

LABOR ACTION

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY

VOLUME 11, No. 17.

New York, N. Y., Monday, October 1, 1934.

Price 5 Cents

Nationwide Demonstration

Gun Probe Shows War For Profits

Munitions Industry Tied To State—Don't Let It Shock You

By JOHN L. BROWN

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Lock your hands together—tight. A little tighter. This will represent the close tie-up between the American munitions makers and the United States army, navy and state departments.

Now imagine that you are about to be attacked by your neighbors. They have all become blood-thirsty. They come at you with machine-guns, cannons, tanks, ships, submarines, explosives, gases and bombing planes.

Now you are in the state of mind that the munitions makers, the army department, the navy department and other arms of industry and government have been building up at home and in the various nations.

Next, get indignant about it. Become horrified. Say nasty things about the gentlemen involved. They are rearming Germany. They are selling war-machines to Japan. They are thirsty for the profits. Indeed, another war will deliver the world into their hands. The men are insane, truly.

Are You a Liberal?

Now, if you are properly indignant, shocked and horrified, you are in the state of mind of a liberal who thinks that by exposing the munitions makers, by laying before the world their lethal affairs, steps can be taken forthwith by "right-minded" people to curb and suppress them and thereby end, in a large degree, the dangers of war.

Today in Washington there is no progress—and the end is not yet—
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OUST SCAB TEACHER

GILLESPIE, Ill.—David Tallman was a scab. Last winter he helped break a strike at the Laclade steel plant at Alton.

When the High School opened recently, Tallman was employed to teach english.

The students said: "Tallman helped break the steel strike. Shall a scab teach us?"

A thousand young men and women walked out of the school. They threw a picket line around the building. On some days there are 1,000 on the line. Jimmie Cross, son of a union miner, is in charge of the pickets.

"No scab will ever teach the children of union men and women," they say. They demand that Tallman be permanently removed as a teacher.

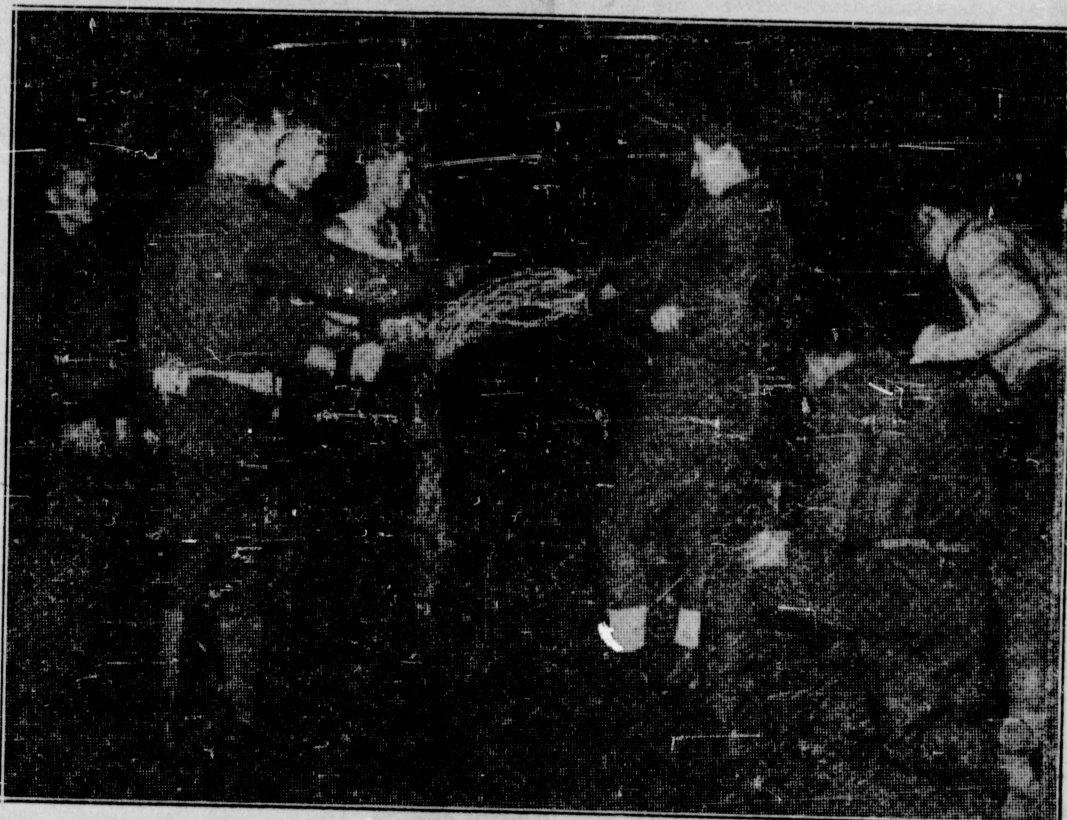
Tallman's father is a union miner.

The school is completely closed.

(Bulletin by air mail)

Tallman has been removed as teacher with orders not to appear on the school premises. The students have won, pending an election in the school district to determine whether the taxpayers wish Tallman rehired.

NO, THIS IS NOT IN FASCIST GERMANY



This is in Georgia—U. S. of A.—it is a Concentration camp for textile workers who are striking for a New Deal.

Textile Strike - Flying Squads Party Building And Cold Steel - FD on Spot Is Discussed

By KARL LORE

The textile workers of the nation have risen, five hundred thousand strong. In every division of the industry and in every important center their flying squadrons, mass picket lines and the flaming courage with which labor fights in this year of 1934, have shut down the mills and stilled the roar of the looms. The soft soap of employer welfare and the cold steel of the National Guard have been equally helpless against the combined might of the textile workers on the march toward industrial freedom.

This strike means much to the workers of America. It has an importance far transcending the issue of unionism in the textile mills. Labor stands at the crossroads and the outcome of this supreme battle will have a great effect on the direction in which it will go. Relations between the trade union movement and the government will be profoundly affected by the way the struggle is conducted and by the final result. It will help to determine the type of leadership that will come to power in the organizations of labor. In a very real sense, it is the acid test. Will the workers' organizations rise to this greatest of opportunities? Or will the chance be muffed, to become a red ink entry in the ledger of American labor history?

The Strike Decision

The decision to strike came primarily as a result of the complete breakdown of the machinery of the N.R.A. in the Southern cotton textile fields. Sniping at wage standards was widespread everywhere of course, but in the South, chiseling and the stretch-out had become unbearable. A special Labor Board had been set up for the industry to deal specifically with the problem of the machine load. Great

things were expected from it. The chairman was the well known liberal Robert Bruere. This was one of the gentlemen, in case you've forgotten, who was involved in the sensational "Kerensky" charges of Gary's honorable educator Dr. Wirt.

But it was no go. The Southern textile operators clasped the board to their bosoms and when it was released, torn and bleeding, it was in no condition to control anything. The mill bosses took it over bodily and it became the instrument through which loom after loom was added to the weavers' job. The stretch-out continued and grew worse. Workers in the mill towns began to revolt. Pressure for a general strike became irresistible.

North vs. South

There was dissatisfaction in another quarter. Try as they would, the mill owners of the North were unable to do as good a job of chiseling as their brother exploiters in the South. Unionism was more strongly entrenched. They had already been saddled with a \$1 wage differential by the textile code. When in addition, mill owners be-

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STRUCK SPEECHLESS

LOS ANGELES.—For the first time in fifteen years labor unions marched in a Labor Day parade. The float of the striking Mission Hosiery workers was easily the highlight of the parade. The float represented a worker enchained.

Mayor Shaw and other officials were so amazed by the demonstration they made no speeches.

PEARCY FIGHTS "THE REDS"

GILLESPIE, Ill.—On the eve of the second convention of Progressive Miners of America, Claude Percy, president, launched an attack against the militants whom he labeled "the reds."

Active Workers Conference Held in Pittsburgh

By KATHERINE LEYDEN

The Active Workers Conference of the American Workers Party held in Pittsburgh, Sept. 8 and 9 contrasted sharply with the convention in the same city last December. Discussion at the convention centered around the problem of forming the party, while the attention of this conference was directed toward building the party. December 1933 saw the dissolution of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action and the emergence of a new party. September 1934 saw active workers of the AWP coming together to discuss the dynamic problems of the past year and laying plans for continued activity and growth.

Building The Party

It was upon this constructive note that A. J. Muste, chairman of the AWP, opened the conference that was held at a camp just outside of Pittsburgh. Eighty-five representative members from the eastern party branches were present. They came from Allentown, Paterson, Washington, N. J., fresh from battles on the textile front; from Unemployed League battles in Ohio, Illinois and West Virginia; and from the New York garment center and the Pennsylvania anthracite region.

Technical and general party problems were first outlined by members of the Provisional Organizing Committee and then vigorously discussed by the membership. Muste defined the nature of the party and the character of work to be engaged in.

The topic, "Getting New Members," by Arnold Johnson, developed into discussion not only of getting new members, but the task,
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Five Groups Plan U.S.A. Food March

Unemployed Lay Basis for United Action, Nov. 24

Special to Labor Action

CHICAGO, Ill.—Millions of unemployed and employed workers throughout the nation will take part in simultaneous nationwide demonstrations before city and county relief boards on Saturday, Nov. 24, at 10 a. m., according to plans made by representatives of unemployed organizations at a conference in Chicago Sept. 15 and 16.

Calling on the unemployed to demonstrate their power through unity of action, and the employed to support them, the conference formulated demands to be presented to relief boards in all parts of the country. At the same time these city and county demonstrations are being held, according to the plans, a committee will present the same demands to the Federal relief administration in Washington.

Initiate Proposal

The National Unemployed League, through Anthony Ramuglia, president, and Arnold Johnson, secretary, brought the proposal to the conference, which was attended by leaders of the Illinois Workers' Alliance, the Eastern Federation of Unemployed and Emergency Workers, the Wisconsin Federation of Workers' Committees, and spokesmen for the American Workers' Union and the Florida Federation of Unemployed Leagues.

The proposal was a mandate of the National Unemployed League convention held in Columbus, Ohio, July 31 and Aug. 1. Definite plans were developed by the National Executive Committee of the NUL, and further developed by representatives of various unemployed organizations at an informal conference in Chicago on Labor Day. Among those attending this conference were representatives of the militant Minneapolis Central Council of Workers who had taken an important part in the historic Minneapolis strike, and unemployed
(Continued on Page 6)

Defy Silk Injunction

PATERSON, N. J.—Condemning in no uncertain tones the injunction forbidding silk dyers to join the general textile strike, the United Silk Workers Club of Paterson in a letter addressed to Vice-Chancellor Eagen of the New Jersey Court of Chancery, warns that "Honorable" gentleman that "the workers of Paterson will tear this injunction to pieces."

The United Silk Workers Club is composed of militants in the American Federation of Silk Workers who are pushing the fight for aggressive unionism. The injunction was issued by the obliging Vice-Chancellor, although it was clearly shown that the dye-house owners had repeatedly violated the contract on which the "No Strike" injunction was based.

Reaction Flares in Illinois; Union Leaders Remain Silent

By GERRY ALLARD

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—Embryonic fascism—this is the situation in Illinois.

At Hillsboro 14 workers today face long terms in prison under charges of criminal syndicalism, inciting to riot and conspiracy to overthrow the government.

Because they exposed graft in the relief personnel of Montgomery county, they are being victimized by the authorities in their mad drive against the workers.

At Belleville the grand jury will meet the first of October to consider the case of the state of Illinois against A. J. Muste, chairman of the American Workers Party, James Cross and H. C. Mayer, who are bound over under heavy bonds on charges of advocating the overthrow of the government. They were arrested last June while talking with striking workers at the Knapp-Monarch plant. The charge carries a penalty of from 1 to 14 years in prison.

P.W.A. Strikers Held

At Auburn 200 P.W.A. workers struck against a five cent wage cut. Five leaders were arrested and released on \$5,000 bonds, pending the meeting of the grand jury.

At Edwardsville, Madison county, the unemployed demonstrated against relief discrimination. Instantly county authorities arrested five leaders and charged them with criminal syndicalism.

It is no mystery that all these cases occurred in coal mining

towns. The militant tradition of Illinois coal miners, of over half a century of action, is producing organized masses of unemployed workers who know what they want, with the willingness to fight.

Before the struggle which gave rise to the Progressive Miners of America, the authorities confined their suppression of working class organizations to the extreme southern part of the state, where the Kentucky border is truly imaginary. In the Chicago territory, occasional attacks and arrests were reported. Today not one county is exempted.

Union Leaders Play Safe

And how are the labor organizations answering these reactionary forces? It must be admitted that labor has not yet awakened to the gravity of the situation. The blame lies almost wholly with the leaders.

The Illinois Federation of Labor, with the exception of a few local unions, has been totally silent.

Local unions and the Women's Auxiliaries of the P.M.A. have been generous in responding to the causes of workers recently arrested. The leaders of the Progressive Miners made brief uneditorialized comment on the Muste-Cross-Mayer case. The president of the union, Claude Pearcey, agreed recently to add his name to a tentative committee for the "restoration of constitutional rights," but with broad and uncertain reservations. Mr. Hall, prosecutor-in-chief of the Hillsboro boys, has stated that the

P.M.A. leaders were for their imprisonment.

Unprogressive "Progressives"

Giving weight to this is the fact that in each local union the followers of the P.M.A. leaders have opposed support to labor victims, both financial and moral. And if more evidence is needed, the reader is referred to a recent issue of the "Progressive Miner," official organ of the P.M.A., in which there appeared an official announcement signed by the three resident officials of the union, stating that before any action be taken on moral or financial support for "outside" organizations, state officials should first be consulted.

Space forbids a detailed account of the non-progressiveness of these "leaders" who rose to their present positions at a time when the Illinois miners were in a fighting mood.

The one bright spot in the whole scene is the alliance made by the American Workers Party, the Socialist Party, the Communist League of America and the Left Wing Miners and other independent groups. They have united on the common program of meeting the reactionary forces and fighting for the defense and the release of labor prisoners.

Dr. Cotton Ousted by Church For Picketing With Strikers

Bethlehem, Pa.

Workers in Bethlehem are learning the way their bosses run the churches just the same as they run the factories. Dr. Paul Cotton, pastor of the South Side Presbyterian Church, has learned something, too, about what the bosses do to clergymen who practise what they preach.

Because Dr. Cotton helped unemployed workers and textile workers on picket lines and in mass meetings and demonstrations, and preached sermons about the way the powerful Bethlehem Steel Corporation treats its workers, the bosses forced him to resign.

While a special meeting of his congregation was "accepting" his resignation by a vote of 50 to 25, Dr. Cotton was taking part in a meeting of striking silk workers.

When the congregation meeting opened, a visiting clergyman who acted as moderator prayed for "heavenly guidance and gracious harmony." But the way the respectable church officials acted and

yelled, the prayer must not have been heard. Dr. Cotton's friends were howled at whenever they tried to speak.

Workers who wanted to attend the meeting and speak for Dr. Cotton were threatened with loss of their jobs.

It seemed kind of funny to some of the workers, when they heard about it, that the congregation said they were putting Dr. Cotton out because of money. The workers used to think the church didn't have much to do with money. But they are beginning to know better.

The president of the board of trustees got up and said the church debt had gone up 60 per cent and voluntary offerings had gone down 33 per cent, and he seemed to think that was enough reason to make Dr. Cotton resign.

A university professor said this was a matter of social justice and what of it if there wasn't so much money? He said Dr. Cotton had just been doing his duty and trying to get the congregation to do their duty and keep up the moral and industrial standards in the town.

They didn't pay much attention to the professor but went on talking about money. One of the officers of the elders got excited and talked about Dr. Cotton's "socialistic activities" and said if the clergyman stayed his family would leave the church. Some other well-to-do members then threatened the same thing.

A member of the Steel Workers' Union presented a letter taking Dr. Cotton's part. The clerk refused to read letters from unemployed organizations that he said insulted him and the church. He said they were unfit to be read before a respectable gathering. People at the meeting demanded that he read the letters to prove what he said, but that was refused. There were some leaders of the unemployed present and they said that the clerk's saying the letters were insulting was a deliberate lie.

They kicked out Dr. Cotton, but the workers will go on fighting for the things he was trying to help them to get. Maybe they'll fight better than ever, now that they know they can't count on help from ministers or churches or anyone but themselves.—From an Unemployed Worker.

Anti-Labor Mayor Leads Workers' Parade

GULFPORT, Miss.—A workers' parade which was led by an anti-labor mayor and from which unemployed and unorganized workers were excluded, was the paradox that Labor Day brought to Gulfport.

The parade was hailed as a big success by the Gulfport newspapers. One thousand members of 11 labor (A. F. of L.) organizations participated. The papers boasted of the fact that Negro workers were permitted a place in the parade.

And at the head of this impressive labor group marched and rode—the county motorcycle police, Mayor Milner, noted for his strike-breaking activities, and two anti-labor city commissioners.

The Central Labor Union, which was in charge of the Labor Day celebration, not only did not invite the Unemployed League and unorganized workers to march in the parade, but made it clear they were not wanted.

Many organized workers refused to march because of their objection to the invitations to the mayor and the city commissioners. The Unemployed League protested this invitation, and finally enjoined its members from participation in a parade so antipathetic to the spirit of Labor Day.

But the Central Labor Union accepted congratulations on the "success" of the parade and the Gulfport Guide, a weekly paper, gave its blessing to these well-behaved A. F. of L. leaders who were keeping their ranks clear of "noisy radicalism."

AAA's "Plow-Them-Under" Finds Farmers Going Left

Omaha, Nebraska.

Which way is the farmer turning, to the "right" or to the "left"? Take Nebraska.

The situation here is pretty much the same as it is in the eleven other midwest agricultural states. Dissatisfaction with the Roosevelt program, skepticism with regard to the A.A.A., an attitude of "watchful waiting," and a growing exodus away from the Republican and Democratic parties. These are some of the straws in the wind.

Early last spring the politicians began to sense the drift and they sponsored several brands of "independent voters' alliances" to save the old parties. It was a clever trick. In the August primary the candidates supported by the independent groups were thoroughly defeated, the politicians came out on top, as usual, but not without leaving a bad taste with the double-crossed farmers. Farmers are now rallying again, attempting this time to get several of the defeated candidates to run on a REAL independent ticket in the general election. One of them, Terry Carpenter, who was a poor third in the race for governor, is spoken of as being more liberal even than Senator Norris of this state.

There is every reason to believe that this militant but by no means revolutionary farm mass will grow to great numbers and embody the entire farm element.

A terrible winter lies ahead. Much livestock will perish of starvation. The Spring will find thousands and thousands of midwest farmers without a brood sow, without a cow and without seed for the next crop. Yet the Roosevelt-Wallace plow-them-under campaign will bring another crop reduction of at least 10 percent next year.

What the militant farmers need out here, now, is guidance. If left to itself, leaderless as it is, this movement away from the Democratic and Republican parties can result in but one thing—disaster. There are those who would use another word—fascism.

There is no reason to believe, however, that leadership and revolutionary guidance cannot be given and the farm mass won. And in the writer's opinion the first step must be taken with propaganda—clear, simple, understandable, explaining the revolutionary way out. The soil must be prepared for sound organizational work.

E. B.

A Flying Squadron Comes to Town—Officer Goins Goes

Thomasville, North Carolina

The Flying Squad of Pickets arrived here at 10 A. M.

Surrounding the Amazon cotton mill was the Thomasville police force and all the deputy sheriffs that could be found. Chief Smith stood at the front gate with tear gas bombs in each hand. He shouted at the strikers.

"I will throw them if you don't stay out of here!"

The leader replied—"Throw one and die you yellow black s—o—b!"

About that time the crowd had split up and some gathered below the fence and raised the wire posts out of the ground and all went under like a swarm of bees.

There stood officer Goins formerly known as 2-gun Pete. Officer Goins won his bad name by beating up boys. This time his 2 guns disappeared around the corner and the strikers entered the mill and drove out the scabs.

Forcing their way as they went, next they went to the Jewel cotton mill and officer Russel was standing backed up in front of the door with gun in hand.

"Don't come in here boys. I will have to shoot."

"Shoot and be damned," shouted the leader.

The leader made a dive for the door and officer Russel departed. He is the famous drunkard of the law abiding police department.

The Flying Squad forced the scabs out and drove them away from the crowd and then moved quietly away toward Winston Salem where they met reinforcements of about 1,000 more and closed all the textile plants there.

As for relief in Davidson county, all our office holders are Democrats and dear reader you know the balance. Charlie Wall who is a relief worker and was fired three weeks ago received a food order to the amount of \$1 to feed himself and wife 1 week. T. B. Adams who was fired and who has 6 in family received \$3.72. D. L. Strickland received \$1.29. We need not expect any better. Unemployed leagues are springing up almost over night.

Print above as you see fit. I like your paper which I get from Highpoint and am anxious to get the next issue. Am A. W. P. 100 percent as who wouldn't be that had their right mind.—By Unemployed Textile Worker.

Sees AWP Analysis of State Vindicated in Onion Strike

Hardin County, Ohio.

Your program of the A.W.P. says the first thing we must know to build a movement to bring an end to capitalism and make it possible for us to have plenty is to understand that the government or the State, with courts and sheriffs, does not belong to us but belongs to those who have the money power and the economic power, the exploiters, the industrialists and the bankers.

Ten in Eviction Case Released on Bond

Viriden, Ill.

C. H. "Hank" Mayer and the nine Unemployed Council members who were locked up on August 23 when an evicted family's furniture was carried to a mass meeting here have all been released. They were released on \$1,000 bonds.

The charge against them is "inciting to riot."

Galvin Sutphin who lives in Viriden and belongs to the Communist Party was evicted with his family. The notorious Building and Loan people had them evicted. The officers pitched Sutphin's furniture into an alley.

At the time there was a big mass meeting of the Progressive Miners being held in the city. The meeting was in the heart of the city.

So what did the unemployed do? They picked up the furniture and carried it to the mass meeting. The 1,500 miners saw the furniture. Even one of the right-wing leaders of the Progressive movement, a woman, took the platform and flayed the officials for evicting an unemployed family.

It was too much. The Viriden city fathers do not like to be exposed before the miners. In fact it always frightens them a lot. So what more natural than to lock the ten men in the Macoupin jail and keep them there several days, pretending they were guilty of "inciting to riot"?

"Hank" Mayer was a member of the Unemployed Council, but he made a speech at a meeting of the Illinois Workers Alliance, and he was expelled. Now he is an organizer for the American Workers Party.

How true this is in Hardin county!

Day after day for many weeks now 700 onion weeders and their starved families, fed on cornmeal and beans, have been on strike, trying their damndest to improve conditions and get a little bit of justice. The women, some of them wear flour-sacks as their Sunday-best, little children don't know what a shoe would look like and at 6 years old they weed four miles of onion rows a day. Larger children, 12 years old, weed 8 miles. Men and women weed 12 miles. The average wage is \$8 a month.

And this is what has happened. Sheriff Mitchell and his men, just plain gunmen, have been on the jump keeping the Kenton county jail full of strikers. They sure know their onions, as the saying goes. If they didn't they wouldn't be gunmen and they would be fired from the county police force like a flash. The Onion Growers Association would see to that.

But what proves what the A.W.P. says about the State to be absolutely correct is the action of the court and the grand jury.

After a big mob under the direction of the Onion Growers kidnapped Okey O'Dell, the strike leader, and beat him up, he brought suit against the county for \$5,000 and tried to get indictments against 56 of the kidnapers. The grand jury met and whitewashed everyone of them. Not only that, but instead, it indicted the strikers.

It indicted O'Dell and now he is in Kenton jail. Karl Pauli of the Socialist Party was indicted. And even an officer of the law, a marshal, was indicted—for assaulting an onion grower!

Now if these men are tried before Hoag who is the judge here it is plain as day that they will be railroaded. Hoag is vice-president of the Kenton County Bank and the bank is simply the granddaddy of the onion growers.

How any workers can have an ounce of brains and not see how all this links up I don't know. As the barkers say at the fairs, such a man better go to his doctor and be examined to see what is wrong with him.—By a Worker Correspondent.

American Workers Party, Communist League, Exchange Letters on Merger

Letter of American Workers Party To Communist League of America

Dear Comrades:

Both your organization and ours have declared for the formation of a new revolutionary party of the workers, and for a new international as soon as conditions permit actual organizing efforts. We have all been working to this end during the past months. As a part of this work, several conferences have been held between committees of the American Workers Party and the Communist League of America. At these meetings the programmatic statement of the AWP and certain phases of the program of the CLA have been discussed in a frank and comradely spirit.

We believe sufficient headway has been made in these meetings to make it necessary for both of us finally to clarify the relation between our organizations and, if we are in essential agreement on fundamentals, to take concrete steps toward the accomplishment of organic unity. Your letter dated September 7 reached us toward the end of the Pittsburgh session of the POC, after an exhaustive analysis of the general situation in the country and in the movement, and of the problem of unity before us had been completed. We were glad to discover that you too arrived at the conclusion that discussion of organizational merger is the logical consequence of our earlier joint meetings.

You state in your letter that the revised edition of the Draft Program of the AWP has been examined by you. This new edition was written after the conclusion of the discussions on program held between the committees of our respective organizations, and with the content of the discussions in mind. It is our opinion that in all fundamental respects the revised program of the AWP correctly states the position of the revolutionary party of the workers which we want to build.

Since the question of program is paramount and primary in the formation of the new party, we wish to learn from you, at the earliest date possible, whether you are prepared to accept this Draft Program as a working basis for the program of the new party. Should there be any question on your part as to certain formulations will you please include in your reply the versions which you choose to propose or sections which you wish to add, so that we may give them proper consideration.

Our program contains criticism, in some detail, of the principles and the activities of the Communist party and the CI. We hold that such criticism must be made and that a thorough critical analysis of all the revolutionary parties in the field is an indispensable part of the preparatory work in the building of the new party. However, we must take care that our criticism of CI and CP policies not only is not, but is free from any appearance of being, an attack upon the Soviet Union. We are sure that you will agree with us that the defense of the workers' fatherland is a major task of the new party; that in the light of the world situation such defense, as well as the counteraction to the disastrous policies of the Communist International, can only be weakened by any attempt to build a new party within the SU; and that these ends can be most rapidly and effectively achieved by the building of powerful revolutionary parties in the major capitalist nations and of the new International. The establishment of an actually functioning workers' government in Russia, and the unbroken existence of the Soviet Union during these years of capitalist reaction and disintegration everywhere else, constitute an inspiring contribution to the world revolutionary movement. While the rise of the fascist powers in the west and the aggressive imperialism of Japan in the east may be taken as specific arguments in favor of careful

SU, the fundamental solidarity of all revolutionary workers with the Russian Revolution is of basic significance. This is the paramount reason why a legitimate critical analysis of policies and attitudes should not be permitted to drift into a virtual attack. Thus utmost care in handling all matters concerning the SU is of cardinal importance to our task of building a revolutionary consciousness among the workers in our country as well as in all other lands. We think it is important to emphasize this point because, however justified CLA criticisms of certain policies of the S. U. may have been, they have stood out in the public mind as the expression of an an-

issue or to participate in issuing any political organ save those sanctioned by the new party. We shall be ready to suggest a plan for accomplishing the merger and to consider any plan which you may wish to offer.

It is important that in seeking to bring about the organic unity we should go about it in such a manner as to make unity not only possible but likewise enduring. We specifically refer to the fact that in the past years our respective organizations have pursued somewhat different courses and attitudes. For a period of six years your membership has been engaged in a fierce political struggle with the CP and the CI, and because of it they have developed a strong tendency to emphasize points of disagreement and an aptitude for dogmatism. Our organization has functioned primarily in the economic conflicts of the American

Letter from Communist League To POC of American Workers Party

Dear Comrades:

We are addressing your P. O. C. meeting on the burning question of common endeavors toward creating a revolutionary party in the United States, which we have already discussed jointly in a preliminary way. It is obvious to us, and we believe it is to you, that a decision on this question must be arrived at very soon.

Events are now moving in this country with an ever growing speed. Gigantic class battles have taken place in one city after another, in one industry after another, preparing the ground for greater ones to come. It is no accident that in these struggles the bankruptcy of reformism on the one side, and of bureaucratic centrism Stalin-

ism) on the other, has been more clearly revealed. At the same time, the political role played by your forces in Toledo and by our forces in Minneapolis, in two of the most outstanding events of recent months, may be considered of the greatest significance and moment for the future.

We believe we are justified in saying that the time is arriving when the American workers can assimilate the revolutionary lessons in abridged form and rapidly leap forward on the path toward revolutionary action. But this presupposes the existence of a revolutionary party and the creation of a revolutionary international. Under the given conditions, as we expressed it before, this new party will have before it the possibility and prospect of expansion into a powerful mass organization within a comparatively short time.

It appears to us that the recent developments toward a united front of the official Communist party and the Socialist party should serve first of all to emphasize all the more the need of speed in finding the solution to the problems we have discussed. Unquestionably the acceptance and the carrying out of the idea of the united front would mean a really progressive step for the working class. Temporarily, its realization in this country has been postponed by the action of the Socialist party, but there need be little doubt that it is possible for the two main parties to come to an agreement, particularly inasmuch as the present foreign policy of the Soviet Union under the Stalin regime requires such an agreement, not as a means of setting the masses into motion but as a means of maintaining the status quo on a world scale, to prevent reactionary overturns, but also to restrain revolutionary progress which may upset the status quo on which the Stalinist foreign policy is now based. Therefore, the Stalinist united front policy has become a surrender to the position of Social Democracy.

Because of this there is no indication of the "united front" becoming a genuine united front of workers engaged in struggle for definite class objectives. On the contrary, it has already in this early stage all the earmarks of becoming a bureaucratic combination at the top, supplemented by an exclusion of the revolutionary current.

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be extended upon both a local and a national scale. We propose that a committee from each organization meet to draw up a plan for such united activities. Furthermore, we suggest that we attempt to make this plan a general model for the united activities of working class groups, and that we make every effort to secure its acceptance by the largest possible number of other working class groups. We wish that these united activities be entered into and continued whatever the immediate result in the matter of merging our organizations, since both our organizations stand for united activities of this kind with other groups.

We propose that all documents in these negotiations between our organizations be promptly published in the respective organs of the CLA and the AWP, or if in any case this proves physically impossible, that they be made promptly available to the membership of both organizations in some other way.

Our organizations are agreed that these questions of unity and united action must not be delayed. No significant step toward unity in the revolutionary workers' movement has been taken in a decade. The need for such a step is a matter of supreme importance. The building of the new revolutionary party is a first and indispensable item on the agenda of the workers' revolution.

Comradely Yours,
American Workers Party
A. J. Muste, Chairman

Toward Revolutionary Unity

THE letter which has been sent by the Provisional Organizing Committee of the American Workers Party to the National Committee of the Communist League of America and which is reproduced on this page is the result of the unanimous decision of a national meeting of the POC of the AWP recently held at Pittsburgh. Every member of the POC present expressed his opinion in the course of the discussion.

At the beginning of that discussion they were unanimous on just one point, namely, that they desired to arrive at the decision which would do most to advance the building of the new revolutionary party in the United States. As to what the decision should be, practically all possible views were represented, from those who believed that a final decision for merger of the AWP and CLA and steps to put the decision into effect should be taken then and there, to those who were for abandoning for the present all discussions and negotiations looking to merger.

The discussion at Pittsburgh was itself the culmination of a series of meetings between sub-committees of the AWP and the CLA which were reported to the POC from time to time.

The CLA (often called Trotskyists) is a group of revolutionary workers, the founders of which were expelled from the Communist Party six years ago. For a number of years they operated as a faction of the CP and the Communist International. They aimed to correct the line of these organizations and eventually to reunite with them.

The CLA came to the conclusion, however, that this task was hopeless and that a new revolutionary party and a new international must be formed. In September, 1933, the CLA announced its new position and expressed its desire to cooperate with any other revolutionary groups which likewise sought to build the new party.

In December, 1933, the convention of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action at Pittsburgh decided to sponsor the founding of a new revolutionary party and the Provisional Organizing Committee of the American Workers Party was elected.

Shortly thereafter the POC received a communication from the CLA. The communication suggested that as both groups were aiming to establish a new revolutionary party, they should work together for that end. The CLA made certain specific proposals for united activities, joint meetings of branches, an inter-party bulletin, joint meetings of national committees, discussion of program, etc. These proposals were considered of such importance that a national meeting of our POC was called to consider them. At this meeting it was decided to enter upon joint discussions of program with the CLA and united activity wherever that might be possible. The POC was not prepared at that time to take further steps.

A committee was elected by the POC consisting of Comrades Muste, Budenz, Hardman, Hook and Burnham to discuss questions of program with a similar committee of the CLA. As is indicated in

the accompanying letter to the CLA the new revised edition of the AWP program was written with the content of these discussions in mind. The section in this program relating to our international position has not only been the subject of discussion in the editorial committee and the resident POC but has likewise been the subject of correspondence between branches and the national office.

labor scene and many of our members are but slowly coming to realize the significance of clear-cut theoretical positions. We know that your organization is consciously moving from sectarian existence toward conscious and purposive participation in mass movements. Likewise our members are developing the desired party and theoretical consciousness. There would be no point, however, in denying that members of political organizations do not easily discard habits of reasoning and acting. Consequently, our efforts at unity must cope with this state of affairs and we must exercise utmost care in working out the procedure.

We believe that the name AWP should be the name of the new party, both because we consider

this a name excellent and appropriate in itself and because it is already known to thousands of workers as the name of the new party. If, however, you have in mind a name which you consider more suitable, we are prepared to discuss it. We are convinced, though, that the name of the new party must not make use of the labels, "socialist" or "communist" because the use of either of them would tend to make the new party appear as a faction of or in some other way related to either the Social-Democracy or the Communist International.

In the meantime, as we proceed with the steps aiming at organic unity, we propose that united activities, in which our organizations have been engaged for some time,

the accompanying letter to the CLA the new revised edition of the AWP program was written with the content of these discussions in mind. The section in this program relating to our international position has not only been the subject of discussion in the editorial committee and the resident POC but has likewise been the subject of correspondence between branches and the national office.

The unanimous decision of the national meeting of the POC at Pittsburgh is all the more significant and gives the greater promise of bearing good fruit at an early date, because it was not hastily and superficially arrived at, and because in the deciding meeting itself all points of view were ably and vigorously represented and consequently received careful consideration.

The letter of the AWP and that of the CLA to the AWP, which was in preparation at the same time, are for the most part self-explanatory. Space does not permit, nor is it at this time necessary, to enter into detailed discussion of the various points set forth in them.

We call, however, upon our branches, members, sympathizers and all those who are interested in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a genuine workers democracy to read and study these extremely important documents with the greatest of care.

Now that our decision has been made, it will be loyally carried out and with a view to the urgent need of action which will advance the consolidation of all revolutionary forces. We shall do everything possible to expedite determination of the question as to whether the AWP and the CLA are in agreement on the fundamentals of the program of the new revolutionary party.

If that question is determined in the affirmative, we are prepared, as our letter states, "to take immediate steps to bring about organic unity." A national meeting of the POC will be immediately summoned to outline these steps. The branches and members will be kept informed through LABOR ACTION and bulletins from the national office of every step in the proceedings and are strongly urged to study all the questions which are involved, and to communicate their views to the national office. The pages of LABOR ACTION will also be available for this purpose.

We earnestly desire unity on a clear, principled basis. Unity on any other basis will be only a sham and will lead quickly to division, to paralysis rather than to action. But unity on such a firm basis of the forces which have written labor history at Toledo and at Minneapolis must be achieved. It will result in the attraction of other groups and of thousands of now scattered revolutionary militants. It will make possible the actual launching of the new revolutionary party in the United States. That is a goal of such urgent and transcendent importance that it calls for the most honest, devoted and untiring effort.

LABOR ACTION

With which is merged LABOR AGE

Published on the first and fifteenth of each month

by the CONFERENCE FOR PROGRESSIVE LABOR ACTION

112 East 19th Street, New York City

Subscription Rates:

In the United States \$1.00 per year. 3 month trial sub 25 cents Canada and Foreign \$1.50 per year

Editor: HARRY A. HOWE Circulation Mgr.: CARA COOK

Entered as second class matter March 26, 1934 at the Post Office at New York City under the act of March 3, 1879.

Organ of the AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY

THE ACTIVE WORKERS CONFERENCE

WE are a revolutionary political party. Not a trade union, a debating club, a labor defense organization, or anything else. We have a theory, an approach to the problem of revolution in the United States and the world. Our members must understand this theory, Marxism applied to the realities of the present scene. We must develop it further. The Pittsburgh Active Workers Conference indicated that the political consciousness of our organization has been heightened and the political level raised, and that we are determined to raise it further.

We are strengthened in the conviction that no party or group has the opportunity to play a more significant role than the American Workers Party in building an effective new revolutionary party in the United States. We do not believe, however, that we "know it all." We are ready and eager to cooperate on a free, equal basis with all who are in agreement with us on fundamentals of program, in building the revolutionary party. Hence the decision on possible unity with the CLA set forth elsewhere in this issue.

Our branches are not debating clubs or literary societies. They must prove themselves in action, in mass work. Hence the call sent out by the Active Workers Conference to throw ourselves into industrial work to support more fully than ever the work of the National Unemployed League and its affiliates, and to rally all possible forces for the great nationwide demonstration of unemployed now definitely set for November 24.

Parties are built not by words, by resolutions, by enthusiastic mass meetings. They get built by steady plodding, day to day organizing effort. "Better actually to win one new member than to resolve that we are going to get a thousand in the next

three months." Hold regular meetings, keep minutes, plan work, pay dues, sell LABOR ACTION, study the party program, win new members, organize new branches. Keep at it. BUILD THE PARTY.

TO THE TEXTILE STRIKERS!

THE workers of the entire nation and of the world are with you in your struggle. We have been inspired by the mighty, militant, disciplined outpouring of your masses from the textile mills.

Fight on! Do not be dismayed by the propaganda, the lies, the guns, the concentration camps of the textile barons and the political interests who stand behind them. Your solidarity will vanquish them. Thread is not spun in concentration camps, cloth is not woven by guns.

Stand behind your leaders when they fight. Force them to fight if they show any sign of compromise on fundamental issues!

To the strike committee of the United Textile Workers we say that now is the time to smash by peaceful mass picketing the injunction against mass picketing in Passaic and the injunction against the dyers in Paterson and elsewhere which would actually forbid each individual worker to strike, chain him to the machine. Let no time be lost in taking the offensive in these critical situations.

If you hesitate at the very moment when your industrial and political foes seek to make an armed camp of the nation in their effort to smash the strike, this will be the first sign of weakening on your part.

If you take the offensive, raise the standard of militancy still higher, the enthusiasm of the strikers will know no bounds. They will support you and march relentlessly forward, at whatever cost, to victory.

THE MORRO CASTLE DISASTER AND CAPITALISM

THE Capitalist system is responsible for the Morro Castle disaster in which over 100 lives were lost and which has horrified the entire nation. This is not a wild exaggeration but simple, sober fact.

An overworked and underpaid crew was unable in important respects to meet the emergency created when the ship caught fire. The captain believed that he had to refrain from calling help and take the chance of being able to beach his ship on the Jersey coast, get his passengers off and save the Ward Line a 2 million dollar salvage bill.

Thus it ever is under the capitalist system. Profits and property come first; human life and well-being second.

"Women and children first" used to be considered the unwritten law of the sea. Actually, as William McFee said, the unwritten law of the seas these days is "Save the company's money. Save the stockholders' dividends."

story in Editor and Publisher reads, "a group of publishers of the Bay Region papers met to devise ways to meet the crisis. They were: Clarence R. Lindner, San Francisco Examiner; George T. Cameron, Chronicle; Robert O. Holliday, Call-Bulletin; Joseph R. Knowland, Oakland Tribune, and Richard A. Carrington, Oakland Post-Enquirer.

"John F. Neylan, general counsel for the Hearst Newspapers, was chosen for leadership."

"They then proceeded to cook up a deliberate 'red scare'—two-fold in purpose," continues the Reporter. "The purpose was (1) to convince the people that they were face to face with a revolutionary situation and in danger of starvation (which was a patent lie) and (2) to prepare the public all over the country for the vicious and lawless attacks on the workers that were to be necessary if the strike was to be broken in grand old California style."

This San Francisco affair is nothing new, as the editors of the Guild Reporter are aware. Newspaper workers have been used as strike breakers in the past and they will be used as such in the future. Resolutions declaring the freedom of the press is not "a privilege for owners of news channels to exploit" mean nothing to the "owners of news channels" so long as there is no power back of the resolutions. It is the business of the American Newspaper Guild to supply this power. The interests of newspaper workers are identical with interests of all other workers. Until they recognize this essential fact and organize they will continue to be humiliated with San Francisco incidents.

The Scarcity of Plenty

THE poor we shall have always with us—how the rich and their lackeys like to quote this! And how panicky they get when anyone questions the rightness or the inevitability of poverty and misery!

Thus when the Technocrats and certain economists and engineers about a year ago brought forth figures showing that the United States had the productive capacity, the technical skill, the natural resources and the labor power to banish poverty from this land, the millionaires, the bankers, industrialists and their kind, became frightened. Many of them thought the revolution was just around the corner.

The revolution not having occurred, these rich men, who are so interested in seeing that "the poor we shall have always with us," are getting back their morale. They are hiring economists and writers now to prove that this talk of plenty is all bunk.

One of these hired "economists," a certain Robert R. Doane, is writing a series of articles for the reactionary New Outlook. Far from being a land of potential plenty, according to Doane, America is really only emerging from the dark ages in so far as industrial equipment, technical skill, resources, etc. are concerned. Here are some of his arguments:

"On this basis (Circular 296 U. S. Dept. of Agriculture) the most accurate figures disclose an annual deficiency of approximately 27 billion pounds of milk (the equivalent of 13 million quarts), a deficiency of 1 billion pounds of tomatoes and citrus fruits, a deficiency of more than 12 billion pounds of fruits and green vegetables, a deficiency of 2 billion pounds of meats, and more than 13 billion eggs and 2 1/2 billions of pounds of sugar.

"In other words our so-called 'economy of plenty' with its 527 million acres and its 6 million farmers has failed (not only in one year but in a five-year average test) to meet the adequate food requirements of its people to the astonishing extent of nearly 100 billions of pounds of food stuffs!"

Does our "economist" Doane use these facts, therefore, to show the criminal insanity of the government in destroying millions of pounds of food stuffs? Not at all. To Mr. Doane these facts prove only one thing—that we do not have sufficient land or farmers to produce enough food for the population! What does accuracy or honesty mean to a fellow who is hired

INDUSTRIALISTS PAY FOR NAZI PARTY PURGE

COLOGNE—(Tis)—Here comes another authenticated report confirming the sinister role the leading industrialists and capitalists are playing in the new Germany of Hitler's mercy. It is the missing link in the chain of circumstances which led to the shocking events of June 30.

Shortly after Hitler's ascent to power the leading German industrialists announced their intention to raise a large fund "for the maintenance and smooth functioning of the Nazi movement and all its organizations." It was decided to levy an annual voluntary tax of five per mille on the wages amounts paid by industry and to christen the generous gift with the name of "Adolf Hitler Spende der deutschen Wirtschaft." The amount thus raised was fifty million marks (\$20,000,000).

In May 1934, the Nazi labor leader Dr. Levy appealed to the industrialists and requested that their contributions be continued for another year. But the industrial masters remained cool to all suggestions. Before willing to commit themselves again they asked that definite protective assurances be given to them against "wild socialistic experiments."

The Nazi party, torn by intra-party strife, was in despair. Finally, on May 29, Hitler visited the industrialist Krupp in Essen and interceded personally for further support. Krupp insisted on a clarification of the government's future economic policy. Hitler gave definite guarantees against the "wild men" in his own party who, four weeks later were liquidated by the Nazi firing squads.

CLA LETTER TO AWP

(Continued from Page 3) rents, in the first instance to the exclusion of our respective organizations. Such a united front can be no solution to the working class problems but it might despite this serve, at least for a time, as a powerful rallying point for politically undeveloped masses, blinded by the lure of an abstract passive unity, and to that extent serve to isolate our organizations from these masses. The fusion of our organizations in a new party, which we have discussed, would, on the other hand, serve as a powerful lever for inclusion in the united front and for changing it from a bureaucratic mask for passivity and parades into a fighting army of labor against reaction.

However, even aside from these considerations the creation of a new revolutionary party is imperative. In our opinion no single group which has set for itself this goal can, by itself, constitute such a party. But the fusion of our respective forces would make it possible. The unification of these forces would in turn provide a powerful incentive for rallying hundreds of workers to its banner.

Your revised Draft Program has come to our hands. Without entering into a discussion of its merits or demerits at this moment, we are prepared to say that we welcome those changes which have clarified its Marxian position. On the whole, the basis for fusion into one united party, in our opinion, becomes increasingly substantial, the fusion itself more possible and desirable, and awaits essentially a definite expression of opinion by you which would facilitate the accomplishing of the necessary political and organizational preliminaries to unity.

In our opinion the unification of the groups which have set for themselves the same goal has now become a serious responsibility that is pressing for a solution.

Fraternally Yours, National Committee Communist League of America (Arne Swaback) Secy

to prove that the capitalist system is the best of all possible systems? But neither Mr. Doane nor his employers can forever hide from the masses of the people the fact that poverty is no longer necessary. The poor are learning today that the rich are a luxury which they can well get along without.

NOTES ON CURRENT TRENDS

Herbert Hoover Defender of Liberty

IN a series of articles now appearing in the Saturday Evening Post, Herbert Hoover, one time President of the United States, comes to the defense of Liberty. With thousands of words and a great deal of eloquence, he attacks the methods of the Roosevelt administration as being bureaucratic and pleads for a return to the good old days of free competition and rugged individualism.

Replying to these attacks, members of the "new deal" regime charge Mr. Hoover with being a demagogue and with having political ambitions.

"Those who arise in this day to orate upon our ancient liberties are using either the tactics of the demagogue by defending that which no one is attacking, or by making a low appeal to class interests and blind selfishness," declares Donald Richberg.

"He has inferred that the kind of liberty we ought to have in the economic world is the liberty one takes in running by a red light in an automobile," says Secretary Wallace.

But why should anyone question Mr. Hoover's sincerity? Is it not possible for him to be just as honest in his belief that the way to save capitalism—and he is not arguing for anything else—is by adhering strictly to what he calls the "American System" of free competition and rugged individualism, as it is for Mr. Roosevelt and his associates to be honest in their belief that the way to save it is by the "new deal" methods? Since there is no fundamental disagreement as to objective—both Mr. Hoover and Mr. Roosevelt agreeing that the essential thing

is to maintain the profit system—are not Mr. Richberg and Mr. Wallace being a bit absurd when they get excited and call Mr. Hoover bad names?

The New York Times is much more realistic. It recognizes the basic agreement between the President who promised a "chicken in every pot" and the one who promised to do something about the "forgotten man." Editorializing on the Saturday Evening Post articles, it says:

"The main question is whether the chief contentions of the former President are sound; whether he lays down a feasible program of return to traditional American ways of government after the days of feverish 'emergency' legislation are over. When that time comes the principles and hopes of Franklin Roosevelt may not seem to be widely different from those of Herbert Hoover."

This point is well to remember. The liberty for which Mr. Hoover pleads is not different from the liberty for which Mr. Roosevelt strives.

But it is also well to remember that belief in this kind of liberty did not prohibit Mr. Hoover from engaging in the lucrative business of buying and selling Chinese workers or from ordering out the army to gas and shoot down the bonus marchers while he was President. Neither does it keep President Roosevelt from closing his eyes to the strike-breaking activities of General Johnson.

Liberals call Mr. Hoover and his kind Tories. The Tories call Mr. Roosevelt and his "brain trusters" radicals.

But the workers, the masses of the people, are fast learning that the difference between those who would save capitalism by the "old

methods" and those who would save it by the "new deal" is really no difference so far as they are concerned. They are not interested in an abstract Liberty. They want freedom—freedom from the oppressions and misery that are an integral part of capitalism. And for this they will fight.

Freedom of the Press and Red Baiting

THE September number of the Guild Reporter, published by the American Newspaper Guild "in the interests of newspaper editorial employees throughout the nation," says some caustic things about the "freedom of the press" and the uses to which newspaper workers lend themselves.

Referring to a resolution passed at a convention of Guild members in St. Paul in the early summer that "The American Newspaper Guild strive tirelessly for integrity of news columns and... refuse by distortion and suppression to create political, economic, industrial and military wars," the Reporter proceeds to describe how the news writers of San Francisco a few weeks later were used by their bosses to break the general strike.

"With a callousness seldom equaled in the annals of modern journalism, publishers had reporters and re-write men vying with one another in printed assaults on another group of employees fighting for the most elementary economic rights," it says.

The hook-up between the big business interests of California and the leading publishers and the steps they took to break the general strike are brought out in a recent issue of Editor and Publisher, from which the Guild Reporter quotes:

"Just before the zero hour," the

THE HOUDE DECISION

By A. J. MUSTE

ON Sept. 1 the new National Labor Relations Board made a ruling which American Federation of Labor leaders regard as a handsome Labor Day gift.

In the case of the Houde Engineering Company of Buffalo the board laid down the proposition that if the majority of employees in any plant or section of a plant designate a given organization as their representative for collective bargaining, then the employer must deal with that union in order to meet the requirements of Section 7a of the NRA. Specifically, the employer must then endeavor "in good faith" to arrive at a collective agreement with this union on wages, hours and "basic working conditions."

Bosses Defy Ruling

Hardly had the first jubilation of labor leaders and liberals over this decision died down when the National Association of Manufacturers called upon all employers to defy it and the board which had made it. They posed as supporters of Roosevelt himself in taking this action, stating that the decision "flatly contradicts the interpretation of Section 7a of the Recovery Act made by the President in settling the automobile strike."

The Houde Company accordingly has refused to comply with the ruling and has been duly slapped on the wrist and deprived of its Blue Eagle by General Hugh Johnson.

There can be no question that as against Roosevelt's own ruling on the automobile code, which set up a system of proportional representation whereby spokesmen for all groups and organizations, including the company union, would be represented in negotiations with employers, the present NLRB ruling represents a concession to organized labor, and in particular to the A. F. of L. It will have some effect on the psychology of workers, and unions which know how may take advantage of it to press forward their organization campaigns.

A Bone for the "Liberals"

The ruling is part of the general effort to make concessions "to the left" and to keep up the appearance of liberalism which is necessary to offset the record of profits being piled up by the industrialists, of their stiffening resistance against attempts of the government to "regulate business" and against the efforts of the workers to organize, of their defiance of efforts to increase wages and shorten hours.

The nomination of Upton Sinclair is not the only evidence of the continued existence of a tremendous amount of unrest and the demand that "something be done about it." Whatever else may be said of the Roosevelt administration, it cannot be charged with lacking the political sense to see this and to use it to its own advantage in the forthcoming congressional elections.

Workers Must Still Fight

The big thing for the workers to realize is that this latest "pro-labor" ruling of the NLRB does not mean, any more than did the enactment of the NRA or any other action of the Roosevelt administration, that the government is going to organize unions or that workers will get anything substantial save by their own efforts. They must take full advantage of every least gesture of concession the government has to make, but this must mean the stiffening of their battle, not the slightest letting up.

As for the Houde ruling: Assume that the most favorable situation develops. The ruling stands. The majority of the workers for a given corporation vote for a bona-fide trade union, A. F. of L. or independent. The corporation must then make an effort "in good faith" to arrive at an agreement with the union.

Profits First

Suppose it really acts in "good faith" according to its own lights,

it must still, under the capitalist system, aim first of all to make profits for its stockholders in competition with other companies. Under the circumstances, how much will the company be willing or able to give its workers in increased real wages? Very little in any case; nothing, unless the workers through their union are strong enough to demand it. Thus under the most favorable conditions workers still have only their organized strength to fall back upon.

But it is as safe to predict that the circumstances will not be so favorable as it is that the sun will rise tomorrow. If the Houde Company does not challenge the constitutionality of the ruling and take the whole business into the courts, somebody else will.

Time Is Important

How many months, years perhaps, will elapse before the capitalists have used up all the delays which their money and pull may make possible, who shall tell? What do the workers do in the meantime about union recognition, starvation wages, the stretch-out? Again, only a real union and struggle can enable them to get anything. If they wait, trust to the courts, and the courts eventually and inevitably bow to the will of the capitalists, the union is weakened by the long wait and the workers are demoralized by their dependence upon the machinery of the bosses' government, and consequently disillusioned. The battle for organization is lost.

There are other catches in this latest decision. For example, company unions are not definitely and specifically outlawed. The bosses will use them, confuse the workers and defeat bona-fide unions in the end until this is done.

Left, Right, Left, Right

On the very day that the National Labor Relations Board issued the Houde decision, Roosevelt himself extended the automobile code, which contained a directly contradictory provision on collective bargaining, for an additional 60 days. Thus we have another instance of the clever juggling of the Roosevelt administration. Which policy is to stand, that which has been again confirmed by the President or that which is implied in the NLRB ruling? In the past year this business of contradictory decisions from various government agencies has occurred repeatedly. What reason is there to think that it will not happen again?

The board laid down no ruling "as to what should constitute the proper unit as a basis of representation." In other words, one plant of a company may be union, another company union. It is even possible that one department or section of a plant may be union, another department or section company union. From still another angle, therefore, the board has failed to resolve the conflict that rages and is bound to rage until the company union issue is finally solved.

Finally, the effectiveness of any ruling depends on the penalty attached to disobedience. What is the penalty in this case? If, dear fellow-worker, the firm is finally found guilty by the National Labor Relations Board of violating this ruling, the board then refers the case to the NRA, that is, to General Hugh Johnson, to take away the company's Blue Eagle, or devise some other dreadful punishment!

NRA Won't Slap Hard

Another beautiful example of Roosevelt's juggling—"pro-labor" NLRB orders dire punishment and Labor smiles; but the employer is permitted to smile too, since the punishment is to be inflicted (if and when it is inflicted) by the pro-employer NRA which in the Chicago Traction situation and numerous other cases has demonstrated that it will wait a long time before it goes to even the mild length of taking away a Blue Eagle.

Let the workers tear asunder all this flim-flam of government boards and agencies. Let them force a showdown, and that with-

out delay, with every one of them. Above all, let them compel Roosevelt himself to make his position clear once and for all. Let them press the opportunity to organize, and organize into fighting, industrial unions which depend upon the militancy of the workers and forever abandon any faith in favors from the bosses or the bosses' government.

Relief March In U.S. Called November 24

(Continued from Page 1)
leaders from Chicago and Wisconsin.

For National Fight

In presenting the proposal to the conference held in Chicago Commons on Sept. 15 and 16, Ramaglia declared: "The unemployed throughout the country must act on a national scale in one united demonstration before winter sets in. This proposal transcends organizational lines. We must fight the wave of relief cuts and demand a decent standard of living. A million unemployed marching and demonstrating in all parts of the country at the same time will force the issue. We will let the country know that we are organized and determined. This is a time for united action."

Formulate Demands

The demands as finally formulated are:

1. That the government undertake an extensive system of public works to provide work for the unemployed on a minimum basis of \$30 per week for a 30-hour week, with payment of skilled or trade union rates where such are higher.
2. Passage of the Lundeen Workers' Unemployed Insurance Bill.
3. Pending passage of unemployment insurance legislation, direct cash relief at the rate of \$10 a week for a single person, \$15 a week for a family of two and \$4 a week for each additional person.
4. The right of all workers on public work to organize and engage in collective bargaining.
5. Recognition of the representatives of organized unemployed for relief administrations.
6. Federal adequate disability compensation on all public projects; also to and from work.
7. All war funds to be turned over to unemployment relief.

The conference immediately took up the job of making this demonstration effective. An arrangements committee of five was elected.

The sponsoring organizations, according to the announcement sent out by the conference, have mass followings in 15 states with a total membership of more than 750,000 organized unemployed.

Millions Will March

The following organizations will definitely participate in the demonstration, according to the announcement:

The National Unemployed League, with strongholds in Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, North Carolina, Mississippi and Indiana, and smaller membership in other states; the Illinois Workers' Alliance, which has made rapid growth throughout Illinois and includes the Chicago Workers' Committee; the Eastern Federation of Unemployed and Emergency Workers, with organizations in New York, Maryland, Pennsylvania and Connecticut; the American Workers' Union, with a rapidly growing membership in Missouri and Kansas; the Wisconsin Federation of Workers' Committees, and the Florida Federation of Unemployed Leagues.

A call for the demonstration has been drawn up, in which the sponsoring organizations call on all the unemployed, trade union and working-class organizations to demonstrate on Saturday, Nov. 24, at 10 a. m.

In deciding upon the date, the representatives at the conference declared: "The unemployed will make Nov. 24 the day when every city and county will ring with their demands. Millions must march and demonstrate."

RUSSIA AND THE LEAGUE

By LUDWIG LORE

It was an historic moment when on September 18 Foreign Commissioner Maxim Litvinov, Ambassador Vladimir Potemkin and Minister Boris Stein were ceremoniously received as Representatives of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics into the League of Nations. The Soviets had not come to the League as supplicants. Thirty nations—Great Britain, France and Italy among them—had invited proletarian Russia to enter the international association of the world's nations and more than two thirds of the affiliated countries had voted for her admission and had granted the first workers' state a permanent seat in the League of Nations' Council. Switzerland, Portugal and Holland voted against admission and seven other nations, most of them South and Central American, abstained from voting.

It need hardly be emphasized that the admission of the Soviet Union with so large a majority of the world's important nations and with so little difficulty does not indicate a complete change of heart on the part of the capitalist nations of the world on the one hand or of Soviet Russia on the other. It is likely that most of the delegates who had just voted for acceptance of this "enfant terrible" thoroughly agreed with what the old Swiss reactionary Motta said against present-day Russia. The Soviets are convinced today as they were fifteen years ago that the League of Nations was created to serve the interests of capital.

It is the international situation which has brought about a reorientation of the nations of the world. The fact that the three great capitalist powers of Europe were united in the desire to bring about the admission of Russia to the League is the most vital expression conceivable of the changed world situation. France, England and Italy need Russia as a counterweight against National Socialist Germany. The Soviet Union believes she needs the League of Nations to guarantee her security against a war in the Far East or, should this prove impossible in the face of Japan's continued provocation, to protect her against invasion by her European enemies in the rear.

At the moment the great Powers of Europe—France, Italy and Great Britain—are averse to war as Russia herself. France fears that another World War would deprive her of the fruits of Versailles. The French Republic is therefore unalterably opposed to any revision of the not only unjust but inordinately unjust peace treaties of Versailles, St. Germain and Trianon. Together with the nations of the Little Entente—Jugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Rumania,—France has much to lose and nothing to gain from a revision of these forced peace treaties. Several years ago upholders of international peace—the Soviets among them—favored a revision of the post-war agreements.

The anything but pacifist imperialist Italy was just as critical, to be sure, but this from purely self-seeking motives, to secure the support of the strongly pro-revisionist Danubian-Balkan states (Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey). But since Hitler's Third Reich has made 'Revisionism' the battle cry of every nationalist imperialist and war-fomentor on the continent, all opponents of war, whether honest or not, find it impossible to support treaty revision.

Obviously it is not mere accident that the two nations which most vigorously support and prepare for war—Germany and Japan—have withdrawn from the League of Nations. Japan, it is true, brooked no interference on the part of the League when she established her claim to Manchuria and won the day. Germany, too, piled up armaments at a rate that violated every precept of the Versailles Treaty without serious interference on the part of the League. But for all that both felt the responsibilities of League membership an irksome

hindrance to their plans for the future and resigned. Nevertheless against their intentions this resignation strengthened rather than weakened the League organization and, by making possible the entry of the Soviet Union, gave a new lease on life to an almost defunct body. It is not at all impossible that these powers will sooner or later apply for re-entry into the League to be able to carry on their subversive activity more effectively there.

From the first days of its existence, the Soviet Union fought the League as an instrument of imperialism, which, moreover, had set itself the aim of destroying Soviet Russia and suppressing the revolutionary labor movement. When Germany prepared to enter the League in 1926 Tschitscherin, then Commissar for Foreign Affairs, moved heaven and earth to prevent it, for Moscow feared that Germany, once it entered the League, would relinquish her friendly relations with the USSR for a west-European orientation that would leave the Soviets completely isolated.

Today Stalin and with him Litvinov, are of exactly the opposite point of view, under exactly opposite conditions, to be sure. But as early as 1927 Stalin expressed the opinion that Germany's entry into the League had given Russia a "friend at court." This proved to be the case when Chamberlain in the winter of 1927 propagated his bloc against the Soviets. It was Stresemann who prevented his British colleague from putting this menacing plan into effect.

But today Germany is THE enemy of the Soviet Union, and will influence Poland and probably Jugoslavia, perhaps also Bulgaria and Rumania to go along. But, although they are all, with the exception of Germany, represented in the League, Russia no longer fears them. Lenin frequently expressed the opinion that proletarian diplomacy must learn to use the disagreements between the various groups of capitalist states to safeguard peace and working class interests. It is a well-known fact that the Allies in 1918, through the American Raymond Robbins, offered arms and assistance to the Soviets to continue the fight against the Central Powers and that both Lenin and Trotsky voted for acceptance. It was Lenin who said at that time that he would accept help against the common enemy "not only from the English-French imperialist robbers, but from the devil himself."

When Litvinov addressed the assembled League representatives the other day he mentioned neither imperialists, robbers nor devils. Soviet diplomats have learned to speak the language of diplomacy with the best of them, often—perhaps too often—to conceal their real opinions. But Litvinov never spoke a truer word than when he said, with all the warmth and conviction of which this very human diplomat is capable, that Russia entered the League of Nations to help and further the struggle for international peace.

Leon Trotsky once said that the Soviets can go side by side with the capitalist world a part of the way. Provided, of course, they do not miss the parting of the ways when that time comes. Nor will many refrain from raising the question whether the Soviet Union would now be entering the League which Lenin denounced as an instrument of imperialism if the policies of the Communist International had not been so disastrous to the revolutionary movement in the leading capitalist nations of Europe and elsewhere.

LEXINGTON, N. C.—Bill Presswood was elected chairman of the North Carolina Unemployed League in the state convention held in this city. Two hundred delegates were present. The meeting was the liveliest ever to be held since the movement began spreading.

The state League is now on a dues paying basis.

AWP Educational Program For Revolutionary Action

The following article is from a speech by Oliver Carlson, director of education of the American Workers Party, delivered at the Active Workers Conference at Pittsburgh.

The political maturity of a Party is determined by the political maturity of its membership.

By political maturity we mean the ability to gauge social, economic and political trends correctly, in terms of a month and a year as well as in terms of decades. That is to say, we must see our own maximum (ultimate) as well as our minimum (immediate) program within the frame work set by 1) The size and influence of our own Party and its periphery organizations 2) The size and strength of other working class political parties and groups, and its relation to them 3) The outlook, attitude, and changing tempo within the Labor Unions 4) The changes within the dominant political parties 5) The extent and scope of regional and sectional interests, prejudices, etc.

Above all, it means the ability to evaluate the relative importance of problems and issues, not only as seen thru the eyes of our Party and the small minority of politically advanced workers, but also as seen thru the eyes of the masses directly involved.

Party education, if properly developed, becomes a tool of tremendous importance, which may be likened to a crowbar, which we use to pry loose larger and ever larger masses from their inertia, or from blind-alley movements, and turn them to movements and lines of action directed toward social revolution.

What To Avoid

If we develop a talmudic approach in our educational work, we are lost. Revolutionary theology, i.e. the ability to memorize and recite one or a thousand passages from the revolutionary "fathers" has been and still is a blight upon more than one movement. It leads to political sterility on the one hand; on the other, it causes such a Party to spend its energies in true Don Quixote style, valiantly charging upon mole-hills or wind-mills, which it mistakes for its true enemies.

A political movement whose educational policy is based upon such a sectarian, short-sighted policy, usually tends to develop a Messianic complex (belief that is to be the sole savior of mankind) which rises in inverse ratio to its influence upon the labor movement at large.

The educational program adopted by the American Workers Party proposes to do its best to avoid these errors from its inception.

Our Program

It would be a fine thing for us to present an elaborate program of classes, forums, lecture course, etc. but since we are more concerned with creating a program commensurate with our capacities at this time than one which will look nice on paper, we have had to be more modest in our proposals.

We have had to begin by recognizing our own numerical weakness, our meager finances, our limited forces of able and experienced teachers, our great lack of books and pamphlets.

The educational program which we propose falls into two divisions: (1) Party training, and (2) Classes for others not yet in the Party.

Party Training Courses

Briefly put, our task here is to so equip our membership that they can inform the workers of each and every community in an adequate and intelligent fashion on (1) the program (2) the activity, and (3) the personnel of the American Workers Party. This demands, in the first instance, that our own members become themselves thoroughly acquainted with our program, our activity, our personnel. Secondly, it demands that we be familiar with and be able to meet all stand-

ard arguments raised against the AWP. Thirdly, it demands that we master the technique of effective presentation and refutation. Fourthly, it demands that we learn how to conduct our own meetings in an effective and interesting manner, as well as learning how to function effectively in outside mass organizations.

Branch Classes

All units of the AWP are to elect educational committees at once, and prepare for the Party Training courses which are to be set into motion thruout the country beginning with October 1. These classes are to be conducted in conjunction with the regular branch meetings, and it is obligatory upon all members to attend them. The course will cover not less than eight lessons. Thereafter, at regular intervals the same course is to be given for all new members of the Party.

The National Educational Department of the Party is already preparing complete outlines on all of these classes, with special material and instructions to all class leaders. In addition to this there is being prepared mimeographed selected readings as well as more extensive reading lists for those who may want them.

Plans are also being laid to conduct several week-end Party Training Schools in various parts of the country, with leading Party members in charge. At these week-end schools, special emphasis will be laid upon concrete ways and means of developing the work within the immediate vicinity of the school.

General Classes

Proposals for the formation and development of other classes, in connection with left-wing trade unions, unemployed leagues, etc. were also decided upon recently, and material is being sent out to all Party units on this. Subsequent articles in Labor Action will be devoted to this phase of our work.

Anyone who wants detailed information about our education work should address a letter to O. Carlson, National Educational Director, A.W.P., Room 702, 112 E. 19th St. New York City

Party Asks Genuine Unity Against War

NEW YORK.—The American Workers Party has informed the American League Against War and Fascism that the AWP cannot participate in the second U. S. Congress Against War and Fascism being held in Chicago.

"Your call is based," the AWP states to the League "upon the assumption that you represent an already formed genuine broad united front against War and Fascism." The letter points out, however, that some months ago the AWP was compelled to withdraw from the League because it is not what it purports to be, "but in fact represents only one substantial organized labor group, the Communist Party and its affiliates, which during the past year at various critical times has played a disruptive rather than a genuine united front role."

The AWP further states that it "notes with satisfaction that in recent weeks both in the U. S. and abroad new moves toward effecting a united front of C.P., S.P. and other groups have been made."

In line with traditional AWP policy it pledges support to such moves, holds that the building of an effective united front organization against War and Fascism "which will not be merely a misleading pacifist formation but part of a positive effort to make a classless, and therefore a warless world," must wait on the outcome of these negotiations. The letter concludes with expression of hope that "all those concerned may work honestly and tirelessly for an early and successful termination of these negotiations."

Active Workers Conference Held in Pittsburgh

(Continued from Page 1)

as well, of getting rid of inactive or useless ones. It was maintained that certain people might be left as sympathizers, in which capacity they function ably and eagerly, and not taken into the party where they are unable to meet the discipline and demands of party work.

Ernest Rice McKinney made the point that party members must be trained in the intricacies of parliamentary procedure, both to facilitate the conduct of branch meetings and to fit them for executive positions in mass organizations. He described knowledge of parliamentary procedure as not an end in itself, but as a valuable tool of organizational democracy and efficiency.

Labor Action

The most important educational vehicle of the party, as well as its most vital organizer, is LABOR ACTION, the "face" of the American Workers Party, declared Harry Howe, editor, who discussed the editorial policy of the paper. He described the paper as a combination news paper, theoretical organ, party forum, organizer and educator. General discussion of LABOR ACTION centered about the fact that, since it appeared only twice a month, its function of reporting news was limited. An earnest plea was made for workers' correspondence. It was maintained that a paper becomes stylistically dull and stale when only members of the editorial staff contribute to its columns. The necessity for fresh, vigorous field accounts was impressed on the membership.

From the editorial policy of LABOR ACTION the conference turned to consideration of its financial emergency. Cara Cook stressed the need for prompt payment, increased sales and a more concerted subscription drive.

Mass Activity

The second day of the conference was devoted to discussion of mass activity, in unions and unemployed organizations. Much emphasis was put on the disciplined cohesive nature of the party fraction. Careful distinction was made between fraction, meetings and local branch or unit meetings. In districts where the branch is small and the members are concentrated in one industry or activity, there is a tendency to lump fraction and branch business into one meeting or discussion.

By far the most significant feature of the Active Workers conference was the unanimity of organizational spirit. A collective attitude on the part of workers who regard themselves as belonging, part and parcel, to a great revolutionary organization, was evident.

AWP PLEDGES SUPPORT TO GARMENT WORKERS

NEW YORK.—The American Workers Party has pledged its cooperation to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in the strike of workers in the cotton garment industry which will take effect October 1 against any manufacturers who at that time are still ignoring the recent presidential order reducing hours in the industry from 40 to 36, and raising the hourly wage rates.

"This strike is recognition of the fact," states the AWP in its communication to the unions, "that not by any Presidential order but only by organized militancy" can labor resist attacks upon unionism and upon the workers' standards.

"The fact that in the forthcoming strike forces of two organizations are to work as one is an inspiring example to workers in every field. May it portend a rapid movement in the direction of the building of one solid fighting industrial union in every industry, which is so greatly needed in this country today."

BULLETS FOR BREAD?

By RUTH ALLISON

Government money shall not be used to feed strikers.

Government money shall be used to feed and arm strike-breakers.

Thus the New York Times and other capitalist papers clearly draw the class lines in the textile strike. The same papers which, before the strike began, campaigned to prevent the use of taxes to feed starving strikers, now see no contradiction in the use of the National Guard against the strikers.

Troops Cost \$45,000 a Day

A survey made by the Associated Press showed that in eight states approximately 13,000 National Guard troops had been mobilized for strike duty. For wages and subsistence, the cost to the eight states is estimated at about \$45,000 daily. Tear and nausea gas costs are not included.

While these troops were bending every effort to frustrate the textile workers' use of their legal right to strike, such papers as the Times and the New York Herald-Tribune were publishing series of editorials declaring the strike lawless and subversive and calling the strike leaders "breakers of the law." At the same time General Hugh Johnson performed his now regular function of strike-breaker by denouncing the strike in a speech at Carnegie Hall in New York.

So vicious did the Times' attack on the strike become that Chairman Francis Gorman of the National Strike Committee sent a reply to an editorial entitled "Strikers' Law."

"Peace" Officers?

"The trouble with your editorial," Chairman Gorman telegraphed to the Times, "is that it assumes that the so-called officers of the law are in reality peace officers, trained and capable of impartiality in the performance of duty."

"That happens not to be the case. For example, one specific report shows that in a Pennsylvania community 38 out of 40 special deputies were men of no occupation, that they had never worked

and that they were of the type commonly found around pool rooms and such other places. These men are being paid \$10 per day. . . .

"We do not want our people to be officers of the law. But neither do we want them to be submitted to the danger of deputized forces that are merely armed mobs, without training and without any particular responsibility. One mill had its strike-breakers deputized."

Why Nine Strikers Died

"You charge that we want to take the law into our own hands. But if strike-breakers are deputized does that not mean that the mills are taking the law into their hands? You know perfectly well that it means nothing else.

"What we want and what we never get is true law enforcement. We get enforcement of the will of mill owners. Nine of our men are in their graves today because the mill owners control law enforcement. Most of these men were shot in the back and there is enough sophistication in the editorial rooms of the New York Times to understand what that means.

"You say I am deeply concerned about violence when resorted to by the National Guard or by the State. Yes, I am, when the State becomes the tool of special interests and when the National Guard becomes to all practical purposes the private army of mill owners. . . ."

Johnson Says "Rebellion"

In his Carnegie Hall speech, General Johnson, using the same tactics he used in breaking the San Francisco strike, declared:

"The trouble is that when you unleash the forces of riot and rebellion, you never know when you can control them. I know now how this strike was pulled in contravention of the solemn engagements of the federation."

Chairman Gorman, denying the union had ever made any promise, "solemn" or otherwise, not to strike to obtain its rights under the NRA, called Johnson a liar and demanded his removal as head of the NRA.

Pittsburgh Branch Holds All-Day Conference to Spur Party Work

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Spurred into action by the Active Workers Conference, held on September 8 and 9, the members of the Pittsburgh Branch of the AWP held a seven hour meeting the following Sunday, to review almost the entire range of party activities. The result of the meeting was a tightening up of party discipline to the point where each member undertook certain definite responsibilities. A healthy attitude of self criticism was apparent, and out of it grew an extensive and active program for the coming year. The importance of the party press was discussed, each member stating the number of sales of Labor Action he could be responsible for bringing the total for the Branch to 150 copies per month.

Ben Cooper led the discussion on "Putting the Branch Into Action." He criticized the members for limiting their strike activities to reading the newspapers and proposed that the party fractions handling the various lines of party work, hold regular meetings and make regular reports to the Branch on their activities. His suggestion that the educational committee make a survey of "the battle ground of the class struggle in Pittsburgh" was also received with enthusiasm. The PUL-union fraction reported that it would meet very soon to seriously discuss the problems that confront it in the UL and in the unions.

The matter of branch dues was then taken up, followed by a proposal from the EC that a tax of 1% on the salaries of working members be levied in order that the financial secretary might know what the monthly income of the Branch is. This was referred to the finance committee for report.

Other subjects under discussion were a public affair, a workers' play house and informal Sunday afternoon meetings to which non party people could be invited for cultural and recreational purposes. The full agenda of the meeting which included a report on each topic was:

- Putting the Branch into Action
- Structure and Function of the Party Fraction
- Labor Action and other Party Literature
- Branch Finances
- Cultural and Social Activities
- Student and Youth Work
- The Educational Program
- Publicity
- General Party Activities, Program, Committees, Mass Organizations, etc.
- Summary.

Generous California

SAN FRANCISCO.—With the special brand of cruelty to labor that California prides itself on, Governor Frank P. Merriam refused to permit Tom Mooney to attend his mother's funeral. The prisoner's request, along with appeals from thousands of organizations throughout the country including one from the Civil Liberties Union, and one from A. J. Muste of the American Workers Party, fell on deaf ears.

When the funeral cortege sought admission to the prison in order that Mooney might thus get a final glimpse of his mother—this was also refused.

Read "Labor Action" Order Bundles

Textile Strike Called Trump In Roosevelt's Political Game

(Continued from Page 1)

low the Mason-Dixon line began a further offensive against wage levels, ruin stared them in the face. In desperation, many of them saw a strong national union as the only agency which could standardize wages and save their lives in the merry round of competitive throat-cutting. There is no doubt that many of the mill owning fraternity of the North, hate organized labor as they may, have been forced to accept the inevitable and have egged the unions on to a showdown with the sweatshop bosses of the South.

Political Implications

When a basic industry is paralyzed by a general strike in these days of the N.R.A., it is bound to have serious political implications. This one is no exception. Coming as it does, at a very critical moment in the political life of the nation, it serves to throw a spotlight on fundamental class line-ups and on the efforts of the political powers-that-be to maintain their perilous seat on the lid of the boiling caldron of industry. General Hugh Johnson's vicious attack on the striking workers and President Roosevelt's readiness to send Federal troops into Rhode Island show the essential class sympathy and loyalty of this "labor loving" administration.

The textile operatives will find, just as the workers in steel and automobiles, that the promises of government agencies are a snare and a delusion and that labor wins what it is strong enough to force through its own strength.

Roosevelt Strategy

There are those, however, who claim that in this conflict the national government will be forced to use a strategy different from that which it has used in previous, similar situations. A keen and well informed observer of the labor scene puts it in this way:

"The textile strike is not unwelcome to the administration. It gives the President and his advisers the opportunity to take stock, to estimate the line-up of forces. General strikes in steel and automobiles, industries which are the real backbone of the national economy, were dynamite. They had to be headed off at all costs. The danger in the textile industry is not so great.

"Furthermore President Roosevelt realizes that his hold, not only on the rank and file but on the union leadership is considerably weakened. There has been a great deal of dissatisfaction and a lot of grumbling in the labor movement. He faces, at the same time, an attack all along the line from the forces of extreme reaction. Heavy industry, chafing against even the mild restrictions of the New Deal, is wheeling its heavy artillery into position. For the present, therefore, he needs the support of organized labor.

"Nor will he be able without the support of the labor leadership, to carry out his long-range program of bringing the trade union movement under the control and supervision of the government machinery. Under present circumstances Roosevelt cannot afford to let the textile workers suffer total defeat. They are a trump card in his political game. At some point in the fight he will have to step in and make some gestures for the union."

It is certain that the administration has been fairly complacent about the textile strike. Its tactic of setting up an investigating committee after the strike had been called stands out in sharp contrast to the drastic steps taken to head off the steel and auto strikes when tremendous pressure was applied to kill the movement for a stoppage.

How About Labor?

How has the labor movement as a whole faced the situation? Officially the strike has the support of the American Federation of Labor and of the great national unions affiliated with it. A number of

committees have been organized on which the chiefs of the Federation are prominent. Oily Matty Woll has made speeches and issued statements. But actual support has been extremely spotty and is likely to remain so. And when Francis Gorman, as head of the National Strike Committee of the U.T.W. called on workers in other trades for sympathetic action, he received for his pains, only the icy disapproval of the labor bureaucracy.

The labor skates are on the horns of a most perplexing dilemma. They realize full well that the eyes of the workers of America are on the struggle of the textile workers and that their own power and prestige will rest in large measure on their actions in this crisis. A successful strike in textiles, however, certainly means that the spirit of revolt will flame high in other places and that labor in many industries will take the field aggressively.

For the hotel lobby leadership and the swivel chair organizers, the prospect of many strike torn years ahead is one which they cannot face with any degree of equanimity. Further, reason the big shots in the great craft unions, the existence of powerful organizations in the mass production fields, built on an industrial basis, is sure to challenge their supremacy if not their very existence. The tide of revolt against the obsolete craft structure and policies of the Federation rises higher every day. The leaders of the building trades unions, the organizations of teamsters and machinists have no intention of digging their own graves. They'll be damned if they do. All would be well were it not for the lurking fear that perhaps they will be equally damned if they don't.

Few Unions Aid

It is significant that the only real moves to aid the textile strikers have come from those union leaders who have spoken for a modernized trade union structure and practice. The needle trades unions, as always, have been the most generous, donating both money and organizers to the strike. The United Mine Workers chipped in a much smaller amount. The Typographical Union has organized a committee to devise ways and means of helping. The leadership of each of these organizations is known to be in favor of an industrial union structure for the A. F. of L.

A conference of all the heads of the International Unions which was scheduled to meet immediately after the strike call to take up the question of aid has been postponed until just before the opening of the A. F. of L. convention on October 1. And who can be blamed, at that time, if everyone is too busy with convention preparations to bother about the greatest strike that these United States has even seen? We

General Johnson's Raise

By Harold R. Stevenson

WE used to hear more or less discussion, pro and con, concerning the respective merits of a single or double standard of morals. But General Johnson's inability to live on \$6,000 a year, which resulted in his receiving an increase to \$15,000 a year, brings forward the question of the double standard of living.

The class nature of our social organization has seldom stood out more clearly than in this episode of the \$9,000 raise. When the General spoke of starving he did not mean that he suffered from a lack of meat, potatoes, beans or any such "grub," but employed the term in a purely poetic sense to imply that his salary was insufficient to maintain an upper class standard of living, and, so indeed, it was. While a loaf of bread can be purchased for one dime, a butler to serve it costs several hundred

will have before us the glorious example of the wealthy Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, whose executive board, meeting in Florida in the winter of 1929, received a similar plea from the A. F. of L. for help in the great drive to organize the South which was carried on at that time and who placidly voted to receive the letter "as information" and contributed not a red cent to the cause of those who bled and died to plant the banner of unionism in the Southern mills.

The U. T. W.

A real national organization exists for the first time in the textile mills of America. One of the wonders of the modern world has been this resurrection of the United Textile Workers. The eagerness with which workers flocked into the ranks of a union known as one of the most conservative and discredited organizations on the labor scene, is something to think about.

But there can be no doubt that this union is today the only organization of textile workers worth paying serious attention to. The communist controlled National Textile Workers is in woefully bad shape and in a number of places has given up the ghost entirely and ordered its members to join the U.T.W. ranks. They still keep the framework of a national organization in the hope that should the strike end in chaos and confusion, it will be possible for them to split groups away from the United and reestablish themselves in the industry. Present indications are that it is a forlorn hope. The N.T.W. is doomed to die like a fizzled firecracker without even having had the satisfaction of a glorious and explosive end.

Independent Unions

There have always been many independent unions in the industry. By and large they have played no part in the strike. Organizations like the American Federation of Textile Operatives, the Independent Sheet Metal Workers Union and the Loom Fixers Union in fact, voted to stay at work and played a strike breaking role. Throughout the South there has been extensive organization of "home unions," local organizations, many of them established by the boss to head off genuine unionism, some of them by workers honestly suspicious of the U.T.W. and its record.

Will It Be Won?

Will this strike be won? Will unionism be maintained and extended? No certain answer is possible. But with all factors taken into consideration it is probable that organization is in the mills to stay. The spirit of the workers, their determination to have a hand in the shaping of their own destiny, their realization of the need for nation wide action, to win a better order of things for themselves and their children will win this strike. Should it fail the entire labor movement will have received a heavy blow and a set back that only years will overcome.

But the workers of America will not let it fail.

Minneapolis Strike Victories Analyzed by Comrade Budenz

Finds Careful Preparation, Picketing, Relief Work and Strike Bulletin Secret of Success

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

Taken together, the Minneapolis truck drivers' strikes constitute a peculiar contribution to the present period in the American labor struggle. They were confined to one city. They took place in an industry which has had many union battles. They involved some 7,000 men, a small number compared to those in the present textile strike or those covered by the steel and automobile "crises." And yet, they attained a national significance beyond these facts. The tactics used, the forces at work and the results achieved made them the national affairs which the capitalist press itself recognized them to be.

First of all, these walk-outs—of 10 days in May, and of 6 weeks from July on—were challenges to the spirit of compromise and retreat which had begun to characterize the A. F. of L. policy in the N. R. A. set-up. The automobile and steel hullabaloo had ended in moral debacle. The Minneapolis strikes were fought militantly and intelligently. How much the particular tactics used have affected other sections of the movement it is difficult to say. From my experience in the Kenosha strike of 1928 and the reaction it had on the strike policies of the union involved, it is probable that they had a decided effect. Sharply and distinctly, however, they did raise the spirit of the organized workers, insofar as one situation can do so.

Careful Preparation

Secondly, the strikes were carefully prepared. Members of the Communist League of America entered Local 574 of the Drivers, Helpers, Petroleum and Inside Workers. They became members of the Organizing Committee. They not only got green workers to join that union; they welded them together. The picketing policies were worked out in advance, the old tactics of the "flying squadron" being revived. The picketing, as a matter of fact, went like clockwork. Through systematic check-up and assignment, let-downs in these activities were prevented. The objective of a strike is to paralyze production or—as in this case—distribution. Careful planning secured that result in Minneapolis. The picketing was the chief secret of the strikes' success.

Relief

Equal thought was devoted to the question of relief. In Toledo the unemployed leagues, through their committees, obtained relief for the strikers from the public unemployed funds. Here a commissary system was worked out. The Farmers' Holiday Association cooperated. Food was collected from the farm districts and brought to the central station, where it was

cooked for the strikers. While this particular plan will not be of aid in many industrial cities, and while in my opinion it is preferable to make a fight for public funds, it is an example of that proper forethought in which so many strikes have been sadly lacking.

The "Organizer"

Thirdly, the union kept the "public" informed of what was afoot. They set up a daily strike paper, the ORGANIZER, with a circulation of 10,000. This was strictly a strike paper. It talked the issues at stake, not the world situation. It spoke in "the American language," making free use of the "Boston Tea Party" and other allusions familiar to those whom it addressed. Carrying at its masthead the slogans: "United Labor Action" and "Smash the Citizens Alliance," it did not quibble in the expose of its enemies or in stating straight from the shoulder the issues of the fight.

The value of this paper must be underscored. In a strike where large masses are "inconvenienced," such as the shut down of food stuffs brings, the union cannot rely solely upon releases to the capitalist press. The issues of the fight and the course it is taking will be misinterpreted. Even the ordinary labor paper will not do the job. A special organ must be set up. That this can be done successfully, Minneapolis shows. The ORGANIZER was not only a real weapon for the workers; it paid its own way. The style in which it was written and the subjects it covered made it in demand!

Realism

Further, Local 574 took a realistic attitude toward the N. R. A. machinery. They made use of any aid that the conciliators could afford, but drove home always the point that the workers must rely on their own strength and resources. When the conciliators attempted to weaken or manœuvre, the ORGANIZER exposed such developments without mercy. When the pressure of the Citizens Alliance had kept the employers, forces intact for weeks, the general strike was brought forward by the union as the answer. Here again, head work was used as well as emotion in the use of this "threat." A general strike for forty-eight hours was the program of 574. The dangerous attrition of an indefinite general strike was thereby to be avoided. This stroke, incidentally, brought the employers to time. The bosses were confronted with opponents who could think as well as fight; for the second time, the Citizens Alliance was defeated.

An example was thus given of what revolutionary forces can do progressively in the current labor struggle. They can set the pace and show the way in the immediate battle, gaining moral leadership in that way among the workers. The C. L. A. gained prestige from the Minneapolis strikes. It must be admitted that politically they did not profit—at least, at once—as much as they might. This still remains a decided problem for revolutionary groups engaged in mass action. Educational work for the C. L. A. was hampered, first, by the "red scare" difficulties, and secondly, by the absorption of their personnel in the strike. That is an old story. The position of the C. L. A. as a faction, and not a party, was likewise a handicap in making proper political progress out of their achievements. They have laid the ground-work, however, for further steps in that direction, provided that they continue to deal realistically with the workers and themselves grow out of factional consciousness.

(A further article by Comrade Budenz on the role of Governor Olson and the National Guard in Minneapolis, and other questions raised by that development, will appear in the next issue.)

which does the productive labor of the nation; mines the coal, makes the clothes, builds the houses, raises the food, etc. The worker, while doing this really useful work, "starves" in a sense quite different from the starvation of the parasitic upper class.

For the National Recovery Administration to say that cut-throat competition has forced some wages to an indecent level and then proceed to establish minimums of 10 to 12 dollar a week, leaving competition free to force all wages to those levels, is for the NRA to show beyond the shadow of a doubt that it recognizes the class nature of our society and in a class society the inevitability of a double standard of living: a high standard for the exploiting class; a low standard for the employed workers; and, a lower standard for the unemployed.

HELP MAKE "LABOR ACTION" A WEEKLY

red dollars a year. While a weenie can be bought for a few pennies, a chef is necessary to prepare truffles. While a decrepit Ford can be obtained for \$50, a Limousine with uniformed chauffeur sets one back several thousand. While Woolworths will sell a sparkling necklace for 10 cents, a well matched string of real pearls runs from \$5,000 upward.

And so even if the worker, who feels the police club when he strikes against a cut in his \$15 weekly wage, cannot appreciate Johnson's embarrassment with only \$115 a week, the General's associates, many of whom have had to economize since the stock market slump of 1929, could sympathize with anyone who has had to dispense with the second cook and the assistant footman.

The truly remarkable thing about all this is the extraordinary patience displayed by that class

NEW... BOOKS

Stalin Speaks

THE STATE OF THE SOVIET UNION, by Joseph Stalin. His report to the 17th Congress of the C.P.U.S.S.R. 96 pp. International Publishers, N. Y.—\$0.75.

I do not know who works over the material of Stalin's speeches and reports with him. Certainly some new forces are needed when we find him declaring in his analysis of the present industrial crisis that "Fourthly, it is to be explained by the fact that monopolist cartels which dominate industry strive to maintain the high prices of goods and this circumstance makes the crisis particularly painful and hinders the absorption of stocks of commodities." (p.9). While three paragraphs further on he states "An important role in this (crisis) was played by the drop in the price of commodities. Notwithstanding the resistance of the monopolist cartels, the drop in prices increased with elemental force." (My italics—O.C.) Perhaps his dialectics explain this contradiction!!!

Stalin's analysis of the volume of world production is arranged so as to indicate (a) the breakdown of capitalist economy, (b) the unparalleled growth of Soviet economy. He forgets to mention the fact that Great Britain, France, Germany, and the United States had experienced their greatest period of industrial development prior to the World War. Russia was a late entry in the field of industrialization and should be compared statistically with such countries as Japan, Canada, and the Argentine. It does no good to juggle figures for the sake of a pleasant comparison.

Historians will be amazed to learn how the ancient Roman Empire fell. Stalin tells us: "Rome treated all her subject peoples as of an 'inferior race' whose destiny it was to be eternally subordinated to the 'superior race' of Rome—but what came of it? The result was that the non-Romans, i.e. all the 'Barbarians' united against the common enemy, hurled themselves against Rome and overthrew it." (pp.19 & 20). Shades of historical materialism!! Logicians should

turn to pages 75-77 where Stalin describes the wide and impassable gulf between the slogans "enrich yourselves" and the slogan "make the collectiv farmers well to do."

No one can doubt the very real progress which has been made in the USSR during the past three years. Stalin's account is almost too good to be true. However, he does indicate a great number of errors and shortcomings. He pleads for world peace and the status quo. The Soviets want no more territory—but let those beware who try to stick their piggy snouts into the backyard of the USSR!

Perhaps it may be well at some future date to remind Comrade Stalin of what he says on page 83: "The role of so-called objective conditions has been reduced to a minimum, whereas the role of our organizations and of their leaders has become decisive, exceptional." What does that mean? "It means that from now on nine tenths of the responsibility for the failures and defects in our work rests not on 'objective' conditions but on ourselves and on ourselves alone." O. CARLSON

Twenty-nine Communists Jailed SAN FRANCISCO. — Twenty-nine alleged Communists held in San Francisco under \$1,000 bail each on charges of vagrancy have been released. Seventeen of these were kept in jail for 30 days before being brought to trial. When finally hailed into court, the prosecution admitted it had no case against them.

"Vigilante" action, though temporarily at low ebb in San Francisco, has flared up anew in the Salinas-Pajara Valley region as the result of a strike in the lettuce fields. Eight hundred Filipino workers who refused to submit to arbitration have been summarily herded up and forcibly deported from the district.

The growers, by entering into separate agreements with white and Mexican laborers, are doing everything in their power to stir up race hatred, split the ranks of the workers, and crush the militant Filipino Labor Union.

Leagues Help Close the Mills

WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.—The first thing to do is close the mills! The day the textile strike broke all the Unemployed Leagues in the state joined with the strikers in raising the cry.

In Winston-Salem the League was the first organization to decide that the mills had to be closed.

The Manager Speaks

YOU, SUBSCRIBER!

We're after you, now! Party members, berated for laxity in supporting LABOR ACTION, have "taken it" and sworn to improve. Already there is evidence they mean it.

But you who are not a Party member, but a friend or sympathizer or even an aloof though interested spectator,—we feel that you too can and should help LABOR ACTION beyond subscribing regularly yourself.

The fact that you read this paper at all means you are thinking along one direction rather than another. This business of direction is mighty important, and you don't just quit in the middle of a direction, so to speak. That is, you don't subscribe, say, "There, I've done my duty," and forget all about us.

You pass the paper on to someone else; you send us names and addresses; you ask a friend to subscribe. You may even say to him, "Here, I don't like everything in

this paper, but at least it is on the right side of the class fence and for the workers. It should be encouraged. How about sending in your sub?"

MAKE LABOR ACTION A WEEKLY

We are now nearly back to the highest point of our circulation, after an avalanche of "dead wood" expirations. Only complete failure of present subscribers and members to push LABOR ACTION can stop us from reaching the goal of weekly publication. Surely you'd rather get your paper twice as often? Then double our list by sending in 1 additional sub!

WAS YOUR COPY LATE?

This copy was mailed you on Monday evening, September 24.

If you think it reached you later than it reasonably should, please drop the Circulation Manager a card, telling just when you received it. We want to check up and speed up on mail deliveries.

Shall Labor Action Become a Weekly?

Yes, LABOR ACTION shall become a weekly. And to show that I mean it, I am herewith enclosing \$..... in payment for 3 mo. subs at twenty five cents 1 Year subs at one dollar.

Name

Address

(attached find names and addresses of subs)

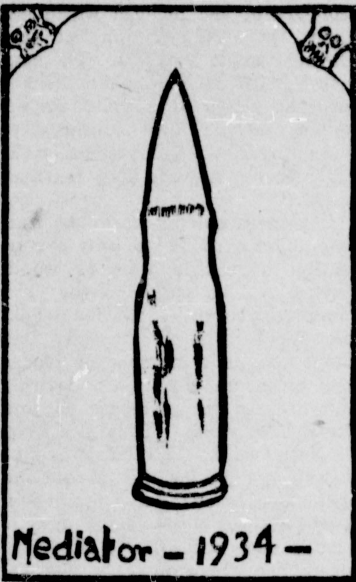
Munitions Probe Is Linked To American Trade Wars

(Continued from Page 1)

perhaps the most ruthless and sweeping investigation of the armaments industry ever made in any country.

The revelations made, to people who know nothing of the inner-workings of what radicals call the "system"—that is, finance capitalism, imperialism—must indeed be shocking.

Throughout the government,



From "Mass Action", published by Lucas County Unemployed League, Toledo.

throughout industry, wherever there are high places and great power, on boards of directors, in state departments, there sit men who deal in death and war. The red ticker-tape dipped in blood, which records the profits, slips through the fingers of America's financial rulers.

This Is The Game

If these gentlemen can supply military equipment to country X, they do so with gratitude, at the same time building up in the nation a psychology of war against country X. They then point out to the nations of the world, including their own, that X is arming. Result: new contracts all around for more machines of destruction. All this is done—don't be startled, for that will give you away, you don't know the fine points of the system—all is done with the full knowledge of the State Department, the Army Department and the Navy Department in Washington.

"Then why the investigation, how explain it?" the liberals ask. "Surely the government is not in-

vestigating itself! No, we cannot believe it. The munitions makers are bad men and the government should be and can be freed of them. We must curb them, suppress them, even turn the munitions industry over to the government."

The liberals and reformers—and the Roosevelt regime finds several of them in the Capitol—trip against the stumbling-block which has thrown more of these people than all other liberal snares since governments began.

What Have You?

The simple truth, that the administration throws the spotlight upon the munitions industry for political reasons, and not to change anything, is so obvious as to escape notice.

Administrations change but the basis of political power does not change, and capitalism remains. The Democrats and the Republicans fight many big battles, apparently. And at the end of it, what have you? There is Morgan still with his empire—Morgan was subjected to the Senate's spotlight recently, with what results?—and the munitions industry still works day and night, whether under private or government direction, what does it matter?

There are reasons to believe, indeed, that the depression is forcing the American government to adopt a policy of intense imperialism, world trade and international domination of markets and weaker nations. That is, a more ruthless Jesse James is on the make, gun in hand. In this light the manufacture of guns becomes a matter of life and death to the government.

Business and The State

The trends under the New Deal bear this out. The interlocking relationship between business and the State is increasing, with the result that what is Big Business and what is the State, is becoming unclear. The fusion between them blots out the lines. Here is the basis of the highest and last stages of imperialism. It becomes necessary for the government to regulate and even take over some industries, in order to concentrate its power, defeat its enemies, win trade wars and world wars.

But as for stopping the manufacture of war materials—the Senate investigating committee has no such thought. It should not be forgotten that factories under government supervision can supply the army and the national guard with machine-guns, bayonets and gas, to be used on strikers at home, and workers in other nations, more efficiently perhaps than the gentlemen now appearing before the Senate committee.

Our Birthright

OUR Birthright is the fields and orchards, The waterfalls, the woods and mines; Our Birthright is the mills and factories That labor builds and brain designs.

Shall we permit our ruthless masters To keep the loot that feeds their pride? Awake, ye workers of this planet— Yours to resist—yours to decide.

With humble words and tearful pleading, With bended neck and groveling tread, Shall we approach our lords and owners To beg the right for work and bread?

And shall our children starve and labor, And live and die like driven kine, To build their lords a yacht and palace— To feed the lusts of grasping swine?

When shall we rise and crush our rulers? 'Tis ours to take, not theirs to give. 'Tis they decree for us starvation; 'Tis they deny our right to live.

'Tis they who sway a million pulpits, Who pay a million priests to lie— Inventing Hell to keep us humble, And glorious Heaven when we die.

Oh, are we blind who will not see it? And are we dumb who will not speak? Rapacious wolves still love the lowly; Unsated swine still praise the meek.

R. ASHMAN

NEWS REEL

By "A. A."

"Dividends and Income Rise in New Deal," reports the New York Post.

Compared with 1933 a total of 384 corporation have increased their earnings.

As long as profits can go on unhampered and unchecked what does the capitalist system care if millions are unemployed and face the future without jobs and subsistence?

"Red Propaganda" cry the Duponts denying that their firm made profits from the war.

And then the facts come out that the war yielded these benevolent gentlemen the tidy sum of \$250,000,000 and that their great patriotism brought them an 1,130 per cent increase in business.

"Employers War on Labor Bargaining. . . Call on All to Resist National Labor Relations Board," proclaim newspaper headlines.

Another example of the sabotage and treason practised by the industrialists and bankers against even the slightest attempts of the Administration to be fair to Labor.

In Nazi Germany, Hitler places all youth in Labor Camps under compulsory discipline. "High officers of the German Army and Navy gazed with undisguised approval upon the bronzed youth goose-stepping past to the strains of military music."

And in the United States, officers of the Army express themselves as pleased with success of C. C. C. camps. "Splendid preparation for the mobilization and training of youth in the event of war."

So Mr. Herbert (Gas-the-Bonus-Army!) Hoover wants Liberty?

Well, there are some 12,000,000 Americans who have the liberty to work, but no jobs, and some 45,000,000 Americans who have the liberty to eat, but lack even one square meal a day!

Or perhaps Mr. Hoover wants the liberty to keep the masses permanently contented on a budget of \$7.25 a week for food for an average family of five persons?

That is the munificent sum allowed (when the city has money to spare) by the New York City Home Relief Bureau—and it is much better than similar allowances in other sections of the nation.

Officers of passenger ships go out to sea with these unwritten instructions: "The profits and dividends of the owners are the most important things to consider."

And then, when a captain of a ship in distress hesitates to call for help and so incur salvage costs for his employers, a disaster such as that of the Morro Castle happens.

The owners and their array of attorneys may shout "Red Plot" but here we have a ghastly and clear example of the greed and callousness inseparable from the profit system.

HEADLINES

Twelve Strikers Have Been Shot to Death In Textile Strike. . . Most of the Victims Have been Shot in the Back. . . "My Heart Weeps for George Sloan, Head of Textile Institute," says General Hugh Johnson. . . Bayonets Open Mills In Carolinas. . . Troops Charge Strikers in Connecticut. . . Deputy Sheriffs Armed with Shotguns Attack Pickets in Rhode Island. . . Militia Subdue Strikers with Gas. . . Strikers Bury Their Victims Shot by Militia. . . One is Eighteen Years Old and the Other Nineteen. . . "My Heart Bleeds for George Sloan," says General Hugh Johnson. . .

Look out, General! Your heart may break.