

LABOR ACTION

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY

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Price 5 Cents

Co. Unions Win In Auto Industry

CWA Workers Demonstrate In Capital

900 March to Protest Termination of CWA Program April 1

Hopkins Says "No"

Socialist - Lovestone Bloc Curbs Militancy; Star Thomas

By RAYMOND ROBBINS

WASHINGTON.—Walking miles through a depressing downpour of sleet and hail, 900 delegates representing CWA and Unemployed organizations in New York, New Jersey, Maryland and Pennsylvania, demonstrated here on March 24 in protest against the termination of CWA on April 1.

A delegation sent by the demonstrators to present their demand to Harry Hopkins, Federal Relief Administrator, for the continuance of the CWA program, was kept cooling its heels in an ante-room for an hour and half before the king-pin of the CWA set-up granted them an interview. Hopkins, in a crude give-away of the Administration's policy of letting the CWA drop silently into oblivion, stated that press representatives would not be admitted to the hearing. The delegates protested this action and Hopkins finally permitted the reporters to sit in.

Confronted squarely by the question, "Do you advocate the continuance of the CWA?" Hopkins could only promise that "those workers actually in need will retain their jobs." Workers told him of thousands of CWA employees fired daily in spite of having furnished complete proof of their dire need by filling out the degrading "pauper's oath."

\$13.43 Per Week Enough!

A delegate asked Hopkins if he thought the CWA peon wage of \$13.43 enough to support a family of five. Forgetting for the moment the oily manner of Rooseveltian diplomacy, Hopkins brazenly remarked, "Thousands of workers have lived comfortably on less."

In the place of the NRA program of "made" work and meagre relief, the delegation demanded the immediate adoption of an unemployment insurance bill and the appropriation of \$50,000,000 to be spent on a nation-wide program of socially useful work for unemployed. A blunt and brutal, "NO", was the Administration's answer to this proposal.

Demonstration Leaderless

During this interview, the 900 demonstrators were stranded many blocks from Hopkins' office. Cold and weary, uninformed as to the destination or the purpose of their meandering journey led by police "escort," the demonstrators found themselves leaderless at this crucial point. It was only due to activity of militants that the demonstration did not break up completely!

The Socialists in control of the participating organizations used the demonstrators as supernumeraries in the supporting cast of the prima donna, Norman Thomas. They "forgot" to raise class-struggle.

(Continued on page 6)

Warren Union Backs Cope In Fight For Reinstatement

(Special to Labor Action)
WARREN, O.—Local 73 of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, A. F. of L. Union in the steel industry, has sent a resolution into the International Office, condemning the action of the last convention in throwing out Elmer Cope, member of the POC of the American Workers Party. The resolution will come before this year's convention of the AA for action.

Cope, who was an active militant in the union was soon after expelled from the Amalgamated by the International Executive Board because of his progressive position and activities. Even after his expulsion however, he played an important part in the AA strike at Clairton, Pa. This action on the part of his own local of Republic Steel Workers marks the first step in a campaign to gain his full reinstatement in the union's ranks.

The Steel workers, already enraged at the Wierton sell out were brought to the boiling point by the yellow dog elections with which the U. S. Steel Corporation recently installed company unionism in all the steel trust mills. The news, that in the course of the six

years from 1928 to 1933, forty five officials of 20 steel and metal companies received a total of \$681,694 each, didn't go down so well either when compared with their own miserable pay checks.

A widespread and energetic campaign has carried organization into every major steel plant in the country. In Warren itself, the local AA has built locals in many of the departments, hitherto untouched. In the Sixth District—in which Warren is located—the number of locals has increased from 24 to 64. Even the larger U. S. Steel plants have local unions and in some instances they are growing to considerable proportions. For the first time in the history of the industry many communities have been invaded by unionism and in place after place meetings and parades have been where in the past they were not permitted.

Most of these locals have not yet gained recognition from the company and this issue is going to be the outstanding one in the year ahead. The coming months will probably see a series of drives to entrench unionism firmly in the industry.

Who Says There's a Depression?

MIAMI, March 22.—Leading Florida resort hotels report continuing reservations by Winter visitors in sufficient volume to justify their remaining open an average of a month longer than last year. This sets a record in duration of the tourist season and number of arrivals.

The Miami Biltmore in Coral Gables led the way this season by opening Oct. 28, instead of Thanksgiving Day, as in 1932, and announcing it would remain open until June 30. Its closing last year was in April.

Who are the people that can afford to spend their time in these expensive Florida resort hotels? Are they the ones who have done the useful work of the country—who have built the roads, the factories, the skyscrapers, who have made this the greatest nation in the world? Are they, perhaps, recuperating from laborious weeks in a steel plant, in a textile factory or on the production line in an automobile factory?

No, of course not. We know who they are... we the 15 million unemployed of this country. They are the coupon clippers. They are the ones who refuse to do useful work. They are the ones who own the factories, the mines, the railroads of this country. They are the great patriots who incite the "forces of law and order" against workers striking for a decent wage, who make speeches about preserving the institutions of the

COPS BREAK GIRL PICKET'S ARM

CHICAGO.—(FP)—Unable for days to find the escaped killer John Dillinger, Chicago cops nevertheless found the opportunity to break the arm of a girl picket in the neckwear union's strike for better conditions.

country against "red radicalism." In Soviet Russia, where the workers rule, such people as these who do no useful work receive least consideration, and those who do the useful work of the country spend their vacations in resorts such as Miami. This is why these people think Soviet Russia is such a terrible place. But what do you think about it, you soupline stiff?

Wage Cuts Force Strikes In Mississippi Laundries

GULFPORT, Miss.—Negro women, working at the Gulfport Laundry Company walked out on strike here recently in protest against a 10 percent wage cut.

Preceding the strike the Laundry Owners Association of Mississippi met in Jackson with the N.R.A. board to protest against the "intolerable hardships imposed by the wage rate of the Laundry code." When the workers learned that the NRA had again favored the laundry owners in permitting a further cut of 10 percent in their 14 cent per hour wages they walked out on strike.

HOW the U. M. W. A. Defends Unionism

PHILADELPHIA.—Philadelphia Central Labor Union selected the Benjamin Franklin Hotel here, union from top to bottom, as suitable quarters for the coming Pennsylvania Federation of Labor convention.

John L. Lewis' United Mine Workers union objected and the C.L.U. had to cancel its engagement.

The Benjamin Franklin burns oil. There is an oil workers union. The question now is will the oil workers union boycott any hotel burning coal.

Special May Day Edition

Preparations are being made to bring out a special sixteen page May Day edition of Labor Action. Among the special articles to be featured will be:

Capitalism in the South, by Bruce Crawford; The Negro Share Croppers, by George Schuyler; Self Determination in the Black Belt, by Ernest R. McKinney; The Decline of Culture under Capitalism, by James Rorty; Marx and Democracy, by Sidney Hook; Tactics of the United Front, by A. J. Muste; Where Are We Going, by James Burnham; A Review of the Trade Unions in the U. S., by Louis F. Budenz; The Decline of the Internationals, by Ludwig Lore; The Unemployed, by Arnold Johnson.

Every militant worker in the country should get a copy of this vitally important issue of our paper.

Let every A. W. P. member and every Labor Action subscriber get busy NOW to see that it gets the largest possible distribution.

SEND IN YOUR ORDERS FOR BUNDLES NOW—SEND IN YOUR GREETINGS TO HELP PAY THE PRINTER'S BILL.

Federal Unions Meet Together For Mutual Aid

(Special to Labor Action)

ST. LOUIS.—A call to all Federal Labor Unions in the city and vicinity to come together "for the purpose of mutual sustenance, protection and organization of the working masses," has been sent out by the largest Federal Unions in the city and the local organization of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

The "Federal and Industrial Union Council of St. Louis and vicinity" was provisionally organized by these unions at a conference held recently. Participating, besides the Clothing Workers, were local unions of Gas House Workers, Gasoline Service Station Employees, Metal Stamping and Assembly and Automobile Workers.

The conference emphasized the need for industrial unionism in the mass production industries and recognized the need of uniting to fight for that form of organization.

"The fatal weakness of the Federal Unions," according to the call, "has been the fact that they have been isolated in many cases in individual plants, and in all cases have been unconnected with any national or international sustaining organization."

G. M. DeHoog, of the Metal Stamping and Assemblers Union No. 18357, was elected provisional chairman.

HOME OF "CONTENTED LABOR"

SOUTH BEND, Ind.—(FP)—Motorists entering South Bend, the Studebaker auto city, turn from billboards advertising milk from contented cows to a municipal sign reading: "South Bend, Home of Contented Labor."

Roosevelt Cracks Down On A. F. of L.

Green's "Greatest Strike In History" Won by Auto Bosses

Revise Wagner Bill

Companies Speed up Production Anticipating Action by Workers

(By Special Correspondent)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Company unionism emerges triumphant, at least for the time being, and the American Federation of Labor receives a sharp set-back, out of the so-called settlement of the automobile labor crisis. The "greatest strike in history", predicted by President William Green of the A. F. of L., passes out of the picture, and union recognition is scrapped with it.

Even the smoke screen of elections for or against a union, which have turned into such farces in the Wierton and Budd cases, has been abandoned. Works councils are to be set up in the auto plants whose representatives will deal with the employers. The union as such has been pushed out of the set-up.

"Free Choice"

Senator Wagner immediately recognized who had won the victory in the automobile fight. He proceeded to amend his anti-company union bill, ironically, to permit official governmental recognition of the company union. This will prevail when "free choice" is shown in the decision among the workers for such company unions. The automobile "compromise" and Senator Wagner's action followed directly on the heels of a hearing before the National Labor Board, in which the union workers showed that "free choice" is impossible, where union recognition does not exist.

Hundreds of affidavits from workers, submitted at the hearing, charged that the companies had discharged men for seeking to bring about collective bargaining, and had refused to reinstate men when ordered to do so by the regional labor board.

Under the terms of the Roosevelt "compromise", no provision is made, therefore, for supervised secret elections of the workers to determine whether they wish unionism or not. The board of three, responsible to the President alone, which was created, has no power to deal with wages or hours or conditions. It is merely charged with the business of inquiring into alleged discriminations and questions of representation.

The latest development to date is the appointment of this special board. Its personnel includes Dr. Leo Wolman, of Columbia University, representing the President; Richard L. Byrd, Pontiac, Mich., union official, and Nicholas Kelly, Chrysler Corporation lawyer and long associated with Norman Thomas on the board of the League for Industrial Democracy, representing the auto magnates.

"A Great Step Forward"

This board is to have turned over to it the union membership

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Roosevelt Cracks Down On A. F. of L.

Green's "Greatest Strike In History" Won by Auto Bosses

(Continued from Page 1)

lists, a most unheard of procedure and one which has always been viewed as treason to the labor movement. Rather than make public lists of union men in unorganized mills, many union organizers in the past have been willing to face jail for contempt of court. The A. F. of L. has agreed to this proposal, nevertheless. President Green has declared the agreement "a great step forward for labor."

General Hugh Johnson, who connived with Edward G. Budd to foist the company union on Philadelphia workers, was the "big gun" in persuading the A. F. of L. to knuckle under to the Roosevelt "compromise."

"The Wage Increase"

To offset any spontaneous strike among the mass of workers, the automobile companies immediately announced a ten percent increase in wages. A number of steel companies followed suit, indicating the close connection in the labor policy of those in control of these two basic industries. Employers everywhere are planning a drive to weaken unionism by insisting on similar labor arrangements to that in automobiles for all other industries.

While negotiations were on, production was speeded up in all automobile plants, far beyond immediate demands. The companies thereby began to pile up stock, in case of spontaneous walk-outs. It is recognized that each hour's delay plays into the hands of the auto magnates. Production will be slowing down within a month. If decisive action is not taken now, the workers will be unable to make any real moves for winning a union until another year.

A. W. P. Lectures In Washington Well Attended

WASHINGTON.—To awaken interest in the American Workers Party and build a branch for future party work, the League for Social Action, has been organized in Washington, D. C. The League holds lectures every Sunday afternoon at 1811 H. St., N. E., at which admission is free. Attendance has been steadily increasing, and interest is growing in the lectures given by prominent leaders of the AWP. The lively discussions on objective conditions in America today, have brought home to many here the necessity of planning practical work to build an American revolutionary labor movement. To date three forums have been held and addressed successively by Comrades Muste, Burnham and Calverton. Speakers scheduled for future meetings are Ernest Sutherland Bates, Sidney Hook, George Schuyler and others.

Similar meetings are being held in Baltimore with the same speakers and subjects on Sunday evenings at the Workmens Circle Lyceum, 1029 East Baltimore St.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES

On the billboard of a Detroit insurance agency:

WE WRITE RIOT, STRIKE AND CIVIL COMMOTION INSURANCE.

The price of malting scrap steel—an important munitions raw material—has increased \$2 a ton since Jan. 1. In a year it has gone from \$8.50 a ton to \$14.75. Japanese buying boosted our exports to 800,000 tons last year. In 1929 exports were 550,000 tons.

Brain Trusters "Exposed"

It would be easy to dismiss Dr. William A. Wirt, founder of the Gary School as a big laugh. It would be easy to dispose of his letter describing the Machiavellian plot of the brain trust to prolong the depression and eventually to communize America, as just good clean fun in the tradition of "Of Thee I Sing".

There are, however, a few uncomfortable facts about the matter. First, Gary is the headquarters of the United States Steel Corporation; second, the letter was written to James H. Rand, Jr., of the Reisington Rand Corporation, who one hears is something of a figure in the National Industrial Conference Board; third, the letter was sprung at the hearing on the Securities Act; fourth, Mr. Rand is Chairman of the Committee for the Nation.

An alert Southern Congressman plans to introduce a resolution for a Congressional investigation of the charges. Maybe they'll even investigate the activities of Mr. Rand, Dr. Wirt and their associates in the Committee for the Nation, but probably not.

Prof. Tugwell, says Dr. Wirt, heads the plot to make a catspaw of the President; and the Tugwell Bill with its clause "Obliging advertisers to tell the unvarnished truth" and hence cracking the whip over the press, was a part of the program.

The joke, if any, would appear to be on the brain trusters who



Dr. William A. Wirt

are busy deodorizing the codes and otherwise helping the big boys to do a not too clumsy job of cartelization. Obviously Dr. Wirt is the goat in this manœuvre, whatever it turns out to be. Maybe it's just dumb and maybe Mr. Rand has something up his sleeve—a fascist something.

Model Housing Schemes all Made Futile by Capitalism

by O. R. FUSS

Cincinnati's Basin district with its 6,000 flats boasts of 80 bathtubs. Half of the flats consist of two rooms suites occupied by as many as 17 individuals. Three-fourths of them have outside toilets used by nine families apiece.

In Pittsburgh's Hill district, where Negro workers live, families of five have been found dwelling in one room often lacking even a window. Elsewhere sewers with their filth and odors back into basement flats, and kitchens get their light and air by way of open poultry markets.

Every tenth house in the Beth Eden district of Philadelphia lacks running water. And in Des Moines, Iowa 5,000 out of 18,000 dwelling place have no city water or sewer facilities.

"Neglected Areas"

In short it has been estimated that in most American towns and cities twenty to forty percent of the population live in what is politely termed "neglected areas." Put into words instead of statistics by Lawrence Veiller of the National Housing Association this means:

"Old, dilapidated, and run down, damp, in bad repair, infested with vermin, without the essential conveniences of living, without water supply in the rooms, without sanitary facilities, with privies in the yards emitting their foul odors into the windows of the bedrooms and living rooms that adjoin them."

What We Could Have

All this exists in spite of the fact that there is at hand the land, labor and material necessary to give to workers five room houses

PIONEER YOUTH TO HEAR A. J. MUSTE ON AMERICAN YOUTH

NEW YORK.—A. J. Muste will speak at the Tenth Anniversary Dinner of Pioneer Youth, May 3 at the Town Hall Club on "What Lies Ahead of American Youth." Other speakers will include Joshua Lieberman, Agnes Sailer and Norman Thomas.

Another meeting in connection with the celebration of its Tenth Anniversary will be a conference at 69 Bank Street on the afternoon and evening of April 22. Anyone interested in the problems of workers' education for children is invited to participate.

with a bath at a cost lower than \$20 a month. The modern improvements in refrigeration, plumbing, lighting and heating together with the latest and most scientific equipment for homes can be delivered on the same low basis.

But workers have none of this. And why? First because land is held by private owners and when the government of a city or the nation attempts to obtain it they are forced to pay the inflated prices at which greedy individuals and corporations assess their properties. And when through political influence governments buy these properties the initial cost in their housing program is forced up and the worker pays in higher rents.

Real estate associations fight government housing because they profiteer from this business. Take, for instance, the so-called Brooklyn "Square Mile" development. After the developers had removed the weeds and conducted, a high-power publicity campaign, a hundred dollar acre of ground was being sold for eight hundred dollars to a possible builder.

Insurance companies, banks, and money interests fight even limited-dividend housing; a scheme in which the government pays a subsidy to private individuals who build houses to rent at a stated price level. This type of housing which does not effect most workers and applies only to those who are making enough money to pay \$6 a month per room is taboo because it would appeal to people now living in dwellings excessively mortgaged to the banks. If these individuals moved, the insurance companies and banks would have to write down mortgages based upon absurdly high assessments.

But what of the worker in mining, transportation, and construction who in 1929 for full-time received \$1400? Take twenty percent of that sum and for \$6 he could get 3.8 of a room per month. But this worker is never working full-time. What happens then? He lives amongst conditions described above.

But We Wont Have It Until—

In Vienna, before the terror, workers paid \$1 to \$2 a month per room. But they were built by a regime which did not care for landlords, speculators, real estate interests and banks. And that is the only way in which adequate hous-

Labor Dept. Facts Give Lie to NRA Recovery Ballyhoo

"The government is straining every nerve to put men back to work and increase their wages." This is what the Roosevelt Administration says.

And to prove how much it means what it says, it is now engaging in the business of juggling statistics in such a way as to give the impression that it is succeeding.

Thus the Department of Labor has announced that the base year for computing employment and wage indices is being changed. Under the old base year of 1926, the February employment index stood at 73.5 and payroll's index at 55.6. But now 1923 to 1925 are going to be taken as the base years equal to 100.

Under that base, the February employment index stands at 77.7 and the payroll index at 60.6. So if the government cannot solve the unemployment and wage problems, the figures must.

C. L. U. Report Hits C. P. Disruption at Garden Meeting

NEW YORK.—Immediate responsibility for the breaking up of the Madison Square Garden meeting, called by the Socialist Party and trade unions to protest the brutal action of the Austrian fascist government against the workers, rests squarely upon the Communist Party leadership declares a recent statement released by the American Civil Liberties Union.

Pointing out that the Communists assumed the right as an organized group to attend a public meeting to which they were not invited as a group and to determine whom it should hear and not hear," the A. C. L. U. statement says:

"Both from the standpoint of the rights of those who organized the meeting, of the public interest in orderly assemblages, and of the effect on united action against fascism, this official interference by the Party was a catastrophe."

Robert W. Dunn, director of Labor Research Association, (Communist Party controlled) and Mary Van Kleek, members of the A. C. L. U. board, dissented from the report. In their opinion, according to their dissenting report, opposing groups have a right to interfere with meetings with which they do not agree.

"An audience has rights, as well as the platform," asserts their report. "We dissent from the implication that the right of free assemblage requires peace gained by withholding protest."

Norman Thomas, Socialist member of the Board, also found fault with the report because it scores the Socialists for beating up Clarence Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker. Says Mr. Thomas:

"The report, if there was to be a report, on the incident would have made it clear that Mr. Hathaway, in his role as principal instigator of the attack which had begun as soon as the Communists entered the Garden, could scarcely have expected confidence in his sudden role of peace-maker after his comrades had rendered all speakers inaudible."

ing can be furnished. Even Secretary Ickes has said:

"Our recent experience in the PWA in attempting to increase building-labor employment in the field of low-cost housing indicates clearly that we may not depend upon private enterprise or limited dividend corporations to initiate comprehensive low-cost housing and slum-clearance projects."

If he actually means this, and in view of the fact that in 1926 the construction industry paid out three billion dollars in wages, a five year appropriation yearly of this sum would initiate low cost-housing. But that would mean a fight with insurance companies, banks, and real estate interests.

Rail Wage Cut Continuation Ruled by F. D.

Unions Score Blue Eagle Policy of Wage Cuts, Lay-Offs

(By Special Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—Despite the official pretense that the policy of the NRA is to raise the wages of workers, President Roosevelt has demanded that the existing wage arrangements whereby railroad workers receive a 10 per cent cut in basic wages should be extended until next January 1. Railway operators are asking in addition that a 15 per cent cut in basic wages be made permanent.

The railroad labor unions have pointed out that not only are 400,000 men on part time but also that 72 per cent of all railroad workers earned less than \$125 a month in 1932. They have also presented incontrovertible evidence demonstrating that prices are steadily increasing with the consequent cut in their real income, as their wages remain the same.

In view of these facts they have asked the President, whose announced policy it is to raise wages, to restore not only the 10 per cent cut which they have taken in the past eighteen months but also to raise the basic wages by 10 per cent to take care of the increase in the cost of living.

Railway executives, however, despite the facts that net operating income in 1933 was 74 per cent above 1932 and that bondholders have received continuously increasing dividends since 1929, demand that labor take another cut in order to further increase profits.

These same managers have expressed "surprise" that their demand for a 15 per cent cut had been rejected by the labor unions, "especially in view of the request which the President made to preserve the status quo i.e. the 10 per cent deduction."

The entire problem had been put into the hands of Joseph Eastman but he was unable to find a solution. Consequently the President took charge of the dispute, and though no final solution has been as yet presented, he is working along the line of extending railroad worker's 10 per cent cut in basic wages.

Seven Pa. League Members Jailed Asking Relief

PITTSBURGH.—Seven members of the East Liberty Branch of the Allegheny County Division of the Pennsylvania Unemployed League were arrested recently at the district office of the Relief Board. At the police station they were held and charged with inciting to riot. Those arrested were Harry Jordon, Wilbert Shaffer, Howard Altieri, Robert Miller, George Short, C. G. Griffith and John Sullivan.

At the hearing the men testified that they had gone to the relief office to inquire about relief for members of the league who had put in applications some weeks before but who had never received their orders. They refused to leave without an answer and the relief worker in charge called the police.

When the magistrate stated that no evidence had been presented by the supervisor to sustain a charge of inciting to riot, the supervisor replied, "well I don't want them in the building." The men were discharged.

This is the third group that has been arrested from the East Liberty Branch in the last few months while participating in militant activities for the unemployed.

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2 Week-end Conferences By the AWP

Will Discuss "The Coming American Revolution" Begin April 14

Hardly a question of revolutionary theory or strategy, and their bearing on the present situation in America, will escape discussion in the two week-end conferences being conducted by the Provisional Organizing Committee of the American Workers Party in New York City the middle of April.

"The Coming American Revolution" is the subject of the eight-session course in which Theoretic Foundations, Social Forces in America Today, The Crisis at Hand, and The Impending Struggles for Power are the subjects for the respective days of April 14, 15 and 21, 22.

A program of 20 speakers, noted specialists in almost as many fields of social theory, organization and action, will present reports as the bases of discussion and questions, which in turn will be followed by analytical summaries at the end of each session.

Among those participating, in addition to prominent A.W.P. leaders, will be Ernest Sutherland Bates, Louis Boudin, George S. Counts, C. Hartley Grattan, Louis M. Hacker, Harold Loeb and H. B. Parkes.

The course will be given at the Engineering Societies Building, 29 West 39th Street, and the fee for the course is \$2; for a single session 35c. Complete details of each session will be sent by writing to AWP Lecture Course, Room 702, 112 East 19th Street.

N. Y. Notes

March 12 the AWP was invited by the Affiliated Summer School Alumnae to debate the CP on March 25. The AWP immediately accepted, but the debate was cancelled because, "the CP was unable to supply a speaker". Several members of the Alumnae are urging that another debate be planned, and that in the event that the CP is again unable to supply a speaker, the AWP be invited to send one none the less.

In an effort to put over a particularly raw deal, officials of Local 3, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, failed to send out the usual notice for the last membership meeting, and notified instead only 'loyal' administration men.

Following a number of complaints to union officials, dressmakers in Local 148 ILGWU were finally been paid for Washington's Birthday, a legal holiday.

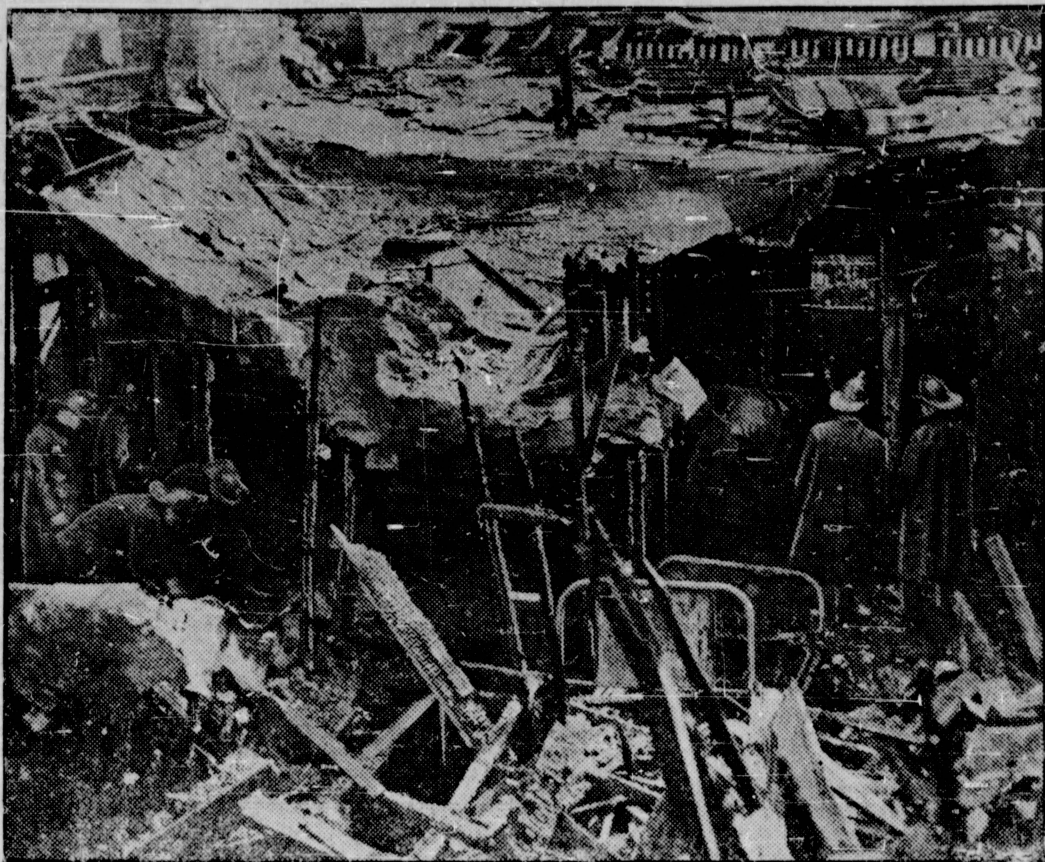
Bosses and officials alike were inclined to overlook the matter, and only the militancy of a few rank and filers forced them to act.

A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, has been sent to Washington by his union to demand enactment of Senator Dill's proposed measure which would bring the Pullman Company under the Emergency Railway Transportation Act, and force it to deal with the Brotherhood.

Protest Race "Baiting"

NEW YORK—By unanimous vote, a sharp resolution protesting against attempts to stir up race prejudice in the union was adopted by the Harlem Section of Dressmakers Union Local 22. I. L. G. W. U., at a meeting held on March 8. This meeting attended by over 300 dressmakers, mostly colored, expressed its profound indignation at the propaganda of the so called "Left Group" in the union which deliberately aimed at stirring up race hatreds.

WHERE 7 DIED IN TENEMENT BLAZE



This picture shows vividly the death trap in which seven lost their lives in a New York tenement blaze, bringing to 26 the fire dead for one month. The administration promises investigations and reforms but the fires continue and landlords, among which the wealthiest families in the nation are included, threaten to close 67,000 apartments if the laws are enforced.

Department Stores Continue Wage Cutting

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Department stores are persisting in their policy of firing workers or cutting their wages to effect a cut in labor costs. Despite this fact, the National Retail Dry-Goods Association (the Code Authority) is still issuing misleading statistics purporting to show that employment and payroll totals in department stores are increasing.

It is true that employment and payroll totals are above the standard set by the lowest point of the depression in the past year. But it is equally true that neither wages nor employment are anywhere near the point reached during the best part of 1933; a standard itself not extremely high by any objective cost-of-living criteria. And it is equally true that personnel departments have devised various

means of dropping employes and at the same time cut the salaries of those who stay.

One store in this vicinity uses this scheme. By its rules and traditions, heretofore, all employes working two years continuously were given a week vacation with pay. At the end of another year they received two weeks vacation with pay for one. And for the years after, they were entitled to two weeks vacation with pay for both weeks. At the same time a mandatory increase in salary of \$2 a week was insured after five years of continuous work.

This store now fires employes who have been working three years and re-hires them after a few months layoff. Thus the worker loses his claim of continuous work with a consequent cut in vacation period and pay. When he is

relisted it is at the old salary without the mandatory increase. Few employes are allowed to finish their second consecutive year, being fired for a short period for the same purpose. If the worker complains, he is shown a card-index file with innumerable names and told that all of these people are waiting for the opportunity to work. It is obvious to workers what is intimated.

More ambitious workers are kept satisfied by adding a title to their name. They become assistant to the buyer, to the stock, or to the section manager. While this means no increase in wages it often entails added burdens. It takes the clerk a little time to discover, after persistent entreaties for a raise, that he is on the short end of the bargain.

NEW YORK HOTEL STRIKE

LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

(The first part of this article was published in the March 15 issue of Labor Action).

LACK of preparation and lack of a firm policy, we have seen, were fatally present in the New York Hotel strike. Other weaknesses also are revealed by additional investigation of the strike's conduct.

As a third factor, for example, there was no large dramatization of the strike such as would offset the vicious attack of the capitalist press, and give impetus to the fight. There were mass picket lines, it is true, and these were essential. They tended, as they always do, to maintain the spirit of the battle and to increase its effectiveness. But there was no such sweeping dramatization as is required in a strike of such magnitude and with such odds against it. Field, plodding and conscientious as he may be, is incapable of initiative along this line. There was a naive bit of liberal adventurism on the part of the "Common Sense" editors, who went into the Waldorf-Astoria in full dress suits and tried to make speeches of appeal to the bloated guests there. (As though the coupon-clipping clientele of that hotel would be drawn toward the workers by fine speeches. They must be inconvenienced in quite other ways).

But that was a silly bit of child's

play, not helpful in any way to the strike, for which the strike leadership cannot be held responsible. It can be chalked up against it, however, that it failed to dramatize the struggle in any large way that would make it the large piece of business that it really was. Further, there was not the proper appreciation of effective pressure on the guests, which makes the hotel industry one susceptible to victorious strike action. The guests are generally wealthy folks, who dislike to suffer any let-up in their physical comfort. A different situation exists here than in a factory or mill, where the consumer is far away from the scene; it was not taken advantage of to the fullest degree.

Fourthly, there was constant vacillation on the settlement of the strike and on dealing with the Communist Party. One thing that leadership must have is the moral courage to settle a strike on the terms that will take into consideration the morale of the workers.

To its credit, the Militant, organ of the "Left Opposition" did show some realistic attitude on this point. But the local leadership seemed to fear to back any form of settlement. At one time, the general officers of the Amalgamated Food Workers had to step in, and show the practical union courage in backing up a settlement which the situation required. The cry of "sell-out" is an automatic one with the official Communist

group, and it was raised on this occasion. Real leadership must not fear the insanity which leads radicals often to hold out for impossible demands, to maintain their "purity," and to lose the confidence of the workers.

THE officials, Communists in this case, played their usual role of disruption in the name of unity. There are three forces unfortunately, that honest leadership of any strike has to look out for: the police, bosses' stool pigeons and the official Communists. We shall deal with this problem at more length in a future issue of LABOR ACTION. Suffice it to say, that disruption must be met with a firm policy, fake united fronts must be rejected, and the workers told:

"We will not be drawn into mudslinging with any other workers' group. Judge them and us by our actions. This is your union. You are for it or against it. If you think they will do the job, go with them. If you think we will, stay with us on the basis of wholehearted cooperation."

Fifthly, the political concepts of the group leading the strike were not advanced satisfactorily among the workers. Up to the time that the local leaders were expelled from the "Left Opposition" no new members from among the strikers had been added to that organization's rolls. We realize that is no easy matter to combine effective

Anti-Lynch Play To Open Soon

New York Branch Will Hold Benefit April 24

NEW YORK.—Following the successful run of "Peace on Earth", which was seen by one hundred and twenty-five thousand workers during its sixteen week engagement, the Theatre Union has announced a new production for April.

"Stevedore," written by Paul Peters and George Sklar, is an anti-lynching play based on the struggles of the Negro and white dock workers. The cast of twenty-nine, twenty of them Negroes, is now rehearsing under the direction of Michael Blankfort.

Members and friends of the AWP have arranged to see the play en masse on Tuesday, April 24 during the first week of its run. The theatre party is to raise funds badly needed for organization activity. Those wishing to help by seeing "Stevedore", are urged to buy tickets in advance at the AWP office. Prices range from 40 cents to one dollar and a half.

ANTI-WAR WEEK BEGINS APRIL 6

NEW YORK.—Anti-war week, beginning April 6, the anniversary of America's entry into the World War, marks the peak of a period of unprecedented anti-war activity involving thousands of high school and college students. The breadth and effectiveness of united front activity will undergo an acid test during the week of April 6.

A city-wide demonstration has been arranged by the National Student League, the Student League for Industrial Democracy, the Metropolitan Student Committee of the Anti-war Conferences, and the Youth Section of the American League Against War and Fascism.

Other events include a city wide anti-war conference and a one hour student strike on April 13.

JOIN THE AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY

strike leadership with the advancement of a political concept. Those in mass work tend to become immersed in the details of that work. Those not in mass work underestimate the difficulties of performing this dual job.

It is somewhat ironical that the "Left Opposition," which has prided itself on its trained political consciousness, should have slipped up on this point. It is also something of an organizational reflection that at the first mass effort, that group felt it necessary to expel a number of its active workers who had been leading the strike, for lack of discipline. This is clear: Mere theoretical knowledge of what we are about politically means nothing unless tested among the workers in actual struggle.

Such mistakes as were made—some of them quite glaring—were largely to be chalked up to lack of experience on the part of those who did the organizational job and led the strike at first. That is an important consideration in itself. These were intelligent men, pretty well steeped in theory. They knew little about the art of industrial leadership. There is a tendency among radical political "purists" to regard mass activities as something of an inferior order of effort. They associate it with the representatives and tactics of some A. F. of L. unions. Many of these representatives are stupid and yet

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With which is merged

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Organ of the

American Workers Party

OUR NEW FORMAT

WITH this issue Labor Action changes its format and increases its size.

These changes grow out of the increasing activities of the American Workers Party and signify a step forward in the building of our paper.

The old format, with four pages, was no longer large enough to carry the news and articles demanded by our rapidly growing branches and sympathizers. However, the cost of enlarging it to six pages was too great for the paper to stand yet. The new format, which gives us 5,000 words additional space with only a slight increase in cost was, therefore, decided on by the editorial committee.

Of course, there are a considerable number of Labor Action readers who will be pleased with the new format simply because they think it looks better.

Now let us go forward to making Labor Action a weekly.

THREE THOUSAND ADDITIONAL SUBSCRIBERS BY JULY 4!

THE WAGNER BILL

THE WAGNER Labor Disputes bill is in two parts. The first part seems to give something to labor, the second part takes it all away.

The first part professes to "put teeth" into the collective bargaining provisions of the NRA under which company unions grew faster than real ones. The bill would "out-law" unions which are in any way financed or supported by the employer. It would compel employers to "exert every reasonable effort to make and maintain agreements" concerning wages, hours and other conditions of employment with a union or other "representative" of employees. It would legalize a closed shop agreement with a union "composed of at least a majority" of the employees of a firm "and if the said agreement does not cover a period in excess of one year."

The second part sets up a permanent National Labor Board, ostensibly to prevent employers from engaging in unfair labor practices. It provides that "nothing in this act shall be construed so as to interfere with or impede or in any way diminish the right to strike." The main object of the Board is, however, to promote "peace in industry." Labor has seen what purpose the present National Labor Board has served. It has been a strike-breaking agency. Boards and commissions of this kind have been tried out in many countries. In periods of business upswing they serve as a brake on the militancy of the workers, so that they will not demand too much. In period of depression they are wage-cutting agencies.

Since the "settlement" in the automobile strike, Wagner has indicated that he would accept amendments to make his bill more pleasing to the employers. He would allow company unions provided the bosses did not "coerce" workers into them! And he would forbid unions to "coerce" workers, which would mean that militant picketing before a shop where a few lackeys of the boss stayed on the job would be a violation of law and subject to a federal injunction! Thus the mask is torn from the whole business.

The Wagner bill in its original form and especially the recently proposed amendments must be

fought. Under a cover of liberalism, labor is having its hands tied and the unions are being made part of a vicious government set-up.

ROOSEVELT, STRIKE-BREAKER

WILLIAM COLLINS, A. F. of L. organizer in automobiles, stated when the negotiations in connection with the threatened strike were at their height: "So long as the matter is in the President's hands, we are confident of the outcome."

That expresses the attitude of the A. F. of L. leaders in general. They are critical of the N.R.A. They are sore about the Weirton Steel case, the Budd case and many others. Roosevelt, however, can be absolutely trusted to safeguard and advance organized labor's interest.

Roosevelt, we contend, is himself the strike breaker-in-chief. He is the head of this administration. He cannot escape responsibility for its major policies. In fact he insists that they are his policies. When things get too hot for his henchmen to handle and a real battle is threatened in steel, in automobiles, in the mines, on the railroads, Roosevelt in person steps in and with a smile takes out of the workers' hands their one weapon, the strike!

Roosevelt allowed Richberg and Johnson to "interpret" the N.R.A. so as to give company unions an open field in the basic industries. Roosevelt made a bluff at protesting "merit clause" in the auto code, but he left it in. Roosevelt has permitted the Weirton and Budd cases to drag on for months while thousands of workers fired for union activity walk the streets.

Roosevelt has now prevented a strike for recognition of the A. F. of L. by the automobile magnates by getting the A. F. of L. to recognize the company unions in the auto plants and to permit A. F. of L. committees to work with company union committees in those plants.

Under this same "settlement" Roosevelt, who is responsible for the victimized workers now walking the streets, is entrusted with giving the automobile magnates the names of union members in their plants and a worker has no right to charge discrimination unless his name has been submitted to the company.

Roosevelt has run true to form by immediately appointing as the so-called impartial member of the automobile board Leo Wolman who backed Richberg and Johnson on the merit clause, the most reactionary of the supposedly pro-labor experts in the N.R.A.

Employers will not protect workers. Government agencies will not protect workers. Even the great white Father Roosevelt, will not protect workers. Workers will get what they have the power and courage to take.

WHAT NEXT FOR THE AUTOMOBILE WORKERS?

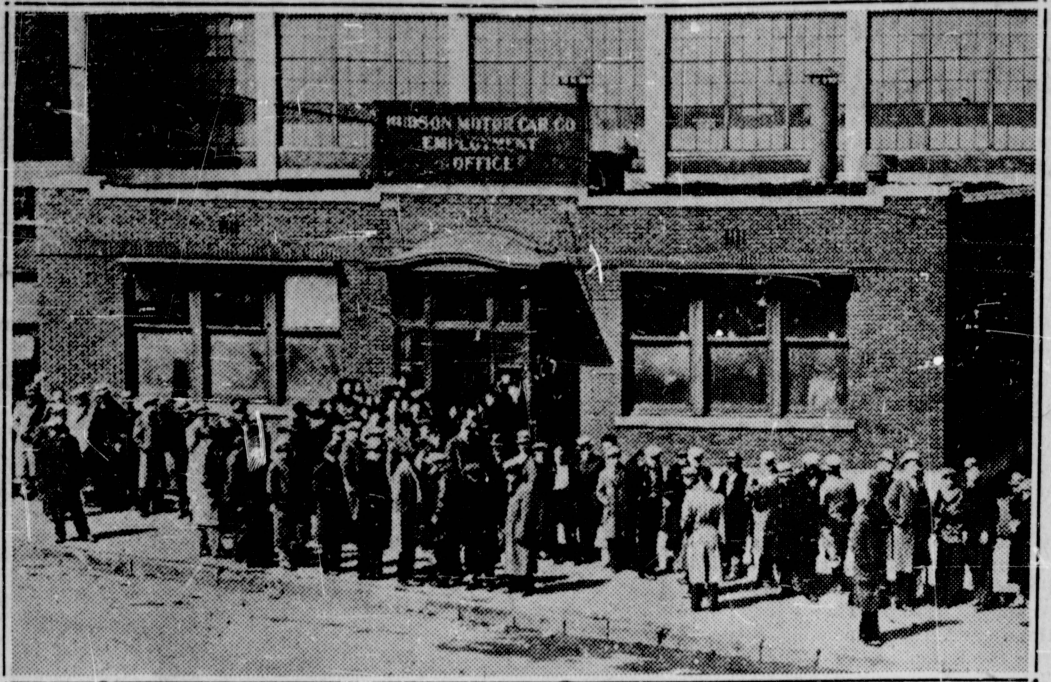
THE automobile workers have been granted an increase in wages. The President has appointed a committee, composed of an auto worker, an employer and a neutral member, which is supposed to put men victimized for union activity back to work. The automobile magnates have said they will "bargain collectively" with freely chosen representatives of their workers, who may be union representatives. For the automobile bosses even to make a bluff at getting off their high horse is something.

The workers got that something because thousands of them organized and threatened to strike.

Roosevelt and the A. F. of L. leaders connived at a "settlement" of the strike about which Alvan Macauley, head of the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce, says that it is "in accord with the principles in which we believe"—the principle of the company union, the "merit clause," the speed-up, the refusal to give real union recognition.

The workers got much less than they might have, because they were not well enough organized and because Roosevelt bluffed the

AS HUDSON MOTORS PREPARED FOR WAR



This shows the crowds gathered in front of the Hudson Motors employment office in Detroit as strike clouds gathered and the company hired men to capacity in the hope some would act as strikebreakers if the strike came.

About the Statement of the S. P. Militants

OUR attention has been called to "An Appeal to the membership of the Socialist Party" issued by a group of about 50 S.P. members operating under the name of Revolutionary Policy Committee. This statement is a basis for a program which these left-wingers in the S.P. will try to get the party's forthcoming convention to adopt.

A first reading of the statement indicates that in the main its contents are such as a revolutionist could accept and such as one would expect from some of the comrades signing it who have often demonstrated their militancy in actual labor struggles.

We forego detailed criticism, however, at the present time because no amount of it would touch the real point raised by this move of the R.P.C. group. That point is indicated in the closing sentence of their statement, the importance of which they themselves recognize by putting it into heavy print. "There is absolutely no reason," they say, "why the S.P. of America cannot meet the opportunity which confronts it today," if it adopts such a program as is here set forth and "sets up adequate machinery for effectively putting

A. F. of L. leaders into calling off the strike.

To the automobile workers we now say: You have seen that when you organize and show fight, you can make the whole country sit up and listen.

Therefore, build your unions. Smash the company unions.

Since only one strong industrial union for all the automobile workers of the country can do the job, demand that the A. F. of L. give you an international charter for such a union at once.

Run your own unions. Do not trust the A. F. of L. officials blindly.

Put no trust in the Wolman board. Put it on the spot. Demand publicity on all its deliberations. Make it come through without delay on discrimination cases laid before it. Raise hell if it does not.

Refuse to meet the management jointly with the company union committees, composed of stool pigeons and lickspittles.

Draw up union contracts dealing with wages, hours and working conditions at once. Present these contracts to the companies. Demand that they be signed.

Prepare for a real fight if the demand is refused by the automobile barons.

Cowards never get anywhere in this world. Results will come from organization and fight.

these principles into action." That is a bold statement.

We are living in a period of crisis. Reactionary and Fascist forces are gathering strength. There is desperate need of building an effective revolutionary party in the U. S. and drawing all healthy fighting elements into it at once. These comrades are going to spend their time in trying to make a revolutionary instrument out of the Socialist Party. Such a course can be justified only if they see clearly how that can be done and if they have some reasonable prospect of being able to accomplish their aim.

Getting the S.P. at a convention to adopt a general program that sounds revolutionary will not make a revolutionary instrument out of it. Social Democrats have always had "revolutionary" programs. That has not kept them from defeating revolutionary action, any more than the "Christian" programs of the churches have kept them from countenancing war and capitalist exploitation.

A program, the adoption of which by the S.P. might mean something would have to begin by analyzing carefully and explicitly the role which Social Democratic parties have played in Germany, Austria and elsewhere, condemning that role and disowning it. Do the comrades of the R.P.C. believe that they can get the Abe Cahans, the Hoans, the McLeveys, the Oneals, the Norman Thomases, those who control the machinery, the press and the purse-strings of the Party, to adopt such a program?

They speak vaguely of future bulletins analyzing specific incidents, etc. They have, however, begun at the wrong end. We fear that they sensed they might not get much of a hearing in the party if they began as we have suggested, but if so they already betray lack of confidence in being able to get anywhere.

A program that was realistic would have to analyze the role played by certain individuals like the above and certain groups of the S.P. in the United States—their role in the unions, in united front efforts, in connection with the N.R.A. It would have to get down to cases and say what individuals and elements would have to be excluded from the party, if it is to be a revolutionary instrument. There is no direct mention of this in the present statement, no clear indication that anything of this sort is contemplated in the future. Do the comrades of the R.P.C. actually think that the party as a whole and including the Cahans, the Oneals and Dubinskys, e.g. can be made over into a revolutionary organization?

The structure of a party is all-important in such a case as this. Is it to be a disciplined organization to which only those who engage in actual revolutionary activity can belong? There is a general statement indicating that this is what the R.P.C. comrades have in mind, but they are just sparring until they get down to concrete details on this question too.

How much of their program and of such proposals on composition and structure of the S.P. as they may have in mind, will the R.P.C. comrades insist that the party must adopt to make it possible for them to stay in it? Are they thinking in terms of revolutionizing or reforming the S. P.? Do they regard it as ten percent or fifty-one per cent "revolutionary" now? How many percent of "revolution" must the next S.P. convention adopt to make these comrades feel that they can still make their best contribution to the revolutionary movement in the U. S. through the S.P.? What are the comrades going to do if the S.P. convention falls one per cent short of meeting their demands? Unless they have thought these matters through for themselves, they are only playing a game and a very dangerous one, similar to that of left-wingers in other countries who gave a fine front to the S.P. and so enabled it the more effectively to mislead the masses.

Unless other groups in the movement know what the position of the R.P.C. comrades is on matters of this kind, they have no means of differentiating them from such elements in other countries.

Finally, it seems likely that there is still a "place" for such a party as the Socialist party in the United States—a party which plays the same role, that is, as the Social-Democratic parties in Europe have played, the role of gradualism, of compromise, of misleadership of the workers under cover of revolutionary aims and phrases. Do the comrades of the R.P.C. seriously believe that the present S.P. will be taken over by them and their sympathizers and made into a revolutionary instrument and that a new party will then spring up of the conservative social-democratic type? Or does all revolutionary experience indicate that in such a situation it is the radicals who have to abandon old machinery which cannot possibly serve their purposes and build a truly effective revolutionary instrument?

Militants of various shades in the S.P. have long and often proclaimed what they were going to do with the party. The time for talking is gone. The time for action has come.

What's Happening ABROAD

by Ludwig Lore

Austria

Austria's new constitution which has just been published, is more reactionary than that of any other European state. It suppresses every democratic right—the right of free press, free speech and free assemblage, it abolishes parliament, it establishes newspaper, theatrical and artistic censorship by the most backward elements in the nation, it gives the head of the government—whether President or monarch the document does not specify—full and autocratic power to legislate by decrees and establishes the domination of the Catholic Church over the affairs of the nation.... The property of the Labor Bank of Vienna, inclusive of its deposits, amounting to \$1,710,000 was confiscated and claimed by the state. The Socialist leaders Bauer and Deutsch who fled from Austria after the overthrow of the February revolt, have been indicted for fraud and embezzlement because they smuggled the funds of their party out of Austria. If, as will probably be the case, they are found guilty by the Austrian Court, Czechoslovakia will probably be requested to consent to their extradition. The Austrian government knows that they will not be returned on political charges but hopes to get hold of the leaders of the uprising by trumping up a civil indictment against them. It may be accepted as certain, however, that Czechoslovakia will refuse the Austrian demand.... Several of the arrested members of the Republican Schutzbund have been condemned to 25 years in prison, others were given life sentences.....

China

While Chiang Kai-shek is at work bringing about an understanding with Canton that will pave the way for cooperation between South China and the Central government, charges are being made against him in Hongkong. It is said that he had a secret understanding with Japan, that he had promised the factual recognition of Manchukuo by the Nanking government as the price to be paid by the Chinese for the help of Japan in the struggle against the Chinese Communists. He is further said to have promised Tokio cooperation in all important political and economic questions.

Estonia

As a measure of self-protection against the subversive activity of the fascist "Liberator" Party, the acting President of Estonia has ordered a state of siege for six months, and has arrested the fascist leaders. On April 22 a presidential election will be held in which the "Liberators" will play an important part. . . .

Germany

During the last two weeks seven anti-fascist workers were executed for the alleged murder of SA men, five of whom were members of the Communist and two of the Social Democratic Party (Reichsbanner).

For anti-fascist agitation were arrested: in Erding 21 persons (C P); in Berlin, 46 (CP); in Goerlitz, 18 (SP); in Tilsit, 9 (CP); in Bruchhof, 11 (CP). For the same "crime" were convicted: in Dresden, 41 (SP) penitentiary from 1-4 years; in Hamburg 5 (CP) from 9 to 12 years; in Breslau, 11 (SW P) from 5-10 years; in Nuremberg, 4 (CP) 5 years each; in Hoechst 7 (CP) from 4 to 9 years and in Plauen 3 (SWP) to 2 years each... The German government is deep in a severe financial crisis. The radical drop in its foreign trade with the resultant reduction of tariff and tax income are the result, in no small measure, of the boycott by other nations of German goods. Consequently the government is undergoing a period of serious internal dissensions which it has been impossible to conceal from the world outside. . . . The wife and child of the Social Democrat Seger, who published a sensational booklet on conditions in the German concentration camp of Oranienburg, are

(Continued on Page 6)

WHAT IS THIS FASCISM?

by A. J. Muste

In recent years, and months, we have seen the spectacle of the workers being beaten back rather than advancing in many European countries. In Germany and Austria for example they built powerful unions with millions of members. They had political parties of their own, polling millions of votes. They had organized cooperative movements, built decent, comfortable and attractive cooperative houses for themselves, built their own labor schools, singing societies, sports clubs, theatres.

Now in these countries all these organizations and institutions are smashed. Hundreds of workers trying to defend their own homes have been killed, thousands wounded, thrown into concentration camps, brutally persecuted.

The movement which has thus beaten the workers and crushed their movement—under Mussolini in Italy, under Hitler in Germany, under Dollfus in Austria and which is spreading rapidly and steadily to other countries—is called Fascism.

Important To Know Our Enemy

It is important for us to know our enemy. What is this Fascism? How does it arise? How does it triumph over the workers? How can we prevent or smash it? No questions today are more important for American workers than these.

Fascism has come into existence when the business system—the capitalist or profit system, under which one class owns the resources and the tools and the other class, the worker, have to toil for it—threatened to break down completely. Since, under capitalism, a large part of the national income goes in profit to a few, the masses do not have the money to buy what they produce. So the more machinery there is, the more goods can be turned out, the fewer workers are needed and the less the masses are able to buy the goods. We have "want in the midst of plenty". "Prosperity" brings on a crash, depression, unemployment, misery. Truly a crazy situation!

The capitalists, however, want to hang on to their profits and power, even at the cost of taking away the few gains the workers have made, and of eventually driving the workers back to pauperism. So they resort to open force, to dictatorship, to all kinds of violence to push the masses down and keep themselves in power. Fascism is the name that has been used to describe this attempt to save the capitalist system by open and brutal dictatorship.

Thing do not come to this point all of a sudden, however. Let us try to trace the events which lead to it.

Laissez-faire Gives Way To Monopoly

In one country after another, especially since the Great War, it has become clear the capitalist system in its old form of unrestrained competition cannot be saved. Laissez-faire, as it is called, cut-throat competition, brings about a complete mess. So some modification must be introduced. It is said, therefore, for one thing, that there must be "economic planning". Some degree of order, of regulation, must be brought into the business system. There must be a point below which prices, for example, are not permitted to fall.

What this really comes to is that the "little fellows" are wiped out, so that the "big fellows" are more secure and sure of their profits. What is called "monopoly capitalism" is strengthened.

Next, since one banker or boss or corporation cannot enforce regulation on another—they are engaged in fighting each other for profits—the government is called upon to do the regulation. It "interferes" with business, sets wages and prices, "settles" disputes between employers and employed.

"stabilizes" things. That means that the old "democratic" theory that government must not interfere with the citizens and their business ("that government is best which governs least") is given up.

Since in this period of the breakdown of capitalism, international competition is an intense and bitter as competition inside each country, what is called "economic nationalism" or "autarchy" develops. The nation, it is said, must strictly control its foreign trade, keep down imports, be self-sufficient. Each nation must raise and manufacture, if possible, everything its people need, so that it will not dependent upon any other in case of war.

However, the attempt to save the profit system by these various devices doesn't work. If you say to a business man that his business must be regulated, that we must have "economic planning," but at the same time, that he must make his business bring a profit in competition with others, it is the same as saying, "You must plan, but you must not plan." Daughter may go out to swim, but must not go near the water.

Under this set-up, the business man still must either put his prices up or get his costs, including wages, down, or both. That means that the fight between the boss and the worker over wages still exists, though government tries to repress it. Prices still race ahead of wages. You get the "chiseling" and all the other things we have in the good old U. S. today under the New Deal codes.

Also, as long as the profit system, is kept, some have more money than they can spend on consumer's goods, and the masses haven't enough purchasing power. So the wheels of industry repeatedly get jammed again.

The nation still has a "surplus" to dispose of, though its own people starve, and that surplus must be gotten rid of on the world-market. There, as we know, competition is keen and bitter. There is to be war, therefore. You have to prepare for war, something that the munitions makers of course strongly favor. So develops militarism, one hundred per cent patriotism, tense international relations, war. But expenditures for military equipment are not productive and war itself in the modern world involves colossal destruction of goods, more debts, and so on.

All this means, of course, that "business" does not get straightened out, "prosperity" in any substantial and permanent sense does not come back. There are ever new and more severe crises, more suffering and misery.

What Is The Labor Movement Doing?

What is the labor movement doing all this time? Where, especially, are the radicals? They always said capitalism was a crazy system and bound to break down and that then labor would control and build a new world. Why doesn't this happen?

Labor in such countries as we have mentioned, Germany and Austria, has been lead mainly by the socialists, or Social Democrats. Now the Socialists although they used to be revolutionary and still in many cases claim to be, have really acted on the theory that you gradually build Socialism while capitalism also still exists, and you rely entirely on peaceful, political methods, on "ballot-boxing" in order to extend your power and gradually get control of government.

That sounds pretty, and of course every sane person wants to see changes brought about as peacefully and at as little cost as possible. But like many other fine-sounding schemes, it doesn't work.

For one thing, this business of trying to run two economic systems, a profit and a non-profit system, is much like trying to ride

two horses going in opposite directions. You don't get the real benefit of either system. What it really comes down to is keeping capitalism, the profit system alive. But so long as the capitalist system exists, you get all the difficulties that are inherent in such a system which we have already pointed out. That means that new crises constantly arise, the system gets sicker all the time.

A revolutionist would say that this was bound to happen and that the sick system should be put out of its misery and the sane and healthy economy set up. The Socialist or Social Democrat, however, is married to the idea that you must not do anything drastic. You must build the new order gradually. He points to gains in wages or social insurance which the trade unions have gained by gradual pressure, and says that the workers must go easy so as to keep these gains, or lose as little as possible. He completely forgets that capitalism when it is old and sick cannot any longer give the concessions which it could afford in its vigorous youth. Government-owned industries which he mistakenly thinks of as Socialist or a step toward Socialism, are also in trouble in these crises. So he says the first thing to do is to get the boat to stop rocking, to restore "the national credit," to stabilize business. Then when this has been done, he will begin gradually building socialism again!

Socialist Theory of "Democracy Ruin"

Thus Labor under Socialist leadership helps to put the profiteers on their feet again, every time they get themselves into trouble. It cooperates to this end with capitalists and capitalist governments, instead of relentlessly fighting them. But under this system Labor never will be able to get rid of its oppressors. A prize fighter who pulls his punches every time his opponent is hard pressed, will not score a knock-out. His opponent is likely to come back and knock him out, and that will be just what he deserved to get.

Furthermore, the Socialists keep on talking about using only peaceful, "democratic" methods, as if there really were democracy under capitalism. The capitalists know that it is a real fight. They always knew that their "democracy" was only a blind. They are perfectly willing to flout the laws which they have themselves made. They constantly use violence against the workers. They take away one democratic right after another. They move constantly toward a more and more open and brutal dictatorship.

By playing the game with them, trusting in them, trying to be peaceful at all costs, the Socialists get themselves and the workers all confused and tangled up. "Democracy" gets killed anyway when the capitalists have no more use for it. Violence is not avoided, only it is the workers alone who suffer from it. Choosing what they call "the lesser evil," the Socialists get the greater evil anyway. The German Socialists voted for the warlord Hindenburg in order to keep Hitler out of the Presidency, and then Hindenburg opened the way for Hitler to come in as dictator. Up to the very last minute in Austria, they offered all kinds of collaboration to the "Christian Socialist" Dollfuss. He turned Fascist on them himself, bombarded their homes, and killed their women and children.

Thus one crisis after another beats down the workers. The labor movement under Social-Democratic leadership shows no real will to take hold and lead them to battle and victory. When in spite of all they rise up and fight, their militancy is discouraged. At last they begin to lose heart.

(To Be Continued)

THEIR Government

by James Burnham

Stopping the CWA has got the Roosevelt Administration into its worst jam so far. The capitalist press gives more space to the air mail cancellations and the Stock Exchange Control Act, but that is only because the stockholders and advertisers of the capitalist newspapers are tied up with the aviation companies and the Stock Exchange.

The masses themselves are aroused over the CWA situation. Thousands of strikes, demonstrations, and protest meetings are being held all over the country. The stopping of CWA is teaching millions of workers, for the first time, whose deal the New Deal is—teaching them that it is a new deal for profits, and the old, old deal for workers.

The liberal writers tell us that stopping the CWA is Roosevelt's first big "political mistake." How does it happen that Roosevelt, who is probably the smartest politician who ever sat in the White House, has made a mistake as big as this one. He must have known how workers would feel about it, and a smart politician doesn't deliberately destroy his mass following. And it isn't reasonable to think that Roosevelt just likes to see people starving.

The truth is that Roosevelt can't help himself.

The New Deal costs the government a lot of money. There are the "regular" expenditures, including upkeep of all the government services, a billion dollars a year for war preparations, and another billion for interest on government bonds and notes. Then there are many billions to keep banks and railroads and big corporations from going bankrupt, and no longer paying doles to the rich, their bondholders and stockholders and high-salaried executives. Then there are the various relief schemes, to keep the masses from revolting, to fool them into thinking the government is trying to help everybody, and to get their votes for Roosevelt in 1936.

Where does all the money come from? Can Roosevelt create it out of air and water? No, indeed. It can come in only three ways under capitalism: by taxes, by inflation, and by selling government bonds that become part of the "National Debt." In the last couple of years most of the government's money has come in this third way.

Nearly all the new bonds have been bought by the big banks. The big banks own well over half of the entire National Debt, which now amounts to around 25 billion dollars, and is growing fast.

If this could go on forever, there wouldn't be so much trouble. However, if the government keeps issuing new bonds without "balancing its budget," the credit of the government is "injured." This means that the prices of government bonds fall, and that uncontrollable inflation is not far off. If the prices of government bonds fall, then the banks have a big loss to take on the bonds they own. And inflation brings sorrow to many bankers and their friends; they don't want it except as a last resort.

The only other way to finance the New Deal program (and this alone would not be enough in any case) would be by increasing taxes enormously. For two reasons neither the banks nor Roosevelt want big new taxes: first, because the bank directors and their friends would have to pay at least part of them; and second, because most of the rest would be paid by the middle classes, who would consequently be very sore at both Roosevelt and the banks.

The conclusion the banks come to is that the government must stop spending so much money. Roosevelt hasn't any choice in the matter, even if he disagreed. He is

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N. J. Salesmen Drive Toward Unionization

Trade Union Conclaves Plan National Association

By JAMES RAND

HACKENSACK, N. J.—The first steps toward organization of commission salesmen of three of the largest distributors of refrigerators and oil burners was taken at two conferences held here recently. Contact has been established with groups in other cities and an enlarged conference with representatives from eight counties and from about ten companies in the industry, will be held soon. Meetings are being arranged in other states and the groundwork is being laid for a permanent national association.

The large companies such as Frigidaire, General Electric, Westinghouse, Kelvinator, etc. have always salved these salesmen by telling them how important they were.

When the NRA codes were written, however, the salesmen were left out in the cold, no provision was made for their work day, no minimum pay was established, no provision made for an assured income during slack periods. They were about the only large group of workers who had no status in the industry under the New Deal. Resentment grew and has now resulted in definite action. The organization move is particularly timely as the busy season for these products is now approaching.

The General Electric Company has somewhere around 40,000 of these workers, the Frigidaire 15,000 on refrigeration alone while Westinghouse and Kelvinator have thousands on the pay roll.

The organization is being constructed to take all commission salesmen into its ranks. Since refrigeration and oil burner salesmen are about the largest group of straight commission salesmen and have nationwide contact, they are the logical initiators. It is hoped to gain affiliation of commission salesmen in other fields as rapidly as possible.

ABROAD

(Continued from Page 5)

being held prisoners in a concentration camp. . . . The Vossische Zeitung, the oldest German newspaper in existence and the outstanding organ of Liberalism in the Reich for more than one hundred years, will cease publication on April 1. . . .

France

Franco Clerici, member of the Executive Committee of the Italian Socialist Party, was shot in Paris by an unknown assassin. It is generally believed that the murderer was a Mussolini agent. . . . The National Committee of the Socialist Party of France in its meeting of March 11 adopted a resolution in which it emphasizes the necessity of uniting its forces with those of the French Trade Union Federation (Jouhaux) and all other proletarian units. Demonstrations are to be held with the trade unions and other working class groups. The organic union of the Socialist and Communist Parties was also discussed and referred to a special commission for investigation. The party proclaims its determined opposition to the Doumergue government. . . .

Great Britain

The British Labor Party has an absolute majority of 14 votes in the London County Council. The last election broke down the 27 years of supremacy of the Tories in the city administration of London. . . . Lord Snell of Plumstead was elected city president. He was formerly a Labor Party member of the House of Commons, began his career as a farm hand and has for years played an important role in the labor movement. In 1931 he

accepted a peerage at the behest of his party which used this method to gain entry into the House of Lords during its second term in the British government. He is a member of the Right Wing of the Labor Party. . . .

Holland

A Conference of the Youth International held in Laren, a small town near Amsterdam, was ferreted out by the Dutch police and dispersed. The foreign delegates were arrested and deported across the Belgian border. Four German delegates, sent by the youth group of the Socialist Worker's Party of Germany, were held in Laren and have now been deported by the town mayor across the German border where they were immediately taken into custody by the Nazi authorities. Long prison terms or concentration camp are practically certain. Many labor parties and groups protested against the infamy of the Laren mayor. . . .

Ireland

As a result of its refusal to pass the government bill demanding that the wearing of the fascist uniform be legally forbidden in Ireland, President de Valera has now inaugurated a campaign for the abolition of the Senate that is likely to be successful. The union of all oppositional parties with O'Duffy's fascists may, however, result in the defeat of the present government in the fall elections. . . .

Italy

Three anti-fascists were condemned to long prison sentences for an alleged attempt to assassinate Mussolini and to bomb the St. Peter's Cathedral. Leonardo Bucciglioni and Renato Cianca were sentenced to 30 years each and Claudio Cianca, the young son of Renato, to 17 in jail. . . .

Poland

In Pinczow thirty Jewish Communists were arrested for agitation against the state. . . . The 23rd Party Conference of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) in February adopted a resolution for a "dictatorial government of labor and farmers." "Dictatorship," the resolution explains, "is necessary in the period of transition to nip all counter-revolutionary attempts in the bud." The convention expressed itself as favoring the confiscation of all large estates. . . .

Soviet Union

Recognition of the Soviet Union by the nations of the Little Entente (Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia) was accepted in principle by these nations and will be ratified within a few days. . . . Due to extraordinarily favorable weather conditions the spring crop is far advanced. The spring sowing program prepared by the government for the various parts of the Union has been in most places exceeded. Only in two localities the farmers have failed to come up to government requirements. . . . Several severe railroad catastrophes recently have prompted the government to adopt stringent methods to prevent a repetition of these occurrences by doing away with the responsibility and carelessness that many have observed and criticized among Russian railroaders. The Central Committee of the Soviet Union has appointed 300 Communists known for their absolute reliability who, together with from two to three thousand trained technicians, will conduct the work of railroad supervision. The Communist leader Lazar Kaganovitch will head this special railroad force. . . .

Spain

The Conservative Lerroux government is adopting rigorous measures against radical labor organizations. The Liberian Federation of Anarcho-Syndicalists was declared illegal. The President of the Young Socialist organization was arrested. On Friday of last week the headquarters of Syndicalist, Communist and Socialist young people's organizations in Madrid were closed by the police and have not been reopened to date. The government intends to outlaw the Socialist Party as well, although the party has always worked and still works strictly within legal bounds with a reformist program. During the last few weeks thirty labor papers of various shades of opinion were forbidden.

Scotch Short Week With Boss Figures

Machinists Reveal 25,000 Skilled Workers Jobless

WASHINGTON—(FP)—Plenty of union officials around Washington would like to know about the "shortage of skilled labor" reported by auto magnates in getting their code hours lengthened from 35 to 40 a week, and by other employers in recent conferences of code authorities, where they argued against shortening the work week.

Inquiry at the Intl. Assn. of Machinists headquarters revealed that 25,000 skilled mechanics in that union are still using unemployment dues stamps and other unions report unemployment that ranges from 20 to 25 per cent of the membership on the average, with part time employment at about the same figure.

Shortages have developed in some highly specialized divisions, such as the tool and die trade, according to reports to Fred Hewitt, editor of the Machinists Journal and a labor adviser on many machine code industry codes. But these shortages are not typical of industry as a whole and could easily be eliminated through a system of employment exchanges.

C.W.A. Workers Demonstrate In Capital

(Continued from Page 1)

gle slogans, leaving this central issue to the discretion of marshals appointed just before the marchers left Union Station.

Agreeing with and corroborating police moves to divert the demonstration from the main streets, squelching any outburst of the native militancy of the rank and file, letting the opportunity to demonstrate in front of the White House slip through their fingers; these are the acts which exhibit in a striking manner the fundamental lack of faith of the Socialist-Lovestone "leaders" in the organized strength of the workers.

Instead of leading a fight against the police so that the demonstration could have backed up their representatives' protest to Hopkins, the Socialists and Lovestonites meekly obeyed police instructions to "keep moving."

The good favor of "public opinion" was the main concern of these opportunists. In line with this middle-class policy, the Socialists with the aid of the Lovestonites in the arrangements committee engineered the invitation of Thomas. As a direct result, the protest of the CWA workers was registered, not in the name of their organizations, but in the name of Norman Thomas who was featured on the front pages of Washington and New York papers.

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IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LORE

Paterson's silk workers are sore at a three per cent cut that has been put over on them, largely because of the unorganized character of the industry outside of their own city. They are insisting that the executive board of their union get busy and do what should have been done long ago—carry on a national organizing drive to bring the silk workers into their union, the American Federation of Silk Workers.

In the City of Paterson itself, things are far from rosy however. Although the silk workers, for the first time in history have maintained a functioning organization, (there are almost ten thousand of them organized at present) many rat shops, working their employees longer hours and making them run more looms, are still in existence. Constant chiseling on the contract is taking place and grievances are piling up faster than they can be corrected.

In Allentown, AWPers are doing a fine piece of work in helping to bring together the independent Allentown Silk Workers Union and the American Federation of Silk Workers. A united, powerful organization in Allentown, notorious as a low wage silk center, will do much to better conditions throughout the industry.

In recent months the Brotherhood of Utility Workers (formerly the Brotherhood of Edison Employees) under the capable leadership of President Robert Berry, has been doing a great job in lining up employees of power, gas and water companies in various parts of the country. They have sixteen functioning locals at present in as many cities, some of them of good size, and a few of them with actual agreements with their companies. In Providence, R. I., a company union of utility workers, disgusted with company domination, has voted to affiliate as a body to the Brotherhood. In the Hudson Street Power House of the N. Y. Edison Company—the largest generating station in the world—85 per cent of the workers are reported signed up.

Another development of interest is the recent conference of local unions, claiming ten thousand members in the electrical equipment industry, held recently at Schenectady, N. Y. Two A. F. of L. Federal Unions, two independent and one rebellious company union took part in working out plans for immediate cooperation in the industry. An "Electrical Industries Employees Union" has been set up with a constitution that "does not conflict with any other affiliation that any group may have."

Federal Unionism in the rubber industry continues to make great strides. In Mogadore, Ohio, the India Tire and Rubber Company has recognized Federal Union No. 18319. In Los Angeles, employees of the Firestone and Goodrich Rubber voted overwhelmingly in favor of the union there, the vote

being about five to one in both cases.

It is typical American Federation of Labor boobyery to attempt to break these unions just at the time when the industry form of organization that these Federals have, has so brilliantly justified itself in the rubber industry. In Akron, Coleman Claherty, A. F. of L. organizer, tried to break the Rubber unions into craft divisions and then set up a "United Rubber Workers Council" in which each craft would have one vote regardless of its size. This would mean of course, that the Council would be completely under the thumb of the small craft locals while the great body of mass production workers would lose all control over their own fate.

Brother Claherty further provided that no organization take a strike vote without the sanction of the Federation Organizers involved. The loud protests that greeted the whole Program, however, forced Claherty to throw it into the ashean.

The recent statement by President Roosevelt that 15,000 Post Office Workers were being kept on the payroll "for humanitarian reasons" although they were not really needed to run the Department, has aroused the wrath of the Postal employees, already hot over a long series of wage cuts and furloughs. They say that there has been a steady introduction of speed up systems on the job. In the mail carrier department there has been extensive consolidation of routes. In the clerks division, failure to hire new men to fill vacancies has increased the load per man tremendously.

Approximately 12,000 men have been retired from the service since March 1933 under "economy" legislation according to the Federation of Post Office Clerks. In the department of government service in which Franklin Roosevelt had real power to make good his work about increasing the purchasing power of the masses, he has proved himself to be just another wage cutting boss. Salary losses of postal clerks in the last six months of 1933 amounted to an average cut of 23 per cent.

The Cuneo Press of Philadelphia, noted as one of the most hard boiled, anti labor outfits in the country, which prints the various Hearst Publication, got a wallowing when only 4 of its 400 employees voted against the Printing Pressmen's Union in a Labor Board election.

The Cuneo refused to accept the decision, locked out a hundred workers on the night shift and got its answer immediately when the union declared a strike which shut down the works completely.

We urge all workers to let us know what is going on in their particular union or industry. Situations of general interest will be discussed in this column.

BOOKS FOR WORKERS

LABOR ACTION recommends the following books and pamphlets which can be ordered directly from LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

The Book Service will attempt to get any publication you wish, and to advise you about books.

Toward an American Revolutionary Labor Movement: The programmatic statement of the American Workers Party	.15
Labor Age Cartoons	.05
Economic Geography—by J. F. Horrabin	.75
Short History of British Empire—by J. F. Horrabin	.30
The Communist Manifesto—by Marx and Engels	.05
For Revolution—by V. F. Calverton	.25
Marx and America—by Bert. D. Wolfe	.25
Value, Price and Profit—by Karl Marx	.25
Wage Labor and Capital, by Karl Marx	.10
Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, by F. Engels	.25
How Lenin Studied Marx, by N. Krupskaya	.05
Women's Auxiliary: Progressive Miners of America; first annual report, by Agnes Burns Wieck	.10
Rebel America, by Lillian Symes	2.50
The Communist Manifesto—by Marx and Engels	.10

COAL DUST

by GERRY ALLARD

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., March 25.—The Alabama miners scored a significant victory in their three weeks strike by gaining union recognition, abolition of child labor underground and the notorious contract system, recognition of pit committee and checkweighmen. The disarming of company guards by striking coal diggers was an effective act that helped to bring a speedy victory. A year ago the Alabama coal miners were considered the weakest in the country. Today, fresh with an inspiring victory, they bid well of being the most militant we have. A short, well organized strike is the most effective. A long sickness is sure death. A long strike has proven more than once to be disastrous. The victory of the Alabama coal diggers is a victory for all coal miners.

Another significant victory, although restricted to a small locality, was the "strike on the job" action of the miners employed in the Magee mine of the Westmoreland Coal Co., at Yukon, Pa. The miners were compelled by the bosses to spend from a half to an hour and a quarter walking to their working places. They demanded a man-trip from the company. The company refused. The coal miners knowing the effects of the vicious automatic penalty clause which fines coal miners \$1 per day while on strike, changed their tactics by staying at their working places and refusing to load more than one car. The strike was won; the miners got a man-trip.

The miners in the Glace Bay region of Nova Scotia are again on the war path. They are completing the job of driving from that field the agents of John L. Lewis' rotten machine. The other day Morrison and Musie, two Lewis payrollers, were driven out of town and told never to return. The continuation of this kind of action will bear fruit. The idea is to get

as many sections of the country as possible to keep hammering away. A new miners' union is in the making. Opposition movements are again developing within the old United Mine Workers. These movements will eventually weld their forces with new miners' organizations scattered in many sections of America's far flung coal fields.

Arnold Petersen, national secretary of the Socialist Labor Party, objected to the statement I made several weeks ago in this column regarding the strikebreaking role of the members of the Springfield branch of the S.L.P. Petersen demanded an apology. I gave Petersen facts in a letter I mailed him this week. Fred Koch, Lawrence Lamb, A. J. DeWitt, Frihoff and Joe Brown, all members of the local S.L.P. branch, have been scabbing since the formation of the P.M. of A. Koch was reported by newspapers on several occasions as a Peabody-Lewis man. Lamb acted as an organizer and scab recruiter for the Lewis machine. A. J. DeWitt imported two of his brothers to take Progressive miners' jobs in the Peabody mines. Two members of the S.L.P. became so indignant over the actions of their comrades that they tore up their Party cards. Does Petersen condone the actions of his Springfield members?

In the current issue of the "Workers Age," the Lovestoneites, formerly of the Communist Party, warn the labor movement against what they call the "dual union" tendencies of the American Workers' Party. With the ardor of an Ellis Searles, the Lovestoneites are writing editorials attempting to thwart the workers' rebellious spirit, particularly among the coal miners. It's a long road the comrades have traveled since the day of their "ultra-leftism" in connection with the National Miners' Union and other like organizations. There is one difference, we'll admit, between us and the Lovestoneites in the work of forming new unions: they chose to form new unions from the top and by squelching minority opinion; we believe in forming new unions, when and where possible, from below and with the broadest form of democratic control.

Vinson Bill Signed By Roosevelt

WASHINGTON.—Harbinger of wars to come, the Vinson-Trammell naval building measure rolled through the Senate in a few hours debate and was passed, 65 to 18. President Roosevelt's signature has already been affixed.

Japan and Britain, at whom the Vinson-Trammell bill is aimed responded immediately with demands for larger navies. The Japanese navy minister announced that Japan must build additional warships to match the U. S. program while war estimates announced by the British government show increases over the last year, with an airfleet second to none contemplated.

The Vinson measure was described by Senator Nye as a "bill for the relief of the munitions makers of the United States," and his colleague, Senator Frazier, pointed out that in the past year 32 warships have been authorized from PWA funds in addition to 54 provided for in the regular appropriations bill. All told 138 new warships have been authorized since the Roosevelt administration came into power, far beyond the wildest hopes of the big navy crowd.

Carried as a joker in the Vinson bill, now sure to become law, is a provision for building 15 battle-ships at a cost of \$40,000,000 a piece, after Jan. 1, 1936, when the naval limitations treaty expires. What the entire program will cost not even Vinson or Trammell were willing to disclose, but estimates on the Senate floor ranged from \$750,000,000 to \$1,500,000,000.

Their Government

(Continued from Page 5)

afraid of direct inflation, and of big taxes. The only other way to get money is from the banks. The banks have made clear to him that they are not going to continue buying new bonds in the future unless he comes closer to "balancing the budget."

Where, then, is Roosevelt going to cut down? You might expect that he would cut down on pay-

ments to bankrupt corporations, on the money for new warships and airplanes and interest to bondholders. This is where most of the government money goes, and where the biggest savings could be made. You might expect it, but not under capitalism.

The capitalist government is hardly going to take money away from capitalists. After all, the owners of munitions plants have got to make their profits, and the corporation executives and directors need their \$200,000 salaries and their dividend checks. How else will they keep up their country estates? It costs a lot to run an estate in Grosse Point or Lake Forest or Southampton.

The only other places left to cut down, then, are, first, the salaries of government workers; second, the pensions of war veterans (these first two were taken care of last year); and, third, the payments to the unemployed and the relief workers. The CWA is the most expensive form of relief, so it has to go quickly. The CWA workers can be either turned out to starve while looking for "the upturn in employment" or put on relief rolls at much lower payments than CWA wages.

All this hurts Roosevelt more than it does the bankers. He wants to get re-elected, and won't get re-elected if too many people starve between now and 1936. The bankers figure that if the people get fed up with Roosevelt it will only mean a Republican again in the next election. And, if necessary, there is Fascism to turn to.

The worst of it is that some workers and farmers—particularly western farmers—when they understand a little of the set-up, think they can beat the banks by inflation. Inflation, however, will lower the standard of living of the great majority even further. The workers, if they organize and fight well enough, can scare Roosevelt and the bankers into finding a way to pay for relief work at CWA wages, and better than CWA wages.

But workers must demand that the money comes not from inflation and not simply from new bond issues that lead to inflation, but by the transfer of government funds from war preparations and big business subsidies, and from heavy taxes directed against the rich: against large incomes, inheritances, stock dividends and bond interest, corporation surpluses, etc.

LaGuardia Threatens Taxi Strike

NEW YORK.—Under the pressure of the taxi bosses and their lackeys, the company unionists, the Liberal Mayor La Guardia and the NRA Regional Labor Board, have come out into the open in their attempts to break the general strike of taxi drivers led by the United Taxi Drivers Union.

The modified plebiscite agreement made with the union officials by La Guardia and Ben Golden of the NRA Board is the main bone of contention. The bosses claim that the United Taxi Drivers Union is not representative of the workers in the industry, but then by refusing to recognize a vote taken during the strike they give the lie to their own statements.

The first plan proposed was patterned after the classic strike-breaking pacts of Weirton and Budd; the plebiscite to be held after the hackmen returned to work. The strikers promptly rejected this proposal.

After negotiations with La Guardia and the NRA Board composed of Golden and Herrick, the union finally accepted a modified plebiscite agreement with the infamous Weirton clause removed. The Mayor and the Board soon thought better of their move, and are now trying to back down. Many schemes, ranging from Roosevelt's anti-union methods of "settling" the threatened auto strike to Borough President Harvey's "clubs and castor oil," have been brought forward as more suitable "arbitration" procedures.

Company unionism has flourished in this racketeer ridden industry since the last strike. Ads paid for by the company have appeared in all the metropolitan papers attacking the strikers as "reds," and calling upon the Mayor to smash the strike. Despite these attempts to alienate public sympathy, the strike continues strong.

SUBSCRIBE TO LABOR ACTION NOW!

ANTI-FASCIST ACTION WARNS ITS MEMBERS AGAINST A. SCHULTZ

By WALTER HOOPS

NEW YORK.—The patience of the delegates to the National Committee of the Anti-Fascist Action in America, a national organization of German groups with the repeated violations of the United Front principles by members of the Communist Party has come to an end. At their last meeting they "cracked down" on Anna Schultz, advertised as Torgler's secretary, by adopting this resolution:

"Comrade Anna Schultz has repeatedly violated the United Front pledges given by all the delegates at the Anti-Fascist Conference of April 1933. Therefore, we resolve to issue a warning to all German Anti-Fascist groups in the country not to use the services of Anna Schultz. The violations referred to are one-sided propaganda for the Communist Party and attacks on other labor organizations."

Anna Schultz has spoken at a number of meetings and complaints reached individual members of the committee after every one of them. When reports came in telling about the practical disruption of Anti-Fascist organizations in St. Louis and Chicago after Anna Schultz's attacks, the National Committee decided to do something about it. In St. Louis, the speaker gave her word of honor not to slander labor organizations.

By the prompt action of the German comrades they have served notice that similar methods will be adopted against all those who pledged for a United Front mean nothing but lip service.

SEEING THE "THIRD REICH"

By SELMAR SCHOCKEN

It did not take me long when entering the "Third Reich" early last December to sense the spirit of the "New Germany." Coming from France, I entered the country at Aachen, opposite the Belgian border. When passport and custom officers had gone, a third representative of the border service presented himself: "Bahnpolizei" (R.R. police) and demanded to know: "What kind of literature, newspapers or magazines have you read on your trip? And have you any books or other reading matter in your baggage?"

Expecting a reception of this kind, I had disposed of all material dealing with this sort of national lunacy and the inspection of my baggage passed without an unpleasant incident.

As the months pass, however, some bright spots develop in the black and gray picture of Nazi-Germany. True persecution and suppression are as much in evidence as at any time since the beginning of 1933, but there is now to be observed the reappearance of at least a spirit of resistance. The opponents of the bloody Hitler regime are beginning to speak out loud.

Even on the train I could notice that the spirit of utter obedience and unquestioned assent was waning. People were beginning to talk, to express their thoughts, their dissatisfaction with what was going on around them. Everyone, however is cautious. They are

willing to discuss the situation with the foreigner when they have convinced themselves of his critical attitude, but no one will undertake this discussion or participate in it in the presence of a third person.

I had participated in Paris in the inquiry into the atrocities committed in the infamous concentration camps. On several occasions I tried to find out how well informed the German public is about that situation. In cases, where those questioned were critical at all, they confirmed several of the gruesome reports. Very often, however, they were of the opinion that most of the crimes committed were without sanction higher up. Nevertheless, they listened eagerly to proof that Hitler, Goering and Guebbels not only permitted but in most cases had ordered these crimes against humanity.

When people met me they almost invariably asked: "And what is America thinking?" My reply to strangers that I, as a foreigner, wish to refrain from comment and could not possibly—under the present laws—voice the opinion of the American public upon the present German Institutions, was always the cue to have the questioner tell me what he knows about those institutions.

To many of these critics I had been introduced, but many others were strangers. In all cases it took but a few minutes for those ap-

proached to reassure themselves to voice their true opinion. In the course of such conversations, I never hesitated to voice my own opposition as well as to report the tenor of the American press and public. Many of the incidents reported here, were utterly unknown to them. None of them had heard of the gigantic demonstrations on May 10, the day of the book burning. But all listened eagerly to my description of that protest, of the many actions and protests by the American working class and of the international aid of the anti-fascist forces throughout the world.

Speaking of actual results of the fascist regime in Germany, I will say this: After the Labor unions, political parties and other institutions of the working class had been swept away, the razing of the whole system of social insurance was the next step. True, pensions are still being paid to a great number of people, but they have to be O.K.ed by the Nazi party chiefs. Unemployment support is still granted, but not as a matter of law. People under 25, for instance, will receive no employment benefit, if they cannot give a very good reason for not being a member of either of the Nazi storm troops (S.A.) or of the "voluntary" labor camps. The result of course is, that you may find many a "red heart" in a brown suit.

An incident which happened while I was there, however, proves how

caution at present is the greatest virtue above all: An S. A. man came home from his training and while going to bed said to his wife: "The Nazi leaves you now, and the Communist will stay with you." The wife thought this a good joke and told it to their neighbor. As a result the brown shirt with the red heart has joined many of his comrades in the concentration camp.

Training for "the great day when Germany will again seek her rightful place under the sun and expand in accordance with her national needs" (and with Hitler's program in his biography "Mein Kampf") is the most popular pastime of Nazi-Germany. You can enter no town or city without observing school children, youths and young men marching and drilling—always to the tune of their jingo songs of hate.

Hand in hand with this constant training and drilling goes the general arming of the nation at high speed. None of these armaments are seen in the street. You have to be acquainted with the workers in the various industrial districts, to find out: that every metal factory is working on some kind of munitions, that airship and aeroplane factories work overtime, that many factory buildings are guarded and the workers sworn to secrecy (with the result that the surrounding territory usually is well informed upon the exact parts made in these buildings.) All munitions are incomplete parts, ready to be assembled at a moment notice.

NEW BOOKS

THE ECONOMY OF ABUNDANCE, Stuart Chase, Macmillan. \$2.50.

In "The Economy of Abundance" Mr. Chase has made an excellent statement against capitalism backed up by statistical data. He begins with the "scarcity economy" and shows how capitalism was able to survive under it. He also shows how the scarcity concepts and principles have carried over into a period of abundance. The abundance about which Mr. Chase writes is the product of the poor "power age" which had its beginning at the turn of the century. The present depression is due to the attempts on the part of the industrial leaders to operate business on scarcity principles in an economy of plenty.

Except for the speculative excursions involving his imagination, Mr. Chase has presented an unanswerable case against the profit system. Even these may be forgiven and looked upon as resting places in the book, but when it comes to drawing his conclusions as to the way out Mr. Chase naively places his trust in the impersonal demands of the "technological imperative." All through the book he shows how inventions have been held up because it was not profitable to release them, and at the close he outlines eighteen points which will have to be included in the mould of the economy of abundance—but he relies upon the force of the "technological imperative" to make the change.

Mr. Chase knows better than this, because he knows economic history. He knows that an impersonal technology will not bring about a change in the profit system. He also knows that the only way in which this can be done is to destroy the system itself and the logic of his argument against capitalism should lead him to that conclusion.

M. S. G.

THE KAISER GOES. THE GENERALS REMAIN—by Theodor Plivier. Published by the Macmillan Co. \$2.50.

This book shows how revolutions are not made. It is the story, graphically told by one of Germany's foremost working class writers, of the events which ushered in the German Republic after the bloodbath of the world war. Through the eyes of workers and soldiers we see the revolt of the sailors in the fleet at Kiel which spread inland to the cities and set the factory workers into motion; the revolutionaries welcoming Karl Liebknecht back from prison; the disgust of the men at the front; the abdication of the kaiser.

The characterizations are unforgettable. Scheidemann who lacked the courage to go all the way and that other Social Democrat Noske, who spilled so much working class blood, are etched in acid and fire.

Workers should read this book. It is an object lesson in revolutionary political action. It shows what happens when a Labor political party has not the guts or the will to do a thorough job of cleaning up on a decaying system. The Kaiser goes but the generals are allowed to remain to do their dirty work a little later on.

K.L.

THE SHADOW BEFORE, by Wm. Rollins Jr., Robert M. McBride and Co., \$2.50.

A unanimous chorus of praise for Wm. Rollin's "The Shadow Before" is being chanted by the critics. We join in recommending it highly to all who are interested in how workers live and struggle in these United States.

The book tells how a big textile strike slowly develops, describes the course of the strike itself, how the strike peters out and workers rush back to the mills, how something

remains—a tradition of struggle, at least a few who in the heat of the battle have been tested and who will carry on through the years until the profit system itself is destroyed.

Those familiar with the New Bedford and Gastonia strikes of recent years will recognize the basis for many of the incidents in this labor novel, but it is not a mechanical stringing together of episodes in these strikes.

Just how bosses, their wives and daughters, workers who aspire to become straw-bosses, strike leaders, newspaper men, etc. feel and act as human beings is vividly set forth. The descriptions of the mass action of thousands in revolt is brilliant. There is no attempt to sentimentalize about workers, strikes and their leaders. An exciting and important novel.

A.J.M.

Books Received and to be reviewed in later issues:

Gold and Your Money. By Willard E. Atkins. Robert M. McBride and Company, New York. Price \$1.75.

The Turning Wheel. By Arthur Pound. Doubleday Doran and Company, New York. Price \$3.50.

The Theory of Wages. By Paul H. Douglas. The Macmillan Company, New York. Price \$5.00.

Individualism and Socialism. By Kirby Page. Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., New York. Price \$2.50.

Do We Want Fascism. By Carmen Haider. The John Day Company, New York. Price \$2.00.

JOIN THE AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY

W.T.U.L. Gives Dinner To "Friends of Labor"

By RED

The Women's Trade Union League of New York is giving the exploited laundry workers, garment workers and white collar slaves an opportunity to meet their dear well-wishers, the "friend of labor," at a dinner "in honor of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt." It will cost the proletarians only \$3.00 each for a seat from which they may watch their friends eat.

Among the patrons of the dinner are Mrs. Vincent Astor, wife of the Astor on whose yacht Franklin Delano himself takes his vacations; Mr. and Mrs. Cornelius N. Bliss (Cornelius being a dyed-in-the-wool reactionary Republican and former treasurer of the Republican National Committee); Mrs. Wm. Randolph Hearst; Mr. and Mrs. Otto H. Kahn of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., international bankers; several scions of the House of Morgenthau; Mr. and Mrs. Gerard Swope (of the General Electric, well-known advocates of trade unionism, and how!).

With these plutocrats who are interested in making workers think that a lot of bankers and bosses are really the best "friends of labor," will dine some of our well-known labor "leaders." Among them are:

Hugh Frayne, reactionary A. F. of L. representative in New York for many years, Bert Kirkman "machine" president of Local 3, I.B.E.W. whose business manager was recently convicted in the courts of shooting a fellow-member at union headquarters Joe Ryan of the Longshermen's Union, thick-and-thin Tammany supporter. Consorting with these plutocrats and reactionary laborites on the Dinner Committee are such supposedly "progressive" labor leaders as Sidney Hillman of the A.C.W. of A., Kennedy of the Lithographers and Dubinsky and Hochman of the I.L.G.W.U.

Perhaps they and the Women's Trade Union League are doing the workers a good turn after all. To claim that Mrs. Roosevelt is the great hope of the exploited women workers might seem plausible and fool some people. But nobody can possibly doubt the role of confusion and betrayal of the worker being enacted by those who put forward the Astors, the Kahns, the Blisses, the Myron Taylors, the Hearsts and the Swoopes as people who are the sponsors and help to build a labor movement.

New York Hotel Strike

(Continued from Page 3)

do get workers into unions. But they do it by appeals to respectability, by servility to the government, alliance with political scoundrels and all sorts of other dubious practices.

When radicals go into the industrial struggle for revolutionary educational purposes, they must bring not only native intelligence but rare skill to the task. All of which involves training. There is a dearth of industrial leaders among all radical groups in this country. The experiences in the hotel strike indicate that there is serious need for more conscious training of such leaders in advance. In the A.W.P., which grew out of industrial struggles, there should be in particular a continued pressure in that direction—to induce our membership to increase its ability to take part in the fights of the workers.

This completes Comrade Budenz's analysis of the Hotel Strike. Our next issue will contain a special article on the present situation in the Local, including a report of the split engineered by Field and Caldis; the activity of the CP; and the program of the AWP.

CAPITALISM

Technicians, engineers and economists, even the conservative ones, claim that the productive capacity of America is capable of providing every worker with an income equivalent to \$5,000 a year. Yet hardly any American worker has an income sufficient to provide him or her with more than the bare necessities and millions find themselves in dire need. The following report, taken from the Social Questions Bulletin issued by the Methodist Federation for Social Service (certainly not a "red" organization) needs no further comment than this—the only way to end this sort of thing is for the workers to take control of the productive machinery of the country for themselves.

Broken Homes

From a few of many reports: In Cincinnati, a typical city, there were 1,100 court evictions in 1930, 1250 in 1931, 3100 in 1932. Chicago's actual evictions numbered 1351 for the six months from December, 1931, to May, inclusive, and increased to 2260 for the following six months. There were 26,515 children in the families evicted. The Philadelphia Housing Association, reported in May, 1933, that more than 28,000 families had to double up with friends or relatives.

Broken Health

Of 11,000 individuals studied in the three industrial cities, Birmingham, Detroit and Pittsburgh, by the Millbank Memorial Fund and the U. S. Public Health Service in 1933 the rate of disabling illness in families of the unemployed was 39% higher than in families of full time wage earners and 25% higher than that in families of part-time workers. The highest rate of all was in families that had fallen from "reasonably comfortable circumstances" in 1929 to poverty in 1932. It was 60% higher than in families that had suffered no drop in income.

The Children

The U. S. Children's Bureau in a study of effects of the depression on the nutrition of children gives percentages in undernourishment and underweight which seem to justify the conclusion that about one-fourth of our children are suffering in this way. A Millbank Memorial study of 514 school children in the Bellevue district of Manhattan shows that 4 out of 10 of the poorest children were suffering from serious undernourishment and that 25% of the children in workers' families having somewhat higher incomes were rated as "poor" and "very poor" in nutrition.

Food and Health

In the east side district of New York City families on relief were found by the Millbank study to have a diet of 10% below the minimum standard required for energy value and those on work relief a diet of 20% below. As the income declined the average consumption of each type of food in the dietary was reduced, the greatest reduction being in the use of milk, meat, fish, eggs, vegetables and fruit. A committee headed by Graham Taylor in 1932 and 1933 saw men, women and children gathering and eating food from the garbage dumps. Little out of the way press items now and again report deaths by starvation, such as, "The magistrate ordered the starving man taken to a hospital but he died on the way."

Yet the system that is responsible for this state of affairs—the system of private ownership of productive machinery and land—President Roosevelt is trying desperately to save. He is trying to save a system that sacrifices the welfare of the great majority of the population of the country to the greedy and criminal desires of a very small minority. Is it sensible for workers to support him in this?

"Build Labor Action" Campaign

3,000 NEW SUBS. BY THE 4th OF JULY, STARTING APRIL 1st

To make LABOR ACTION, semi-monthly organ of the American Workers Party, larger, regular and self-sustaining.

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1. A.W.P. Branches are assigned quotas. Prizes will be awarded for results in achieving and exceeding these quotas. 1600 subs will be secured in this way.

2. Members at large and non-members living where there is no branch to work through are asked to enroll in the

VANGUARD OF 100

to get 10 subscriptions each,—accounting for another 1,000.

3. The remaining 400 subs. will be the responsibility of the national office.

PRIZES OFFERED

TO BRANCHES: To every Branch achieving its quota, an A.W.P. banner or a large poster, with the Branch's name inscribed.

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