course if space permitted it would be easy and necessary to point out how in an earlier day these "free laborers" were exploited in the U. S. by means of tariffs, land laws which favored speculators, etc. However, we can accept Lincoln's description as a sufficiently accurate one of the experience of many millions in this "land of opportunity" in the period after the Civil War. We can also understand how he might wax enthusiastic, as Jefferson had in his day, about the possibilities of such a system: "This is free labor—the just, the generous, and prosperous system, which opens the way for all, gives hope to all, and energy, and progress, and improvement of condition to all."

But under capitalism it has developed that those who "saved a surplus" have turned out to be "suckers" who lost it as likely as not in bankrupt banks, or in some other way. Obviously, also the average worker cannot now buy his own tools—an automobile factory or a multiple loom or a coal mine! Even the farmer who happens to own his land is virtually a wage-worker, and a poorly paid one at that, for the disposal of his product depends upon the railroads, the commission merchants, the packing companies, the banks.

#### Our Job Today

Capitalism has become an obstacle to well-being and progress, just as surely as the slave-holding economy in an earlier day. "A just, and generous, and prosperous system" today means one in which the workers of all kinds own and manage the nation's resources collectively, in a cooperative commonwealth.

There can be no compromise today anymore than two generations ago. "This nation cannot endure half-slave and half-free." When we have fought our battle through, by whatever means may prove necessary, and have removed the barons of industry and finance from all power, then we can take the forward step required of our generation and build an economic system which will give "hope to all" and "energy, and progress, and improvement of condition, to all."

### The Manager Speaks

By CARA COOK

The subscription chart in the LABOR ACTION office continues to mount steadily. We have been averaging three subs every day for the past month. Does that sound like a few? Multiply it by 365! However, LABOR ACTION should begin now to get blocks of subscriptions from whole groups of workers, unions and unemployed leagues. In such cases we are prepared to negotiate special low rates for the entire membership. Maybe you can interest your group in a block subscription.

Do you know which are the most backward states in this nation? LABOR ACTION nominates Arizona, Idaho, Nevada, South Carolina, Utah, Vermont and Wyoming, because we have not yet a subscriber in any of those states. But they are the only black spots, and whoever returns any of them to favor, will receive special mention in our column!

LABOR ACTION also goes to 15 foreign countries including China, Australia, Ireland, Japan, Spain and Turkey. The U. S. S. R. leads in foreign subscriptions.

Nineteen subs from one comrade is the record of recent time. Who will better it? Several are running close seconds to George McGrath of the Alliance, Ohio, Unemployed League.

Bundle agents: You are falling down on payments. How about it? Please let me hear from you!

From Mississippi a "live wire" sends several subs and says, "Many subscribers will be found in these parts after we have shown them an issue or two." The best agent for the paper is the paper itself. It is simply up to you to see that it gets around.

Brief and to the point is this "Gentlemen; I wish to subscribe to LABOR ACTION, and I hope to hell it means something. . . ." H. P. Coshocton, Ohio.

# NRA IN ACTION

By RAYMOND ROBBINS

Under the impact of NRA failure, the correlation of class forces has undergone a radical transformation in the last three months. Last summer we witnessed the strange spectacle of the upper strata of the boss class violently opposing an economic program which was wholly in their interest. The bogey of big business sabotage, cleverly invoked by the "New Deal" press agents, aroused that great mass of the "public" who rally to the support of any cause which Wall Street opposes. The intense patriotic fervor with which the workers and middle class greeted "labor's bill of rights" can in great part be attributed to the legend of the "dead cats."

The economic ideas advanced by the Administration were universally accepted as the collective product of the liberal minds assembled in Washington. However, years before the affairs of the state were left in the charge of the professors, the Chamber of Commerce was agitating for the suspension of anti-trust laws and the re-establishment of what is called "self-rule in industry." Big business has always had a firm faith in the depression-dispelling virtues of trade association control of industry, price-fixing and the limiting of production. Little wonder that the first members of the Industrial Advisory Board were such sweet babies as Walter C. Teague, president of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey; Gerard Swope of the General Electric Co., and Myron Taylor of the U. S. Steel Corporation.

But after their program was adopted the bosses overnight found themselves in the camp of the insurgents. The moving factor in this turn of events was Section 7-a. Thousands of workers hailed this section of the act as their economic white hope. The A. F. of L. praised the Administration for its pro-labor attitude, then proceeded to organize the eager masses. The bosses were forced by the terrific onslaught of unionization to adopt the role of enemies of National Recovery. The Administration worked in cahoots with the "enemies" to stifle the growing unionization.

Now that the breakdown of the NRA grows more evident every day the "dead cat throwers" are returning to the Rooseveltian fold. Henry Ford, who stared as the deep-dyed villain of the Recovery Drama, has recently announced his whole-hearted acceptance of the "ideal" of the NRA. He slaps Roosevelt on the back for doing "what I wanted to do twenty years ago." Eugene Grace, Bethlehem Steel Co. magnate, declares that the old idea of the greedy steel baron is buried forever due to the beneficial influence of Recovery policies.

In sharp contrast to the loud espousal of the big industrialists, the A. F. of L. has given voice to protest by advocating "amendments of the National Recovery Act and in particular to Section 7-a." After suffering defeat after defeat in the collective bargaining struggle in such major industries as steel, coal and automobile the trade unionists have begun to turn against the New Deal. The small business men, led by Senator Borah and other middle class prophets, are beginning to grumble ominously against the ruthless drive toward monopolization.

### Muste to Speak In New England

A five-day speaking trip in New England is being arranged for Chairman Muste, Feb. 5 to 9. Workers, students, liberals and trade union leaders will have an opportunity to hear about the American Workers Party first hand.

The Worcester Peoples Forum will have Comrade Muste on Feb. 5th on the subject "Controlled Capitalism: A Solution or a Delusion." Classes at Mt. Holyoke College, Tufts College and Mass. Institute of Technology have scheduled him on the 5th, 6th and 8th respectively. A combined meeting of the Community Church and Fellowship of Reconciliation will bear him on the evening of the 8th at 6 Byron Street, Boston. The Boston Student Council has a supper meeting on Tuesday, the 6th, and the Dorchester Shoe Workers Club has a meeting that evening. Several other meetings are being scheduled.

### DINNER MEETING

to discuss  
**THE AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY**  
and  
**THE WORKERS' FIGHT IN 1934**  
under the auspices of  
**The Conference for Progressive Labor Action**  
at TOWN HALL, 123 West 43rd St.  
Friday, February 2, 7 p. m.

Speakers:  
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WILLIAM R. TRAUZ  
Chairman  
A. J. MUSTE  
ARNOLD JOHNSON  
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